THE

PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOIAGES, TRAFFIQVES AND DISCOUERIES of the Engliſh Nation, made by Sea or ouer-land, to the remote and fartheſt diſtant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compaſſe of theſe 1500. yeeres: Deuided into three ſeuerall Volumes, according to the poſitions of the Regions, whereunto they were directed.

Thomas Shirley

This firſt Volume containing the woorthy Diſcoueries, &c. of the Engliſh toward the North and Northeaſt by ſea, as of *Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia*, the Baie of S. *Nicolas*, the Iſles of *Colgoieue, Vaigatz*, and *Noua Zembla*, toward the great riuer *Ob*, with the mighty Empire of *Ruſſia*, the *Caſpian* ſea, *Georgia, Armenia, Media, Perſia, Boghar* in *Bactria*, and diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria*:

Together with many notable monuments and teſtimonies of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and other ſhipping of this realme of *England* in former ages.

VVhereunto is annexed alſo a briefe Commentarie of the true ſtate of *Iſland*, and of the Northren Seas and lands ſituate that way.

And laſtly, the memorable defeate of the Spaniſh huge Armada, Anno 1588. and the famous victorie atchieued at the citie of *Cadiz, 1596.* are deſcribed.

By RICHARD HAKLVYT *Maſter* of Artes, and ſometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford.

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and ROBERT BARKER.
1598.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGVLAR GOOD LORD, THE LORD CHARLES HOVVARD, Erle of Notingham,

Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order
of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England,
Ireland, and Wales, &c. one of her Maieſties
moſt honourable priuie Counſell.

RIght Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long ſince publiſhed in Print many Nauigations and Diſcoueries of Strangers in diuers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my fiue yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir *Edward Stafford* your brother in lawe, her Maieſties moſt prudent and carefull Ambaſſador ligier with the French King: and had waded on ſtill farther and farther in the ſweet ſtudie of the hiſtorie of Coſmographie, I began at length to conceiue, that with diligent obſeruation, ſome thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and ſingular actiuitie in the Search and Diſcouerie of the moſt vnknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, ſeeing no man to ſtep forth to vndertake the recording of ſo many memorable actions, but euery man to folow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a ſharpe goad prouoked me and thruſt me forward into this moſt troubleſome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and trauels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I haue collected three ſeuerall Volumes of the Engliſh Nauigations, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries, to ſtrange, remote, and farre diſtant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue not included within the compaſſe of things onely done in theſe latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the ſpace of many hundred yeeres, haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue lien miſerably ſcattered in muſtie corners, & retchleſly hidden in miſtie darkeneſſe, and were very like for the greateſt part to haue bene buried in perpetuall obliuion. The firſt Volume of this worke I haue thus for the preſent brought to light, reſeruing the other two vntill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they ſhall come to the Preſſe. In the meane ſeaſon bethinking my ſelfe of ſome munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honorable Lordſhip, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and alſo in reſpect of the ſubiect and matter, might iuſtly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For firſt I remembred how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongeſt brother *Edmund Hackluyt*, to whom for the ſpace of foure whole yeeres your Lordſhip committed the gouernment and inſtruction of that honorable yong noble man, your ſonne & heire apparant, the lord *William*

liam Howard, of whoſe high ſpirit and wonderful towardlineſſe full many a time hath he boaſted vnto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your moſt deare ſiſter the lady *Sheffield*, my ſingular good lady & honorable miſtreſſe, admoniſhed me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the *Howards*. Thirdly, when I found in the firſt Patent graunted by Queene *Marie* to the Moſcouie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the firſt fauourers and furtherers, with his purſe and countenance, of the ſtrange and wonderfull Diſcouerie of Ruſſia, the chiefe contents of this preſent Volume, then I remẽbred the ſage ſaying of ſweet *Iſocrates*, *That ſonnes ought not onely to be inheriters of their fathers ſubſtance, but alſo of their commendable vertues and honours*. But what ſpeake I of your anceſtors honors (which to ſay the trueth, are very great, and ſuch as our Chronicles haue notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time haue ſhewed themſelues ſo admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haſte (I thinke) performe the like. To come to ſome particulars, when the Emperors ſiſter, the ſpouſe of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. ſailes, ſtoutly and proudly paſſed the narow Seas, your Lordſhip accompanied with ten ſhips onely of her Maieſties Nauie Roiall, enuironed their Fleet in moſt ſtrange and warrelike ſort, enforced them to ſtoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to vnderſtand that olde ſpeach of the prince of Poets;

Non illi imperium pelagi ſæuumq; tridentem,
ſed tibi ſorte datum.

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordſhip on her Maieſties behalfe conducted her ſafely through our Engliſh chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princeſſe. At that time all England beholding your moſt honorable cariage of your ſelfe in that ſo weightie ſeruice, began to caſt an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordſhip, and deeply to conceiue that ſingular hope which ſince by your moſt worthie & wonderfull ſeruice, your L hath more then fully ſatiſfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thriſe-happy victory atchieued againſt that huge and haultie *Spaniſh Armada* (which is notably deſcribed in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and ſole Commander vnder her ſacred and roiall Maieſtie, your noble gouernment and worthy behauior, your high wiſedom, diſcretion and happineſſe, accompanied with the heauenly bleſſing of the Almightie, are ſhewed moſt euidently to haue bene ſuch, as all poſteritie and ſucceeding ages ſhall neuer ceaſe to ſing and reſound your infinite prayſe and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage vnto *Cadiz*, the vanquiſhing of part of the king of Spaines *Armada*, the deſtruction of the rich Weſt *Indian* Fleete, the chaſing of ſo many braue and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, ſacking, and burning of that almoſt impregnable citie of *Cadiz*, the ſurpriſing of the towne of *Faraon* vpon the coaſt of *Portugal*, and other rare appendances of that enterpriſe, becauſe they be hereafter ſo iudicially ſet downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witneſſe in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I truſt (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly depriued no man of his right. Vpon theſe and other the like conſiderations, I thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and reuerence this firſt part of our Engliſh Voiages & Diſcoueries vnto your Honors fauourable cenſure and patronage.

And here by the way moſt humbly crauing pardon, and alwayes ſubmitting my poore opinion to your Lordſhips moſt deep and percing inſight, eſpecially in this matter, as being the father and principall fauourer of the Engliſh Nauigation, I truſt it ſhall not be impertinent in paſſing by, to point at the meanes of breeding vp of ſkilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordſhip is not ignorant, that ſhips are to litle purpoſe without ſkilfull Sea-men; and ſince Sea-men are not bred vp to perfection of ſkill in much leſſe time (as it is ſaid) then in the time of two prentiſhips; and ſince no kinde of men of any profeſſion in the common wealth paſſe their yeres in ſo great and continuall hazard of life; and ſince of ſo many, ſo few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and ſuch like inſtructions, theſe ought to haue a better education, then hitherto they haue had; all wiſe men may eaſily iudge. When I call to minde, how many noble ſhips haue bene loſt, how many worthy perſons haue bene drenched in the ſea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impoueriſhed by loſſe of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I haue greatly wiſhed there were a Lecture of Nauigation read in this Citie, for the baniſhing of our former groſſe ignorance in Marine cauſes, and for the increaſe and generall multiplying of the ſea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raiſed ſo generall a deſire in the youth of this Realme to diſcouer all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor deuiſe of mine, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to vnderſtand, that the late Emperour *Charles* the fift, conſidering the rawneſſe of his Sea-men, and the manifolde ſhipwracks which they ſuſteyned in paſſing and repaſſing betweene *Spaine* and the Weſt *Indies*, with an high reach and great foreſight, eſtabliſhed not onely a Pilote Maior, for the examination of ſuch as ſought to take charge of ſhips in that voyage, but alſo founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation houſe at *Siuil*. The readers of which Lecture haue not only carefully taught and inſtructed the *Spaniſh* Mariners by word of mouth, but alſo haue publiſhed ſundry exact and worthy treatiſes concerning Marine cauſes, for the direction and incouragement of poſteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of *Alonſo de Chauez*, of *Hieronymo de Chauez*, and of *Roderigo Zamorano* came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the ſtraight and ſeuere examining of all ſuch Maſters as deſire to take charge for the Weſt *Indies*. Which when I firſt read and duely conſidered, it ſeemed to mee ſo excellent and ſo exact a courſe, as I greatly wiſhed, that I might be ſo happy as to ſee the like order eſtabliſhed here with vs. This matter, as it ſeemeth, tooke no light impreſſion in the royall breſt of that moſt renowmed and victorious prince King *Henry* the eight of famous memory; who for the increaſe of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three ſeuerall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at *Deptford* here vpon the *Thames*, the other at *Kingſton* vpon *Hull*, and the third at *Newcaſtle* vpon *Tine:* which laſt was eſtabliſhed in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motiues which induced his princely wiſedome hereunto, himſelfe expreſſeth in maner following. *Vt magiſtri, marinarij, gubernatores, & alij officiarij nauium, iuuentutem ſuam in exercitatione gubernationis nauium tranſigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio caſu in paupertatem collapſi, aliquod releuamen ad eorum ſuſtentationem habeant, quo non ſolùm illi reficiantur, verùmetiam alij iuuenes moueantur & inſtigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cuius, doctiores & aptiores fiant nauibus & alijs vaſis noſtris & aliorum quorumcúnque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quàm belli tempore, cum opus poſtulet, &c.* To deſcend a litle lower, king *Edward* the ſixt that prince of peereleſſe hope, with the aduiſe of his ſage and prudent Counſaile, before he entred into the Northeaſterne diſcouery, aduanced the worthy and excellent *Sebaſtian Cabota* to be grand Pilot of *England*, allowing him a moſt bountifull penſion of 166.li.vj.s.viij.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be ſeene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he delt moſt royally in eſtabliſhing that office of Pilote Maior (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miſerably turned to other priuate vſes) ſo his princely Maieſtie would haue ſhewed himſelfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of *Spaine*, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation. And ſurely when I conſidered of late the memorable bountie of ſir *Thomas Greſham*, who being but a Merchant hath founded ſo many chargeable Lectures, and ſome of them alſo which are Mathematicall, tending to the aduancement of Marine cauſes; I nothing doubted of your Lordſhips forwardnes in ſettling and eſtabliſhing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordſhip ſhall ſee the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily ſory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Nauigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increaſed vnder the Admiraltie of your Lordſhip; ſo if this one thing be added thereunto, together with ſeuere and ſtraight diſcipline, I doubt not but with Gods good bleſſing it will ſhortly grow to the hieſt pitch and top of all perfection: which whenſoeuer it ſhall come to paſſe, I aſſure my ſelfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the proſperous and ſpeedy diſcouery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknowen, to the honeſt employment of many thouſands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confuſion of our foes. To ende this matter, let mee now I beſeech you ſpeake vnto your Lordſhip, as in times paſt the elder *Scipio* ſpake to *Cornelius Scipio Africanus*: *Quò ſis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, ſic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conſeruauerint, adiuuerint, auxerint, certum eſſe in cœlo, ac definitum locum, vbi beati æuo ſempiterno fruantur.* It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordſhip from time to time vnder her moſt gracious and excellent Maieſtie, haue ſhewed your ſelfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conſeruer, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; ſo at length you may enioy thoſe celeſtial bleſſings, which are prepared to ſuch as tread your ſteps, and ſeeke to aſpire to ſuch diuine and heroical vertues. And euen here I ſurceaſe, wiſhing all temporal and ſpirituall bleſſings of the life preſent and that which is to come to be powred out in moſt ample meaſure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordſhip, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and thoſe two rare iewels, your generous off-ſprings, but alſo vpon all the reſt whereſoeuer of that your noble and renowmed family. From London the 7. day of this preſent October 1598.

Your honours moſt humble alwayes
to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

¶ A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages and diſcourſes in this firſt part.

HAuing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealouſly beſtowed ſo many yeres, ſo much traueile and coſt, to bring Antiquities ſmothered and buried in darke ſilence, to light, and to preſerue certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our Engliſh nation atchieued, from the greedy and deuouring iawes of obliuion: to gather likewiſe, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and ſcattered limmes of our ancient and late Nauigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandiſe by both: and hauing (ſo much as in me lieth) reſtored ech particular member, being before diſplaced, to their true ioynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all hiſtory) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this ſecond time (friendly Reader, if not to ſatisfie, yet at leaſt for the preſent to allay and hold in ſuſpenſe thine expectation) preſume to offer vnto thy view this firſt part of my threefold diſcourſe. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen ſhape, which here thou ſeeſt; what reſtleſſe nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I haue indured; how many long & chargeable iourneys I haue traueiled; how many famous libraries I haue ſearched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue peruſed; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c. I haue redeemed from obſcuritie and periſhing; into how manifold acquaintance I haue entred; what expenſes I haue not ſpared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate gaine, preferment, and eaſe I haue neglected; albeit thy ſelfe canſt hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and ſome of my entier friends can ſufficiently teſtifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the firſt) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties ſeeme eaſie, all paines and induſtrie pleaſant, and all expenſes of light value and moment vnto me.

For (to conteine my ſelfe onely within the bounds of this preſent diſcourſe, and in the midſt thereof to begin) wil it not in all poſteritie be as great a renowme vnto our Engliſh nation, to haue bene the firſt diſcouerers of a Sea beyond the North cape (neuer certainly knowen before) and of a conuenient paſſage into the huge Empire of Ruſſia by the bay of S. Nicolas and the riuer of Duina; as for the Portugales to haue found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Eſperanza, and ſo conſequently a paſſage by Sea into the Eaſt Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to haue diſcouered vnknowen landes ſo many hundred leagues Weſtward and Southweſtward of the ſtreits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowmed Portugale Vaſquez de Gama trauerſed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppoſe that Columbus that noble and highſpirited Genuois eſcried vnknowen landes to the Weſtward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant Engliſh knight ſir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman accoaſt Noua Zembla, Colgoieue, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Aſia? Howbeit you will ſay perhaps, not with the like golden ſucceſſe, not with ſuch deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conqueſts. True it is, that our ſucceſſe hath not bene correſpondent vnto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of ſearching was no whit leſſe. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, moſt skilfull and iudicial in Coſmographie, who writ aboue 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene, ſignified vnto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the ſmall Iſthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterran ſea, was on all ſides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Ægyptian King, who (for trials ſake) ſent a Fleet of Phœnicians downe the Red ſea; who ſetting forth in Autumne and ſailing Southward, till they had the Sunne at noonetide vpon their ſterbourd (that is to ſay, hauing croſſed the Æquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Nauigation, directed their courſe to the North, and in the ſpace of 3. yeeres enuironed all Africk, paſſing home through the Gaditan ſtreites, and arriuing in Ægypt? And doth not ||Plinie tel them, that noble Hanno, in the flouriſhing time and eſtate of Carthage, ſailed from Gades in Spaine to the coaſt of Arabia fœlix, and put downe his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of Auguſtus Cęſar, the wracke of certaine Spaniſh ſhips was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be ouer-tedious in alleaging of teſtimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and valing downe the Arabian bay, ſailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arriued at Gades? And what ſhould I ſpeake of the Spaniards? Was not diuine ||Plato (who liued ſo many ages ago, and plainely deſcribed their Weſt Indies vnder the name of Atlantis) was not he (I ſay) in ſtead of a Coſmographer vnto them? Were not thoſe Carthaginians mentioned by Ariſtotle lib. || de admirabil. auſcult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to ſtirre them vp, and pricke them forward vnto their Weſterne diſcoueries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore theſe two worthy Nations had thoſe bright lampes of learning (I meane the moſt ancient and beſt Philoſophers, Hiſtoriographers and Geographers) to ſhewe them light; and the loadſtarre of experience (to wit thoſe great exploits and voyages layed vp in ſtore and recorded) whereby to ſhape their courſe: what great attempt might they not preſume to vndertake? But alas our Engliſh nation, at the firſt ſetting foorth for their Northeaſterne diſcouery, were either altogether deſtitute of ſuch cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as miſty as they found the Northren ſeas, and ſo obſcure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to giue them encouragement.

|| Lib. 2. nat. hiſt. cap. 67.

|| In Timæo.

|| περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων.

But beſides the foreſaid vncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themſelues, Animus meminiſſe horret, I tremble to recount. For firſt they were to expoſe themſelues vnto the rigour of the ſterne and vncouth Northren ſeas, and to make triall of the ſwelling waues and boiſtrous winds which there commonly do ſurge and blow: then were they to ſaile by the ragged and perilous coaſt of Norway, to frequent the vnhaunted ſhoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and miſty North cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and vnlocke the ſeuen-fold mouth of Duina. Moreouer, in their Northeaſterly Nauigations, vpon the ſeas and by the coaſts of Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, Ioughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, &c. and their paſſing and returne through the ſtreits of Vaigatz, vnto what drifts of ſnow and mountaines of yce euen in Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, vnto what hideous ouerfals, vncertaine currents, darke miſtes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were ſubiect and in danger of, I wiſh you rather to learne out of the voyages of ſir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the reſt, then to expect in this place an endleſſe catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great induſtry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within theſe few yeeres haue diſcouered to 78. yea (as themſelues affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with this prouiſo; that our Engliſh nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch. But nowe it is high time for vs to weigh our ancre, to hoiſe vp our ſailes, to get cleare of theſe boiſtrous, froſty, and miſty ſeas, and with all ſpeede to direct our courſe for the milde, lightſome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, ouer which the Spaniards and Portugales haue made ſo many pleaſant proſperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their Eaſt and Weſt Indian Nauigations haue indured many tempeſts, dangers and ſhipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; firſt that a great number of them haue ſatisfied their fame-thirſty and gold-thirſty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and miſaduentures ſeeme tolerable vnto them; and ſecondly, that their firſt attempts (which in this compariſon I doe onely ſtand vpon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeaſt. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it neuer barred with yce, miſt, or darknes, but was at all ſeaſons of the yeere open and Nauigable; yea and that for the moſt part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreouer they had no forren prince to intercept or moleſt them, but their owne Townes, Iſlands, and maine lands to ſuccour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Iſles: and ſo had the Portugales the Iſles of the Açores, of Porto ſanto, of Madera, of Cape verd, the caſtle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Iſle of S. Thomas, being all of them conueniently ſituated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in ſome one part or other of Africa, for getting of ſlaues, for ſugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, ſiluer, gold, and other precious wares, which ſerued as allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to ſtay them from giuing ouer their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto our ſelues.

In this firſt Volume (friendly Reader) beſides our Northeaſterne Diſcoueries by ſea, and the memorable voyage of M. Chriſtopher Hodſon, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narue, wherein with merchants ſhips onely, they tooke fiue ſtrong and warrelike ſhips of the Freebooters, which lay within the ſound of Denmark of purpoſe to intercept our Engliſh Fleete: beſides all theſe (I ſay) thou maieſt find here recorded, to the laſting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the aduauncing of traffique by riuer and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Ruſſia: as namely Richard Chanceler his firſt fortunate arriuall at Newnox, his paſſing vp the riuer of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the ſpace of 1100. verſts, and from thence to Yaruſlaue, Roſtoue, Peraſlaue, and ſo to the famous citie of Moſco, being 1500. verſts trauell in all. Moreouer, here thou haſt his voiage penned by himſelfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my ſelfe beholding vnto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he deſcribeth in part the ſtate of Ruſſia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the maieſtie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himſelfe. But if he being the firſt man, and not hauing ſo perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie ſatiſfie your expectation in deſcribing the foreſayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Ienkinſons diſcourſe as touching that argument, to the ſmooth verſes of M. George Turberuile, and to a learned and excellent diſcourſe ſet downe, pag. 475. of this volume, and the pages following. Vnto all which (if you pleaſe) you may adde Richard Iohnſons ſtrange report of the Samoeds, pag. 283. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Ruſſia, I ſuppoſe (among the reſt) that difficult iourney of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, vp the great riuer of Onega, and ſo by other riuers and lakes to the citie of Nouogrod velica vpon the Weſt frontier of Ruſſia, to be right woorthy of obſeruation; as likewiſe that of Thomas Alcock from Moſco to Smolenſko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 304. & that alſo of M. Hierome Horſey from Moſco to Vobsko, and ſo through Liefland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Pruſſia and Pomerland to Roſtok, and ſo to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to ſearch into all parts of the Inland, and to view the Northren, Southerne, and Weſterne frontiers, but alſo by the riuers of Moſcua, Occa and Volga, to viſite Cazan and Aſtracan, the fartheſt Eaſterne and Southeaſterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themſelues within all that maine circumference, they haue aduentured their perſons, ſhippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times ouer the vnknowen and dangerous Caſpian ſea; that valiant, wiſe, and perſonable gentleman M. Anthonie Ienkinſon being their firſt ring-leader: who in Anno 1558. ſailing from Aſtracan towards the Eaſt ſhore of the Caſpian ſea, and there arriuing at the port of Manguſla, trauelled thence by Vrgence and Sheliſur, and by the riuers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes iourney ouer deſert and waſt countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, diſmiſſed, and ſafely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murſes. Then haue you a ſecond Nauigation of his performance to the South ſhore of the foreſayd Caſpian ſea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arriuall at Shabran, his proceeding vnto Shamaky, the great curteſie vouchſafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his iourney after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yauate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the ſeate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Perſia, with diuers other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you haue ſet downe in fiue ſeuerall voiages the ſucceſſe of M. Ienkinſons laudable and well-begun enterpriſe, vnder the foreſayd Shaugh Thamas, vnder Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and laſtly our traffique with Oſman Baſha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreouer, as in M. Ienkinſons trauel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of liuing, apparell, food, armour, &c. are moſt liuely repreſented vnto you: ſo likewiſe in the ſixe Perſian Iournals you may here and there obſerue the ſtate of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his ſubiects, together with their religion, lawes, cuſtomes, & maner of gouernment, their coines, weights and meaſures, the diſtances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and diſcommodities of the ſame.

Furthermore in thus firſt Volume, all the Ambaſſages and Negotiations from her Maieſtie to the Ruſſian Emperor, or from him vnto her Maieſtie, ſeemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, firſt that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the emploiment of M. Ienkinſon 1571. thirdly, Sir Ierome Bowes his honorable commiſſion and ambaſſage 1582. and laſt of all the Ambaſſage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours firſt Ambaſſador Oſep Napea, his arriuall in Scotland, his moſt honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his diſmiſſion into Ruſſeland. In the ſecond place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Sauin; and laſtly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phiſemski. And to be briefe, I haue not omitted the Commiſſions, Letters, Priuileges, Inſtructions, Obſeruations, or any other Particulars which might ſerue both in this age, and with all poſteritie, either for preſidents in ſuch like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wiſe to bee buried in ſilence. Finally, that nothing ſhould be wanting which might adde any grace or ſhew of perfection vnto this diſcourſe of Ruſſia; I haue prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Ruſſian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of thoſe partes: as likewiſe about the concluſion, I haue ſignified in the branch of a letter, the laſt Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich vnto the Empire.

But that no man ſhould imagine that our forren trades of merchandiſe haue bene compriſed within ſome few yeeres, or at leaſt wiſe haue not bene of any long continuance; let vs now withdraw our ſelues from our affaires in Ruſſia, and aſcending ſomewhat higher, let vs take a ſleight ſuruey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. Firſt therefore the Reader may haue recourſe vnto the 124 page of this Volume, & there with great delight and admiration, conſider out of the iudicial Hiſtoriographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was moſt famous for multitude of merchants and concourſe of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almoſt 900. yeeres paſt, in the time of the Saxons, the ſaid citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the moſt renoumed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the ſayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto all Engliſh merchants which in thoſe dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly ſee in an auncient teſtimonie tranſlated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques ſake, ſo many hundred yeeres ſince, to croſſe the wide Seas, and how their induſtry in ſo doing was recompenſed. Yea, there mayeſt thou obſerue (friendly Reader) what priuileges the Daniſh king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our Engliſh merchants Aduenturers of thoſe times. Then if you ſhall thinke good to deſcend vnto the times and ages ſucceeding the conqueſt, there may you partly ſee what our ſtate of merchandiſe was in the time of king Stephen and of his predeceſſor, and how the Citie of Briſtol (which may ſeeme ſomewhat ſtrange) was then greatly reſorted vnto with ſhips from Norway and from Ireland. There may you ſee the friendly league betweene king Henry the ſecond, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbaroſſa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchãts to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king Iohn his fauourable ſafe-conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the ſame priuileges here in England, which our Engliſh merchants enioied abroad in their ſeuerall countreys. Or what ſhould I ſignifie vnto you the entercourſe of league and of other curteſies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewiſe of the free trade of merchandiſe between their ſubiects: or tell you what fauours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hanſe-townes obtained of king Edward the firſt; or to what high endes and purpoſes the generall, large, and ſtately Charter concerning all outlandiſh merchants whatſoeuer was by the ſame prince moſt graciouſly publiſhed? You are of your owne induſtry ſufficiently able to conceiue of the letters & negotiatiõs which paſſed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our Engliſh merchants and their goods detained vpon arreſt at Bergen in Norway; and alſo of the firſt ordination of a Staple, or of one onely ſetled Mart-towne for the vttering of Engliſh woolls & woollen fells, inſtituted by the ſayd K. Edward laſt before named. All which (Reader) being throughly conſidered, I referre you then to the Ambaſſages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, repriſals, arreſts, complaints, ſupplications, compoſitions and reſtitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the ſaid kings and their ſubiects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Iungingen, and Vlricus de Iungingen, three of the great maſters of Pruſſia, and their ſubiects, with the common ſocietie of the Hanſ-townes on the other partie. In all which diſcourſe you may note very many memorable things; as namely firſt the wiſe, diſcreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foreſaid nations, and their manifold and moſt vſuall kinds of wares vttered in thoſe dayes, as likewiſe the qualitie, burthen, and ſtrength of their ſhipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at ſea, the number and names of the Engliſh townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well vpon the coaſt of Norway, as euery where within the ſound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanſe. And becauſe the name, office, and dignitie of the maſters generall, or great Maſters of Pruſſia would otherwiſe haue bene vtterly darke and vnknowen to the greater part of Readers, I haue ſet downe immediatly before the firſt Pruſſian ambaſſage, pagina 144 a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the firſt originall and inſtitution of themſelues and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increaſe of reuenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conqueſts which they atchieued vpon the infidels of Pruſſia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. alſo their decay and finall ouerthrow; partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Caſtles vnder their iuriſdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all theſe, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient ſtatutes, is partly ſhewed our trade and the ſucceſſe thereof with diuers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the ſixt.

Then followeth the true proceſſe of Engliſh policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatiſe de politia conſeruatiua maris: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Ruſſia his palace called the golden Caſtle, and deſcribed by Richard Chanceller pag. 238. of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correſpondent to the name, yet was it within ſo beautified and adorned with the Emperour his maieſticall preſence, with the honourable and great aſſembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an inualuable and huge maſſe of gold and ſiluer plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations aſtoniſhed thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our Engliſh politician, to wit, the harſh and vnaffected ſtile of his ſubſtantiall verſes and the olde dialect of his wordes is ſuch; as the firſt may ſeeme to haue bene whiſtled of Pans oaten pipe, and the ſecond to haue proceeded from the mother of Euander: but take you off his vtmoſt weed, and beholde the comelineſſe, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward ſenſe and ſentence; and you ſhall finde (I wiſſe) ſo much true and ſound policy, ſo much delightfull and pertinent hiſtory, ſo many liuely deſcriptions of the ſhipping and wares in his time of all the nations almoſt in Chriſtendome, and ſuch a ſubtile diſcouery of outlandiſh merchants fraud, and of the ſophiſtication of their wares; that needes you muſt acknowledge, that more matter and ſubſtance could in no wiſe be compriſed in ſo little a roome. And notwithſtanding (as I ſaid) his ſtile be vnpoliſhed, and his phraſes ſomewhat out of vſe; yet, ſo neere as the written copies would giue me leaue, I haue moſt religiouſly without alteration obſerued the ſame: thinking it farre more conuenient that himſelfe ſhould ſpeake, then that I ſhould bee his ſpokeſman; and that the Readers ſhould enioy his true verſes, then mine or any other mans fained proſe.

Next after the concluſion of the laſt mentioned diſcourſe, the Reader may in ſome ſort take a vieu of our ſtate of merchandiſe vnder K. Edward the fourth, as likewiſe of the eſtabliſhing of an Engliſh company in the Netherlands, and of all the diſcreet prouiſoes, iuſt ordinations, & gratious priuileges conteined in the large Charter which was granted for the ſame purpoſe.

Now beſides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeaſt regions of the world, and our ancient traffique alſo to thoſe parts; I haue not bene vnmindefull (ſo farre as the hiſtories of England and of other Countreys would giue me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke thoſe forren conqueſts, exploits, and trauels of our Engliſh nation, which haue bene atchieued of old. Where in the firſt place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetenſis, and out of M. Lambert his Αρχαιονομία) I haue publiſhed vnto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two Britiſh Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conqueſt of Man and Angleſey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next ſucceedeth Octher making relation of his doings, and deſcribing the North Countreys, vnto his ſoueraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolſtans Nauigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewiſe the mariage of Harald his daughter vnto the Ruſsian duke Ieruſlaus. Neither is that Engliſhman forgotten, who was forced to traueile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And becauſe thoſe Northeaſterne Regions beyond Volga, by reaſon of the huge deſerts, the colde climate, and the barbarous inciuilitie of the people there inhabiting, were neuer yet throughly traueiled by any of our Nation, nor ſufficiently knowen vnto vs; I haue here annexed vnto the ſaid Engliſhmans traueile, the rare & memorable iournals of 2. Friers, who were ſome of the firſt Chriſtians that trauailed fartheſt that way, and brought home moſt particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had ſeene. Theſe Friers were ſent as Ambaſſadours vnto the ſauage Tartars (who had as then waſted and ouerrunne a great part of Aſia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and ſword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Goſpel vnto them. The former, namely Iohannes de Plano Carpini (whoſe iourney, becauſe he road ſixe moneths poſte directly beyond Boriſthenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre ſurpaſſe that of Alexander the great, vnto the riuer of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. ſent with the authoritie and commiſſion of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who paſſed through more gariſons of the Tartars, and wandered ouer more vaſt, barren, and cold deſerts, then (I ſuppoſe) an army of an hundred thouſand good ſouldiers could haue done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253. by the way of Conſtantinople, of the Euxin ſea, and of Taurica Cherſoneſus imployed in an ambaſſage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then againſt the Saracens in the Holy land) vnto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach ſent him forthwith vnto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted ouer many large territories vnto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them haue ſo well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and vnmanerly welcomming they had at their firſt arriuall, what cold intertainment they felt in traueiling towards the great Can, and what ſlender cheere they found at his Court; that they ſeeme no leſſe worthy of praiſe then of pitie. But in deſcribing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adiacent, in ſetting downe the baſe and ſillie beginnings of that huge and ouerſpreading Empire, in regiſtring their manifolde warres and bloody conqueſts, in making relation of their hords and mooueable Townes, as likewiſe of their food, apparell and armour, and in ſetting downe their vnmercifull lawes, their fond ſuperſtitions, their beſtiall liues, their vicious maners, their ſlauiſh ſubiection to their owne ſuperiours, and their diſdainfull and brutiſh inhumanitie vnto ſtrangers, they deſerue moſt exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man ſhall obiect that they haue certaine incredible relations: I anſwere, firſt, that many true things may to the ignorant ſeeme incredible. But ſuppoſe there be ſome particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly ſay for the Friers, that thoſe particulars are but few, and that they doe not auouch them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther imagine that they did auouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whoſe names you may ſee about the end of this Preface; euery one of which hath reported more ſtrange things then the Friers between thē both? Nay, there is not any hiſtory in the world (the moſt Holy writ excepted) whereof we are preciſely bound to beleeue ech word and ſyllable. Moreouer ſithens theſe two iournals are ſo rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters vnto me do teſtifie) were many yeeres very inquiſitiue, and could not for all that attaine vnto them; and ſithens they haue bene of ſo great accompt with thoſe two famous Coſmographers, that according to ſome fragments of them they haue deſcribed in their Mappes a great part of thoſe Northeaſtern Regions; ſith alſo that theſe two relations containe in ſome reſpect more exact hiſtory of thoſe vnknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that euer I could ſet mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the tranſlation ſhould chance to ſwerue in ought from the originals (both for the preſeruation of the originals themſelues, and the ſatisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely ſtile wherein they were firſt penned. And for theſe two rare iewels, as likewiſe for many other extraordinary courteſies, I muſt here acknowledge my ſelfe moſt deepely bounden vnto the right reuerend, graue, and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Biſhop of Chicheſter, and L. high Almner vnto her Maieſtie; by whoſe friendſhip and meanes I had free acceſſe vnto the right honor. my L. Lumley his ſtately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuſcripts, theſe two iournals and ſome others alſo.

After theſe Friers (though not in the next place) foloweth a teſtimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an Engliſh Franciſcan Frier.

Then ſucceedeth the long iourney of Henry Earle of Derbie, and afterward king of England into Pruſſia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits againſt the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Aſſociates, he vanquiſhed the king of Letto his armie, put the ſayd king to flight, tooke and ſlew diuers of his captains, aduanced his Engliſh colours vpon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it ſelfe to yeeld. Then mention is made alſo of Tho. of Woodſtock his trauel into Pruis, and of his returne home. And laſtly, our old Engliſh father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geffrey Chaucer, vnder the perſon of his knight, doeth full iudicially and like a cunning Coſmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our Engliſh Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither haue we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but alſo haue ſcattered here and there (as the circumſtance of times would giue vs leaue) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and grouth of the claſſical and warrelike ſhipping of this Iſland: as namely, firſt of the great nauie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigornienſis, Roger Houeden, Rainulph of Cheſter, Matthew of Weſtminſter, Flores hiſtoriarum, & in the libel of Engliſh policie, pag. 202. and 203. of this preſent volume. Of which Authors ſome affirme the ſayd Fleet to haue conſiſted of 4800. others of 4000. ſome others of 3600. ſhips: howbeit (if I may preſume to gloze vpon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, ſtrength, building, or nimble ſtirrage vnto the ſhips of later times, and ſpecially of this age. But howſoeuer it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the ſayd huge Fleet he was a moſt puiſſant prince; yea, and ſome of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely ſoueraigne lord of all the Britiſh ſeas, and of the whole Iſle of Britaine it ſelfe, but alſo that he brought vnder his yoke of ſubiection, moſt of the Iſles and ſome of the maine lands adiacent. And for that moſt of our Nauigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practiſe that way) either vtterly ignorant, or but meanely skilfull, in the true ſtate of the Seas, Shoulds, and Iſlands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I haue for their better encouragement (if any weightie action ſhall hereafter chance to drawe them into thoſe quarters) tranſlated into Engliſh a briefe treatiſe called, A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull hiſtorie of thoſe parts, for the ſpace almoſt of 300. yeeres, as alſo the moſt ordinarie and accuſtomed nauigations, through thoſe very ſeas, and amidſt thoſe Northweſterne Iſles called the Hebrides, ſo many hundred yeeres agoe. For they ſhall there read, that euen then (when men were but rude in ſea-cauſes in regard of the great knowledge which we now haue) firſt Godredus Crouan with a whole Fleet of ſhips, throughly haunted ſome places in that ſea: ſecondly, that one Ingemundus ſetting ſaile out of Norway, arriued vpon the Iſle of Lewis: then, that Magnus the king of Norway came into the ſame ſeas with 160. ſailes, and hauing ſubdued the Orkney Iſles in his way, paſſed on in like conquering maner, directing his courſe (as it ſhould ſeeme) euen through the very midſt, and on all ſides of the Hebrides, who ſailing thence to Man, conquered it alſo, proceeding afterward as farre as Angleſey; and laſtly croſsing ouer from the Iſle of Man to the Eaſt part of Ireland. Yea, there they ſhall read of Godredus the ſonne of Olauus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ſhips againſt Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ſhips againſt him; of Godred his flight and ſecond iourney into Norway; of Sumerled his ſecond arriual with 160. ſhippes at Rhinfrin vpon the coaſt of Man, and of many other ſuch combates, aſſaults, & voyages which were performed onely vpon thoſe ſeas & Iſlands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks vnto the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But ſithens we are entred into a diſcourſe of the ancient warrelike ſhipping of this land, the Reader ſhall giue me leaue to borow one principall note out of this litle hiſtorie, before I quite take my leaue thereof: and that is in few words, that K. Iohn paſſed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. ſailes; ſo great were our ſea-forces euen in his time. Neither did our ſhipping for the warres firſt begin to flouriſh with king Iohn, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confeſſor, of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus and the reſt, there were diuers men of warre which did valiant ſeruice at ſea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may ſee recorded, pag. 17. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentiſh Cinque ports, which of the ſea-townes they were, how they were infranchiſed, what gracious priuileges and high prerogatiues were by diuers kings vouchſafed vpon them, and what ſeruices they were tied vnto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ſhips, how many ſouldiers, mariners, Garſons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furniſh for the kings vſe; and laſtly, what great exploits they performed vnder the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewiſe againſt the Welſhmen, vpon 200. French ſhips, and vnder the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then haue you, pag. 117. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the firſt, vpon the foreſayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of ſeuen hundred ſhips which K. Edward the third had with him vnto the ſiege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me giue you a double obſeruation. Firſt, that theſe ſhips, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. perſons, ſeeme to haue bene of great burthen; and ſecondly, that Yarmouth an hauen towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) ſet foorth almoſt twiſe as many ſhips and mariners, as either the king did at his owne coſts and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England beſides. Howbeit Tho. Walſingham maketh plaine and euident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the ſame king; namely, of 1100. ſhippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them ſufficiently well furniſhed. Moreouer, the Reader may behold, pag. 186. a notable teſtimonie of the mightie ſhips of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recouer Harflew had hired certaine Spaniſh and Italian ſhips and forces, & had vnited their owne ſtrength vnto them) ſent his brother Iohn duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell, got the victory, taking ſome of their ſhips, and ſinking others, and putting the reſidue to diſhonorable flight. Likewiſe comming the next yeere with ſtronger powers, and being then alſo ouercome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry; & propter eorum naues (ſaieth mine Author) that is, for the reſiſtance of their ſhips, the ſayd king cauſed ſuch huge ſhips to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world beſides.

But to leaue our ancient ſhipping, and deſcend vnto later times; I thinke that neuer was any nation bleſſed of IEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory vpon the Seas, then our vanquiſhing of the dreadfull Spaniſh Armada, 1588. But why ſhould I preſume to call it our vanquiſhing; when as the greateſt part of them eſcaped vs, and were onely by Gods out-ſtretched arme ouerwhelmed in the Seas, daſhed in pieces againſt the Rockes, and made fearefull ſpectacles and examples of his iudgements vnto all

Chriſtendome. An excellent diſcourſe whereof, as likewiſe of the honourable expedition vnder two of the moſt noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane, the renoumed Erle of Eſſex, *and the right honorable the lord* Charles Howard, *lord high Admirall of* England, *made 1596. vnto the ſtrong citie of* Cadiz, *I haue ſet downe as a double* epiphonema *to conclude this my firſt volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to haue bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to ſatiſfie the importunitie of ſome of my ſpecial friends, and partly, not longer to depriue the diligent Reader of two ſuch woorthy and long-expected diſcourſes; I haue made bold to ſtraine a litle curteſie with that methode which I firſt propounded vnto my ſelfe.*

And here had I almoſt forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philoſophical treatiſe of the true ſtate of Iſeland, *and ſo conſequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meaneſt Hiſtoriographers and Coſmographers of later times, as namely,* Munſter, Gemma Friſius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus *and others, are by euident arguments conuinced of manifold errors: that is to ſay, as touching the true ſituation and Northerly latitude of that Iſland, and of the diſtance thereof from other places; touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and ſea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in thoſe Seas, of the firſt Diſcouerie and inhabiting of that Iſland, of the firſt planting of Chriſtianitie there, as likewiſe of the continuall flaming of mountains, ſtrange qualities of fountains, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which thoſe authors haue fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatiſe ought to bee the more acceptable; firſt in that it hath brought ſound trueth with it; and ſecondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which moſt men would ſuppoſe could not affoord any one ſo learned a Patrone for it ſelfe.*

And thus (friendly Reader) thou ſeeſt the briefe ſumme and ſcope of all my labours for the common-wealths ſake, and thy ſake, beſtowed vpon this firſt Volume: which if thou ſhalt as thankefully accept, as I haue willingly and freely imparted with thee, I ſhall bee the better encouraged ſpeedily to acquaint thee with thoſe rare, delightfull and profitable hiſtories, which I purpoſe (God willing) to publiſh concerning the Southerne and Weſterne partes of the World.

⁂

¶ *Poſtſcriptum.*

Not knowing any other place ſo conuenient, I am here to aduertiſe the friendly Reader of certaine faultes eſcaped in the printing of this booke, and to requeſt him that in the Page 54. and in the laſt line ſaue two, hee would in ſtead of Kine, read Swine, and he ſhall thereby auoid a great contradiction: likewiſe pag. 187. that hee would vnto the ende of the ſecond verſe of the Prologue to the Engliſh Policy, make ſupply of the word Reſt, which is there wanting: alſo pag. 221. lin. 29. for woorthineſſe read woorthies, &c. Other faults (if there bee any) are (I doubt not) eaſily corrigible.

ΕἸΣ ἈΠΟΔΗΜΊΑΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΩ͂Ν

ΠΌΝΗΜΑ ῬΙΧΆΡΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ͂ ἈΚΛΥΊΤΟΥ,

Ὕγων ὁ Βρεχθωνός.

Ὅσσοι γαῖαν ἔχουσι βροτοὶ ἑνὸς ἐκπέφυατε
  ὡς ἄγηλα ὁρᾶν ἔθνεσι χάρμα φύσει.
Ὅς γ' ἦ θ' ἁλίπλαγκτος μετεκίαθεν ἔθνεα πλεῖστα,
  οἴκοι μιμνάζουσ' ἀξιάγαστος ἔφυ.
Ἔξοχα Βρεττανοὶ δ', ἄλλων σπαθέντες ἔρανται,
  ἴδμεναι ἀλλοθρόων φῦλα πολυσπερέα.
Ἰνδοὺς ἑσπερίους καὶ ἑῴους, Αἰθίοπάς τε,
  καὶ Μόσχους, καὶ πάντ' ἐσχατόωντα χθόν.
Τούτων δ' εἶα μάλιστα κλυτὰ, κλυτὸς Ἀκλυΐτος
  γράψεν ἀειφραδέως, μνῆμ' ἀεὶ ἐσσόμενον.

☞ In nauales Richardi Haklvyti Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum fœcunda puerpera rerum,
  ſiue ſolum ſpectes nobile, ſiue ſalum;
Quæ quantum ſumptis ſe nobilitauerit armis,
  ſiue domi geſſit prælia, ſiue foris;
Multorum celebrant matura volumina: tantæ
  Inſula materiem paruula laudis alit.
At ſe in quot, qualéſq;, & quando effuderit oras,
  qua fidit ignotum peruia claſſis iter,
Solius Hakluyti *decus eſt, prædiuite penna*
  oſtendiſſe ſuis ciuibus auſa mari.
Quæcunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica naui,
  Oceani triſtes ſpernere docta minas,
A prima generiſq; & gentis origine geſſit,
  qua via per fluctus vlla patere poteſt,
Siue decus, laudémq; ſecuta, vt & hoſtibus alas
  demeret, atque ſuis læta pararet opes:
Hoc opus Hakluyti; *cui debet patria multum,*
  cui multum, patriæ quiſquis amicus erit.
Qua re námque magis ſe noſtra Britannia iactat,
  quàm quod ſit præter cætera claſſe potens?
Quam prius obſeſſam tenebris ſic liberat, vt nunc
  quiſque ſciat, quàm ſit nobile claſſis opus.
Qua ſi Dædalicè vtemur, ſurgemus in altum,
  ſin autem Icaricè, quod voret, æquor habet.

Rich. Mvlcaster.

Eiuſdem in eundem.

Qvi graui primus cecinit camœna
Aureum vellus, proceréſque Græcos,
quos ſibi adiunxit comites Iäſon
          Vectus in Argo
Naue, quam primùm ſecuiſſe fluctus
prædicant ſalſos, ſibi comparauit

Inde non vnquam moritura magnæ
præmia famæ.
Tanta ſi merces calamum ſecuta
Vnicæ nauis referentis acta,
Quanta Richardum *manet* Hakluytum
gloria? cuius
Penna deſcripſit freta mille, mille
Inſulæ noſtræ celeres carinas,
Quæ per immenſi loca peruolarunt
omnia mundi.
Senties gratam patriam, tuǽq;
Laudis æternùm memorem, & laboris:
Quæ tua cura, calamóque totum
ibit in orbem:
Quam doces omni ſtudio fouere
Nauticum robur, validámq; claſſem.
Hac luet quiſquis violentus Anglos
vſſerit hoſtis.

In eximium opus R. HAKLVYTI de Anglorum *ad diſiunctiſſimas regiones nauigationibus* GVLIELMI CAMDENI *Hexaſtichon.*

ANglia quæ penitùs toto diſcluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.
Nunc cùm ſepoſitos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.
At quid *Haklute* tibi monſtranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

DI MARC' ANTONIO PIGAFETA Gentilhuomo Vicentino.

I*Gnota mi ſtarei, con poco honore*
Sepolta nell' oſcure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con ſpeſa & arte
Non haueſſe hor ſcoperto il mio ſplendore.
Ramuſio pria pieno d'ardente amore
Manifeſto le mie piu riche parte,
Che ſon lá doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange ſcorre.
Hakluyto *poi ſenza verun riſguardo*
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà inſieme,
Ciò c' hà potuto hauer da typhi Ingleſi.
Onde vedraſſi e doue bella ſguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l'Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben paleſi.

¶ A Catalogue of the Voyages of this firſt volume, made to the North and Northeaſt quarters.

1 The voyage of *Arthur* K. of *Britaine* to *Iſland* and the moſt Northeaſtern parts of Europe, Anno 517. pag. 1.
2 The voyage of *Malgo* king of *Britaine* to *Iſland*, *Gotland*, *Orkney*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, Anno 580. pag. 3.
3 The conqueſt of the Iſles of *Angleſey* and *Man* by *Edwin* the *Saxon* king of Northumberland, Anno 624. 3.
4 The voyage of *Bertus* into *Ireland*, Anno 684. 4.
5 The voyage of *Octher* to the North parts beyond *Norway* about the yeere 890. 4.
6 The ſecond voyage of *Octher* into the Sound of *Denmarke*. 5.
7 Wolſtans Nauigation into the Eaſt ſea, or the Sound of *Denmarke*. 6.
8 The voyage of King *Edgar* with 4000. ſhippes round about his large Monarchie, Anno 973. 6.
9 The voyage of *Edmund* and *Edward* the ſonnes of King *Edmund Ironſide*, into *Hungary*, Anno 1017. 9.
10 The mariage of the daughter of *Harald* vnto *Ieruſlaus* duke of *Ruſſia* in his owne Countrey, Anno 1067. 16.
11 The voyage of a certaine *Engliſhman* into *Tartaria*, and from thence into *Poland* and *Hungary*, Anno 1243. 20.
12 The long and wonderfull voyage of Frier *Iohn de Plano Carpini*, Anno 1246. 21, 37, 53.
13 The iournall of Frier *William de Rubricis*, Anno 1253. 71, 93.
14 The voyage of *Nicolaus de Linna* a *Franciſcan* Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of *Oxford* to all the Regions ſituate vnder the North-pole, Anno 1360. 121.
15 The voyage of *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, afterward King of *England*, into *Pruſſia* and *Letto*, Anno 1390. 122.
16 The voyage of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* duke of *Glouceſter* into *Pruſſia*, Anno 1391. 123.
17 The voyage of ſir *Hugh Willoughby* knight, wherein he vnfortunately periſhed at *Arzina Reca* in *Lapland*, Anno 1553. 232.
18 The voyage of *Richard Chanceller* Pilote *maior*, the firſt diſcouerer by ſea of the kingdome of *Moſcouia*, Anno 1553. 237, 243.
19 The voyage of *Stephen Burrough* toward the Riuer of *Ob*, intending the diſcouery of the Northeaſt paſſage, Anno 1556. 274.
20 The landing of *Richard Iohnſon* among the *Samoeds*, Anno 1556. 283.
21 The voyage of the aforeſaide *Stephen Burrough* from *Colmogro* in *Ruſſia* to *Wardhouſe*, in ſearch of certaine *Engliſh* ſhips not heard-of the yeere before, Anno 1557. 290.
22 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinſon* into *Ruſſia*, wherein *Oſep Napea*, firſt Ambaſſadour from the Emperour of *Moſcouia* to Queene *Mary*, was tranſported into his Countrey, Anno 1557. 310, 314.
23 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinſon* from the Citie of *Moſco* in *Ruſsia* to *Boghar* in *Bactria*, Anno 1558. 324.
24 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinſon* through *Ruſsia*, and ouer the *Caſpian* ſea into *Perſia*, Anno 1561. 343.
25 The voyage of *Thomas Alcock*, *George Wrenne*, and *Richard Cheyney*, ſeruants vnto the Company of *Moſcouy* Merchants in *London*, into *Perſia*, Anno 1563. 353.
26 The voyage of *Richard Iohnſon*, *Alexander Kitchin*, and *Arthur Edwards* ſeruants to the foreſaid company into *Perſia*, Anno 1565. 354.
27 The voyage of *Thomas Southam* and *Iohn Sparke* by land and riuer from *Colmogro* to *Nouogrod* in *Ruſsia*, Anno 1566. 365.
28 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinſon* into *Ruſsia* the third time, Anno 1566. 372.

The

29 The voyage of *Arthur Edwards* Agent for the *Moſcouy* company, *Iohn Sparke*, *Laurence Chapman*, *Chriſtopher Faucet*, and *Richard Pingle*, ſeruants, into *Perſia*, An. 1568. 389.

30 The voyage of *Thomas Baniſter* and *Geffrey Ducket*, Agents for the *Moſcouy* Company, into *Perſia* the fift time, Anno 1569. 394.

31 The voyage of *William Burrough* Captaine of 13. *Engliſh* ſhips to the *Narue* in *Liefland*, Anno 1570. 401.

32 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinſon* into *Ruſſia* the fourth time, Anno 1571. 402.

33 The voyage of *Chriſtopher Burrough* into *Perſia* the ſixt time, Anno 1579. 419.

34 The voyage of *Arthur Pet* and *Charles Iackman*, ſent to diſcouer the Northeaſt ſeas beyond the *Iland* of *Vaigats*, Anno 1580. 445.

35 The voyage of Maſter *Ierome Horſey* ouer land from *Moſco* in *Ruſia* to *England*, Anno 1584. 469, 470.

36 A voyage to the Northeaſt, performed by certaine *Ruſſes*, and tranſlated out of *Sigiſmundus ab Herberſtein*. 492.

37 A voyage to *Sibier* and the Riuer of *Ob*, by land, declared in a letter written to *Gerardus Mercator*. 510, 511, & 512.

38 The vanquiſhing of the *Spaniſh Armada*, Anno 1588. 591.

39 The honourable voyage to *Cadiz*, Anno 1596. 607.

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The Ambaſſages, Treatiſes, Priuiledges, Letters, and other obſeruations, depending vpon the Voyages of this firſt Volume.

1 TWo *teſtimonies of* Galfridus Monumetenſis *in his hiſtory of the Kings of* Brittaine, *concerning the conqueſts of* King Arthur. *pagina.* 1.

2 *A teſtimony of* M. Lambard *in his* Ἀρχαιονομία, *touching the right and appendances of the Crowne of the kingdome of* Britaine. *pag.* 2.

3 *A Chronicle of the Kings of* Man, *taken out of* M. Camdens *Chorographie.* 10.

4 *The ancient ſtate of the ſhipping of the* Cinque Ports. 17.

5 Libellus hiſtoricus Iohannis de Plano Carpini. 21.

6 *Part of the great Charter graunted by* King Edward *the firſt, to the Barons of the* Cinque *Ports.* 117.

7 *The rolle of the huge Fleete of* Edward *the thirde before* Caleis. 118.

8 *The ſumme of expences layde out in the ſiege of* Caleis. 121.

9 *A note of* Thomas Walſingham *touching* King Edward *the thirde his huge Fleete of* 1100. *ſhips, wherewith he paſſed ouer vnto* Caleis, *Anno* 1359. 121.

10 *Certaine verſes of* Geffrey Chaucer, *concerning the long Voyages, and valiant exploits of the* Engliſh *knights in his dayes.* 124.

11 *A teſtimonie out of* Cornelius Tacitus, *prouing* London *to haue bene a famous Mart-towne in the raigne of* Nero *the Emperour.* 124.

12 *A teſtimony out of venerable* Beda, *prooing* London *to haue bene a Citie of great traffique in his time.* 125.

13 *The league betweene* Carolus Magnus *and* Offa *King of* Mercia, *concerning the ſafe trade of* Engliſh *Merchants.* 125.

14 *An ancient teſtimony tranſlated out of the olde* Saxon *Lawes, conteyning the aduancement of Merchants, for their thrice croſſing the wide ſeas.* 126.

15 *A teſtimony of certaine Priuileges obteined for the* Engliſh *and* Daniſh *Merchants by* Canutus *the King of* England. 126.

16 *The flouriſhing ſtate of Merchandiſe in the City of* London *in the dayes of* Wilhelmus Malmesburienſis. 227.

17 *A teſtimony of the ſaid* Wil, *of* Malmesbury *concerning traffique to* Briſtow *in his time.* 127.

18 *The league betweene* Henry *the ſecond, and* Frederick Barbaroſſa *Emperour of Germany, partly touching trade of Merchandiſe.* 128.

19 *A generall ſafe conduct granted by King* Iohn *to all forreine Merchants.* 129.

20 *The letters of King* Henry *the third, vnto* Haquinus *king of* Norwey. 129, 130.

21 *A mandate for the king of* Norway *his ſhip called, The* Cog. 130.

22 *A Char-*

22 A Charter granted for the behalfe of the Merchants of Colen, in the 20. yeere of Henry the thirde. 131.
23 The Charter of Lubeck granted for ſeuen yeeres in the time of Henry the third. 131, 132.
24 A Charter of the Merchants of Almaine, or the Stilyard-merchants. 132.
25 A mandate of King Edward the firſt concerning outlandiſh Merchants. 133.
26 King Edw. the firſt his great Charter granted to forreine Merchants, Anno Dom. 1303. 133.
27 The letters of Edward the ſecond vnto Haquinus King of Norway, concerning certain Engliſh Merchants arreſted in Norway. 138.
28 Another letter of Edw. the ſecond vnto the ſaid Haquinus for the merchants aforeſaid. 139.
29 A third letter of King Edward the ſecond to the ſaid Haquinus in the behalfe of our Engliſh merchants. 140.
30 An Ordinance for the Staple to be holden at one certaine place. 142, 143.
31 A Catalogue of the great Maſters of Pruſſia. 144.
32 The Oration or ſpeach of the Ambaſſadours ſent from Conradus de Zolner, Maſter generall of the land of Pruſſia, vnto Richard the ſecond, king of England. 148.
33 An agreement made by the Ambaſſadours of England and Pruſſia, confirmed by king Richard the ſecond. 150.
34 The letters of Conradus de Iungingen, Maſter generall of Pruſſia, vnto Rich. the ſecond. 153.
35 A briefe relation of William Eſturmy and Iohn Kington, concerning their Ambaſſages into Pruſsia and to the Hans-townes. 154.
36 Certaine Articles of complaint exhibited by the Liuonians. 156.
37 Other complaints exhibited by the Cities of the Hans. 156.
38 Compoſitions and Ordinances concluded betweene the Ambaſſadours of Pruſsia, and the Chanceller and Treaſurer of England, Anno 1403. 157.
39 The letters of the Chanceller and Treaſurer of England vnto Conradus de Iungingen, maſter generall of Pruſsia. 158.
40 The letters of king Henry the fourth vnto Conradus de Iungingen, the maſter generall of Pruſsia for entercourſe of traffique. 159.
41 The letters of Conradus de Iungingen vnto king Henry the fourth. 160.
42 An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth, and Conradus de Iungingen. 161.
43 An agreement betweene king Henry the fourth, and the Hans-townes. 164.
44 A teſtimonie out of Albertus Krantzius concerning the ſurpriſe of Bergen in Norway, wherein 21. houſes of the Engliſh merchants were burnt. 169.
45 The grieuances and offences whereat the merchants of the Hans found themſelues agrieued. 171.
46 A letter of Henry the fourth king of England vnto Conradus de Iungingen, Maſter generall of Pruſſia. 175.
47 A letter of Werneherus de Tettingen commander in Elbing vnto ſir William Sturmy Ambaſſadour vnto king Henry the fourth: Together with an other letter of king Henry the fourth, vnto Vlricus de Iungingen, maſter of Pruſſia. 176.
48 The letters of Vlricus de Iungingen maſter generall of Pruſſia, ſignifying vnto king Henry the 4. that he was contented with certeine agreements concluded by his meſſengers at Hage. 178.
49 The letters of king Henry the fourth vnto Vlricus de Iungingen, wherein he doth abſolutely approue the foreſaid conference holden at Hage. 179.
50 A new concord betweene king Henry the fourth, and Vlricus de Iungingen. 180.
51 A Charter of king Henry the fourth, graunted in the fifth yeere of his raigne vnto the Engliſh merchants reſident in the parts of Pruſſia. 185.
52 A note touching the mighty ſhips of king Henry the fift, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Wincheſter. 185.
53 A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the 6. for the trade to Norway, Sweueland, Denmarke and Finmarke. 186.
54 Another branch of a Statute made in the 10. yeere of king Henry the ſixt concerning the ſtate of Engliſh merchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke. 186.
55 Libellus de politia conſeruatiua Maris. Or, The pollicy of keeping the Sea. 187.
56 A large Charter granted by king Edward the fourth, in the ſecond yere of his raigne, to the Engliſh merchants reſiding in the Netherland. 208.
57 A perſwaſion of Robert Thorne merchant of Briſtol, and dwelling long in Siuil in Spaine, to king Henry the eight of noble memory, to ſet out and further Diſcoueries toward the North. 212.
58 The diſcourſe of the foreſaid Robert Thorne, written to Doctour Leigh the Kings Ambaſſadour in Spaine touching that matter. 214.

59 A briefe

59 *A briefe treatiſe of the Emperour of* Moſcouia *his genealogie.* 221.

60 *The excellent orders and inſtructions of* Sebaſtian Cabot *giuen to ſir* Hugh Willoughby *and his Fleete in their voyage intended for* Cathay. 226.

61 *The names of the twelue Counſellers appointed in ſir* Hugh Willoughbies *voyage.* 230.

62 *The letters of king* Edward *the ſixt, written at that time to all the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates of the Northeaſt.* 230.

63 *The names of the Ships, Captains, Mariners, and other officers of that firſt worthy enterpriſe.* 232.

64 *The othe miniſtred to the Captaine of the Fleete.* 233.

65 *The othe miniſtred to the Maſters of the ſhips.* 234.

66 *A teſtimonie of* Richard Eden, *concerning* Clement Adams *his diſcourſe of* Richard Chancellers *voyage.* 242.

67 *The letters of the Emperour of* Ruſſia *ſent to king* Edward *the ſixt, by* Richard Chanceller. 255.

68 *The coynes, waights and meaſures vſed in* Ruſſia. 256.

69 *The letters of King* Philip *and Queene* Mary *to* Iuan Vaſiliuich *the Emperor of* Ruſſia. 258.

70 *The Commiſſion giuen to the merchants Agents reſiant in* Ruſſia. 259.

71 *The othe miniſtred to the ſeruants of the* Moſcouie *company.* 262.

72 *The letter of* George Killingworth *the firſt Agent in* Ruſſia, *written to the Company.* 263.

73 *The firſt Priuileges graunted by the Emperour of* Ruſſia, *to the* Engliſh *merchants.* 265.

74 *The Charter of the merchants of the* Moſcouie *company granted by Queene* Mary. 267.

75 *Inſtructions giuen to the Purſers of the* Moſcouie *voyage.* 273.

76 *The ſtrange diſcourſe of* Richard Iohnſon *concerning the* Samoeds. 283.

77 *A diſcourſe of the honourable receiuing into* England *of the firſt Ambaſſadour frō the Emperour of* Ruſsia. 285.

78 *Inſtructions giuen to the Maſters and Mariners of the ſhips of the* Moſcouie *Company, ſayling towards the Bay of* S.Nicolas, *Anno* 1557. 295.

79 *A letter of the Company of the* Moſcouie *merchants vnto their Agents,* George Killingworth, Richard Gray *and* Henry Lane *in* Ruſſia. 297.

80 *A letter of* M.Thomas Hawtree *to the* Moſcouie *Companies Agent* M.Henry Lane *at* Colmogro. 302.

81 *A letter of* M.Richard Gray, *one of the firſt Agents of the* Moſcouie *Company, to* M.Henry Lane *at* Moſco. 303.

82 *A letter of* Thomas Alcock *to* M.Richard Gray *and* Henry Lane, *Agents in* Moſcouia *from* Tirwill *in* Poland. 303.

83 *A letter of* M.Anthony Ienkinſon *vpon his returne from* Boghar *to* M.Henry Lane *reſident in* Vologda. 305.

84 *A letter of the* Moſcouie *Company to their Agents in* Ruſſia, M.Henry Lane, Chriſtopher Hudſon, *and* Thomas Glouer, *ſent in their ſeuenth voyage to* S.Nicolas. 305.

85 *Another letter to the aforeſaid parties.* 308.

86 *The maner of Iuſtice by lotts in* Ruſſia, *written by* M.Henry Lane. 309.

87 *The deſcription of* Ruſſia, *with the cuſtomes and maners of the inhabitants.* 315.

88 *Notes and obſeruations gathered by* Richard Iohnſon *of the ſeuerall wayes from* Ruſſia *to* Cathay *ouer-land.* 335.

89 *A letter of* Sigiſmund *king of* Polonia 1559. *vnto the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie.* 337.

90 *The letters of the Queenes Maieſtie written to the Emperour of* Ruſſia, *requeſting licence and ſafe-conduct for* Anthonie Ienkinſon, *to paſſe through his dominions into* Perſia. 338.

91 *The Queenes Maieſties letters to the great* Sophie *of* Perſia, *ſent by* M.Anth.Ienkinſon. 340.

92 *Inſtructions giuen by the Gouernours and Aſſiſtants of the* Moſcouie *Company, vnto* M.Anthonie Ienkinſon. 341.

93 *The priuileges giuen by* Obdoloucan *K. of* Hircania *to the Company of* Engliſh *merchants trading in* Ruſſia, *obteined by* M.Anthony Ienkinſon. 352.

94 *Certaine letters of* Arthur Edwards *written out of* Ruſſia, Media, *and* Perſia, *to the Company of the* Moſcouie *merchants in* London. 354, 355, 358, 361.

95 *The diſtance of diuers places in* Ruſſia. 363.

96 *The way and diſtances from* S.Nicolas *in* Ruſſia *to the* Caſpian *ſea.* 364.

97 *An Acte for the corporation of merchants Aduenturers for the diſcouering of newe trades, made in the eighth yeere of the Queenes Maieſtie.* 369.

98 *The priuileges granted by the Emperour of* Ruſſia *to the* Engliſh *merchants, obteined by* M.Anthony Ienkinſon. 373.

99 *A letter of* M.Henry Lane *to* M.Richard Hakluyt *concerning the firſt Ambaſſage from the* Ruſſian

Ruſſian *Emperour to our moſt gracious Queene* Elizabeth. 374.
100 *A letter of her Maieſtie, ſent by* Stephen Twerdico *and* Pheodata Pogorella, *Meſſengers of the Emperour of* Ruſſia, *vnto their maſter.* 375.
101 *The Ambaſſage of* M. Thomas Randolfe *Eſquier, from the Queenes Maieſtie to the Emperour of* Ruſſia. 376.
102 *The priuileges graunted to the* Engliſh *merchants, at* M.Randolfe *his ſute.* 378.
103 *A Commiſſion granted by* M.Randolfe *for a diſcouery to the Northeaſt by ſea.* 382.
104 *Instructions giuen to the diſcouerers for that action.* 383.
105 *Certaine letters in verſe, written out of* Moſcouia, *by* M.George Turberuile, *Secretary to* M. Randolfe, *touching the ſtate of the Countrey, and maners of the people.* 384.
106 *Notes concerning the fourth* Engliſh *voyage into* Perſia. 392.
107 *Obſeruations of the* Sophy *of* Perſia, *and of the Religion of the* Perſians. 397.
108 *A letter of* Richard Vſcombe *to* M.Henry Lane *touching the burning of the Citie of* Moſco *by the* Crimme Tartar. 402.
109 *The Ambaſſage of* M. Anthony Ienkinſon *from the Queenes Maieſtie to the Emperour of* Ruſſia, *Anno 1571.* 412.
110 *A briefe rehearſall of all the trauailes of* M.Anthony Ienkinſon. 411.
111 *A letter of* Iames Alday *to* M.Michael Locke *Agent in* London *for the* Moſcouie *Company touching a trade to be eſtabliſhed in* Lappia. 412.
112 *A note of all the neceſſary instruments and appurtenances belonging to the killing of the Whale.* 413.
113 *The depoſition of* William Burrough *to certeine Interrogatories mooued vnto him concerning the* Narue *and* Kegor. 414.
114 *The reaſons of* M. William Burrough *to diſſwade the vſe of a trade to the* Narue *by the way through* Sweden. 416.
115 *A remembrance of aduiſe giuen to the* Moſcouie *merchants, touching a voyage for* Cola *aboueſaid.* 416.
116 *An Epiſtle dedicatorie vnto the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, written by* M.William Burrough. 417.
117 *The Queenes Maieſties letters to* Shaugh Thamas *the great Sophy of* Perſia. 418.
118 *The Latitudes and Meridian Altitudes of diuers places in* Ruſſia, *from the North to the South.* 431.
119 *Directions giuen by* M.Richard Hakluyt *Eſquire, to* Morgan Hubblethorne *Dier, ſent into* Perſia. 432.
120 *A Commiſſion giuen by ſir* Rowland Heyward *knight, and* George Barne *Aldermen, and gouernours of the* Moſcouie *Company, to* Arthur Pet *and* Charles Iackman, *for the diſcouery by Sea towards* Cathay. 433.
121 *Rules and orders giuen to be obſerued by them in that Diſconery.* 435.
122 *Briefe aduiſes giuen by* M.Iohn Dee *to that purpoſe.* 437.
123 *Inſtructions giuen them by* Richard Hakluyt *Eſquire to that purpoſe alſo.* 437, 438.
124 *The letter of* Gerard. Mercator *to* Richard Hakluyt *of Oxford touching that diſcouery.* 443.
125 *Inſtructions giuen by the* Moſcouie *Company vnto* Richard Gibbs, William Biggat, Iohn Backhouſe, *&c. Maſters of their ſhips.* 453.
126 *The opinion of* M.William Burrough, *ſent to a friend requiring his iudgement for the fitteſt time of the departure of our ſhips toward* S.Nicolas *in* Ruſſia. 455.
127 *The Queenes Maieſties Commiſſion giuen to ſir* Ierome Bowes, *authorizing him her highneſſe Ambaſſadour with the Emperour of* Moſcouie. 455.
128 *The Queenes Maieſties letters written to the Emperour by ſir* Ierome Bowes *in his commendation.* 457.
129 *The diſcourſe of the Ambaſſage of ſir* Ierome Bowes *to the aforeſaid Emperour.* 458.
130 *The maner of preferring ſuites in* Ruſſia. 463.
131 *A letter of* M. Henry Lane *to* M. William Sanderſon *merchant of* London, *conteyning a briefe diſcourſe of all things paſſed in our Northren diſcoueries for the ſpace of 33. yeeres.* 464.
132 *The moſt ſolemne and magnificent Coronation of* Pheodor Iuanowich *Emperour of* Ruſſia, *ſet downe by* M.Ierome Horſey. 466.
133 *The Priuileges graunted by the newe Emperour, to the* Engliſh *merchants, and obteined by the foreſaid* Ierom Horſey. 470.
134 *The Ambaſſage of* M. Giles Fletcher, *Doctor of the Ciuil lawe, from her Maieſtie, to the Emperour of* Ruſſia. 473.

135 A notable deſcription of Ruſſia. 475, &c.
136 A ſpeciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Coſmographer M. John Baptiſta Ramuſius, concerning the Northeaſt paſſage. 495.
137 The Lord Boris Pheodorowich his letter to the right honourable William Burghley Lord high Treaſurer of England. 498.
138 The Queenes Maieſties letter to Pheodor Iuanowich, Emperour of Ruſſia. 499.
139 The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich. 501.
140 The L. Treaſurer ſir William Cecil his letter to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich. 502.
141 A letter of Pheodor Iuanowich to the Queenes Maieſtie. 502.
142 An other letter to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich. 503.
143 A ſecond letter from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich to the L. William Burghley. 504.
144 A moſt gracious letter of Priuileges giuen to the Engliſh merchants by Pheodor Iuanowich. 505.
145 The contents of M. Garlands Commiſſion vnto Thomas Simkinſon for the bringing of M. Iohn Dee to the Emperour of Ruſſia his Court. 508.
146 A letter to the right worſh. M. Iohn Dee Eſquier, conteyning the ſumme and effect of M. Garland his meſſage. 508.
147 A branch of a letter from Iohn Merick touching the death of Pheodor Iuanowich. 509.
148 A learned Epiſtle written vnto the famous Coſmographer M. Gerardus Mercator, concerning the Countreys, Riuers and Seas, towards the Northeaſt. 510.
149 The honourable teſtimonies of diuers ſtrangers touching the notable diſcoueries of the Engliſh, made in the North-eaſt parts. 513.
150 A briefe Commentarie of the true ſtate of Iſland. 515. & 550.
151 A letter written by the graue and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Biſhop of Holen in Iſland, concerning the ancient ſtate of Iſland and Gronland. 590.

THE FIRST VOLVME OF THE principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the North and Northeaſt quarters of the World, with the directions, letters, priuiledges, diſcourſes, and obſeruations incident to the ſame.

Certeine teſtimonies concerning K. *Arthur* and his conqueſts of the North regions, taken out of the hiſtorie of the Kings of *Britaine*, written by *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, and newly printed at Heidelberge, *Anno* 1587.

Lib. 9. *cap*. 10.

ANno Chriſti, 517. Arthurus, ſecundo regni ſui anno, ſubiugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, claſſem ſuam direxit in Iſlandiam, eámque debellato populo ſubiugauit. Exin diuulgato per cæteras inſulas rumore, quòd ei nulla Prouincia reſiſtere poterat, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius rex Orcadum vltrò venerunt, promiſſóque vectigali ſubiectionem fecerunt. Emenſa deinde hyeme, reuerſus eſt in Britanniam, ſtatúmque regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of Chriſt, 517. king Arthur in the ſecond yeere of his reigne, hauing ſubdued all parts of Ireland, ſailed with his fleet into Iſland, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his ſubiection. The rumour afterwards being ſpread thorowout all the other Iſlands, that no countrey was able to withſtand him, Doldauius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promiſing to pay him tribute. The Winter being ſpent, he returned into Britaine, and eſtabliſhing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the ſpace of twelue yeres.

Lib.9 *cap*.12.

MIſſis deinde in diuerſa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs, quàm ex collateralibus Inſulis Oceani, qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulò poſt: Ex collateralibus autem Inſulis, Guillaumurius rex Hyberniæ, Maluaſius rex Iſlandiæ, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, Gunnaſius rex Orchadum, Lot rex Noruegiæ, Aſchilius rex Danorum.

The ſame in Engliſh.

AFter that king Arthur ſending his meſſengers into diuers kingdomes, he ſummoned ſuch as were to come to his Court, aſwell out of France, as out of the adiacent Iſlands of the ſea, &c. and a little after: From thoſe adiacent Iſlands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Maluaſius king of Iſland, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnaſius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aſchilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9 *cap*. 19.

AT reges cæterarum Inſularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem equites habere, pedites quot quiſque debebat, promittunt, ita vt ex ſex Inſulis, videlicet, Hyberniæ, Iſlandiæ, Gotlandiæ, Orcadum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, ſexies viginti millia eſſent annumerata.

The ſame in Engliſh.

But the kings of the other Iſlands, becauſe it was not their cuſtome to breed vp horſes, promiſed the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to ſend: ſo that out of the ſix Iſlands, namely, of Ireland, Iſland, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had ſixe ſcore thouſand ſouldiers ſent him.

A teſtimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of *Britaine*, taken out of M. *Lambard* his Α᾿ρχαιονομία, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclytiſſimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animoſus, & miles illuſtris. Parum fuit ei regnum iſtud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britanniæ. Subiugauit igitur ſibi ſtrenuè Scantiam totam, quæ modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes inſulas vltra Scantiam, ſcz. Iſlandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ ſunt de appendicijs Norweiæ, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & inſulas Orientalis Oceani vſque Ruſſiam (in Lappa ſcilicet poſuit Orientalem metam regni Britanniæ) & multas inſulas vltra Scantiam, vſque dum ſub Septentrione, quæ ſunt de appendicibus Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Chriſtiani occultè. Arthurus autem Chriſtianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Chriſti ſemper inuiolatam cuſtodire, & ſuſcipere. Ceperunt vniuerſi proceres Norweiæ vxores ſuas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegienſes dicunt ſe exijſſe de gente & ſanguine regni huius. Impetrauit enim temporibus illis Arthurus rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata ſit Norweia, in perpetuum coronæ Britanniæ in augmentum regni huius, vocauítque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britannię. Hac verò de cauſa dicunt Norwegienſes, ſe debere in regno iſto cohabitare & dicunt ſe eſſe de corpore regni huius, ſcilicet de corona Britannię. Maluerunt enim manere in regno iſto, quàm in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorum arida eſt, & montuoſa, & ſterilis, & non ſunt ibi ſegetes niſi per loca. Iſta verò opulenta eſt, & fertilis, & creſcunt hic ſegetes, & cætera vniuerſa. Qua ex cauſa ſæpius per vices geſta ſunt bella atrociſſima inter Anglos & Norwegienſes, & interfecti ſunt innumerabiles. Occupauerunt verò Norwegienſes terras multas & inſulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt vnquam poſtea penitus euelli. Tandem modò confederati ſunt nobis fide, & ſacramento, & per vxores ſuas, quas poſtea ceperunt de ſanguine noſtro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum conſtituit, & eis conceſſit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noſter (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune conſilium totius regni. Qua de cauſa poſſent, & debent prędicti de cætero nobiſcum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, ſicut coniurati fratres noſtri.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ARthur which was ſometimes the moſt renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly ſubdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Iſlands beyond Norway, to wit, Iſland and Greenland, which are apperteining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Iſlands of the Eaſt ſea, euen vnto Ruſſia (in which Lapland he placed the Eaſterly bounds of his Brittiſh Empire) and many other Iſlands beyond Norway, euen vnder the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. Theſe people were wild and ſauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, becauſe all euill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Chriſtians liuing in ſecret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Chriſtian, and cauſed them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worſhip one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Chriſt onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norſes ſay, that they are deſcended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforeſayd king Arthur obteined alſo in thoſe dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway ſhould be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cauſe the Norſes ſay, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne natiue countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increaſe: for which cauſe many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Engliſhmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene ſlaine, & the Norſes haue poſſeſſed many lands and Iſlands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe poſſeſſe, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and ſacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For ſo the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted vnto them by the generall conſent of the whole kingdome, ſo that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing ſworne brethren.

A teſtimonie out of the foreſayd *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, concerning the conqueſts of *Malgo*, king of *England*. *Lib. 11. cap. 7.*

VOrtiporio ſucceſſit Malgo, omnium ferè Britanniæ pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulſor, robuſtus armis, largior cæteris, & vltra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Inſulam obtinuit, & ſex conprouinciales Oceani Iuſulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Iſlandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit diriſſimis prælijs poteſtati ſuæ.

The ſame in Engliſh.

MAlgo ſucceeded Vortiporius which was the goodlieſt man in perſon of all Britaine, a prince that expulſed many tyrants. He was ſtrong and valiant in warre, taller then moſt men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king alſo obteined the gouernment of the whole Iſland of Britaine, and by moſt ſharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the ſixe Iſlands of the Ocean ſea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Iſland, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

The conqueſt of the Iſles of *Angleſey* and *Man* by *Edwin* the *Saxon* king of *Northumberland* written in the ſecond Booke and fift Chapter of *Beda* his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of the Engliſh nation.

EDuinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id eſt, eius quæ ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuarios tantùm, necnòn & Menauias Britonum inſulas, quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam ſitæ ſunt, Anglorum ſubiecit poteſtati.

The ſame in Engliſh.

EDwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to ſay, of them which inhabit to the North of the riuer Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Iſle of Britaine, bare rule aſwell ouer the Engliſh as the Britiſh nation, except onely the people of Kent: who alſo brought in ſubiection vnder the Engliſh, the Iſles of Man and Angleſey, and the other Northweſterne Iſles of the Britons, which are ſituate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another teſtimonie alledged by *Beda* to the ſame purpoſe. *Lib. 2. cap. 9.*

ANno ab incarnatione Domini ſexcenteſimo viceſimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbrorum, hoc eſt, ea natio Anglorum quæ ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege ſuo Eduino, verbum fidei (prædicante Paulino, cuius ſupra meminimus) ſuſcepit: cui videlicèt regi in auſpicium ſuſcipiendæ fidei, & regni cœleſtis poteſtas, & terreni creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britanniæ fines, qua vel ipſorum vel Britonum Prouinciæ habitabantur, ſub ditione acceperit. Quin & Menauias inſulas (ſicut & ſupra docuimus) imperio ſubiugauit Anglorum. Quarum prior quæ ad auſtrum eſt, & ſitu amplior, & frugum prouentu atque vbertate fœlicior, nongentarum ſexaginta familiarum menſuram, iuxta æſtimationem Anglorum, ſecunda trecentarum & vltrà ſpatium tenet.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, ſixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, thoſe Engliſh people which inhabit on the North ſide of the riuer of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Chriſtian preaching and perſwaſion of Paulinus aboue mentioned, embraced the Goſpel. Under which king, after he had once accepted of the Chriſtian faith, the power both of the heauenly & of his earthly kingdome was inlarged; inſomuch, that he (which no Engliſh king had done before him) brought vnder his ſubiection all the prouinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the Engliſh men themſelues, or by the Britons. Moreouer, he ſubdued vnto the crowne of England (as we haue aboue ſignified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Weſterne Iſlands. The principall whereof being more commodiouſly and pleaſantly ſeated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the reſt, conteineth according to the eſtimation of the Engliſh, roome enough for 960. families, and the ſecond for 300. and aboue.

The voyage of *Bertus*, generall of an armie ſent into *Ireland* by *Ecfridus* king of *Northumberland*, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of *Beda* his Eccleſiaſticall Hyſtorie.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis ſexcenteſimo octogeſimo quarto, Ecfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum, miſſo Hiberniam cum excercitu duce Berto, vaſtauit miſerè gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum ſemper amiciſſimam, ita vt nec eccleſijs quidem aut monaſterijs manus parceret hoſtilis. At inſulani & quantum valuere armis arma repellebant, & inuocantes diuinæ auxilium pietatis cœlitus ſe vindicari continuis diù imprecationibus poſtulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei poſſidere non poſſint, creditum tamen eſt, quòd hi qui merito impietatis ſuæ maledicebantur, ocyùs Domino vindice, pœnas ſui reatus luerent.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland ſent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miſerably waſted that innocent nation being alwayes moſt friendly vnto the people of England, inſomuch that the fury of the enemy ſpared neither churches nor monaſteries. Howbeit the Iſlanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and crauing Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curſes, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit curſed ſpeakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithſtanding, that they which were accurſed for their impiety did not long eſcape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of *Octher* made to the Northeaſt parts beyond *Norway*, reported by himſelfe vnto *Alfred* the famous king of *England*, about the yere 890.

OCther ſaid, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furtheſt North of any other Norman. He ſayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the Weſt coaſt: and affirmed that the land, notwithſtanding it ſtretcheth marueilous farre towards the North, yet it is all deſert and not inhabited, vnleſſe it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coaſt, who liue by hunting all the Winter, and by fiſhing in Summer. He ſaid that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantaſie and deſire to prooue and know how farre that land ſtretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the deſert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coaſt, hauing vpon his ſteereboord alwayes the deſert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his courſe for the ſpace of 3. dayes. In which ſpace he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters vſe to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his courſe ſtill towards the North ſo farre as he was able to ſaile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceiued that the coaſt turned towards the Eaſt, or els the ſea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wiſt and remembred, that he was faine to ſtay till he had a Weſterne winde, and ſomewhat Northerly: and thence he ſailed plaine Eaſt along the coaſt ſtill ſo far as he was able in the ſpace of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he

Fynnes liue by hunting & fiſhing.

The place whither the whale hunters trauelle.

was compelled againe to ſtay till he had a full Northerly winde, forſomuch as the coaſt bowed thence directly towards the South, or at leaſt wiſe the ſea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: ſo that he ſailed thence along the coaſt continually full South, ſo farre as he could trauaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he diſcouered a mightie riuer which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which riuer he ſtayed his courſe, and in concluſion turned backe againe, for he durſt not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiuing that on the other ſide of the riuer the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the firſt peopled land that he had found ſince his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually thorowout all his voyage, he had euermore on his ſteereboord, a wilderneſſe and deſert countrey, except that in ſome places, he ſaw a few fiſhers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way vpon his leereboord was the maine ocean. The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithſtanding he was afrayed to go vpon ſhore. But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waſte, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue ſayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fiſhers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of ſtories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreyes adioyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth: forſomuch as he was not vpon land, nor ſaw any himſelfe. This onely he iudged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes ſpeake but one language. The principall purpoſe of his traueile this way, was to encreaſe the knowledge and diſcouerie of theſe coaſts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of fiſhing of ‖ horſewhales, which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought ſome at his returne vnto the king. Their ſkinnes are alſo very good to make cables for ſhippes, and ſo vſed. This kinde of whale is much leſſe in quantitie then other kindes, hauing not in length aboue ſeuen elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of moſt and beſt hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof ſome be 48. elles of length, and ſome 50. of which ſort he affirmed that he himſelfe was one of the ſixe, which in the ſpace of 3. dayes killed threeſcore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in ſuch riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth conſiſt. At the ſame time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6. were ſtall Rane Deere, a beaſt of great value, and marueilouſly eſteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. ſwine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horſes. Their principall wealth conſiſteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in ſkinnes of wilde beaſts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for ſhippes made of Whales or Seales ſkinnes. Euery man payeth according to his abilitie. The richeſt pay ordinarily 15. caſes of Marterns, 5. Rane Deere ſkinnes, and one Beare, ten buſhels of feathers, a coat of a Beares ſkinne, two cables threeſcore elles long a piece, the one made of Whales ſkin, the other of Seales.

The riuer of Duina of likelihood.

A Deſert countrey.

Fynnes.

Biarmia.

Terfynnes.

The Fynnes and Biarmes ſpeake one language.

‖ Or, morſſes, their teeth cōmended.

Vſe of yͤ Morſſes ſkinne for cables.

Sixe hundreth tame Deere.

The Fynnes tribute.

Note.

Cables of Whales and Seales ſkins.

He ſayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and ſmall. So much of it as either beareth any good paſture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coaſt, which notwithſtanding in ſome places is very rockie and ſtonie: and all Eaſtward, all along againſt the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in ſome places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadeſt toward the South, & the further it ſtretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore ſmaller and ſmaller. Towards the South it is peraduenture threeſcore miles in bredth or broader in ſome places: about the middeſt, 30. miles or aboue, and towards the North where it is ſmalleſt, he affirmeth that it proueth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. The mountaines be in breadth of ſuch quantitie, as a man is able to traueile ouer in a fortnight, and in ſome places no more then may be traueiled in ſixe dayes. Right ouer againſt this land, in the other ſide of the mountaines, ſomewhat towards the South, lieth Swethland, and againſt the ſame towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Queenes ſometimes paſſing the mountaines, inuade and ſpoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewiſe ſometimes ſpoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in ſundry places of freſh water, into the which the Queenes vſe to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer land, and thereby inuade and ſpoile the countrey of the Normans. Theſe boats of theirs be very little and very light.

A deſcription of Norway.

The bredth of the moũtaines of Norway.

Swethland.

Queeneland.

Boats caried on mẽs backs.

The voyage of *Octher* out of his countrey of *Halgoland* into the ſound of *Denmarke* vnto a port called *Hetha*, which ſeemeth to be *Wiſmer* or *Roſtorke*.

Octher ſayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the

‖ Or, ſtreight. It ſeemeth to be about Elſenborg.

The deſcription of the ſound of Denmarke.

Gotland.

Vandals.

Hetha but two dayes ſayling from Seland. It ſeemeth to be Wiſmer or Roſtocke.

South, there is a certeine ‖ port called Scirings hall, whither, he ſayth, that a man was not able to ſaile in a moneths ſpace, if he lay ſtill by night, although he had euery day a full winde. And he ſhall ſaile all the way along the coaſt, hauing on his ſteereboord, firſt Iutland and the Iſlands which lie betwixt this countrey & Iutland, ſtill along the coaſt of this countrey, till he come to Scirings hall, hauing it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is ſo broad, that a man cannot ſee ouer it: and on the other ſide againſt the ſame, is Gotland, and then Silland. This ſea ſtretcheth many hundreth miles vp into the land. From Scirings hall he ſayd that he ſailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of ‖ Wendels, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is ſubiect. And as he ſailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his ſteereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine ſea, for the ſpace of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arriued in Hetha, he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland, with diuers other Iſlands. In that countrey dwelt Engliſh men, before they came into this land. And theſe 2. dayes he had vpon his leerboord the Iſlands that are ſubiect to Denmarke.

‖ Within the ſound of Denmarke.

VVolſtans nauigation in the ‖ Eaſt ſea, from *Hetha* to *Truſco*, which is about *Dantzig*.

Bargenland, or Bornholme.

Wixel is the riuer that falleth into the ſea by Dantzig.

‖ Or, Pruſſia.

Fruſo.

‖ Or, Lituania.

WOlſtan ſayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arriued at Truſco, in the ſpace of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his ſhippe kept her courſe continually vnder ſaile. All this voyage Wenedland was ſtill vpon his ſteerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falſter, and Sconie: all which countreyes are ſubiect to Denmarke. Vpon his leerboord alſo, was Bargenland, which hath a priuate king, vnto whom it is ſubiect. Hauing left Bargenland, he paſſed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, hauing them on his leerboord: all which countreys are ſubiect to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way vpon his ſteerboord, vntil he came to Wixel mouth. Wixel is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is apperteining to the Eaſterlings: and the riuer of Wixel runneth out of ‖ Wenedland into Eaſtmeere, which Eaſtmeere is at the leaſt 15. miles in breadth. There runneth alſo another riuer called Ilſing from the Eaſt, and falleth into Eaſtmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is ſituated Fruſo. So that Ilſing comming out of ‖ Eaſtland, and Wixel out of Wenedland, fall both together into Eaſtmeere, and there Wixel depriueth Ilſing of his name, and runneth thence Weſt & North into the ſea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

The deſcription of Eaſtland.

Eaſtland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great ſtrife and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fiſh.

Mares milke a chiefe drinke.

The wealthieſt men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and ſlaues meade. There is no ale brewed among the Eaſterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

The nauigation of King *Edgar*, taken out of *Florentius Wigornienſis*, *Houeden*, and M. *Dee* his diſcourſe of the Brittiſh Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I Haue often times (ſayd he) and many wayes looked into the ſtate of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Chriſtian men commonly) being a ſtudie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpoſe ſomewhat anſwerable to a perfect Coſmographer, to finde himſelfe Coſmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one myſticall citie vniuerſall, and ſo conſequently to meditate of the Coſmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the King almightie, paſſing on very ſwiftly toward the moſt dreadfull and moſt comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (ſayd he) that if this Brittiſh Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, yer this, haue ſurpaſſed by iuſtice, and godly ſort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth ſince mans creation: and that to all ſuch purpoſes as to God are moſt acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, moſt honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (ſayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occaſion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, wherby we may yet once more (before all be vtterly paſt, and for euer) diſcreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Brittiſh monarchie, yet at the leaſt ſome ſuch notable portion thereof, as (al circumſtances duely and iuſtly

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appertaining to peace & amitie with forrein princes being offred & vſed) this may become the moſt peaceable, moſt rich, moſt puiſſant, & moſt floriſhing monarchie of al els (this day) in chriſtendome. Peaceable, I ſay, euen with the moſt part of the ſelfe ſame reſpects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by ſundry ſuch meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and vre triumphantly, whereupon his ſirname was Pacificus, moſt aptly and iuſtly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about ſix hundred yeeres paſt, the repreſentation of a great part of the ſelfe ſame Idæa, which from aboue onely, & by no mans deuiſe hath ſtreamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a ſubiect carefull for the godly proſperitie of this Britiſh Empire vnder our moſt peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, Ædgarus pacificus, Regni ſui proſpiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas ſibi robuſtas cõgregauit naues è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Auſtrali, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago cõſtituit, vt ad defenſionem regni ſui, contra exteras nationes, bellorũ diſcrimina ſuſtinerent. Flores Hiſtoriarum.

O wiſedome imperiall, moſt diligently to be imitated, videlicet, proſpicere, to foreſee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and alſo the peaceable enioying therof. O, of an incredible maſſe of treaſure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, ſeeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is hiſtorically mentioned to haue bene for the charges leuied: if in peace he himſelfe flouriſhed ſo wealthily: O marueilous politicall, & princely prudencie, in time of peace to foreſee, and preuent, (and that moſt puiſſantly, and inuincibly) all poſſible malice, fraude, force, and miſchiefe forrain. O moſt diſcreet liberalitie to ſuch excellent vſes, powring out his treaſure ſo abundantly. O faithfull Engliſh people (then,) and worthy ſubiects, of ſuch an Imperiall and godly Gouernour. O your true, and willing hearts, and bleſſed ready hands (then,) ſo to impart ſuch abundance of victuals for thoſe huge Nauies maintenance: ſo (I ſay) as neither dearth of famine, ſeemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to enſue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreaſonable enhaunſed by you, finding for their great ſales ſo good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this Britiſh Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

> Anglici orbis Baſileus, flos, & Decus Ædgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Perſis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arſaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni ſui cum fratre, & poſt 21. Idibus Iulij obijt, & apud Glaſcon ſepelitur. Charta Regis, Henrici ſecundi.

O Glaſtonbury, Glaſtonbury, the treaſurie of the carcaſes of ſo famous, and ſo many perſons (Quæ olim mater ſanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus ſanctorum, quam ab ipſis diſcipulis Domini, ædificatam fuiſſe venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) how lamentable is thy caſe nowe? howe hath hypocriſie and pride wrought thy deſolation? though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whoſe carcaſes are committed to thy cuſtody, yet that Apoſtolike Ioſeph, that triumphant Britiſh Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine ſorowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progreſſes, and yerely chiefe paſtimes were, the ſailing round about this whole Iſle of Albion, garded with his grand nauie of 4000. ſaile at the leaſt, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ſhips, for ſo it is anciently recorded.

> Idem quoque Ædgarus, 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, poſt feſtum Paſchale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem ſtatuit, ſic, æſtate Inſulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad ſui exercitium, & ad hoſtium fecit terrorem. Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis.

COuld, and would that peaceable & wiſe king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithſtanding miſtruſting his poſſible enemies, make his paſtimes ſo roially, politically, and triumphantly, with ſo many thouſand ſhips, and at the leaſt with ten times ſo many men as ſhips, and that yerely? and ſhall we being not aſſured of ſuch neighbors friendſhip, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, ſhall we (ſaid he) not iudge it ſome part of wiſdome, to imitate carefully in ſome litle proportion (though not with ſo many thouſands) the proſperous paſtimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea, proſperous paſtimes theſe may bee iuſtly counted, by which he alſo made euident to the whole world, that as he wiſely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this Britiſh Empire, ſo that he could and would royally, iuſtly, and triumphantly enioy the ſame, ſpite of the deuil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, ſo highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to paſſe, as the wiſeſt and godlieſt Prelates and counſellors of thoſe dayes (ſo counted of and recorded) coulde beſt aduiſe and direct him, or perchance, but ſincerely commend and ducifully incourage him in, he being of himſelfe ſo bent, as purpoſing firſt inuincibly to fortifie the chiefe and vttermoſt walles of his Iſlandiſh Monarchie, againſt all forreine encombrance poſſible. And in that fortification furthering and aſſuring to truſt beſt his owne ouerſight and iudgement, in peerely viewing the ſame in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his paſtime Imperiall, alſo in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all ſecuritie, hee might in Winter time (vacare) be at conuenient leiſure on land, chiefly to ſet foorth Gods due honour, and ſecondly to vnderſtand, and diligently to liſten to the cauſes and complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

> Habebat autem præterea conſuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias tranſire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & ſuorum ſtatuta decretorum, à principibus obſeruarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium paſſi, opprimerentur, diligenter inueſtigare ſolebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iuſtitiæ ſtudens, & Reipub. regníque vtilitati conſulens in vtroque. Hinc hoſtibus circumquáque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat ſubditorum.

Thus we ſee how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire ſuch proſperous ſecuritie, that his true and faithfull ſubiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and alſo at ſea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, ſafely and ſecurely employ their wits and trauels for the maruellous enriching of this kingdome, and pleaſuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our neceſſary vſes (and due ſtore reſerued) and likewiſe againe furniſhing the ſame with all neceſſary and not ſuperfluous forreine commodities, fet from farre or forrein countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly prouidence, Reipub. Regníq; vtilitati conſulens, &c. beſides with great vtilitie and profite publique foreſeene, and by his meanes enioyed, he himſelfe vſed moſt gladly the aduantage of that ſecuritie, in miniſtring of iuſtice, or cauſing the ſame to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not ſquemiſhly, frowningly or ſkornefully ſhunning the ragged and tattered ſleeue of any ſuppliant, holding vp to him a ſimple ſoiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contriued, or afrayde at, and timerouſly haſting from the ſickly pale face or feeble limmed ſuter, extreemely conſtrained ſo to ſpeake for himſelfe, nor partially ſmoothering his owne conſcience, to fauour or mainteine the foule fault and treſpaſſe vnlawfull of any his ſubiects, how mightie or neceſſary ſoeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made ſearch, leaſt Pauperes à potentibus pręiudicium paſſi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique ſecuritie frõ forrein foe abroad, and true loue of his owne ſubiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly ſpirit directing all his good purpoſes, cauſe iuſtice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flouriſh. For which his peaceable and proſperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, hee became not inſolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as ſome princes in other countreis haue made their liues Comicotragical) but with all his foreſaide inuincible Sea force, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with ſecuritie and Iuſtice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and moſt zealouſly bent to ſet foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creator, the heauenly and euerlaſting king, by ſuch principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God moſt acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him vndoubtedly teſtifie: As this, for one.

Ex charta fundationis Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Wigorniæ.

> Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui eſt rex Regum, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Baſileus omniúmq; Regum, Inſularum, Oceaníq; Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum quę infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipſi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium ſic ampliauit, & exaltauit ſuper regnum patrũ meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti ſunt à tempore Athelſtani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quę Britanniam incolunt, ſibi Armis ſubegit) nullus tamen eorũ vltra eius fines imperium ſuum dilatare aggreſſus eſt. Mihi autem conceſſit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Inſularum Oceani, cum ſuis marociſſimis Regibus, vſq; Noruegiam, maximámq; partem Hyberniæ, cum ſua nobiliſſima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno ſubiugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla ſubdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Chriſti gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius ſeruitium amplificare deuotus diſpoſui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunſtanum viz. Archiepiſcopum, Athelwoldum, & Oſwaldum epiſcopos (quos mihi patres ſpirituales, & Conſiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, ſecundum quod diſpoſui, effeci, &c.

And

And againe this in another Monument.

OMnipotentis Dei,&c. Ipſius nutu & gratia ſuffultus, Ego Ædgarus Baſileus dilectæ Inſulę Albionis, ſubditis nobis ſceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, ſtudioſus ſollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, noſtríſq; diebus (plus ęquo) ſeruitus eius tepeſcere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Fundatio Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Elienſis.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Baſileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis Thaumate confirmaui.

So that by all theſe rehearſed Records, it is moſt euident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of thoſe Monarchs, in whoſe handes (if life had ſuffiſed) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this Britiſh monarchie, might haue bene peaceably purchaſed in ſuch ſort, as the very bleſſing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our induſtrie to attaine to, and enioye the ſame by.

And though ſundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times paſt haue either by intent gone about, or by wiſe and valiant exploit, haue meetely well proſpered towards this Iſlandiſh appropriate ſupremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reaſonable meanes was vſed, or by humane wit, or induſtrie can be contriued, to al purpoſes ſufficient, but only by our ſea forces preuailing, and ſo by our inuincible enioying al within the ſea limites of our Britiſh royaltie contained.

To which incredible political myſterie attaining, no eaſier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the preſent and continuall ſeruice of threeſcore good and tall warlike ſhips, with twentie ſmaller barkes, and thoſe 80. ſhips (great and ſmal) with 6660. apt men furniſhed, and all ſingularly well appointed for ſeruice both on ſea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in ſuch circumſpect and diſcreet order, as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occaſion offered) may declare.

This grand nauie of peaceable king Edgar, of ſo many thouſand ſhips, and they furniſhed with an hundred thouſand men at the leaſt, with all the finall intents of thoſe ſea forces, ſo inuincible, continually mainteined, the order of the execution of their ſeruice, the godly and Imperial ſucceſſe thereof, are in a maner kingly leſſons and prophetical incouragements to vs left, euen now to bee as prouident for publique ſecuritie as he was, to be as ſkilful of our ſea right and royal limits, and wiſely to finde our ſelues as able to recouer and enioy the ſame as he was, who could not chuſe, but with the paſſing and yeerely ſayling about this Brittiſh Albion, with all the leſſer Iſles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuſe I ſay, but by ſuch ful and peaceable poſſeſſion, find himſelfe (according to right, and his hearts deſire) the true and ſoueraigne Monarch of all the Britiſh Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the leſſer Iſlands next adiacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious iewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the teſtimonie annexed of the ſtates and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the ſtile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before alſo remembred.

Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Baſileus, omniúmque Regum, Inſularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

Note the Queenes Maieſties royaltie ouer the Britiſh Ocean ſea, round about the Britiſh Empire.

The voyage of *Edmund* and *Edward* the ſonnes of King *Edmund Ironſide* into *Hungarie*, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by *Florentius Wigornienſis* pag. 391.

An. Dom. 1017.

DEdit conſilium Edricus Canuto regi, vt clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus ſibi videbatur, vt in Anglia perimerentur, paruo elapſo tempore, ad regem Suauorum occidendos miſit. Qui, licèt fœdus eſſet inter eos, precibus illius nullatenùs voluit acquieſcere, ſed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine miſit nutriendos vitæque reſeruandos. Quorum vnus ſcilicet Eadmundus proceſſu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus verò Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Chriſtinam Sanctimonialem, & Clitonem Eadgarum ſuſcepit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

EDric counſelled king Kanutus to murther the yong princes Edward and Edmund the ſonnes of King Edmund. But becauſe it ſeemed a thing very diſhonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee ſent them, after a ſhort ſpace, vnto the king of Sweden to be ſlaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no caſe condeſcend vnto Canutus his bloody requeſt, but ſent them vnto Salomon the king of Hungarie to be nouriſhed and preſerued aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in proceſſe of time there deceaſed. But Edward receiued to wife Agatha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Scots, and Chriſtina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar.

A Chronicle of the Kings of *Man*, taken out of M. *Camdens* Chorographie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1066. Edward King of England, of famous memory deceaſed, whom Harald ſonne of Godwin ſucceeded in his kingdome; againſt which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stainford bridge, where the Engliſh winning the fielde put all the Noruegians to flight: out of which flight one Godredus ſirnamed Crouan (the ſonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Iſland) repaired vnto Godred ſonne of Syrric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably enterteined by him.

Fingal.

In the very ſame yeere William the Conquerour ſubdued England, and Godred the ſonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceaſed, after whom ſucceeded his ſonne Fingal.

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ſhips, and ſailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquiſhed and put to flight. The ſecond time alſo hauing gathered his armie and ſhips together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, loſt the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time he aſſembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramſa, hid 300. of his men in a wood ſtanding vpon the ſide of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no ſooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themſelues and with great furie ſet vpon Godred. And in the midſt of the ſkirmiſh the foreſaid 300. men riſing out of their ambuſh, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, moleſted them ſo ſore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they ſaw ẏ they were ouercome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the ſea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramſa) and ſeeing the enemie ſo fiercely purſuing them on the other ſide, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beſeeched Godred to ſpare their liues. Then hee being mooued with compaſſion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, becauſe hee had bene of late ſuſtained and nouriſhed among them, ſounded a retreat and forbad his ſouldiers to make any longer purſuit. The day following Godred put his ſouldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themſelues and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and ſo returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleaſed them better to waſte the whole Iſland and to enrich themſelues with the commodities thereof, and ſo to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himſelfe with a fewe Iſlanders which had remained with him, tooke poſſeſſion of the South part of the Iſland, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them ſhould at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the ſaid ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that vnto this day the whole Iſland is the kings owne Fee-ſimple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. Alſo Godredus ſubdued Dublin vnto himſelfe & a great part of Laineſtir. And he ſo tamed the Scots, that none of them durſt build a ſhip or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Iſland called Yle. He left behinde him three ſonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus. Lagman being the eldeſt chalenged the kingdome and reigned ſeuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled againſt him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquiſh his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the croſſe, he went on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem, in which iourney alſo he died.

Boats hauing not paſt three yron nailes in them.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Iſlands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, ſent meſſengers vnto Murecardus O-Brien King of Irland, requeſting him that hee would ſend ſome wel-diſpoſed perſon of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus ſonne of

Godred were come to full age. The king moſt willingly condeſcended vnto their requeſt, and ſent vnto them one Dopnald the ſonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekeneſſe and modeſtie, hee ſhould gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vſurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and ſo he reigned very diſorderly for the ſpace of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Iſlands making a generall conſpiracie, banded themſelues againſt him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was ſent from the king of Norway, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdome of the Iſlands. And being come vnto the Iſland of Leodus, hee ſent meſſengers vnto all the princes of the Iſlands to come vnto him, commaunding them to aſſemble themſelues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane ſeaſon he and his companions ſpent their time in robbing and rioting, rauiſhed women and virgines, and addicted themſelues to filthy pleaſures and to the luſtes of the fleſh. And when theſe things were reported vnto the princes of the Iſlands, who had aſſembled themſelues to chuſe him king, being mightely incenſed thereat, they made haſte towards him, and comming vpon him in the night, they burnt the houſe wherein hee was, and ſlue both him and the reſt of his company, partly with ſword, and partly with fire.

Lewis.

In the yeere 1098. the abbey of S. Maries at Ciſtercium was founded. In the ſame yeere alſo Antiochia was taken by the Chriſtians, and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer, the ſame yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Santwat, and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were ſlaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras, chiefetaines of both parts.

The ſame yeere Magnus king of Norway, ſonne of Olauus, ſonne of Harald Harfagre, being deſirous to view the corps of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commaundement that his monument ſhould be opened. But the Biſhop and the Clergie withſtanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, cauſed the cophin to be opened. And when hee had ſeene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foreſaid King and Martyr, a ſudden feare came vpon him, and he departed with great haſte. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a viſion, ſaying: Chuſe (I ſay) vnto your ſelfe one of theſe two, either within 30. dayes to loſe your life with your kingdome, or elſe to depart from Norway and neuer to ſee it againe. The King ſo ſoone as he was awaked out of ſleepe, called his Princes and Senatours, and expounded the foreſaide viſion vnto them. And they alſo being aſtoniſhed thereat gaue him this counſell, that with all ſpeed he ſhould depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay cauſed a Nauie of 160. ſhips to be prouided, and ſo ſailed vnto the Iſlands of Orkney, which hee preſently ſubdued, and paſſing along through all the Iſlands and conquering them, at length he came vnto the Iſle of Man, where he was no ſooner arriued, but hee went vnto the Iſle of S. Patric to ſee the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, becauſe many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And ſeeing that it was a moſt beautifull Iſland, it pleaſed him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne ſelfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in ſuch awe, that he conſtrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his ſhore for the building of his fortes. Hee ſailed on further vnto the Iſle of Angleſey neere vnto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he ſlue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and ſo ſubdued the Iſland. But the Welſhmen preſented many gifts vnto him, and ſo bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he ſent his ſhooes, commaunding him that he ſhould cary them on his ſhoulders, vpon the birth-day of our Lord through the midſt of his Palace, in the ſight of his Embaſſadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them, that he was ſubiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Iriſhmen heard, they tooke it grieuouſly and diſdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduiſed, I had rather (ſaid he) not only beare his ſhooes, but eate his ſhooes, then that king Magnus ſhould deſtroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundement, and honourably enterteined his Embaſſadours. Many gifts alſo he ſent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the meſſengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the ſituation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoile, and of the holeſomneſſe of the aire. Magnus hearing theſe things was fully reſolued to conquer all Irland vnto himſelfe. And for the ſame purpoſe he commaunded that a Fleet ſhould be made ready. But he taking his voyage with ſixteene ſhips, & being deſirous to view the land, when he had vndiſcreetly departed from his Nauie, he was ſuddenly inuironed by the Iriſh, and was himſelfe ſlaine, together with all that were with him almoſt. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned ſixe yeeres. After his death the Princes of the Iſlands ſent for Olauus the ſonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England ſon vnto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olauus ſonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He tooke to wife Affrica the daughter of Ferguſius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of ‖ Herergaidel, which afterward occaſioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of the Iſlands. He begat foure ſonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus, and Olauus. ‖ Argile.

In the yeere 1134. Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Ruſſin. Alſo hee inriched with reuenues and indued with priuiledges al places of religion within his Iſlands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus yͤ ſon of Olauus ſailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably enterteined. The ſame yere the 3. ſonnes of Harald brother vnto Olauus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome reſorted vnto Man, and demaunded of the ſaid king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Iſlands. Which thing when the king heard, being deſirous to pacifie them, he anſwered that he would conſult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the conſultation ſhould bee kept, in the meane time thoſe miſcreants cōſpired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies aſſembled themſelues vnto the hauen towne called Ramſa, and they ſate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one ſide, and they with their confederates on the other ſide. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to ſlay the king, ſtoode a-ſide in the midſt of the houſe talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himſelfe about as if hee would haue ſaluted him, and lifting vp his
1143. glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. Now we hauing committed this outragious vilanie, within a ſhort ſpace they diuided the Iſland betweene themſelues, and gathering an armie together ſailed vnto Galway, intending to ſubdue that alſo; howbeit the people of Galway aſſembled themſelues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confuſion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the ſaid Iſland, ſome of them they ſlue, and the reſidue they baniſhed.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus ſonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds ſonnes and ſlue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and heereigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin ſent for him and created him king of Dublin, againſt whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and eucamping himſelfe at the citie called Coridelis, he ſent his brother Oſibel with 3000. horſemen vnto Dublin, who was ſlaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the reſt of his company being put to flight. Theſe things being thus finiſhed, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exerciſe tyrannie, diſinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whom one called Thorfinus the ſonne of Oter, being mightier then the reſt, went vnto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the ſonne of Sumerledus, king of the Iſlands, and ſubdued many of the ſaid Iſlands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming againſt him with 80. ſhips: and in the yeere
1156. 1156. vpon the night of the feaſt of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being ſlaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Iſlands among themſelues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this preſent time. And this was the cauſe of the ruine of the monarchie of the Iſlands, from which time the ſonnes of Sumerled inioyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ſhips, putting Godred to flight and waſting the Iſland: and Godred ſailed vnto Norway to ſeeke for aide againſt Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ſhips together; and arriued at Rhinfrin, intending to ſubdue all Scotland vnto himſelfe: howbeit, by Gods iuſt iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his ſonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was ſlaine. The very ſame yere there was a battel fought at Ramſa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the ſtratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vſurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The ſame yeere deceaſed Malcolme the king of Scots, and his brother William ſucceeded in the kingdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of Auguſt, before the riſing of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke ſailed into Irland, and ſubdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlſter vnto himſelfe. And at the ſame time alſo Viuianus legate frō the ſea of Rome came into Man, & cauſed king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen ſon of Murkartac king of Irlād, mother of Olauus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very ſame day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mireſcoge, where he built a Monaſtery: howbeit, in proceſſe of time, the ſaid land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Ruſſin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the ſon of Eacmarcat (a man deſcended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the abſence of the king, at the firſt conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the ſhoare, & ſlue about 30. perſons. Whereupon the very ſame day the Mannians arranging themſelues put him, & almoſt al his folowers to the ſword.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was eclipſed vpon the feaſt of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceaſed Godred king of the Iſlands, vpō the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next ſommer his body was tranſlated vnto the iſland of Hy. He left 3. ſonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he ordeined his ſonne Olauus to be his heire apparant, becauſe he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was ſcarce ten yeeres olde, ſent vnto the iſlands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the ſonne of Godred to reigne ouer the iſlands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the iſlands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two ſonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The ſame yere was the abbey of Ruſſin remooued vnto Dufglas, howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Ruſſin.

In the yere 1203. Michael biſhop of the iſlands deceaſed at Fontanas, and Nicholas ſucceeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlſter with an armie and encountered with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him priſoner & ſubdued Vlſter vnto himſelfe. Afterward he permitted the ſaid Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably enterteined by him, becauſe he was his ſonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of S. Mary de iugo domini, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the iſlands inuading Vlſter with a hundreth ſhips at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently beſiege the caſtle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy cōming vpō them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yere 1210. Engus the ſon of Sumerled & his 3. ſonnes were ſlaine.

At the ſame time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ſhips into Irland, and ſubdued it vnto himſelfe: and ſending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the iſle of Man, his ſouldiers almoſt vtterly waſted it in the ſpace of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time abſent from Man.

King Iohn paſſed into Irland with 500. ſailes.

In the yere 1217. deceaſed Nicolas biſhop of the iſlands, and was buried in Vlſter, in the houſe of Benchor, whom Reginald ſucceeded.

I thinke it not amiſſe to report ſomewhat more concerning the two foreſaid brethren *Reginaldus* and *Olauus*.

Reginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the iſland called Lodhus or Lewes, which is ſaide to be larger then the reſt of the iſlands, but almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants, becauſe it is ſo ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almoſt no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the moſt part vpon hunting and fiſhing. Olauus therefore went to take poſſeſſion of this Iſland, and dwelt therein leading a poore life: and when he ſaw that it would by no meanes ſuffice for the ſuſtentation of himſelfe & his folowers, hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the iſlands, & ſpake on this wiſe vnto him. My brother (ſaid he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of the iſlands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbeit becauſe the Lord had choſen you to beare the ſcepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue mee that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beſeech you to prouide mee ſome portion of land in the iſlands, whereby I may honeſtly liue.

Foꝛ the Iſland of Lewis which you gaue me is not ſufficient foꝛ my maintenance. Which his bꝛother Reginald hearing ſaid that he would conſult about the pꝛemiſſes. And on the moꝛow, when Olauus was ſent foꝛ to parle, Reginald cōmanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine pꝛiſoner: and Olauus remained in pꝛiſon almoſt foꝛ the ſpace of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceaſed, and Alexander his ſonne reigned in his ſtead. The foꝛeſaid William, befoꝛe his death, commanded that all pꝛiſoners ſhould be ſet at libertie. Olauus therefoꝛe being at libertie, came vnto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. Iames: and his bꝛother Reginald cauſed the ſaid Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, couſine german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the poſſeſſion of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the biſhop of the Iſlands hauing gathered a Synod, ſeparated Olauus and Godred his ſonne, and Lauon his wife, namely becauſe ſhee was couſin german vnto his foꝛmer wife. Afterward Olauus maried Scriſtina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Roſſe.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Iſlands being incenſed, ſent letters vnto the Iſland of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her ſonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which cōmandement Godred putting in pꝛactiſe, & entring the iſle of Lewis foꝛ yͤ ſame purpoſe, Olauus fled in a litle ſkiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Roſſe, & in the meane time Godred waſted the iſle of Lewis. At the very ſame time Pol the ſon of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the Iſlands, becauſe he would not conſent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Roſſe, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ſhip vnto Sky. To be ſhoꝛt, ſending certaine ſpies, they were infoꝛmed that Godred remained ſecure with a ſmal company in a certaine Iſle called yͤ iſle of S. Columba. And vniting vnto themſelues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanched 5. ſhips from the next ſea-ſhoꝛe, which was diſtant about the ſpace of 2. furlongs from the foꝛeſaid Iſland, they enuironed the ſaid Iſland on all ſides. Now Godred and his company riſing early in the moꝛning, and ſeeing themſelues beſet with their enemies on all ſides, they were vtterly aſtonied. Howbeit arming themſelues they began ſtoutly to make reſiſtance, but altogether in vaine. Foꝛ about 9. of the clocke in the moꝛning, Olauus and the foꝛeſaid vicount Pol, with al their ſouldiers, entred the Iſland, and hauing ſlaine all whom they found without the pꝛecincts of the Church, they appꝛehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Unto which action Olauus gaue not his cōſent, neither could he withſtand it, by reaſon of the foꝛenamed vicount the ſon of Boke. This was done in the yere of Chriſt 1223. The next ſommer folowing Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Iſlands, with a fleet of 32. ſhips ſailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwaht. At the ſame time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Iſlands betweene themſelues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & beſides his poꝛtion the name of a king alſo. Olauus hauing receiued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne poꝛtion of Iſlands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking vnto him Alanus loꝛd of Galway, together with his ſubiects of Man, ſailed vnto the Iſlands, that hee might take away that poꝛtion of ground from his bꝛother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and ſubdue it vnto himſelfe. Howbeit, by reaſon that the people of Man had no liſt to fight againſt Olauus oꝛ the Iſlanders, becauſe they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus loꝛd of Galway being defeated of their purpoſe, returned home vnto their owne. Within a ſhoꝛt ſpace after Reginald, vnder pꝛetenſe of going vnto the Court of his loꝛd the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus loꝛd of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, inſomuch that they ſent foꝛ Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

The Iſle of Man aduaunced to a kingdome.

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recouered his inheritance, that is to ſay the kingdome of Man and of the Iſlands, which Reginald his bꝛother had gouerned foꝛ the ſpace of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in ſafetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the ſtronger part of his people, ſailed vnto the Iſlands. A ſhoꝛt ſpace after Alanus loꝛd of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and waſted all the South part of Man, ſpoiled the Churches, and ſlue all the men whom they coulde take, inſomuch, that the South part of the ſaide Iſland was bꝛought almoſt into deſolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and ſubſtitutes in Man, which ſhould gather vp and render vnto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olauus came ſuddenly vpon them, chaced them away and recouered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were diſperſed and ſcattered abꝛoad, began to vnite themſelues, and to inhabite without feare. The ſame yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the ſudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with fiue ſhips,and burnt all the ſhips of his brother Olauus, and of the nobles of Man, at the Iſle of S.Patric,& concluding a peace with his brother,remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40.dayes: in the meane while hee allured vnto himſelfe all the Iſlanders vpon the South part of Man, who ſware,that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrarywiſe Olauus ioyned vnto himſelfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14.of February in the place called Tingualla,a field was fought betweene the two brothers,wherein Olauus got the victory,and Reginald the king was by certaine ſouldiers ſlaine without the knowledge of his brother. Alſo certaine pirates comming to the ſouth part of Man,waſted & ſpoiled it. The monkes of Ruſſin conueyed the body of K.Reginald,vnto the abbey of S.Mary of Fournes,& there he was interred in the place,which his owne ſelfe had choſen for the purpoſe.After theſe things Olauus traueiled vnto the king of Norway,but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the ſon of Owmund,to be king of the Iſlands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the ſaid Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the ſon of Reginald,and a multitude of Noruegians,vnto the iſlands: and while they were giuing an aſſault vnto a caſtle in the iſland of Both, Haco being hit with a ſtone died,and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230.came Olauus,with Godredus Don, & certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themſelues,Olauus ſtil reteining Man.Godred as he was going vnto the iſlands,was ſlaine in the iſle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the iſlands alſo.

In the yere 1237.vpon the 12.of the Kalends of Iune,Olauus ſonne of Godred king of Man deceaſed in the iſle of S.Patric,and was interred in the abbey of Ruſſin. He reigned 11.yeres,two while his brother was aliue,and nine after his death.

Haraldus his ſonne being of the age of 14.yeres, ſucceeded,and he reigned 12.yeeres.The firſt yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the iſlands, he appointed one Loglen his kinſman to be his deputie in Man.The Autumne folowing Haraldus ſent the three ſonnes of Nel,namely Dufgaldus,Torquellus,& Molmore,and his friend Ioſeph vnto Man,that they might enter into cõſultation together. Wherfore the 25.day they aſſembled themſelues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the ſonnes of Nel,and Loglen,they fel to blowes and ſkirmiſhed ſore on both parts, Molmore,Dufgald,and the foreſaid Ioſeph being all ſlaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the iſle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales,was himſelfe, together with Godred the ſonne of Olauus his pupil,and 40.others,drowned by ſhipwracke.

In the yere 1238.Goſpatricius and Gilleſcriſt ſonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man,expelling Harald out of the ſaid iſland,and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king,becauſe the ſaid Harald refuſed to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240.Goſpatricius deceaſed and was buried in the abbey of Ruſſin.

In the yere 1239.Haraldus went vnto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed vnto him,his heires and ſucceſſors,vnder ſeale, all the iſlands which his predeceſſors enioyed.

In the yeere 1242.Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man,and being honourably receiued by the inhabitants,he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yeere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father alſo before him) was knighted by the king of England,and ſo being rewarded with many gifts,he returned home. The ſame yere he was ſent for by the king of Norway,and he maried his daughter.And in the yere 1249.as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles,neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempeſt.

In the yere 1249.Reginald the ſonne of Olauus,and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next before the Nones of May: and vpon the 30. day of the ſame moneth he was ſlaine by Yuarus a ſouldier,and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine medow,neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S.Marie at Ruſſin.

The ſame yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ſhips,that he might conquere the iſlands vnto himſelfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the iſle of Kerwary,he deceaſed.

Then Haraldus the ſonne of Godred Don vſurped the name of a king ouer the iſlands,hee baniſhed alſo all the princes of Harald the ſonne of Olauus, and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their ſtead.

In the yere 1250,Haraldus the ſon of Godred Don being ſummoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway,who deteined him in priſon becauſe he had vniuſtly poſſeſſed the kingdome. The ſame yeere Magnus the ſonne of Olauus, and Iohn the ſonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwahr, which Iohn named himſelfe king, but the Mannians taking it grieuouſly, that Magnus was not nominated, draue them from their ſhoare,and many of the company periſhed by ſhipwracke.

In the yeere 1252.came Magnus the ſonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordeined king.The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway,& there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the ſonne of Olauus king of the Iſlands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In yͤ yeere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Ruſſin was dedicated by Richard biſhop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought, turning his courſe towards the Orcades he there deceaſed at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the ſonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Iſlands died at the caſtle of Ruſſin, and was buried at the Church of S. Mary at Ruſſin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Iſlands was tranſlated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

IN the yeere 1270. vpon the ſeuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the Sunne riſing there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were ſlaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine verſifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are ſlaine:
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your ſelues, for feare
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots beſieged the caſtle of Ruſſin, which Dingawy Dowil held againſt him, howbeit at the laſt the king tooke the caſtle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feaſt of Aſcenſion, Richard le Mandeuile and his brethren, with diuers great perſonages of Irland arriued at Ramaldwath, demaunding to haue victuals and money miniſtred vnto them, becauſe they had bene ſpoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians anſwered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded againſt them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the ſide of the hill called Warthſel, in the fielde where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Iriſh ouercame the people of Man, and ſpoiled the Iſland and the Abbey of Ruſſin alſo: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Iſland, lading their ſhips they returned home.

The mariage of the daughter of *Harald*, ſlaine by *VVilliam* the Conquerour, vnto *Ieruſlaus* duke of *Ruſſia*, taken out of the 9. Booke of the *Daniſh* hiſtorie written by *Saxo Grammaticus*. An. D. 1067.

1067. HAraldo cæſo, filij eius duo confeſtim in Daniam cum ſorore migrarunt. Quos Sweno, paterni illorum meriti oblitus conſanguineæ pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipſe Iariſlaus a ſuis eſt appellatus) nuptum dedit. Eidem poſtmodùm noſtri temporis dux, vt ſanguinis, ita & nominis hæres, ex filia nepos obuenit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, indè Eous ſanguis in ſalutarem noſtri principis ortum confluens communem ſtirpem duarum gentium ornamentum effecit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

HArald being ſlaine his two ſonnes with their ſiſter ſped themſelues immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deſerts receiued in moſt kinde and friendly maner, and beſtowed the yong damoſell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Ruſſia who was alſo called by his ſubiects Iariſlaus. Afterward the ſaid Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this preſent, who ſucceeded his predeceſſour both in lineal deſcent and in name alſo. Wherefore the Engliſh blood on the one ſide and the Ruſſian on the other ſide concurring to the ioyfull birth of our prince, cauſed that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

The ſtate of the ſhipping of the *Cinque ports* from *Edward* the Confeſſour and *William* the Conquerour, and ſo downe to *Edward* the firſt, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. *Willaim Lambert* in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the moſt ancient Records of England.

The antiquitie of the Ports.

1070.

I Finde in the booke of the generall ſuruey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour cauſed to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domeſday, becauſe (as Matthew Pariſe ſaith) it ſpared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Douer, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confeſſour, diſcharged almoſt of all maner of impoſitions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in conſideration of ſuch ſeruice to bee done by them vpon the Sea, as in their ſpecial titles ſhall hereafter appeare.

Whereupon, although I might ground reaſonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the hauen Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the ſame Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the firſt after the conqueſt (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of ſundry kings to the Fiue Ports, the ſame reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my ſelfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, ſeeing thoſe which were benefited, were wiſely contented (as the caſe then ſtood) to like better of his confirmation (or ſecond gift) then of K. Edwards firſt graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in ſome maner of array, I will firſt ſhewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Ports, and what others be now reputed in the ſame number: ſecondly, what ſeruice they ought, and did in times paſſed: and laſtly, what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what perſons they haue bene governed.

Which be the Fiue Ports.

If I ſhould iudge by the common, and rude verſe,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I muſt ſay, that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelſey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Fiue Ports: Againe, if I ſhould be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that ſend Barons to the Parliament, I muſt then adde to theſe, Haſtings and Hyde, for they alſo haue their Barons as well as the other: and ſo ſhould I not onely, not ſhew which were the firſt Fiue, but alſo (by addition of two others) increaſe both the number, and doubtfulneſſe. Leauing the verſe therefore, for ignorance of the authour and ſuſpition of his authoritie, and forſaking the Rolle (as not aſſured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder K. Henry the thirde, and wrote (aboue three hundreth yeeres ſince) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

1250.

He (I ſay) in the third booke of his worke, and treatiſe of the Crowne, taking in hand to ſhewe the articles inquirable before the Iuſtice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, becauſe they vſed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for adminiſtration of iuſtice) ſetteth forth a ſpecial fourme of writs, to be directed ſeuerally to the Bailifes of Haſtings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they ſhould cauſe twentie & foure of their Barons (for ſo their Burgeſſes, or townesmen, and the citizens of London likewiſe, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iuſtices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accuſtomed to do) there to enquire of ſuch points, as ſhould be giuen in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreouer, that forſomuch as there was oftentimes cõtention betweene them of the Fiue Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke and Donwich in Suffolke, there ſhould be ſeuerall writs directed to them alſo, returnable before the ſame Iuſtices at the ſame day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs ſommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the ſame townes had cauſe to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the ſaid Ports) he ſhould be at Shipwey to propound againſt him, and there to receiue according to law and Iuſtice.

Citizens were called Barons in old time.

Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the Fiue Ports.

1250.

Antiquitie of Yarmouth fiſhing.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to ſhew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firſts time, the place of aſſembly for the Plees of the Fiue Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controuerſie that long time ſince was betweene theſe Ports, and thoſe other townes: But purpoſely, and chiefly, to proue, that Haſtings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Ports, which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the ſame ratified by the great Chartre of England.

1268.

Neither yet will I deny, but that ſoone after, Winchelſey and Rie might be added to the number. For I find in an old recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelſey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monaſterie of Feſcampe in Normandie, and gaue therfore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Glouceſterſhire, & diuers other lands in Lincolneſhire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the ſecret affaires of his Realme, and partly becauſe of a great diſobedience & exceſſe, that was committed by the inhabitants of Wincelſey, againſt Prince Edward his eldeſt ſonne. And therefore, although I can eaſily be led to thinke, that he ſubmitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue ports, yet I ſtand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no puniſhment vnto them: but I ſuſpect rather, that his ſonne king Edward the firſt, (by whoſe encouragement and aide, olde Winchelſey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the firſt that apparelled them with that preeminence.

Winchelſey firſt builded. 1277.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Haſtings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the firſt Ports of priuiledge: which (becauſe they were 5. in number) both at the firſt gaue, and yet continue, to all the reſidue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelſey and Rie, be (ſince that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places alſo (for the eaſe of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the ſame.

Now therefore, ſomewhat ſhalbe ſaid, as touching the ſeruices that theſe Ports of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of veſſels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long ſeaſon, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, vpon their owne charges) ſhall partly appeare by that which we ſhall preſently ſay, and partly by that which ſhall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other ſhall bee made manifeſt by examples, drawne out of good hiſtories: and they both ſhall be teſtified by the words of king Edward the firſt in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domeſday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie veſſels at the ſea, whereof eche to be furniſhed with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and ſaith further, that Rumney and Sandwich anſwered the like ſeruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderſtoode of the like altogether, both in reſpect of the number and ſeruice, or of the (like) in reſpect of ſeruice, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one ſide, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the reſidue, ſhould likewiſe finde twentie veſſels a piece, then (as you ſhall anone ſee) the fiue Ports were ſubiect to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the firſt layd vpon them: And on the other ſide, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, ſeeing the Record of Domeſday it ſelfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this as I find it, I muſt elſe where make inquiſition for more lightſome proofe. And firſt I will haue recourſe to king Edward the firſt his Chartre in which I read, that At ech time that the King paſſeth ouer the ſea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and ſeuen ſhips, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed ſouldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne coſtes, by the ſpace of fifteene dayes together.

1278. And thus it ſtoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the ſixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre ſealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I haue ſeene two diuers teſtimonies, of which the firſt is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is inticuled, to haue bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the ſame king, by Stephan Pencheſter, then Conſtable of Douer Caſtle, in which the particular charge is ſet downe in this maner.

The Port of Haſtings ought to finde three ſhips.
The lowie of Peuenſey, one
Buluerhithe and Petit Iahn, one.
Bekesborne in Kent, ſeuen.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ſhips of Haſtings.
The towne of Rie, fiue.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the ſixt.
The towne of Winchelſey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, ſeuen.
The Port of Hythe, fiue.
The Port of Douer, nineteene.
The towne of Folkeſtone, ſeuen.
The towne of Feuerſham, ſeuen.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. fiue.

Theſe ſhips they ought to finde vpon fortie dayes ſummons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, beſides the Maſter of the Mariners: all which they ſhall likewiſe mainteine fiue dayes together at their owne coſts, giuing to the Maiſter ſixe pence by the day, to the Conſtable ſixe pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after thoſe fiue dayes ended, the King ſhall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Cuſtumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not ſo great antiquity as the firſt, yet ſeemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It ſtandeth thus.

These be the Fiue Ports of our ſoueraigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Ports haue not: Haſting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The ſeruices due by the ſame.

Haſting ſhall finde 21. ſhips, in euery ſhip 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seaſhore in Seford, Peuenſhey, Hodeney, Winchelſey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ſhips, in euery ſhip 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eaſtweſtone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ſhips, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Weſthethe.

Douer 21. ſhips, as Haſting before. To it perteine, Folkſtane, Feuerſham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattels.

Sandwich 5. ſhips, as Romenal, and Hethe. To it perteine Fordwich, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not for the ſoile, but for the goods.

Summe of ſhips 57.
Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This ſeruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon ſummons yerely (if it happen) by the ſpace of 15. dayes together, at their owne coſts and charges, accounting that for the firſt day of the 15. in which they ſhall ſpread their ſailes to goe towards thoſe parts that the King intendeth: and to ſerue ſo long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of theſe ancient notes, whereby your ſelfe may eaſily diſcerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reaſon of ſome latter diſpenſation) neither of theſe, haue place at this day, I muſt referre it to them that be priuie, and of counſell with the Ports: and ſo leauing this alſo vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefore (being deuiſed for the honourable tranſportation, and ſafe conduct of the Kings owne perſon or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely moſt diligently euer ſince that time performed, but furthermore alſo valiantly behaued themſelues againſt the enemie from time to time, in ſundrie exploits by water, as occaſion hath bene profered, or the neceſſitie of the Realme required.

The good ſeruice of the fiue Ports.

And amongſt other feats not vnworthy perpetuall remembrance, after ſuch time as Lewes (the eldeſt ſonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbiſhop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had ſent into France for new ſupply of ſouldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themiſtocles in the expoſition of the oracle of the woodden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ſhips, and meeting with eightie ſaile of French men vpon the high ſeas, gaue them a moſt couragious encounter, in which he tooke ſome, ſunke others, and diſcomfited the reſt. 1217.

King Henrie the third alſo, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the ſeruice of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the firſt in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull ſeruice (and eſpecially their good endeuour, then lately ſhewed againſt the Welſhmen) the principall cauſe, and motiue of that his liberall grant. 1278.

Furthermore, about the midſt of the reigne of the ſame king, an hundreth ſaile of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithſtanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and ſlew, and ſunke ſo many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (for a long ſeaſon after) in maner deſtitute, both of Seamen, and ſhipping. 1293.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the fourth, the nauie of the Fiue Ports, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, ſurpriſed one hundreth and twentie French ſhips, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no worſe merchandize. 1406.

The priuiledges of the fiue Ports.

The priuiledges of theſe Ports, being firſt granted by Edward the Confeſſour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increaſed by William Rufus, Henrie the ſecond, Richard the firſt, Henrie the third, and king Edward the firſt, be very great, conſidering either the honour and eaſe, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reaſon of the ſame.

Part of an Epiſtle written by one *Yuo* of *Narbona* vnto the Archbiſhop of *Burdeaux*, conteining the confeſſion of an Engliſhman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the *Tartars*, which had liued long among them, and was drawen along perforce with them in their expedition againſt *Hungarie*: Recorded by *Mathew Paris* in the yere of our Lord 1243.

THe Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reaſon of this and other ſinnes committed among vs Chriſtians, is become, as it were, a deſtroying enemie, and a dreadfull auenger. This I may iuſtly affirme to be true, becauſe an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whoſe law is lawleſſe, whoſe wrath is furious, euen the rod of Gods anger, ouerrunneth, and vtterly waſteth infinite countreyes, cruelly aboliſhing all things where they come, with fire and ſword. And this preſent Summer, the foreſayd nation, being called Tartars, departing out of Hungarie, which they had ſurpriſed by treaſon, layd ſiege vnto the very ſame ‖ towne, wherein I my ſelfe abode, with many thouſands of ſouldiers: neither were there in the ſayd towne on our part aboue 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. croſbowes, the captaine had left in garriſon. All theſe, out of certeine high places, beholding the enemies vaſte armie, and abhorring the beaſtly crueltie of Antichriſt his complices, ſignified foorthwith vnto their gouernour, the hideous lamentations of his Chriſtian ſubiects, who ſuddenly being ſurpriſed in all the prouince adioyning, without any difference or reſpect of condition, fortune, ſexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them deſtroyed: with whoſe carkeiſes, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutiſh and ſauage followers, glutting themſelues, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a ſtrange thing it is to conſider, that the greedie and rauenous vultures diſdeined to praye vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Olde, and deformed women they gaue, as it were, for dayly ſuſtenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but ſmothered them lamenting and ſcritching, with forced and vnnaturall rauiſhments. Like barbarous miſcreants, they quelled virgins vnto death, and cutting off their tender paps to preſent for deinties vnto their magiſtrates, they engorged themſelues with their bodies.

‖ Neuſtat.

Howbeit, their ſpials in the meane time diſcrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Auſtria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as ſome report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accurſed crew immediatly vaniſhed, and all thoſe Tartarian vagabonds retired themſelues into the diſtreſſed and vanquiſhed land of Hungarie; who as they came ſuddenly, ſo they departed alſo on the ſudden: which their celeritie cauſed all men to ſtand in horrour and aſtoniſhment: f them. But of the ſayd fugitiues, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Auſtria knew to be an Engliſh man, who was perpetually baniſhed out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the moſt tyrannicall king of the Tartars, had bene twiſe, as a meſſenger and interpreter, with the king of Hungarie, menacing and plainely foretelling thoſe miſchiefes which afterward happened, vnleſſe he would ſubmit himſelfe and his kingdome vnto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confeſſe the trueth, he made ſuch oathes and proteſtations, as (I thinke) the deuill himſelfe would haue beene truſted for. Firſt therefore he reported of himſelfe, that preſently after the time of his baniſhment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, hauing loſt all that he had in the citie of *Acon* at dice, euen in the midſt of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a ſhirt of ſacke, a paire of ſhooes, and a haire cappe onely, being ſhauen like a foole, and vttering an vncoth noiſe as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his iourney, and ſo traueiling many countreyes, and finding in diuers places friendly enterteinment, he prolonged his life in this maner for a ſeaſon, albeit euery day by raſhneſſe of ſpeech, and inconſtancie of heart, he endangered himſelfe to the deuill. At length, by reaſon of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in *Caldea*, he fell into a grieuous ſickeneſſe, inſomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backeward, and ſtaying there a while to refreſh himſelfe, he began (being ſomewhat learned) to commend to writing thoſe wordes which hee heard ſpoken, and within a ſhort ſpace, ſo aptly to pronounce, and to vtter them himſelfe, that he was reputed for a natiue member of that countrey: and by the ſame dexteritie he attained to manie languages. This man the *Tartars* hauing intelligence of by their ſpies, drew him perforce into their ſocietie: and being admoniſhed by an oracle or viſion, to challenge dominion ouer the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull ſeruice, by reaſon that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their maners and ſuperſtitions, of the diſpoſition and ſtature of their bodies, of their countrey and maner of fighting &c, he proteſted the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, haſty, deceitfull, and mercileſſe: notwithſtanding, by reaſon of the rigour and extremitie of puniſhments to be inflicted vpon them by their ſuperiours, they are reſtreined from brawlings, and from mutuall ſtrife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine ſet times they doe celebrate ſolemne feaſts vnto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themſelues alone. They eſteeme it none offence to exerciſe cruelty againſt rebels. They be hardie and ſtrong in the breaſt, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-ſhouldred, hauing flatte and ſhort noſes, long and ſharpe chinnes, their vpper iawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noſes, their eies inconſtant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame ioynts ſtrong with bones and ſinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and ſhort legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in ſtature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is ſupplied in the vpper parts of their bodies. Their countrey in olde time was a land vtterly deſert and waſte, ſituated far beyond *Chaldea*, from whence they haue expelled Lions, Beares, & ſuch like vntamed beaſts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beaſts being tanned, they vſe to ſhape for themſelues light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride faſt bound vnto their horſes, which are not very great in ſtature, but exceedingly ſtrong, and mainteined with little prouender. They vſe to fight conſtantly and valiantly with iauelins, maces, battle-axes, and ſwords. But ſpecially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are ſlightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themſelues from the combate, till they ſee the chiefe Standerd of their Generall giue backe. Vanquiſhed, they aske no fauour, and vanquiſhing, they ſhew no compaſſion. They all perſiſt in their purpoſe of ſubduing the whole world vnder their owne ſubiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being ſent before vpon light horſes to prepare a place for the armie to incampe in, will in the ſpace of one night gallop three dayes iourney. And ſuddenly diffuſing themſelues ouer an whole prouince, and ſurpriſing all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprouided, diſperſed, they make ſuch horrible ſlaughters, that the king or prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people ſufficient to wage battell againſt them, and to withſtand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cauſe, which indeed is no cauſe. Sometimes they ſay, that they will make a voyage to *Colen*, to fetch home the three wiſe kings into their owne countrey; ſometimes to puniſh the auarice and pride of the Romans, who oppreſſed them in times paſt; ſometimes to conquere barbarous and Northren nations; ſometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildneſſe; ſometimes to learne warlike feats and ſtratagems of the French; ſometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to ſuffice their huge multitudes; ſometimes againe in deriſion they ſay, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to S. *Iames* of *Galicia*. In regard of which ſleights and colluſions certaine vndiſcreet gouernors concluding a league with them, haue granted them free paſſage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithſtanding being violated, were an occaſion of ruine and deſtruction vnto the foreſayd gouernours &c.

Libellus hiſtoricus *Ioannis* de *Plano Carpini*, qui miſſus eſt Legatus ad *Tartaros* anno Domini 1246. ab *Innocentio* quarto Pontifice maximo.

Incipit Prologus in librum Tartarorum.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſens ſcriptum peruenerit, frater Ioannes de Plano Carpini ordinis fratrum minorum, Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, nuncius ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, Dei gratiam in præſenti, & gloriam in futuro, & de inimicis ſuis gloriam triumphalem. Cum ex mandato ſedis Apoſtolicę iremus ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, & ſciremus Domini Papæ & venerabilium Cardinalium voluntatem, elegimus priùs ad Tartaros proficiſci. Timebamus enim ne per eos in proximo eccleſiæ Dei periculum immineret. Et quamuis a Tartaris & alijs nationibus timeremus occidi, vel perpetuo captiuari, vel fame, ſiti,

algore, æſtu, contumelia, & laboribus nimijs, & quaſi vltra vires affligi (quæ omnia multo pluſquam prius credidimus, excepta morte vel captiuitate perpetua nobis multipliciter euenerunt) non tamen pepercimus nobis ipſis, vt voluntatem Dei ſecundum Domini papæ mandatum adimplere poſſemus, & vt proficeremus in aliquo Chriſtianis, vt ſaltem ſcita veraciter voluntate & intentione ipſorum, poſſemus illam patefacere Chriſtianis, ne forte ſubito irruentes inuenirent eos imparatos, ſicut peccatis hominum exigentibus alia vice contigit: & fecerunt magnam ſtragem in populo Chriſtiano. Vnde quæcunque pro veſtra vtilitate vobis ſcribimus ad cautelam, tanto ſecurius credere debetis, quanto nos cuncta vel ipſi vidimus oculis noſtris, qui per annum & quatuor menſes & amplius ambulauimus per ipſos & cum ipſis, ac fuimus inter eos, vel audiuimus a Chriſtianis qui ſunt inter eos captiui, & vt credimus fide dignis. Mandatum etiam a ſupremo pontifice habebamus, vt cuncta perſcrutaremur & videremus omnia diligenter. Quod tam nos quàm frater Benedictus eiuſdem ordinis qui noſtræ tribulationis fuit ſocius & interpres fecimus ſtudioſe.

Annus & 4. menſes & amplius.

Frater Benedictus Polonus comes Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De terra *Tartarorum*, ſitu, qualitate & diſpoſitione *aeris in eadem.* Cap. 1.

VOlentes igitur facta ſcribere Tartarorum, vt lectores facilius valeant inuenire, hoc modo per capitula deſcribemus. Primo quidem dicemus de terra. Secundo de hominibus. Tertio de ritu. Quarto de moribus. Quinto de ipſorum imperio. Sexto de bellis. Septimo de terris quas eorum dominio ſubiugauerunt. Octauo quomodo Bello occurratur eiſdem. De terra poſſumus hoc modo tractare. In principio quidem dicemus de ſitu ipſius: ſecundo de qualitate: tertio de diſpoſitione aeris in eadem. Terra vero prædicta eſt in ea poſita parte Orientis in qua oriens ſicut credimus coniungitur Aquiloni. Ab Oriente autem eſt terra poſita Kytaiorum & etiam ‖ Solangorū: a meridie ſunt terræ Saracenorum: inter Occidentem & Meridiem Huyrorum. Ab Occidente prouincia Naymanorum; ab Aquilone mari oceano circundatur. Hæc vero in parte aliqua eſt nimium montuoſa, & in aliqua eſt campeſtris, ſed fere tota admixta glarea, raro argilloſa, plurimum eſt arenoſa. In aliqua parte terræ ſunt aliquæ modicæ ſyluæ: alia vero eſt ſine lignis omnino. Cibaria autem ſua decoquunt & ſedent tam imperator quàm principes & alij ad ignem factum de boum ſtercoribus & equorum. Terra autem prædicta non eſt in parte centeſima fructuoſa: nec etiam poteſt fructum portare niſi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur. Sed aqua & riui ibidem ſunt pauci: flumina vero rariſſima vnde ibidem villæ ſunt paucæ; nec aliquæ ciuitates excepta vna, quæ eſſe dicitur ſatis bona; nos autem non vidimus illam, ſed fuimus prope ad dimidium diem, cum apud Syram ordam eſſemus, quæ curia eſt maior imperatoris eorum. Et licet aliàs infructuoſa ſit, quamuis non multum, tamen competenter eſt alendis pecoribus apta. Aer in ipſa eſt mirabiliter inordinatus. In media etiam ęſtate quando in alijs partibus ſolet calor maximus abundare; ibi ſunt tonitrua magna & fulgura, ex quibus homines quàm plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ niues. Ibi ſunt etiam frigidiſſimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempeſtates, quod cum labore vix poſſunt homines aliquando equitare. Vnde cum eſſemus apud ordam (ſic enim ſtationes imperatoris apud eos & principum appellantur) iacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti proſtrati, & propter pulueris multitudinem videre minime poteramus. In ea etiam in hyeme nuſquam pluit, ſed in ęſtate: & tam modicum, quod vix poteſt aliquando puluerem & radices graminum madidare. Grando etiam ibi ſæpe maxima cadit. Vnde eo tempore quando fuit electus, & in ſede regni poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia exiſtentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex ſubita reſolutione, ſicut plenius intelleximus, pluſquam centum & quadraginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt ſubmerſi. Res autem & habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. Ibi eſt etiam in ęſtate ſubito magnus calor, & repente maximum frigus. In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ niues, in alia autem paruæ. Et vt breuiter de terra concludam, magna eſt, ſed aliter, ſicut vidimus oculis noſtris, (quia per ipſam circuendam quinque menſibus & dimidium ambulauimus) multo vilior eſt, quàm dicere valeamus.

‖ Al. Sclangorum.

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syra orda, curia maior imperatoris.

Maximæ niues in æſtate in Tartaria.

Grando maxima.

Maxima inundatio ex ſubita grandinis reſolutione.

Iter quinq; menſium & dimidij.

De formis *Tartarorum*, de coniugio, veſtibus *& habitaculis eorum.* Cap. 2.

DIcto de terra, de hominibus eſt dicendum. Primò quidem formas deſcribemus perſonarum. Secundò de ipſorum coniugio ſupponemus. Tertio de veſtibus. Quarto de habitaculis. Quinto de rebus eorum. Forma perſonarum ab hominibus alijs eſt remota. Inter oculos

Veſtes.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

los enim & genas pluſquam alij homines ſunt lati. Genæ etiam ſatis prominent a maxillis. Graciles ſunt generaliter in cingulo exceptis quibuſdam paucis. Pene omnes ſunt mediocris ſtaturæ. Barba fere omnibus minime creſcit. Aliqui tamen in inferiori labio & in barba modicos habent crines, quos minime tondent. Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, & ab aure vna vſque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum ſimiliter omes radunt. Quæ raſurę coronæ prędictæ iunguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum ſimiliter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui ſunt inter coronam & prætaxatam raſuram creſcere vſque ad ſupercilia ſinunt. Et ex vtraque parte frontis tondendo pluſquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt creſcere vt mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, & ligant vnamquamque poſt aurem. Pedes etiam modicos habent. Vxores vero habet vnuſquiſque quot poteſt tenere. Aliquis centum, aliquis quinquaginta, aliquis decem, aliquis plures vel pauciores: & omnibus parentibus generaliter iunguntur, excepta matre, filia, vel ſorore ex eadem matre, ſororibus etiam ex patre: tamen & vxores patris poſt mortem ducere poſſunt. Vxorem etiam fratris alter frater iunior poſt mortem vel alius de parentela iunior ducere tenetur. Reliquas mulieres omnes ſine vlla differentia ducunt in vxores, & emunt eas valde pretioſè a parentibus ſuis. Poſt mortem maritorum de facili ad ſecunda coniugia non migrant, niſi quis velit ſuam nouercam ducere in vxorem. Veſtes autem tam virorum quàm mulierum ſunt vno modo formatæ. Pallijs, cappis vel capputijs vel pellibus non vtuntur. Tunicas vero portant de Bukeramo, purpura, vel Baldaquino in hunc modum formatas. A ſupremo vſque deorſum ſunt ſciſſæ, quia ante pectus duplicantur. A latere vero ſiniſtro vna, & in dextris tribus ligaturis nectuntur, & in latere & in ſiniſtro vſque ad brachiale ſunt ſciſſæ. Pellicia cuiuſcunque ſunt generis in eundem modum formantur: ſuperius tamen pellicium exterius habet pilum, ſed a poſterioribus eſt apertum. Habet autem caudulam vnam vſque ad genua retro. Mulieres vero quæ ſunt maritatæ habent tunicam valde amplam & vſq; ad terram ante ſciſſam. Super caput vero habent vnum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum, quod in longũ protenditur ad vnam vlnam, & in ſummitate deſinit in quadrum: & ab imo vſque ad ſummum in amplitudine ſemper creſcit, & in ſummitate habet virgulam vnam longam & gracilem de auro vel de argento ſeu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: & eſt aſſutum ſuper vnum pileolum, quod protenditur vſque ad humeros. Inſtrumentum prędictum eſt tectum de buccaramo, ſiue purpura vel baldaquino: ſine quo inſtrumento coram hominibus nunquam vadunt, & per hoc ab alijs mulieribus cognoſcuntur. Virgines autem & iuuenes mulieres cum magna difficultate a viris ſuis poſſunt diſcerni: quum per omnia veſtiuntur ut viri. Pileola habent alia quàm aliæ nationes, quorum formam intelligibiliter deſcribere non valemus. Stationes rotundas habent in modum tentorij præparatas, de virgis & baculis ſubtiliter factas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent feneſtrã vnde lumen ingreditur, & vt poſſit fumus exire: quia ſemper in medio ignem faciunt. Parietes autem & tecta filtro ſunt cooperta. Oſtia etiam de filtro ſunt facta. Quædam ſtationes ſunt magnæ, quædam paruæ, ſecundum dignitatem & hominum paruitatem. Quædam ſoluuntur ſubito & reparantur, & ſuper ſomarios deferuntur. Quædam diſſolui non poſſunt, ſed in curribus deferuntur. Minoribus autem in curru ad deferendum vnus bos; maioribus tres vel quatuor, vel etiam plures, vel quod eſt magis, ſufficiunt ad portandum. Quocunque vadunt ſiue ad bellum, ſiue aliàs, ſemper illas deferunt ſecum. In animalibus ſunt diuites valde: in camelis, bobus, ouibus, capris, & equis. Iumentorum tantam habent multitudinem, quantam non credimus habere totum mundum. Porcos & alias beſtias minime habent.

De cultu & de hijs quæ credunt eſſe peccata, & de diuinationibus *& ritu funeris eorum, & de purgationibus ſuorum* peccatorum. *Cap. 3.*

DIcto de hominibus, dicendum eſt de ritu: de quo tractabimus in hunc modum. Primo de cultu: ſecundo de hijs quæ credunt eſſe peccata: tertio de diuinationibus, & purgationibus peccatorum: quarto de ritu funeris. Vnum Deum credunt, quem credunt eſſe factorem omnium viſibilium & inuiſibilium. Et credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quàm pœnarum eſſe factorem: non tamen orationibus vel laudibus, aut ritu aliquo ipſum colunt. Nihilominus habent idola quædam de filtro ad imaginem hominis facta; & illa ponunt ex vtraque parte oſtij ſtationis, & ſubtus illa ponunt quiddam de filtro in modum vberis factum, & illa credunt eſſe pecorum cuſtodes, & eis beneficium lactis & pullorum præſtare. Alia vero faciunt de pannis ſericis, & illa multum honorant. Quidam ponunt illa in pulchro curru tecto ante oſtium ſtationis: & quicunq; aliquid de illo curru furatur, ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur.

Duces, millenarij, & centenarij vnum ſemper habent in medio ſtationis. Prædictis idolis offerunt primum lac omnis pecoris & iumenti. Et cum primo comedere & bibere incipiunt, primo offerunt eis de cibarijs & potu. Et cum beſtiam aliquam occidunt, offerunt cor Idolo quod eſt in curru in aliquo cypho, & dimittunt vſque mane, & tunc auferunt de præſentia eius, & decoquunt & manducant. Primo etiam imperatori faciunt idolum, quod ponunt in curru, ante quam ſtationem honorifice, ſicut vidimus ante ordam imperatoris iſtius, offerunt munera multa. Equos etiam offerunt ei, quos nullus audet aſcendere vſque ad mortem. Alia etiam animalia eidem offerunt. Quæ vero occidunt ad manducandum, nullum os ex eis confringunt, ſed igni comburunt. Et etiam ad meridiem tanquam Deo inclinant, & inclinare faciunt alios nobiles, qui ſe reddunt eiſdem. Vnde nuper contigit quod Michael, qui fuit vnus de magnis ducibus Ruſſiæ, cum iuiſſet ad ſe reddendum Bati, fecerunt eum prius inter duos ignes tranſire: Poſt hoc dixerunt, quod ad meridiem Cyngis can inclinaret. Qui reſpondit, quod Bati & ſeruis ſuis inclinaret libenter, ſed imagini hominis mortui non inclinaret, quia non licet hoc facere Chriſtianis. Et cum ſæpe diceretur, quod inclinaret, & nollet, mandauit ei prædictus per filium Ieroſlai, quod occideretur ſi non inclinaret. Qui reſpondit, quod potius vellet mori, quàm hoc faceret, quia non liceret. At ille ſatellitem vnum miſit, qui tam diu contra cor eum in ventre calce percuſſit, quouſque deficeret. Tunc quidam de ſuis militibus qui aſtabat confortans eum dixit: Eſto robuſtus quia hæc pœna non diu tibi durabit, & ſtatim ſequetur gaudium ſempiternum: poſt hoc fuit caput eius cultello præciſum. Militi vero prædicto fuit caput etiam cultello amputatum. Solem igitur lumina & ignem venerantur & adorant, & aquam & terram, eis ciborum & potus primitias offerentes, & mane potiſſime antequam comedant & bibant: quia de cultu Dei nullam legem obſeruant. Neminem cogunt ſuam fidem vel legem negare. Accidit tamen dum adhuc nuper eſſemus in terra quod Andreas dux de || Saruogle quæ eſt in Ruſſia fuit apud Bati accuſatus, quod educeret equos Tartarorum de terra & venderet aliàs. & cum tamen non eſſet probatum fuit occiſus: quod audiens iunior frater eius, venit cum vxore occiſi ad ducem prædictum Bati, volens ſupplicare, ne terra tolleretur eiſdem. Qui dixit par eſſe, quod vxorem fratris carnalis prædicti duceret in vxorē: & mulieri præcepit ducere illum in virum ſecundum conſuetudinem Tartarorum. Qui reſpondit, quod prius vellet occidi, quàm faceret contra legem. At ille nihilominus tradidit eam illi, quamuis renuerat quantum poſſet: & duxerunt ambo in lecto, & poſuerunt puerum ſuper illam plorantem & clamantem, & cogerunt eos commiſceri coactione non conditionali, ſed abſoluta. Quamuis de iuſtitia facienda, vel peccato cauendo nullam habeant legem, nihilominus tamen habent aliquas traditiones, quas dicunt eſſe peccata: quas confinxerunt ipſi & patres eorum. Vnum eſt, cultellum figere in igne, vel etiam quocunque modo tangere cum cultello: vel cum cultello extrahere carnes de caldario: iuxta ignem etiam incidere cum ſecuri. Credunt etiam quod ſic auferri caput debeat igni. Item appodiare ſe ad flagellum, cum quo percutitur equus: Ipſi enim calcaribus non vtuntur. Item tangere flagellis ſagittas. Item iuuenes aues occidere, vel accipere: cum frœno equum percutere. Item os cum oſſe alio frangere. Item lac vel aliquem potum vel cibum ſuper terram effundere. In ſtatione mingere, ſed ſi voluntarie facit occiditur: ſi autem aliter, oportet quod pecunia ſoluatur incantatori, qui purificet eos: faciat etiam ſtationem & ea quæ in ipſa ſunt inter duos ignes tranſire. Sed antequam ſic purificetur nullus audet intrare vel aliquid de ipſa portare. Item ſi alicui morſus imponitur, & deglutire non poteſt, & de ore ſuo eijcit eum, fit foramen ſub ſtatione, & extrahunt per illud foramen, & ſine vlla miſericordia occiditur. Item ſi aliquis calcat limen ſtationis alicuius ducis interficitur eodem modo. Et multa habent ſimilia, de quibus longum eſt narrare. Sed homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, res aliorum accipere, quocunque iniuſto modo fornicari, alijs hominibus iniuriari, facere contra Dei prohibitiones & Dei præcepta, nullum eſt peccatum apud eos. De vita ęterna & damnatione perpetua, nihil ſciunt. Credunt tamen quod poſt mortem in alio ſeculo viuant, greges multiplicent, comedant, bibant, & alia faciant, quæ in hoc ſeculo a viuentibus hominibus fiunt. Diuinationibus, augurijs, aruſpicijs, veneficijs, incantationibus multum intendunt. Et cum a dæmonibus ipſis reſpondetur, credunt quod Deus ipſis loquatur, quem Deum vocant Itoga: ſed Comani Cham, id eſt, imperatorem ipſum appellant, quem mirabiliter timent & reuerentur: ac oblationes offerunt multas, & primitias cibi & potus. Secundum autem reſponſa ipſius faciunt vniuerſa. In principio etiam lunationis vel plenilunio incipiunt quicquid noui agere volunt. Vnde illam magnum imperatorem appellant, eique genua flectunt & deprecantur. Solem dicunt eſſe matrem lunæ, eo quod lumen a ſole recipiat. Et vt breuiter dicam per ignem credunt omnia purificari. Vnde cum nuncij veniunt ad eos, vel principes, vel qualeſcunq; perſonæ, oportet ipſos & munera quę portant per duos ignes tranſire, vt purificentur. Item ſi cadit ignis de cœlo ſuper pecora, vel ſuper homines, quod ibidem

Martyrium Michaelis ducis Ruſſiæ.

|| Vel, Sciruogle. Andreas dux Ruſſię.

De ſuperſtitioſis traditionibus eorum.
Ἐθελοθρησκεία.

ἀθεότης.

Cultus lunę.

ſæpe contingit, ſiue aliquid talium euenerit eis, per quod immundos ſeu infortunatos ſe reputant, oportet ſimiliter per incantatores mundari. Et quaſi omnem ſpem ſuam in talibus poſuerunt. Quando aliquis eorum infirmatur, ponitur in ſtatione eius vna haſta, & contra illam filtrum circumuoluitur nigrum: & ex tunc nullus audet alienus poſtes ſtationum intrare. Et quando incipit agonizare, omnes recedunt ab eo; quoniam nullus de ijs qui morti eius aſſiſtunt, poteſt ordam alicuius ducis vel imperatoris vſq; ad nouam lunationem intrare. Cum autem mortuus eſt, ſi eſt de maioribus, ſepelitur occulte in campo vbi placuerit: ſepelitur autem cum ſtatione ſedendo in medio eius, & ponunt menſam ante eum, & alueum carnibus plenum, & cyphum lactis iumentini: Sepelitur autem cum eo vnum iumentum cum pullo, & equus cum fræno & ſella: & alium equum comedunt & ſtramine corium implent, & ſuper duo vel quatuor ligna altius ponunt, vt habeat in alio mundo ſtationem vbi moretur, & iumentum de quo lac habeat, & poſſit ſibi equos multiplicare, & equos etiam in quibus valeat equitare. Aurum & argentum ſepeliunt eodem modo cum ipſo. Currus in quo ducitur frangitur, & ſtatio ſua deſtruitur, nec nomen proprium eius vſque ad tertiam generationem audet aliquis nominare. Alius etiam eſt modus ſepeliendi quoſdam maiores. Vaditur in campo occultè, & ibi gramina remouent cum radicibus, & faciunt foueam magnam, & in latere illius foueæ faciunt vnam ſub terra, & illum ſeruum quem habet dilectum ponunt ſub eo, qui iacet tam diu ſub eo donec incipit agonizare, deinde extrahunt eum vt valeat reſpirare, & ſic faciunt ter. Et ſi euadet, poſtea eſt liber, & facit quicquid ei placuerit, & eſt magnus in ſtatione, ac inter parentes illius. Mortuum autem ponunt in foueam, quæ eſt in latere facta cum his quæ ſuperius dicta ſunt. Deinde replent foueam quæ eſt ante foueam ſuam, & deſuper gramina ponunt, vt fuerant prius, ad hoc, ne locus vlterius valeat inueniri. Alia faciunt vt dictum eſt. In terra eorum ſunt cœmeteria duo. Vnum in quo ſepeliuntur imperatores, duces & nobiles omnes: & vbicunque moriuntur, ſi congruè fieri poteſt, illuc deferuntur. Sepelitur autem cum eis aurum & argentum multum. Aliud eſt in quo ſepeliuntur illi qui in Hungaria interfecti fuerunt: multi enim ibidem occiſi fuerunt. Ad illa cœmeteria nullus audet accedere præter cuſtodes, qui ad cuſtodiendum poſiti ſunt ibidem. Et ſi aliquis acceſſerit, capitur, ſpoliatur & verberatur, & valde malè tractatur. Vnde nos ipſi neſcientes intrauimus terminos cœmeterij eorum qui in Hungaria occiſi fuerunt, & venerunt ſuper nos ſagittæ volantes: ſed quia eramus nuncij conſuetudinem terræ neſcientes, nos liberos dimiſerunt abire. Parentes autem & omnes alij qui morantur in ſtationibus ſuis oportet purificari per ignem: quæ purificatio fit hoc modo. Faciunt duos ignes, & duas haſtas ponunt iuxta ignes, & vnam cordam in ſummitate haſtarum: & ligant ſuper cordam illam quaſdam ſciſſuras de buccharamo: ſub qua corda & ligaturis inter illos duos ignes tranſeunt homines, beſtiæ & ſtationes: Et ſunt duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, & quędam carmina recitantes. Et ſi aliqui currus ibi franguntur, vel etiam res ibi cadunt aliquæ, incantatores accipiunt. Et ſi aliquis occiditur à tonitruo, omnes illos homines qui morantur in ſtationibus illis, oportet prædicto modo ignes tranſire. Statio, lectus, filtra, currus, veſtes, & quicquid talium habuerint, a nullo tanguntur, ſed tanquam immunda ab omnibus reſpuuntur.

Ritus funebris.

Idem mos ſepeliendi fere in Florida.

Luſtrationis ritus.

De conſuetudinibus bonis & malis & cibis *eorum. Cap. 4.*

DIcto de ritu, dicendum eſt de moribus: de quibus tractabimus hoc modo. Primo dicemus de bonis, ſecundo de malis: tertio de conſuetudinibus: quarto de cibis. Prędicti homines, ſcilicet Tartari ſunt magis obedientes Dominis ſuis, quàm aliqui homines in hoc mundo, ſiue religioſi, ſiue ſeculares: & magis reuerentur eoſdem: neq; de facili mentiuntur eis. Verbis ad inuicem rarò aut nunquam contendunt, factis verò nunquam. Bella, rixæ, vulnera, homicidia inter eos non contingunt. Prędones & fures magnarum rerum non inueniuntur inter eos. Vnde ſtationes & currus eorum, vbi habent theſaurum ſuum ſeris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliquæ beſtiæ perduntur, quicunque inuenerit eas vel dimittit ſic eſſe, vel ducit eas ad homines illos, qui poſiti ſunt ad hoc. Homines autem quorum ſunt beſtiæ apud eoſdem illas requirunt, & abſque vlla difficultate recipiunt illas. Vnus alium ſatis honorat: & ad inuicem ſunt ſatis familiares: Et cibaria quamuis inter illos ſint pauca, tamen inter ſe ſatis competenter communicant illa; & ſatis ſunt ſufferentes. Vnde quum ieiunant vno die vel duobus diebus nihil comedentes omninò de facili non videntur impatientes, ſed cantant & ludunt quaſi comederunt bene. In equitando multum ſuſtinent frigus, & calorem nimium patiuntur. Non ſunt homines delicati. Inuidi ad inuicem non videntur. Inter eos quaſi nulla placita ſunt: nullus alium ſpernit, ſed iuuat & promouet quantum congruè poteſt. Mulieres eorum ſunt caſtæ: nec de im-

Obedientia.

Abſtinentia.

Comitas.

Temperantia.

Caſtitas mulierum.

Inſolentia aduerſus exteros.

Iracundia.
Mendacitas.

Fraudulentia.
Sordes.

Temulentia.

Extortio.
Crudelitas.

Cibi.

Pœna adulterij.

Furti.
Arcani euulgati.

Πολυγαμία.

pudicitia earum inter eas aliquid auditur. Verba tamen quædam ex eis in ioco ſatis habent turpia & impudica. Seditiones verò inter eas rarò vel nunquam audiuntur. Et quamuis multum inebrientur, in ebrietate ſua tamen verbis vel facto nunquam contendunt. Nunc de malis moribus eorum eſt ſupponendum. Superbiſſimi alijs hominibus ſunt, & deſpiciunt omnes: ideò quaſi pro nihilo reputant, ſiue nobiles ſint, ſiue ignobiles. Vidimus enim in curia Imperatoris nobilem virum Ieroſlaum, magnum Ducem Ruſſiæ, filium etiam Regis & Reginæ Georgiæ, & Soldanos multos, duces etiam Soldanorum nullum honorem debitum recipere inter eos. Sed Tartari qui erant eis aſſignati, quantumcunq; erant viles, antecedebant eos, & ſemper primum locum & ſummum tenebant: immò ſæpè oportebat eos poſt eorum poſteriora ſedere. Iracundi multum & indignantis naturæ ſunt: & etiam alijs hominibus plus ſunt mendaces, & ferè nulla veritas inuenitur in eis. In principio quidem ſunt blandi, ſed in fine pungunt vt ſcorpio. Subdoli ſunt & fraudulenti, & ſi poſſunt aſtutia circumueniunt omnes. Homines ſunt immundi, ſumendo cibum & potum, & alijs factis ſuis. Qui cum volunt aliquid mali facere alijs hominibus, miro modo occultant, vt præuidere non poſſint, vel contra eorum aſtutias remedium inuenire. Ebrietas honorabilis eſt apud eos: & quum multum quis bibit, ibidem reijcit, nec propter hoc dimittit quin iterum bibat. Valdè ſunt cupidi & auari, exactores maximi ad petendum: tenaciſſimi retentores, & parciſſimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occiſio pro nihilo eſt apud illos. Et, vt breuiter dicam, omnes mali mores eorum propter prolixitatē in ſcripto redigi non poſſunt. Cibi eorum ſunt omnia quæ mandi poſſunt. Comedunt canes, lupos, vulpes, & equos; & in neceſſitate carnes humanas. Vnde quando pugnauerunt contra quandam ciuitatem Kytaorum, vbi morabatur imperator ipſorum; eam obſederunt tam diu, quod defecerunt ipſis Tartaris omninò expenſæ. Et quia non habebant quòd manducarent omninò, tunc accipiebatur de decem hominibus vnus ad manducandum. Abluuiones etiam quæ egrediuntur de iumentis cum pullis manducant. Imò vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare: vidimus etiam eos comedere mures. Menſalibus & manutergijs non vtuntur: panē non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud niſi carnes: & tam paucas habent, quòd aliæ nationes vix inde viuere poſſent. Cum pinguedine carnium multum polluunt manus: quando verò comederunt, tunc manus ad ocreas ſuas, vel ad gramina, vel ad aliquid talium tergunt. Solent etiā honeſtiores habere aliquos panniculos paruos, cum quibus vltimo tergunt manus, quando carnes manducarunt. Cibum vnus eorum incidit, & alius accipit cum puncto cultelli morſellos, & vnicuiq; prębet, quibuſdā plus, quibuſdam minus, ſecundum quod plus vel minus volunt eos honorare. Scutellas non lauant, & ſi aliquando cum brodio lauant carnium, iterum cum carnibus in olla reponunt. Ollas etiā vel caldaria, vel alia vaſa ad hoc deputata ſi abluunt, ſimili modo lauant. Apud eos eſt magnum peccatum, ſi de cibo vel potu perire permittatur aliquid. Vnde oſſa, niſi priùs extrahatur medulla, dari canibus non permittunt. Veſtes etiam non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec deſinant. Lac iumentinum bibunt in maxima quantitate ſi habent: bibunt etiam ouinum, caprinum, vaccinum, & camelorum. Vinum, ceruiſiam, & medonem non habent, niſi ab alijs nationibus mittatur, vel donetur eiſdem. In hyeme, niſi diuites ſint, lac iumentinum non habent. Milliū cum aqua decoquunt, quod tā tenue faciunt, quòd non comedere ſed bibere poſſunt. Et vnuſquiſq; ex eis bibit cyphum vnum vel duos in mane, & nil plus in die māducant. In ſero vnicuiq; parum de carnibus datur, & brodium de carnibus bibunt. In æſtate autem, quia tunc habent ſatis de lacte iumentino carnes rarò māducant, niſi fortè donentur eis, aut venatione aliquam beſtiam ceperint, ſiue auem. Legem etiam ſiue conſuetudinē habent occidendi virum & mulierem quos in adulterio inuenerint manifeſtè. Similiter & virginem ſi fornicata fuerit, mulierē occidunt & virum. Si aliquis inuenitur in præda vel in furto manifeſto in terra poteſtatis eorū ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Item ſi aliquis eorum deundat cōſilium, maximè quando volunt ire ad bellum, centū plagę dantur ſuper poſteriora, quanto maiores dare cum baculo magno vnus ruſticus poteſt. Item quando aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo à ſuis maioribus non parcitur eis, ſed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Item inter filium concubinæ & vxoris nulla eſt differentia, ſed dat pater vnicuiq; eorum quod vult, et ſi eſt de genere ducum, ita eſt dux filius concubinæ, ſicut filius legitimus. Et cum vnus Tartarus habet multas vxores, vnaquæq; per ſe ſuam ſtationem, & familiam habet: & cum vna comedit, & bibit, & dormit vna die, & altera die cum alia. Vna tamen ex ipſis maior eſt inter alias, & frequentius cum illa quam cum alijs commoratur. Et cum tam multæ ſint inter ſe tamen de facili non contendunt. Viri nihil operantur omninò exceptis ſagittis: & etiam de gregibus aliquantulam habent curam, ſed venantur, & exercent ſe ad ſagittandum: Omnes enim à paruo vſque ad magnum ſagittarij ſunt & boni. Et ſtatim pueri eorum, cum ſunt duorum annorum vel trium, incipiunt equitare. Equos eorum regunt & currunt in eis: & dantur eis arcus ſecundùm ſuam ætatem, & inſtruunt ad ſagittandum. Agiles enim ſunt & audaces valdè. Virgines & mulieres equitant, & agiliter in equis currunt vt viri. Vidimus enim eas arcus & pharetras portare. Et tam viri quàm mulieres diu in equitando poſſunt durare. Breuiſſimas habent ſtrepas: equos valdè cuſtodiunt: imo rerum omnium ſunt magni conſeruatores. Mulieres eorum omnia operantur. Pellicia, veſtes, calceos, ocreas, & omnia opera quæ de corio fiunt. Currus etiam ducunt & reparant, camelos onerant, & velociſſimæ ſunt & ſtrenuæ in omnibus operibus ſuis: fœmoralibus omnes vtuntur: aliquæ, ſicut viri, ſagittant.

Fœminæ Metę incognitæ eodem modo veſtiuntur

De ipſorum Imperio. *Cap.* 5.

DIcto de eorum conſuetudinibus, dicendum eſt de eorum imperio. Et primò de ipſius principio. Secundò de principibus eius. Tertio de dominio Imperatoris & principum. Terra quædam eſt in partibus Orientis, de qua dictum eſt ſuprà, quæ Mongol nominatur. Hæc terra quondam quatuor populos habuit. Et vnus Yeka-Mongol, id eſt, magni Mongali vocabatur. Secundus Sumongol, id eſt Aquatici Mongali. Ipſi autem ſeipſos Tartaros appellabant, à quodam fluuio, qui currit per terram eorum, qui Tartar nominatur. Alius appellatur Merkat, quartus Metrit. Hij populi omnes vnam formam perſonarum, & vnam linguam habebant: quamuis inter ſe per principes & prouincias eſſent diuiſi. In terra Yeka-Mongol fuit qui vocabatur Cyngis. Iſte incepit eſſe robuſtus venator coram Domino. Didicit enim homines furari, rapere, prædari. Ibat autem ad alias terras, & quoſcunque potuit capere, & ſibi aſſociare non demittebat: homines verò ſuæ gentis ad ſe inclinabat, qui tanquam ducem ipſum ſequebantur ad omnia malefacta. Hic autem incepit pugnare cum Sumongal, ſiue Tartaris, poſtquam homines aggregauerat ſibi, & interfecit ducem eorum, & multo bello omnes Tartaros ſibi ſubiugauit & in ſuam ſeruitutem redegit. Poſt hæc cum omnibus his pugnauit, cum Merkat, qui erant poſiti iuxta terram Tartarorum, quos etiam bello ſibi ſubiecit: Inde procedens pugnauit contra Metritas, & etiam illos deuicit. Audientes itaque Naymani, quod Cyngis erat taliter eleuatus, indignati fuerunt. Ipſi enim habuerunt Imperatorem, qui fuerat ſtrenuus valdè, cui dabant tributum omnes nationes prædictæ. Qui debitum vniuerſæ carnis exſoluens, filij eius ſucceſſerunt loco eius; ſed iuuenes erant & ſtulti, & populum neſciebant tenere: ſed inuicem diuiſi erant & ſciſſi: vnde medio tempore Cyngis erat taliter exaltatus, nihilominus inſultum faciebant in terras ſuperius annotatas, viros & mulieres, & pueros occidebant, & capiebant prædam eorum. Cyngis hoc audiens, omnes ſibi ſubiectos homines aggregauit. Naymani & Kara Kitai, id eſt, nigri Kitai, ex aduerſo in quandam vallem ſtrictam inter montes duos, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum tranſiuimus, ſimiliter conueniunt: & commiſſum eſt prælium, in quo Naymani & Kara Kitai a Mongallis ſunt deuicti, & maior pars eorum occiſa: & alij qui euadere non potuerunt in ſeruitutem redacti ſunt. In terra autem prædictorum Kara Kytaorum Occaday can filius Cyngis can, poſtquam poſitus fuit imperator, quandam ciuitatem ædificauit, quam ||Omyl appellauit. Propè quam ad meridiem eſt quoddam deſertum magnum, in quo ſylueſtres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nullo modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent iuncturas: & ſi quando cadunt, per ſe ſurgere ſine adiutorio aliorum minimè poſſunt, aliquantam tamen habent diſcretionem. Mongali autem in terram eorum reuertentes ſe contra Kytaos in prælium præparauerunt, qui caſtra mouentes terram eorum intrauerunt. Imperator autem Kytaorum hoc audiens venit contra eos cum exercitu ſuo; & commiſſum eſt prælium durum; in quo prælio Mongali fuerunt deuicti: & omnes nobiles Mongallorum qui erant in prædicto exercitu fuerunt occiſi vſque ad ſeptem. Cyngis verò & alij qui remanſerunt in terram ſuam fugerunt. Et quum aliquantulum quieuiſſet Cyngis, præparauit ſe rurſus ad prælium & contra terram Huyrorum proceſſit ad bellum. Iſti homines Chriſtiani de ſecta Neſtorianorum erant, quos etiam bello deuicit, & eorum literas acceperunt. Nam prius ſcripturam aliquam non habebant. Nunc autem eandem literam Mongallorum appellant. Inde proceſſit contra terram Saruiuorum, & contra terram Karauitarum, & contra terram Voyrat, & contra terram Comana, quas terras omnes deuicit. Inde eſt in terram ſuam reuerſus. Et cum aliquantulum quieuiſſet, conuocatis omnibus gentibus ſupradictis, contra Kytaos ad bellum proceſſit, & cum diu contra eos pugnaſſet magnam partem terræ Kytaorum vicerunt: Imperatorem autem eorum concluſerunt in ſua ciuitate maiori: quam cum tam diu obſiderunt, quod exercitui defecerunt expenſæ, & cum non haberent quod manducarent, præcepit illis Cyngis can, quod de decem hominibus vnum darent ad manducandum. Illi autem de ciuitate pugnabant viriliter contra illos ſagittis & machinis: Et cum deficerent lapides, pro lapidibus proiecerunt argentum, & maximè liquefactum. Ciuitas enim hæc multis diuitijs erat plena. Et cum diu pugnaſſent, & eam bello vincere minimè poſſent, fecerunt vnam magnam viam ſub terra ab exercitu vſque ad mediam ciuitatem, & aperientes ſubitò terram

Tartariæ populi.

Tartar fluuius.

Cyngis ortus & res geſtę.

Naymani.

Fratres diſcordantes oppreſſi.

Kara Kitai.

Occoday can.

|| Vel Chanyl.

Homines ſylueſtres.

De mutua victoria Mongalorum & Kytaorum.

Tartarorum Kytaina clades.

Nouæ victoriæ literę.

Vel Saruiur.

Vel Karanitarum.

Vel Hudirat.

Argentum loco lapidum in hoſtem proiectum.

ram, eis neſcientibus proſilierunt in medio ciuitatis, & pugnabant cum hominibus ciuitatis, & illi qui erant extra ſimili modo pugnabant, & concidentes portas intrauerunt ciuitatem: & occidentes Imperatorem & homines plures, ciuitatem poſſidebant: & aurum & argentum, & omnes diuitias abſtulerunt. Et cum terræ prędictæ Kytaorum ſuos homines præfeciſſent, in terram propriam ſunt reuerſi. Et tunc Imperatore Kytaorum deuicto factus eſt Imperator. Quandam autem partem terræ Kytaorum, quæ poſita eſt in mari, vſque in hodiernum diem nullatenus deuicerunt. Kytai autem, de quibus ſuperiùs diximus, homines ſunt Pagani, qui habent literam ſpecialem: & habent nouum & vetus Teſtamentum; & habent vitas patrum, & Eremitas & domos quaſi Eccleſias factas, in quibus orant temporibus ſuis: Et dicunt ſe quoſdam ſanctos habere. Vnum Deum colunt: Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum honorant, & credunt vitam æternam, ſed minimè baptizantur. Scripturam noſtram honorant & reuerentur: Chriſtianos diligunt, & Eccleſias faciunt plures. Homines benigni & humani ſatis videntur: barbam non habent, & in diſpoſitione faciei ſatis concordant cum Mongalis, non tamen ſunt in facie ita lati. Linguam propriam habent: meliores artifices non inueniuntur in toto mundo in omnibus operibus, in quibus ſolent homines exercitari. Terra eorum eſt opulenta valdè in frumento, vino, auro, argento, & ſerico, & omnibus rebus in quibus ſolet ſuſtentari humana natura. Et cum aliquantulum quieuiſſent, ſuos exercitus diuiſerunt. Vnum de filijs Toſſuch nomine, quem etiam Can appellabant, id eſt Imperatorem, miſit cum exercitu contra Comanos, quos multo bello deuicit: & poſtquam vicerat eos in terram ſuam reuertebatur. Alium etiam filium miſit cum exercitu contra Indos; qui minorem Indiam deuicerunt. Hij autem nigri ſunt Saraceni, qui Æthiopes nuncupantur. Hic autem exercitus contra Chriſtianos, qui ſint in India maiori in pugnam proceſſit. Quod audiens rex terræ illius, qui vulgò Præsbyter Iohannes appellatur, venit contra eos exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum in ſella poſuit ſuper equos, ponens ignem interius, & poſuit hominem cum folle poſt imaginem cupream ſuper equum: & cum multis imaginibus, & equis taliter præparatis venerunt contra prædictos ad pugnandum. Et cum ad locum prælij perueniſſent, iſtos equos vnum iuxta vnum pręmiſerunt. Viri autem, qui erant retro, poſuerunt neſcio quid ſuper ignem qui erat in prædicta imagine, & cum follibus fortiter ſufflauerunt. Vnde factum eſt, quod de fumo illo aer eſt denigratus. Et tunc ſuper Tartaros iecerunt ſagittas, ex quibus multi interfecti & vulnerati fuerunt. Et ſic cum confuſione eos de finibus ſuis eiecerunt: Et nunquam audiuimus, quod vltra ad eos redierunt. Cum autem per deſerta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt in qua quædam monſtra fœmineas imagines habentia reperierunt. Et cum interrogaſſent eas per multos interpretes vbi eſſent viri terræ illius, reſponderunt quod in illa terra quęcunque fœminæ naſcebantur, habebant formam humanam: Maſculi verò formam caninam. Et dum moram protraherent in terra prædicta, Canes in alia parte conuenerunt in vnum: Et dum eſſet hyems aſperrima, ſe omnes proiecerunt in aquam: & poſt hæc incontinenti in puluerem mouebantur, & ita puluis admixtus aquæ ſuper eos congelauit: & dum ſæpè hoc feciſſent, glacies denſa facta eſt ſuper eos: Vnde cum magno impetu cum Tartaris conuenerunt ad pugnam. At illi quum ſagittas ſuper eos iactabant, ac ſi ſuper lapides ſagitaſſent, retro ſagittæ redibant: Alia etiam arma eorum in nullo eos lædere potuerunt. Canes verò inſultum facientes in eos morſibus vulnerauerunt, multos etiam occiderunt, & ita eiecerunt eos de finibus ſuis. Et dum reuerteretur exercitus ille, venit ad terram Burutabeth, quos bello vicerunt: qui ſunt Pagani. Qui conſuetudinem mirabilem imo potius miſerabilem habent. Quia cum aliquis patrum ſuorum humanæ naturæ debitum exſoluit, omnem congregant parentelam, & comedunt eum. Iſti pilos in barba non habent: immo quoddam ferrum in manibus portant, cum quo barbam ſemper depilant, ſi fortè aliquis crinis creſcit in ipſa: & multum etiam deformes ſunt. Inde exercitus ille reuertebatur in terram ſuam. Cyngis can etiam eo tempore quo diuiſit exercitus illos, miſit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram Kergis, quos bello non vicit: & vſque ad Caſpios montes peruenit, montes autem illi ſunt de lapide adamantino. Vnde eorum ſagittas & arma ferrea ad ſe traxerunt. Homines inter Caſpios montes concluſos viderunt, qui iam montem fregerunt: ſed nubes quædam erat poſita ante ipſos, ad quam accedere non poterant vllo modo, quia ſtatim moriebantur, cum perueniebant ad illam. Sed antequam peruenirent ad prædictum montem pluſquam per menſem vaſtam ſolitudinem tranſierunt. Inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem pluſquam per menſem per magnum deſertum iuerunt. Et peruenerunt ad quandam terram, vbi viderunt vias tritas, ſed nullum hominem poterant inuenire. Sed tantum quæſiuerunt per terram, quod inuenerunt hominem cum vxore ſua; quos ante Cyngis can adduxerunt. Et cum interrogaſſet, vbi eſſent homines terræ illius, reſponderunt quod in terra ſub montibus habitarent. At Cyngis can retenta vxore miſit virum

Kytai victi.

Cyngis ſalutatur Imperator.

Kythaię pars in mari poſita.

Kytaorum litera, & religio.

Opificiorum laus.

Thoſſuch can Cyngis filius Comanos deuicit.

India minor debellata.

Presbyter Ioannes: eiuſdem ſtratagema.

Victoria de Tartaris.

De monſtroſis mulieribus & canibus monſtroſa narratio.

Glacies.

Burutabeth regio.

Incolarum mores.

Terra Kergis Orientalis.

Nota iter duorum menſium verſus Orientem.

Troglodytæ.

illum cum nuncijs ſuis mandans hominibus illis vt venirent ad mandatum ipſius. Illi verò euntes ad eos, narrauerunt omnia quæ Cyngis can mandauerat. Qui reſponderunt quod tali die venirent ad mandatum ſuum faciendum. Medio vero tempore congregauerunt ſe per vias occultas ſub terra, & venerunt contra iſtos ad pugnandum: & irruentes ſubitò ſuper eos plurimos occiderunt. At illi, Cyngis can videlicet & ſui fugam ineuntes, terram exierunt prædictam. Illos tamen homines, virum ſcilicet & mulierem ſecum duxerunt, qui vſque ad mortem in terra Tartarorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò quare ſub terra habitarent, dixerunt quod vno tempore anni quum ſol oritur, tantus ſonitus eſt, quod homines nulla ratione poſſunt ſuſtinere, Immo etiam tunc percutiebant in organis & tympanis, & alijs inſtrumentis, vt illum ſonitum non audirent. Et dum Cyngis de terra illa reuerteretur, defecerunt ei victualia, & habebant maximam famem. Et tunc recentia interiora vnius beſtiæ eos contigit inuenire: quæ accipientes, depoſitis tamen ſtercoribus decoxerunt; & coram Cyngis can portantes cum ſuis illa comedit. Et ex hoc ſtatutum fuit ab eo, vt nec ſanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de beſtia quod manducari poteſt, exceptis ſtercoribus, proijciatur. Et deinde in terram propriam eſt reuerſus: & ibidem leges & ſtatuta multiplicia fecit, quæ Tartari non violabiliter obſeruant. Ex quibus tantum duo dicemus. Vnum eſt, quod quicunque in ſuperbia erectus, propria authoritate ſine electione principum eſſe voluerit imperator, ſine vlla miſeratione debet occidi. Vnde ante electionem ipſius Cuynch propter hoc vnus de principibus, nepos ipſius Cyngis can fuit occiſus. Volebat enim ſine electione regnare. Aliud ſtatutum eſt, quod ſibi debent ſubiugare omnem terram: nec cum aliqua gente debent pacem habere, niſi prius eis ſubdatur, quo vſque veniat tempus occiſionis eorum. Debent enim occidi, vt prophetatum eſt eis: Et illi qui euadere poterunt, vt dicunt, debent illam legem tenere quam tenent alij, qui eos bello deuincunt. Statuit etiam quod per millenarios, & centenarios & Decanos debeat eorum exercitus ordinari. Poſt hoc ab ictu tonitrui eſt occiſus, peractis ſuis ordinationibus & ſtatutis. Hic autem habuit quatuor filios: Vnus vocabatur Occoday, ſecundus Toſſuch can, tertius Thaaday: & nomen quarti ignoramus. Iſti quatuor filij cum alijs maioribus qui tunc erant, primum filium videlicet Occoday elegerunt imperatorem, filij autem iſtius Occoday Cuyne, qui nunc eſt imperator, Cocthen & Cyrenen. Et ſi plures habuerit filios ignoramus. Filij autem Toſſuch can Bati: iſte eſt ditior & potentior poſt imperatorem: Ordu, iſte eſt ſenior omnium ducum: Syban, Bora, Bercuthanth: aliorum filiorum Toſſuch can nomina ignoramus. Filij Thaaday ſunt Burin & Chadan, nomina aliorum filiorum neſcimus. Alterius autem filij Cyngis can, cuius nomen neſcimus, filiorum nomina ſunt hæc. Vnus vocatur Mengu, cuius mater eſt Serogtan. Iſta domina inter omnes Tartaros, excepta matre imperatoris, eſt magis nominata: & potentior eſt omnibus excepto Bati. Alius vocatur Becas. Alios filios habuit plures, ſed eorum nomina ignoramus. Hæc ſunt ducum nomina. Ordu: iſte fuit in Polonia & in Hungaria: Bati, Cathan, Syban, Bureth. Omnes iſti fuerunt in Hungaria, Cyrpodan, iſte eſt adhuc vltra mare contra Soldanum Damaſci. Iſti remanſerunt in terra: Mangu, Cuthen, Syrennen, Hybilay, Seremum, Synocur, Thuatamur, Cyragay, Sybedey, ſenex quidam miles inter eos, Bora, Berca, Mauci, Choranca: ſed iſte inter alios eſt minimus. Alij verò duces ſunt plures, ſed eorum nomina ignoramus.

Videtur hic ſonitus fieri, & fragore glaciei, & niuium de montibus.

Cyngis lex.

Interitus.

Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

Imperator autẽ Tartarorum habet mirabile dominium ſuper omnes. Nullus audet in aliqua parte morari, niſi ipſe aſſignet ei. Ipſe autem aſſignat vbi maneant duces: millenarij centenarijs, Centenarij decanis. Inſuper quicquid pręcipitur in quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, ſiue ad bellum, ſiue ad mortem, ſiue ad vitam, ſine vlla contradictione obediunt. Etiam ſi petit filiam virginem vel ſororem, ſine contradictione dant ei. Aut ſingulis annis, aut intermiſſis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum. Si ipſe vult ſibi retinere aliquas retinet: alias dat ſuis hominibus, ſicut videtur ei expedire. Nuncios quoſcunq;, quotcunq; & vbicunq; tranſmittit, oportet quod dent ei ſine mora equos ſubdititios & expenſas. Vndecunq; venerint ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet quod equi, currus, & expenſę ſimiliter dentur eis. Nuncij qui veniunt aliunde in magna miſeria ſunt in victu pariter & veſtitu: quia expenſę viles ſunt & paucæ: & maximè cum veniunt ad principes, & ibi debent morã contrahere. Tunc ita parum datur decem hominibus, quod inde vix poſſint viuere duo. Nec etiam in curijs principum, nec in via datur eis comedere, niſi ſemel in die, & ſatis parum. Inſuper ſi aliquæ iniuriæ ſibi fiunt, conqueri de facili minimè poſſunt. Vnde eos oportet illa patienter portare. Inſuper multa tã à principibus, quam ab alijs nationibus & minoribus ab eis exiguntur: & ſi non daretur, vili pendunt eos, immò quaſi pro nihilo habent eos. Et ſi à magnis viris mittuntur, nolunt ab eis modicum munus habere: ſed dicunt: A magno homine veniſtis, & cur modicum datis? & accipere dedignantur. Et ſi nuncij benè volunt facere facta ſua, oportet eos dare maiora. Idcirco magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis à fidelibus erant datæ, oportuit nos de neceſſitate muneribus dare. Et

Imperatoris Tartarorum ſeruile in omnes imperium.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

ſciendum, quod ita omnia ſunt in manu Imperatoris prædicti, quod nemo audet dicere, hoc eſt meum vel illius; ſed omnia ſunt Imperatoris, res, iumenta, & homines. Et ſuper hoc etiam nuper emanauit Imperatoris ſtatutum. Idem dominium per omnia habent duces ſuper homines ſuos. Diuiſi enim ſunt homines Tartari, videlicet etiam alij inter duces. Nuncij etiam ducum, quocunque eos tranſmittunt, & homines tam Imperatoris quàm alij omnes equos ſubdititios & expenſas, & qui equos cuſtodiant, & etiam nuncijs ſeruiant ſine contradictione dare tenentur. Imperatori autem iumenta vt habeat ex eis lac ad annum vel ad duos, vel ad tres, ſicut placuerit ei, tam duces quàm alij pro redditu dare tenentur. Et homines ducum idem facere tenentur dominis ſuis. Inter eos enim nullus eſt liber. Et vt breuiter dicam, Quicquid Imperator & Duces volunt, & quantũ volunt de rebus ſuis accipiunt. De perſonis etiam eorum diſponunt per omnia, ſicut volunt. Mortuo Imperatore, ſicut ſuperius dictum eſt, conuenerunt Duces & elegerunt Occoday filium Cyngis can prædicti Imperatorem. Qui habito conſilio principum diuiſit exercitus. Bati, qui in ſecundo gradu attinebat ei, miſit contra Altiſoldanum, & contra terram Biſerminorum. Hij erant Saraceni, & Comanicum loquebantur. Et cum intraſſet terram illorum pugnauit contra eos, & bello eos ſibi ſubiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas quæ ‖ Barthra dicitur, diu reſtitit ei, fecerant enim foueas multas in circuitu ciuitatis & operuerant illas; & quando illi veniebant cadebant in foueas. Vnde non potuerunt capere ciuitatem, donec illas foueas repleſſent. Homines autem de quadam ciuitate quæ vocatur ‖ Iakint hæc audientes exierunt obuiam eis, ſe ſponte in manus eorum tradentes: vnde ciuitas eorum non erat deſtructa, ſed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios tranſtulerunt. Et accepto ſpolio ciuitatis, ipſam alijs hominibus repleuerunt. Et venerunt contra ciuitatem quæ vocatur Orna. Iſta ciuitas erat nimium populoſa: Chriſtiani ibi erant plures; Gazari videlicet, Rutheni, & Alani, & alij: nec non & Saraceni. Saracenorum enim erat dominium ciuitatis. Hæc autem ciuitas erat diuitijs multum plena. Eſt enim poſita ſuper fluuium qui vocatur Don, qui intrat in mare. Vnde eſt quaſi portus: & forum maximum habebant de illa ciuitate alij Saraceni. Et cum non poſſent aliter deuincere, præciderunt fluuium, qui currebat per ciuitatem, & illam cum rebus omnibus ſubmerſerunt. Quo facto: poſtea intrauerunt terram Tortorum, qui ſimiliter ſunt Pagani: quam deuincentes, iuerunt contra Ruſſiam, & fecerunt magnam ſtragem in terra Ruſſiæ, ciuitates & caſtra deſtruxerunt, & homines occiderunt: etiam Kiouiam quæ erat Metropolis Ruſſiæ obſederunt: & cum diu obſediſſent, illam ceperunt, & occiderunt homines ciuitatis. Inde procedentes pugnando deſtruxerunt totam Ruſſiam. De Ruſſia autem & Comania proceſſerunt duces prædicti, & pugnauerunt contra Hungaros & Polonos. Ex quibus Tartaris in Polonia & in Hungaria plures interfecti fuerunt. Et ſi non fugiſſent, ſed viriliter reſtitiſſent Hungari exiuiſſent Tartari de finibus ſuis: quia tunc habuerunt timorem, quod omnes fugere attentabant. Sed Bati vaginato gladio in faciem eis reſtitit, dicens: Nolite fugere: quia ſi fugitis nullus euadet: Et ſi debemus mori, moriamur omnes: quia futurum eſt, vt Cyngis can prædixit, quod interfici debeamus: Et ſi nunc eſt tempus, ſuſtineamus. Et ſic animati ſunt & remanſerunt, & Hungariam deſtruxerunt. Inde reuertentes iuerunt in terram Morduanorum, qui ſunt Pagani, & bello deuicerunt. Inde procedentes contra Bileros, id eſt, Bulgariam magnam, & ipſam deſtruxerunt omnino. Inde procedentes ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Baſcarr, id eſt, Hungariam magnam, & eos etiam deuicerunt. Inde egredientes iuerunt ad Aquilonem, & venerunt ad Paroſſitas qui habent paruos ſtomachos & os paruulum, nec manducant, ſed decoquunt carnes: quibus decoctis ponunt ſe inter fumum & ollam, & recipiunt fumum, & de hoc ſolo reficiuntur: Sed etiamſi aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum eſt. Inde procedentes venerunt ad Samogedos. Hij autem homines tantùm de venationibus viuunt: tabernacula & veſtes habent tantummodo de beſtiarum pellibus. Inde vltra procedentes venerunt ad quandam terram ſuper Oceanum, vbi inuenerunt quædam monſtra quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, ſed pedes deſinebant in pedes bouinos, & faciem per omnia habebant vt canis: duo verba loquebantur more humano & tertio latrabant vt canis: & ſic per interualla temporum latratum interponebant: tum ad naturam ſuam redibant: & ſic intelligi poterat quod dicebant: Inde redierunt in Comaniam, & vſq; nunc quidam ex eis morantur ibidem. Cyrpodan vero eodem tempore miſit Occoday can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, quos etiam bello deuicit. Hij autem homines ſunt pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum conſuetudo eſt talis. Cum pater moritur alicuius, præ dolore quaſi vnam corrigiam in ſignum lamenti ab aure vſq; ad aurem de facie ſua leuant. Quibus deuictis, ad meridiem iuit contra Armenos. Sed cum per deſerta tranſiret, etiam quædam monſtra effigiem humanam habentia inuenerunt: ſed non niſi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant: & duo ſagit-

Occoday ſecundus Imperator Tartarorum.

‖Barthra ciuitas vel Barchin.

Vel Sarguit.

Orna ſuper Don fluuium.

Kiouia ciuitas.

Morduanorum terra.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Paroſſitæ.

Samogedi.

Oceanus Septentrionalis. Similes Frobiſheri hominibus.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Armeni.

Hij videntur ſagittaſſe baliſtis.

tarunt cum vno arcu, & iſti ita fortiter currebant, quod equi eos inueſtigare non poterant. Currebant enim ſaltando ſuper illum vnum pedem, & cum eſſent feſſi taliter eundo, ibant ſuper manum & pedem, remouendo ſe quaſi rota; & ſic cum eſſent feſſi iterum currebant ſecundum modum priorem: aliquos tamen occidebant ex eis. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello vicerunt, & partem Georgiæ: & alia pars venit ad mandatum eorum; & quadraginta millia yperperorum ſingulis annis dederunt, & adhuc faciunt idem. Inde procedentes ad terram Soldani Deurum, qui erat ſatis magnus & potens, cum eo pugnauerunt & deuicerunt. Inde procedentes vltra debellando & vincendo vſq; ad terram Soldani Halapiæ & nunc terram illam impugnant: nec poſtea vſque in hodiernum diem in terram ſuam fuerunt reuerſi. Alius exercitus iuit contra terrã Calif de Baldach, quam ſibi etiã ſubdiderunt: Et quadraginta biſantia exceptis Baldachinis & alijs muneribus omni die dant pro tributo: Et omni anno pro Calif, vt ad eos veniat, nuncios mittunt: qui cum tributo munera magna mittit, rogans vt eũ ſupportent. Ipſe vero imperator munera accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat mittit pro eo.

Georgia.

Terra Soldani Deurum.

Terra Soldani Halapiæ.

Qualiter Tartari ſe habent in pręlijs. *Cap.6.*

DIcto de imperio, dicendum eſt hoc modo de bello. Primo de ordinatione acierum. Secundo de armis. Tertio de aſtutijs in congreſſione, quarto de crudelitate quam faciunt in captiuos. Quinto de oppugnatione caſtrorum & ciuitatum. Sexto de perfidia quam exercent cum hijs qui ſe reddunt eiſdem. De ordinatione acierum dicemus hoc modo. Cyngis can ordinauit, vt decem hominibus præponeretur vnus: & ille ſecundum nos appellatur Decanus. Decem autem Decanis pręponeretur vnus, qui centenarius nuncupatur: Decem vero Centenarijs præponeretur vnus qui millenarius nuncupatur: decem millenarijs præponeretur vnus, & ille numerus vocatur tenebre apud eos. Cuncto vero expercitui præponuntur duo duces vel tres, ita tamen quod habeant reſpectum ad vnum. Cum autem omnes ſunt in bello ſi de decem hominibus fugit vnus vel duo, vel tres, vel etiam plures, omnes occiduntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, niſi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt occiduntur. Item ſi vnus vel duo aut plures audacter ad pugnam accedunt, & decem alij non ſequuntur, etiam occiduntur. Item ſi vnus de decem vel plures capiuntur, & alij ſocij ſui non liberant eos, etiam occiduntur. Duo arcus vel tres, vel vnum bonum ad minus, & tres pharetras magnas plenas de ſagittis & vnam ſecurim, & funes ad machinas trahendas habere debet vnuſquiſque. Diuites autem habent gladios acutos in fine, ex vna tantum parte incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos: & habent equum armatum, crura etiam tecta. Galeas & loricas quidam habent de corio in hunc modum formatas. Habent quaſdam corrigias de boue ad latitudinem vnius manus, & bituminant tres vel quatuor ſimul, & ligant illas corrigiolis vel cordis. In corrigia ſuperiori ponunt cordulas in fine; in inferiori ponunt in medio, & ſic faciunt vſque ad finem. Vnde quum ſe inclinant in inferiores, corrigiæ ſuperiores aſcendunt & ſic duplicantur ſuper corpus, vel triplicantur. De coopertura equi faciunt quinque partes: ex vna parte faciunt vnam, ex alia parte faciunt aliam, quam partem ducunt à cauda vſq; ad caput: quæ ligantur ad ſellam, & poſt ſellam in dorſo & etiam in collo, ſuper renes etiam partẽ aliam ponunt, vbi duæ partium ligaturæ iunguntur: in qua pecia faciunt vnum foramen, per quod caudas exponunt: & ante pectus ponunt etiam vnam: quæ omnes protenduntur vſque ad crurium iuncturas. Et ante frontem laminam ferream ponunt, quæ ex vtraque parte colli partibus prædictis ligatur. Lorica vero etiam quatuor partes habet, vna pars protenditur à fœmore vſqne ad collum; ſed eſt facta ſecundum diſpoſitionem humani corporis: quia ante pectus eſt ſtricta: in rotundum obuoluitur circa corpus à brachijs inferius: Super humeros autem retro ad renes habent aliam peciam, quæ protenditur a collo vſque ad aliam peciam, quæ reuoluitur circa corpus: Super humeros autem iſtæ duæ peciæ anterior videlicet & poſterior, ad duas laminas ferreas quæ ſunt in vtroque humero fibulis connectuntur. Et in vtroque brachio vnam habent peciam, quæ ab humero protenduntur vſque ad manus, quæ etiam inferius ſunt aptę. Et in vtroque crure vnam habent peciam: quæ peciæ omnes fibulis coniunguntur. Galea autem ſuperius eſt ferrea. Sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum & gulam de corio fit. Et omnes iſtæ peciæ de corio ſunt formatæ ſecundum modum ſuperius annotatum. Quidam autem omnia quæ ſuperius diximus habent de ferro in hunc modum formata. Vnam laminam tenuem ad latitudinem vnius digiti faciunt, & ad longitudinem palmæ vnius. Et in hunc modum faciunt laminas multas: & in vnaquaque lamina octo foramina paruula faciunt, & interius tres corrigias ſtrictas & fortes ponunt, & laminas vnam ſuper aliam ponũt, quaſi aſcendendo per gradus: & ligant laminas pręddictas ad corrigias tenuibus corrigiolis, quas mittunt per foramina ſuperius annotata: Et in ſuperiori parte conſuunt corrigiolam vnam, vt laminæ prædictæ bene & firmiter cohæreant ſibi. Et faciunt ex laminis quaſi corrigiam vnam, & poſtea ligant per pecias per omnia, ſicut ſuperius dictum eſt. Et iſta faciunt tam ad equorum quam ad hominum armaturas. Et faciunt illa ita lucere, quod poteſt homo in eis faciem ſuam videre. Aliqui eorũ lanceas habent: & in fine ferri lanceę vnum habent vncũ, cum quo trahunt hominem de ſella ſi poſſunt. Longitudo ſagittarum eſt duorum pedum & vnius palmæ, & duorum digitorum. Et quia diuerſi ſunt pedes, menſurã pedum geometricã ponimus. Duodecem grana hordei pollicis tranſuerſio eſt. Sexdecem pollices tranſuerſi faciunt vnum geometricum pedem. Ferramenta ſagittarum ſunt acutiſſima, & ex vtraq; parte incidentia quaſi gladius biceps, & ſemper portant limas iuxta pharetram ad acuendum ſagittas. Ferramenta prædicta caudam habent acutam ad longitudinem vnius digiti, quam imponunt in lignum. Scutum habent de viminibus vel de virgulis factum. Sagittas habent alias ad ſagittandum aues beſtias & & homines inermes ad trium digitorum latitudinem. Sagittas alias habent diuerſimodas ad aues & beſtias ſagittandas. Quum ad bellum procedere volunt præcurſores præmittunt, qui nihil ſecum portant præter filtra ſua, equos & arma. Iſti nihil rapiunt, domos non comburunt, beſtias non occidunt: Sed tamen homines vulnerant & mortificant, & ſi non poſſunt aliud, mittunt in fugam; multo libentius tamen occidunt, quam fugant, poſt iſtos ſequitur exercitus, qui cuncta quę inuenit accipit, & homines etiam, ſi inueniri poſſunt, accipiunt & occidunt.

Mos tranandi flumina.

Quum autem ad flumina perueniunt, hoc modo tranſeunt illa etiamſi ſunt magna. Maiores vnum rotundum & leue corium habent, in quo in ſummitate per circuitum crebras faciunt anſas, in quibus funem imponunt, & ſtringunt ita quod in circuitu faciunt quendam ventrem, quem replent veſtibus, & alijs rebus, & fortiſſime comprimunt ad inuicem: poſt hoc in medio ponunt ſellas & alias res duriores: homines autem in medio ſedent: & ligant ad caudam equi nauem hanc taliter præparatam, & vnum hominum qui equum regat faciunt pariter cum equo ante natare: vel habent aliquando duos remos, & cum illis remigant vltra aquam, & ſic tranſeunt fluuium. Equos vero pellunt in aqua, & vnus homo iuxta vnum equum, quẽ regit, natat: & alij equi illum ſequuntur. Et ſic tranſeunt aquas & flumina magna. Alij vero pauperiores vnam burſam de corio bene conſutam vnuſquiſq; tenetur habere: in qua burſa vel in quo ſacco veſtes & omnes res ſuas imponunt; & in ſummitate ſaccũ fortiſſime ligant, & ſuſpendunt ad caudam equi, & tranſeunt, vt ſupradictum eſt. Sciendum eſt, quod cum vident hoſtes tunc vadunt ad eos, & vnuſquiſq; iacit tres ſagittas vel quatuor contra aduerſarios: Et ſi vident quod eos ſuperare non poſſunt, retro gradiuntur ad ſuos: Et hoc faciunt in fraudem, vt aduerſarij eos ſequantur ad loca vbi inſidias parauerunt: Et ſi inimici eorum ſequuntur ad prædictas inſidias, circundant eos & ſic vulnerant & occidunt. Item ſi vident quod magnus exercitus eſt contra eos, aliquando diuertunt ab eo per vnam dietam vel duas, & aliã partem terræ inuadunt & ſpoliant: & interficiunt homines, & terrã deſtruunt & deuaſtant. Et ſi vident quod hoc etiã facere non poſſunt, cedunt retro ad decem vel duodecem dietas: aliquando etiã morantur in loco tuto, quouſq; aduerſariorũ exetcitus ſeparetur, & tunc furtim veniunt, & depopulantur totã terram. In bellis etiam aſtutiſſimi ſunt: quia iam per quadraginta annos & amplius cum alijs gentibus dimicarunt. Cum autem volunt ad pugnam accedere, omnes acies ordinant ſicut deberẽt pugnare. Duces ſiue principes exercitus bellũ non intrant, ſed ſtant à longe cõtra inimicorũ exercitum, & iuxta ſe habent pueros in equis & mulieres & equos. Et faciunt aliquando imagines hominum, & ponunt ſuper equos. Hoc ideo faciunt, vt multitudo magna bellantium eſſe credantur. Contra faciem equorum vnam aciem captiuorum & aliarum gentium quæ ſunt inter eos tranſmittunt: & forſitan aliqui Tartari vadunt cum eis. Alias acies fortiorum hominum longe mittunt à dextris & à ſiniſtris, vt non videantur ab aduerſarij ſuis: & ſic circundant aduerſarios & colligunt in medium, & pugnare incipiunt ex omni parte. Et cum ſunt aliquando pauci, putantur ab aduerſarijs qui circundati ſunt, eſſe multi. Et maxime cum videant illos, qui ſunt cum duce vel principe exercitus pueros & mulieres & equos, & homines fictos, vt dictum eſt ſupra: quos credunt eſſe pugnatores: & per hoc terrentur & confunduntur. Et ſi forte aduerſarij bene pugnant, faciunt eis viam vt fugiant: & ſtatim cum fugere incipiunt, ab inuicem ſeparati inſequuntur eos, & plures tunc occidunt fuga, quàm mortificare poſſent in bello. Sciendum tamen eſt, quod ſi aliud poſſunt, non libẽter cõgrediuntur, ſed homines & equos ſagittis vulnerant & occidunt.

Qualiter munitiones obſident.

Munitiones in hunc modum expugnant. Si eſt talis munitio ipſam circundant, immo aliquando ita ſepiunt, vt nullus ingredi vel exire poſſit. Expugnant fortiſſime machinis & ſagittis: & nec die nec nocte ceſſant a prælio, vt illi qui ſunt in munitionibus non quieſcant. Ipſi Tartari quieſcunt: quia acies diuidunt & vna ſuccedit alteri in pugnã vt non nimiũ fatigentur. Et ſi eam taliter habere non poſſunt græcũ proijciunt ignem. Imo ſolent aliquando accipere aruinã hominum quos occidunt, & liquefactum proijciunt ſuper domos: Et vbicunque venit ignis ſuper pinguedinem illam, quaſi inextinguibiliter ardet. Et ſi ita non præualent, & ſi ciuitas illa vel caſtrum habeat flumen, obſtruunt illud, vel faciunt alium alueum & ſubmergunt illam munitionem ſi poſſunt. Si autem non poſſunt ſuffodiunt illam, & ſub terra armati in ipſam ingrediuntur. Et cum iam intrauerunt, vna pars ignem imponit vt comburatur: & alia pars cum illius munitionis hominibus pugnat. Si autem nec ſic illam vincere poſſunt, caſtrum vel munitionem ſuam faciunt contra illam, vt ab inimicorum iaculis non grauentur, & contra illam multo tempore iacent: niſi forte exterius adiutorium exercitus qui pugnat cum eis adhibeat, & vi remoueant ipſos. Sed cum iacent ante munitionem blande eis loquuntur, & multa promittunt, ad hoc vt ſe in eorum manus tradant: Et ſi illi ſe eis tradiderint, dicunt: Exite, vt ſecundum morem noſtrum vos muneremus. Et cum illi ad eos exeunt, quærunt qui ſunt artifices inter eos, & illos reſeruant: alios autem, exceptis illis quos volunt habere pro ſeruis cum ſecuri occidunt. Et ſi aliquibus alijs parcunt, vt dictum eſt, nobilibus & honeſtis nunquam parcunt. Et ſi fortè aliquo caſu contingente reſeruant aliquos nobiles; nec prece nec precio vltra de captiuitate poſſunt exire. In bellis autem quoſcunque capiunt occidunt, niſi forte velint aliquos reſeruare vt habeant eos pro ſeruis. Occidendos autem diuidunt per centenarios, vt cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis. Ipſi vero poſt hoc diuidunt captiuos, & vnicuique ſeruo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures vel pauciores, ſecundum quod maioribus placet.

Punica fides.

De terris quas eorum dominio ſubiugarunt. *Cap.7.*

SCripto quomodo pugnant, dicendum eſt de terris, quas eorum dominio ſubiugarunt. De quo iſto modo ſcribemus. Primo dicemus quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem. Secundo de terrarum nominibus quas ſibi ſubdiderunt. Tertio de tyrannide quam exercent in eis. Quarto de terris quæ viriliter reſtiterunt. Sciendum eſt quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, niſi ſubdentur eis: quia, vt dictum eſt ſupra, Cyngis can habent mandatum, vt cnnctas ſi poſſunt ſibi ſubijciant nationes. Et hæc ſunt illa quæ petunt ab eis, vt vadant cum eis in exercitu contra omnem hominem quando placet, & vt dent decimam de omnibus tam de hominibus, quàm de rebus. Computant enim decem, & vnum accipiunt. De puellis faciunt illud idem, quos in terram eorum deducunt & tenent eos pro ſeruis: reliquos numerant & ordinant ſecundum morem. Sed quando plene habent dominium ſuper eos, ſi aliquid promiſerunt eis nihil obſeruant: ſed quaſcunque poſſunt congrue occaſiones inueniunt contra eos. Nam cum eſſemus in Ruſſia, miſſus fuit Saracenorum ex parte Cuynthcan vt dicebatur & Bati: & præfectus ille a quolibet homine qui habebat tres pueros vnum accipiebat: & quicunque viri non habebant vxores, illos deducebant, & faciebant de mulieribus etiam illud idem quę viros legitimos non habebant. Pauperes etiam qui mendicando ſuum victum quærebant ſimiliter deportabunt. Reliquos autem ſecundum eorum conſuetudinem numerauit, præcipiens vt vnuſquiſq; tam paruus quam magnus, & infans vnius diei, ſiue pauper ſiue diues eſſet, tale tributũ præberet: vt ſcilicet daret vnũ pellem albi vrſi, & vnum nigrum caſtorẽ, & vaum Zabulum, & vnam nigram pellem cuiuſdam animalis quod in terra latibulum habet, cuius nomen neſcio in latinum transferre, ſed Tentonice dieitur ‖illit: Poloni autem & Rutheni appellant illam Dochon: & vnam nigram pellem vulpinam. Et quicunque iſta non dat, inter Tartaros debet duci, & in eorum redigi ſeruitutem. Mitunt etiam pro principibus terrarum, vt ad eos veniant ſine mora: & cum venerint, debitum honorem nullum recipiunt, ſed habentur vt aliæ viles perſonæ: & oportet vt eis munera magna præſentent, tam ducibus quàm vxoribus eorum, & officialibus, millenarijs & centenarijs. Imo omnes generaliter, & ipſi etiam ſerui ab eis cum magna importunitate munera quærunt: Et non ſolum ab ipſis, ſed etiam à nuncijs eorum cum mittuntur. Aliquibus etiam inueniunt occaſiones vt eos occidant. Sicut de Michaele & alijs actum eſt. Aliquos vero alliciunt, quos permittunt redire. Aliquos ettam potionibus perimunt vel veneno. Eorum enim intentio eſt, vt ipſi ſoli dominẽtur in terra. Idcirco quærunt occaſiones contra nobiles, vt eos occidant. Ab illis vero quos redire permittunt petunt eorum filios aut fratres, quos vlterius nunquam dimittunt. Sicut factum eſt de filio Ieroſlai, & de quodam duce Alanorum, & alijs plurimis. Et ſi moritur pater vel frater ſiue hæres, filium vel fratrem nunquam dimittunt: immo illius principatum totaliter accipiunt ſibi. Sicut de quodam Solangorum vidimus eſſe factum. Baſchathos ſuos ponunt in terris eorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet vt ad nutum tam duces quàm alij debeant obedire. Et ſi homines alicuius ciuitatis vel terræ non faciunt quod volunt, iſti Baſchathi imponunt eis, quod ſunt Tartaris infideles: & ſic ciuitatem illam vel terram deſtruunt, & homines qui ſunt in ea occidunt, per manum validam Tartarorum, qui ex mandato principis illius cui obedit terra illa veniunt eis neſcientibus, & ſubito irruunt ſuper eos: ſicut nuper contigit cum in terra

Vrſi albi.

‖Vel illic.

Dochon.

Solangi.

Baſcha, vox Tartarica, qua vtuntur Turci.

Tartarorum eſſemus de quadam ciuitate. Quod ipſummet de Ruthenis fecerunt in terra Comanorum. Et non ſolum princeps Tartarorum qui terram vſurpauit, ſed præfectus ipſius, & quicunque Tartarus per ciuitatem illam ſiue terram tranſit quaſi dominatur eidem, & maxime qui maior eſt apud eos. Inſuper aurum & argentũ, & alia quæ volunt & quando libet ad imperatorẽ vadant Tartarorum ad placitandum. Sicut nuper contigit de duobus filijs regis Georgiæ. Vnus enim erat legitimus, & alter de adulterio natus, qui vocabatur Dauid: legitimus autem Melic vocabatur. Filio adulteræ terræ partem relinquebat pater. Alius vero, qui iunior erat, veniebat cum matre ad Tartarorum imperatorem, pro eo quod Dauid prædictus ad ipſum iter arripuerat veniendi. Mater alterius ſcilicet Melic regina Georgiæ, per quam maritus tenebat regnum, quia per fœminas illud regnum tenebatur, mortua fuit in via. Illi autem cum venerunt dederunt maxima munera: & maxime legitimus filius, qui repetebat terram quam reliquerat pater filio ſuo Dauid, cum non deberet habere, quia adulteræ filius erat. Ille vero reſpondit: Licet ſim filius concubinæ, peto tamen vt fiat mihi iuſtitia ſecundum legem Tartarorum, qui nullam differentiam faciunt inter filios legitimæ & ancillæ: vnde fuit data ſententia contra filium legitimum, vt ille Dauidi qui maior erat ſubeſſet, & terram haberet quiete & pacifice, quam dederat ei pater: & ſic donaria quæ dederat, & cauſam quam contra fratrem ſuum Dauid habuerat, amiſit. Ab illis etiam nationibus quæ longe ſunt ab eis, & coniunctæ ſunt alijs nationibus quas aliquo modo timent, quæ non ſunt eis ſubiectæ, tributũ accipiunt & quaſi miſericorditer agunt cum eis, vt non adducant exercitum ſuper eos, vel etiam vt alij non terreantur, ſe tradere eis. Sicut factum eſt de Obeſis ſiue Georgianis, a quibus quinquaginta vel quadraginta millia, vt dictum eſt, yperperorum ſiue Byſantiorũ accipiunt pro tributo: aliâs ad hoc in pace eſſe permittunt. Tamen, ſecundum quod intelleximus ab eis, rebellare proponunt.

Terrarum nomina quas vicerunt ſunt hæc. Kytai, Naymani, Solangi, Kara Kytai, ſiue nigri Kytai, Comania, Tumat, Voyrat, Caraniti, Huyur, Soboal, Merkiti, Meniti, Barybryur, Goſmit, Saraceni, Biſermini, Turcomani, Byleri, magna Bulgaria, Baſchare, magna Hungaria, Kergis, Colona, Thorati, Buritabeth, Paroſſiti, Saſſi, Iacobiti, Alani, ſiue Aſſi, Obeſi ſiue Georgiani, Neſtoriani, Armeni, Cangiti, Comani Brutachi, qui ſunt Iudæi, Mordui, Torci, Gazari, Samogedi, Perſes, Thoas, India minor ſiue Æthiopia, Yrchaſi, Rutheni, Baldach, Sarthi: Aliæ terræ ſunt plures, ſed earum nomina ignoramus. Vidimus etiam viros & mulieres fere de omnibus terris ſupra nominatis. Hæc autem ſunt nomina Terrarum quæ eis viriliter reſtiterunt, nec ſunt adhuc ſubditæ eis, India magna, Mangia; Quædam pars Alanorum: Quædam pars Kytaorum, Sayi. Quandam enim ciuitatem Sayorum prædictorum obſederunt & debellare tentauerunt. At ipſi fecerunt machinas contra machinas eorum, & Tartarorum machinas omnes fregerunt, nec ciuitati appropinquare poterant ad pugnam contra machinas & baliſtas. Tandem vnã viam ſub terra fecerunt, & proſiluerũt in ciuitatẽ, & alij tentabant incendere ciuitatẽ, alij pugnabant. Homines autem ciuitatis vnam partem populi ad extinguendũ ignem poſuerunt, & alia pars fortiter pugnabat cum hijs qui intrauerunt ciuitatem, & multos occiderunt ex eis, & alios vulnerauerunt, cõpellentes eos ad ſuos redire. At ipſi videntes quod nihil poſſent facere, & multi homines morerentur, receſſerunt ab eis. In terra Saracenorũ & aliorũ vbi ſunt quaſi inter eos domini, accipiũt omnes artifices meliores, & in omnibus operibus ſuis ponunt. Alij autẽ artifices dant eis de opere ſuo tributum. Segetes omnes condunt in horreis dominorum: & vnicuique vnum pondus ſatis modicum dant in die: nihil aliud niſi ter in ſeptimana modicum quid de carnibus eis prebent. Et illi hoc tantum artificibus faciunt qui in ciuitatibus commorantur. Item quando dominis placet iuuenes omnes accipiunt, & poſt ſe cum omnibus famulis ſuis ire cogunt: qui de cætero certo ſunt numero Tartarorũ; immo potius de numero captiuorũ: quia etſi inter ipſos ſunt numerati, non tamen habentur in reuerentia ſicut Tartari; ſed habentur pro ſeruis, & ad omnia pericula vt alij captiui mittuntur. Ipſi enim in bello ſunt primi: Etiam ſi debet palus vel aqua periculoſa tranſiri, eos oportet primo vadum tentare. Ipſos eſt etiam neceſſe operari omnia quæ ſunt facienda. Ipſi etiam ſi in aliquo offendunt, vel ſi non obediunt ad nutum, vt aſini verberantur. Et vt breuiter dicam, modicum quid manducant, & etiam modicum bibunt, & peſſime induuntur; niſi forte aliquid poſſunt lucrari, niſi ſunt aurifabri & alij artifices boni. Sed aliqui tam malos dominos habent, quod nihil eis dimittunt, nec habent tempus præ multitudine operum dominorum, vt ſibi aliquid operentur, niſi furentur ſibi tempus, quando forſitan debent quieſcere vel dormire. Et hoc ſi vxores vel propriam ſtationem permittuntur habere. Alij autem qui tenentur in domo pro ſeruis omni miſeria ſunt repleti. Vidi enim eos ire in bracis ſæpiſſime, & toto corpore nudos in maximo ſolis ardore. Et in hyeme patiuntur maximum frigus. Vidimus etiam aliquos pedicas & digitos manuum de magno frigore perdidiſſe. Audiuimus etiam alios eſſe mortuos, vel etiam de magno algore quaſi in omnibus membris inutiles eſſe factos.

Samogedi aquilonares.

Mangia.

Quomodo

Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris. Cap. 8.

DIcto de terris, quæ obediunt eis, ſupponendum eſt quomodo bello occurratur eiſdem. Quod videtur nobis hoc modo dicẽdum. Primo ſcribendum eſt quid intendunt. Secundo de armis & ordinatione acierũ. Tertio quomodo occurratur aſtutijs eorum in congreſſione. Quarto de munitione caſtrorum & ciuitatũ. Quinto quid faciendum ſit de captiuis eorum. Intentio Tartarorum eſt ſubijcere ſibi totum mundum ſi poſſunt. Et de hoc Cyngiſchan habent mandatum, ſicut ſuperius dictum eſt. Idcirco eorum imperator ſic in literis ſuis ſcribit. Dei fortitudo, Omnium Imperator. Et in ſuperſcriptione ſigilli ſui hoc habet.

Dominus in cœlo, & Cuynch Chan ſuper terram. Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperatoris ſigillum. Et ideo cum nullis hominibns faciunt pacem, vt dictum eſt, niſi forte ſe in eorum manibus tradunt. Et quia excepta Chriſtianitate nulla eſt terra in orbe quam timent, idcirco ſe ad pugnam præpararunt contra nos. Vnde nouerint vniuerſi quod nobis exiſtentibus in terra eorum in ſolenni curia, quæ iam ex pluribus annis indicta erat, fuimus, vbi elegerunt Cuynch imperatorem in præſentia noſtra, qui in lingua eorum dicitur Chan. Qui Cuynch Chan prædictus erexit cum omnibus principibus vexillum contra eccleſiam dei & Romanum imperium, & contra omnia regna Chriſtianorum & populos occidentis, niſi forſan facerent ea, quæ mandat Domino Papæ, & potentibus ac omnibus Chriſtianorũ populis Occidentis: quod nulla ratione faciendum eſt: tum propter nimiam ſeruitutem & intolerabilem, quæ eſt hactenus inaudita, quam vidimus oculis noſtris, in quam redigunt omnes gentes ſibi ſubiectas: tum propterea quod nulla in eis eſt fides: nec poteſt aliqua gens confidere in verbis eorum: quia quicquid promittunt non obſeruant, quando vident ſibi tempora fauere: & ſubdoli ſunt in omnibus factis & promiſſis eorũ. Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites de terra, vt ſuperius dictum eſt: ſed hoc faciunt ſubdole & artificioſe in ſubditos ſuos; Tum etiam quia indignum eſt quod Chriſtiani ſubdantur eiſdem, propter abominationes eorum, & quia in nihilum redigitur cultus dei, & animæ pereunt, & corpora vltra quã credi poſſit multitudine affliguntur. In primo quidem ſunt blandi, ſed poſtea vt ſcorpio cruciant & affligunt. Tum quia pauciores ſunt numero, & corpore debiliores quã populi Chriſtiani. In prædicta autem curia ſunt bellatores & principes & exercitus aſſignati. De decẽ hominibus mittuntur tres cum familijs eorũ, de omni terra poteſtatis eorũ. Vnus exercitus debet intrare per Hungariam: ſecundus per Poloniam. Veniunt autem pugnaturi continue octodecem annis. Tẽpus eſt etiam eis aſſignatum, In Martio An. Dom. 1247. ſi de terra ſua mouebunt. Venient autem in tribus vel in quatuor ‖ annis vſq; ad Comaniã. De Comania autẽ inſultum facient in terras ſuperius annotatas. Hæc omnia firma ſunt & vera, niſi Dominus aliquod impedimentũ pro ſua gratia faciat eis, Sicut fecit quando venerunt in Hungariã & Poloniã. Debebãt enim procedere tunc pro certo triginta annis. Sed interfectus fuit tunc imperator eorũ veneno: & propter hoc quieuerunt à pręlijs vſq; nunc. Sed modo, quia poſitus eſt imperator de nouo, iterum ſe de nouo ad pugnam incipiunt præparare. Adhoc ſciendum eſt, quod imperator dixit ore ſuo, quod vellet mittere exercitum in Liuoniam & Pruſſiam. Et quoniam omnem terram volunt delere vel in ſeruitutem redigere, quæ ſeruitus eſt intolerabilis noſtræ genti, vt ſuperius dictum eſt: Occurrendum eſt igitur eis in bello. Sed ſi vna prouincia non vult alteri opem ferre, terra illa delebitur contra quam pugnant, & cum illis hominibus quos capiunt pugnabunt contra aliam terram; & in acie erunt primi. Si male pugnant occidentur ab eis: Si autem bene, ipſos cum promiſſis adulationibus tenent: & etiam vt ab ipſis non fugiant promittunt eis quod facient eos dominos magnos: & poſt hoc quando ſecuri eſſe poſſunt de ipſis, vt non redeant, faciunt eos infœliciſſimos ſeruos. Ac de mulieribus quas volunt in concubinas tenere pro ſeruitijs faciunt illud idem. Et ita cum hominibus deuictæ prouinciæ deſtruunt aliam terram. Nec eſt aliqua prouincia quæ per ſe poſſit reſiſtere eis: quia de omni terra poteſtatis eorum, vt dictum eſt, homines congregant ad bellum. Vnde ſi Chriſtiani ſeipſos & ſuã terram, & Chriſtianitatem volunt ſeruare, oportet quod in vnum conueniant reges, principes & barones, & terrarum rectores, & mittant de cõmuni conſilio homines contra eos ad pugnã, antequam ipſi incipiant in terras diffundi. Quoniam poſtquam incipiunt ſpargi per terras, vndiq; homines quærunt, & nullus congrue auxilium alteri poteſt præbere: quoniam ipſi cateruatim vndiq; quærunt homines & occidunt. Et ſi claudunt ſe in caſtris, ponunt tria millia vel quatuor millia hominum contra caſtrum vel ciuitatem, qui obſideant eam; & ipſi nihilominus diffunduntur per terras homines occidentes. Quicunq; autem volunt pugnare cum eis, hæc arma debent habere. Arcus bonos & fortes, & baliſtas, quas multũ timent, & ſagittas ſufficientes: & bonum dolabrũ de bono ferro, & ſcutũ cũ longo manubrio. Ferramenta ſagittarũ de arcu vel de baliſta debent,

‖ Forte menſibus

Tartari proponunt inuadere Liuoniam & Pruſſiam.

Temperamentum ferri.

vt Tartari, quando ſunt calida, temperari in aqua cum ſale mixta, vt fortia ſint ad penetrandum arma eorum. Gladios & etiam lanceas cum vnco, qui valeant ad trahendum eos de ſellis: quia de eis facillime cadunt: ac cultellos ac loricas duplicatas; quia illos eorum ſagittæ non penetrant: & galeã & arma alia ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & ſagittis eorum. Et ſi aliqui non ſunt ita bene armati, vt dixi; debent ire poſt alios vt faciunt Tartari: & trahere contra eos de armis & ſagittis. Nec debent parcere pecuniæ, quoniam comparent arma, vt poſſint animas & corpora, libertatem & res alias conſeruare. Acies debent ordinari, vt ipſi, per millenarios, centenarios, & decanos & duces exercitus: qui duces nequaquam debent prælium intrare, ſicut nec duces eorum, ſed debent exercitus videre & ordinare: legemquè debent ponere vt ſimul incedant ad bellum, ſiue aliâs, ſicut ſunt ordinati. Et quicunque relinquit alium ſiue ad bellum procedentem, ſiue pugnantem, vel quicunque fugerit, niſi omnes cõmuniter cedant, grauiſſime puniatur: quia tunc pars bellantium ſequitur fugientes, & ſagittis eorum occidunt, & pars cum hijs qui remanẽt pugnant, & ſic confundũtur & occiduntur remanentes & fugientes. Similiter quicunq; conuerſus fuerit ad prædam tollendam, antequam omnino ſit exercitus contrariorũ deuictus, maxima pœna mulctetur. Talis enim apud Tartaros ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Locus ad præliandum eſt eligendus, ſi fieri poteſt vt campus ſit planus, & poſſint vndique videre: & ſi poſſunt habeant ſyluam magnam a tergo vel a latere. ita tamen quod non poſſunt intrare inter ipſos & ſyluam: nec debent ſimul omnes conuenire in vnum, ſed facere acies multas, & diuerſas ab inuicem, nec tamen multum diſtantes. Et contra illos qui poſt veniunt debent vnam aciem mittere qui eis occurrat. Et ſi Tartari ſimulant fugam, non multum vadant poſt eos, niſi forte quantum poſſunt videre, ne forte ipſos ad paratas inſidias trahant, ſicut facere ſolent: Et alia ſit parata ad iuuandum aciem illam, ſi fuerit opportunum. Speculatores. Inſuper habeant ſpeculatores ex omni parte, vt videant quando veniant aliæ acies Tartarorum retro, à dextris & à ſiniſtris: & ſemper debent mittere aciem contra aciem quæ eis occurrat. Ipſi enim ſemper nituntur concludere aduerſarios eorum in medio, vnde magnam cautelã debent habere ne hoc facere poſſint, quia ſic exercitus facillime debellatur. Omnes acies hoc debent cauere, ne diu currant poſt eos, propter inſidias quas ſolent præparare: plus enim fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Duces exercitus ſemper debent eſſe parati ad mittendum adiutorium, ſi neceſſe eſt, illis qui ſunt in pugna, & propter hoc etiam debent vitare nimium curſum poſt eos: ne forte fatigentur equi eorum; quoniam noſtri multitudinem equorum non habent. Sed Tartari illum quem equitant vna die, illum non aſcendunt in tribus vel in quatuor diebus poſt hoc. Vnde non curant ſi fatigentur equi eorũ propter multitudinem quam habent. Et ſi Tartari cedunt, non tamen noſtri debent recedere, vel ab inuicem ſeparari: quia ſimulando hoc faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & poſt hoc terram libere ingrediantur, & eam deſtruant. Debent etiam cauere vt non faciant nimias expenſas, vt ſolent; ne propter penuriam redire compellantur, & dent Tartaris viam, vt ipſos & alios occidant, & deſtruant omnem terram; & propter eorum ſuperfluitatem nomen Domini blaſphemetur. Et hoc debent facere diligenter: vt ſi contingat aliquos pugnatores recedere, quod alij loco eorum ſuccedant. Duces etiam noſtri debent die noctéque facere exercitum cuſtodiri, ne repente & ſubito irruant ſuper ipſos: quia Tartari vt dæmones, multas excogitant iniquitates & artes nocendi: Immo tam de die quam de nocte ſemper debent eſſe parati: ſed nec ſpoliati debent iacere nec delicioſe ad menſam ſedere, ne imparati inueniantur, quia Tartari ſemper vigilant, vt poſſint nocere. Homines vero terræ qui Tartaros expectant, vel ſuper ſe timent venire, occultas foueas debent habere, in quibus ſagittas, & alia debent reponere, propter duo: vt videlicet Tartari non poſſint ea habere; & ſi propitius fuerit eis Deus, valeant ea poſtea inuenire; Eis fugientibus de terra, debent fœnum & ſtramina comburere, vt equi Tartarorum ad comedendum minus inueniant. Ciuitates autem & caſtra ſi volunt munire, videant prius qualia ſint in ſitu. Situs enim talis debet eſſe in caſtris, quod machinis & ſagittis expugnari nõ poſſit; & aquã habeant ſufficientem & lignũ, & ſi fieri poteſt, quod introitus & exitus eis tolli non poſſit: & quod habeant homines ſufficientes qui poſſint viciſſim pugnare. Et debent vigilare diligenter ne aliqua aſtutia poſsint caſtrum furari. Expenſas ad multos annos debent habere ſufficientes: cuſtodiant tamen diligenter illas, & in menſura manducent, quia neſciunt quanto tempore eos in caſtris oportet eſſe incluſos. Quum enim incipiunt, tunc multis annis obſident vnum caſtrum. Obſidio 12. annorum. Sic fit hodierna die in terra Alanorum de quodam monte, quem, vt credo, iam obſederunt per duodecem annos; qui viriliter reſtiterunt, & multos Tartaros & nobiles occiderunt. Alia autem caſtra & ciuitates, quæ talem ſitum non habent debent fortiter vallari foueis profundis munitis, & muris bene præparatis; & arcus & ſagittas ſufficientes: & lapides ac fundas debent habere. Et debent diligenter cauere, quod non permittant Tartaros ponere machinas ſuas; & ſuis machinis debent eos repellere. Et ſi forte aliquo ingenio vel arte erigunt

Tartari machinas ſuas, debent eas deſtruere machinis ſuis ſi poſſunt. Baliſtis etiam, fundis & machinis debent reſiſtere ne ciuitati appropinquent. Aliàs etiam debent eſſe parati, vt ſuperius dictum eſt. De caſtris & ciuitatibus, quæ ſunt in fluminibus poſitæ, diligenter debent videre ne poſſint ſubmergi. Sed ad hoc ſciendũ eſt, quod Tartari plus diligunt, quod homines claudant ſe in ciuitatibus, quàm quod pugnent cũ eis in campo. Dicunt enim eos eſſe ſuos porcellos in hara concluſos. Vnde ponunt eis cuſtodes, vt ſupradictũ eſt. Si autē aliqui Tartari de equis ſuis in bello proijciuntur, ſtatim ſunt capiendi: quia cum ſunt in terra fortiter ſagittant, & equos & homines vulnerant & occidunt. Et ſi ſeruantur tales, poteſt eſſe, quod habeatur pro eis pax perpetua, aut pecunia magna redimantur: quoniã ſe adinuicem ſatis diligunt. Sed quomodo Tartari cognoſcantur, ſuperius dictum eſt vbi forma eorum fuit expreſſa. Tamen quando capiuntur, ſi debent ſeruari, ne fugiant diligens eſt cuſtodia adhibenda. Sunt etiã aliæ multę gentes cũ eis, quæ per formã ſuperius annotatã poſſunt ab ipſis cognoſci. Eſt etiam hoc ſciendum, quod multi in exercitu eorum ſunt, qui ſi viderent tempus, & haberēt fiduciam, quod noſtri non occiderent eos, ex omni parte exercitus, ſicut ipſimet nobis dixerunt, pugnarent cũ eis, & plura mala facerent ipſis, quàm alij, qui ſunt eorum aduerſarij manifeſti.

The long and wonderful voyage of Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, **ſent ambaſſadour by Pope** Innocentius **the iiii.** An. Do. 1246. **to the great** CAN **of** Tartaria; **wherin he paſſed through** Bohemia, Polonia, Ruſſia, **and ſo to the citie of** Kiow **vpon** Boriſthenes, **and from thence rode continually poſt for the ſpace of ſixe moneths through** Comania, **ouer the mighty and famous riuers of** Tanais, Volga, **and** Iaic, **& through the countries of the people called** Kangittæ, Biſermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani, **& ſo to the natiue countrie of the** Mongals **or** Tartars, **ſituate in the extreme Northeaſterne partes of all** Aſia: **and thence backe againe the ſame way to** Ruſſia, **and** Polonia, **and ſo to** Rome; **ſpending in the whole voyage among the ſayd** Tartars **one whole yeere & aboue foure moneths: Taken out of the 32. booke of** Vincentius Beluacenſis **his** Speculum hiſtoriale.

LIBRI XXXII.

De prima miſſione Fratrum Prædicatorum & Minorum ad Tartaros. Cap. 2.

HOc etiam tēpore miſit Innocentius IIII. Papa Fr. Aſcelinũ de ordine Prædicatorũ cũ tribus alijs Fratribus, auctoritate, qua fungebantur, de diuerſis ordinis ſui conuentibus ſibi aſſociatis, cum literis Apoſtolicis ad exercitũ Tartarorũ, in quibus hortabatur eos, vt ab hominũ ſtrage deſiſterent, & fidei veritatē reciperent. Et ego quidē ab vno Fratrum Prædicatorũ, videlicet à Fr. Simone de S. Quintino, iam ab illo itinere regreſſo, geſta Tartarorũ accepi, illa duntaxat, quæ ſuperius per diuerſa loca iuxta congruentiã temporũ huic operi inſerui. Siquidē & eo tempore quidã Frater ordinis Minorũ, videlicet Fr. Iohannes de Plano carpini, cum quibuſdam alijs miſſus fuit ad Tartaros, qui etiam, vt ipſe teſtatur, per annum & quatuor menſes & amplius cum eis manſit, & inter eos ambulauit. A ſummo namq; Pontifice mandatũ, vt omnia, quæ apud eos erant, diligenter ſcrutaretur, acceperat, tam ipſe, quàm Fr. Benedictus Polonus eiuſdem ordinis, qui ſuæ tribulationis particeps & ſocius erat. Et hic ergo Fr. Ioannes de his, quæ apud Tartaros vel oculis proprijs vidit, vel à Chriſtianis fide dignis, qui inter illos captiui erant, audiuit, libellum hiſtorialem conſcripſit, qui & ipſe ad manus noſtras peruenit. De quo etiam hîc quaſi per epilogum inſerere libet aliqua, videlicet ad ſupplementum eorum, quæ deſunt in prædicta Fr. Simonis hiſtoria.

Aſcelinus.

¶ Vide Mechouiũ lib. 1. cap. 5.

Simon Sanquintinianus.

Ioannes de Plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

Libellus hiſtorialis Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De ſitu & qualitate terræ Tartarorum. Cap. 3.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini.

EST in partibus Orientis terra, quæ Mongal ſiue Tartaria dicitur, in ea ſcilicet parte ſita, in qua Oriens Aquiloni coniungi creditur. Ab Oriente quidem habet terram Kythaorum & etiam Solangorum, à meridie verò terrã Sarracenorum. Inter || Orientē & meridiem terram Huynorum, & ab Occidente prouinciam Naymanorum, ab Aquilone verò circundatur Oceano. In parte aliqua nimium eſt montuoſa, & in aliqua campeſtris, ſed tota ferè admixta glarea plurimum arenoſa, nec eſt in centeſima parte fructuoſa. Nec enim poteſt fructum portare, niſi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur, quę ibi ſunt rariſſimę. Vnde nec villę nec aliquę ciuitates ibidē reperiuntur,

Tartariæ deſcriptio.

|| Vel Occidentem

Syra orda.

Aëris intemperies

Orda quid.

excepta vna, quæ Cracurim appellatur, & ſatis bona eſſe dicitur. Nos quidem illam non vidimus, ſed ad dimidiam dietam prope fuimus, cùm apud Syram ordam, quæ curia maior Imperatoris eorum eſt, eſſemus. Licet autem aliàs infructifera ſit illa terra, tamen alendis pecoribus eſt apta. In aliqua eius parte ſunt aliquę ſyluæ modicæ, alia verò ſine lignis eſt omninò. Itaque tam Imperator quàm Principes, & omnes alij ſedent, & cibaria ſua decoquunt ad focum, de boum & equorum ſtercoribus factum. Ipſe quoq; aër inordinatus eſt ibidem mirabiliter. In media ſiquidem æſtate ibi tonitrua magna & fulgura fiunt, ex quibus plurimi occiduntur homines, & eodem quoq; tempore cadunt ibidem maximę niues. Sunt & ibi ventorum frigidiſſimorum tam maximę tempeſtates, quòd aliquando vix poſſunt equitare homines. Vnde cùm ante ordam eſſemus (ſic enim apud eos ſtationes Imperatoris & Principum appellantur) præ venti magnitudine in terra proſtrati iacebamus, & videre propter pulueris magnitudinē minimè poteramus. Nunquam ibi pluit in hyeme, ſed frequenter in æſtate, & tam modicum, vt vix poſſet aliquando puluerem & radicem graminum madefacere. Ibi quoq; maxima grando cadit ſæpè. Vnde cùm Imperator electus in ſede regni debuit poni, nobis in curia tunc exiſtentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex ſubita reſolutione pluſquam CLX. homines in eadem curia fuerunt ſubmerſi. Res etiam & habitacula plura fuerunt deducta. Ibi etiam eſt in æſtate ſubitò calor magnus, & repentè maximum frigus.

De forma & habitu & victu eorum. Cap. 4.

Tartarorum ſpecies.

Tonſura.

Habitus.

Veſtes retro caudatæ.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

Victus.

MOngalorum autem ſiue Tartarorum forma ab omnibus alijs hominibus eſt remota. Inter oculos enim, & inter genas, lati ſunt plus cæteris, genæ quoq; ſatis prominent à maxillis. Naſum habent planum & modicum, oculos etiam paruos, & palpebras vſq; ad ſupercilia eleuatas, ac ſuper verticem in modum Clericorum coronas. Ex vtraq; parte frontis tondendo, pluſquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem ſicut mulieres creſcere permittunt. De quibus duas cordas faciunt, & vnamquamq; poſt aurem ligant. Pedes quoq; modicos habent. Veſtes tam virorum quàm mulierum vno modo formatæ ſunt. Pallijs vel cappis vel caputijs non vtuntur. Tunicas verò miro modo formatas portant de buccaramo, vel purpurato, vel baldaquino. Pellicium habet pilos exterius, ſed apertum eſt à poſterioribus. Habet tamen caudulam vnam vſq; ad genua retrò. Veſtes ſuas non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè à tempore, quo tonitrua incipiunt, vſquequo deſinat illud tempus. Stationes habent rotundas in modum tentorij de virgulis & baculis ſubtilibus præparatas. Supra verò in medio rotundam habent feneſtram, vnde ingrediatur lumen, & fumus exire poſſit: quia ſemper in medio faciunt ignem: parietes autem & tecta filtro ſunt operta. Oſtia quoq; de filtro ſunt facta. Harum quędam ſubitò ſoluuntur, & reparantur, & ſuper ſummarios deferuntur: quædam verò diſſolui non poſſunt ſed in curribus portantur. Et quocunq; ſiue ad bellum ſiue aliâs vadunt, ſemper illas ſecum deferunt. In animalibus valde diuites ſunt, vt in Camelis & bobus, capris & ouibus. Iumenta & equos habent in tanta multitudine, quantam non credimus totum mundi reſiduum habere. Porcos autē & alias beſtias non habent. Imperator ac Duces atq; alij magnates in auro & argento ac ſerico & gemmis abundant. Cibi eorū ſunt omnia, quæ mandi poſſunt. Vidimus eos etiā manducare pediculos. Lac bibūt animaliū, & in maxima quantitate, ſi habent, iumentinū. Porrò in hyeme, quia niſi diuites ſint, lac iumentinū non habent, millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, vt illud bibere valeant. Vnde quilibet eorū ſcyphum bibit vnū vel duos in mane, & quandoq; nihil amplius manducant in die. In ſero autem vnicuiq; datur de carnibus modicū, & bibunt ex eis brodium. Porrò in æſtate quando ſatis habent de lacte iumentino, carnes comedunt rarò, niſi fortè donētur eiſdē, aut venatione beſtiā aliquam ceperint vel auem.

De moribus eorum bonis & malis. Cap. 5.

πειθαρχία.

Abſtinentia.

Comitas.

Temperantia.

HAbent autem mores quoſdam quidem commendabiles, & quoſdam deteſtabiles. Magis quippe ſunt obedientes Dominis ſuis, quàm aliqui qui in mundo ſint homines, ſiue religioſi ſiue ſeculares. Nam eos maximè reuerentur, nec illis de facili mentiuntur verbis factiſue: rarò vel nunquam ad inuicem contendunt, belláq; vel rixæ, vulnera vel homicidia nunquam inter eos contingunt. Prędones etiam ac fures rerum magnarū ibi nequaquā inueniuntur, ideoq; ſtationes & currus eorū, vbi theſauros habent, ſeris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliqua beſtia perdita fuerit, quicunq; inuenit eam vel dimittit, vel ad illos, qui ad hoc poſiti ſunt, eam ducit. Apud quos ille, cuius eſt beſtia, illam requirit, & abſq; vlla difficultate recipit. Vnus alium ſatis honorat, & familiaritatē ac cibaria, quamuis apud eos ſint pauca, liberaliter ſatis communicat. Satis etiā ſunt ſufferentes, nec cùm ieiunauerint vno die, vel duobus, omninò ſine cibo, videntur impatientes,ſed cantant & ludunt,ac ſi bene comediſſent. In equitando multum ſuſtinent frigus,calorem quoq; nimium patiuntur, Inter eos quaſi nulla placita ſunt,& quamuis multum inebrientur, tamen in ebrietate ſua nunquam contendunt. Nullus alium ſpernit, ſed iuuat & promouet,quantum congruè poteſt. Caſtæ ſunt eorum mulieres, nec aliquid inter eos auditur de ipſarum impudicitia. Quædam tamen ex ijs verba turpia ſatis habent & impudica. Porrò erga cæteros homines ijdem Tartari ſuperbiſſimi ſunt, omneſq; nobiles & ignobiles quaſi pro nihilo reputantes deſpiciunt. Vnde vidimus in curia Imperatoris magnum Ruſſię ducem,& filium regis Georgianorum, ac Soldanos multos & magnos nullum honorem debitum recipere apud eos. Quinetiam Tartari eiſdem aſſignati, quantumcunq; viles eſſent illos antecedebant, ſemperq; primum locum & ſummum tenebant, imò etiam ſæpè oportebat illos poſt eorũ poſteriora ſedere.Præterea iracundi ſunt, & indignantis naturæ multum erga cæteros homines,& vltra modum erga eoſdem mendaces. In principio quidẽ blandi ſunt, ſed poſtmodum vt Scorpiones pungunt. Subdoli enim & fraudulenti ſunt,& omnes homines ſi poſſunt aſtutia circumueniunt. Quicquid mali volunt eis facere, miro modo occultant, vt ſibi non poſſint prouidere, vel contra eorum aſtutias remedium inuenire. Immundi quoq; ſunt in cibo & potu ſumendis, & in cæteris factis ſuis. Ebrietas apud illos eſt honorabilis: cumq; multum aliquis biberit, ibidemq; reijcit,non ideo ceſſat,quin iterum bibat. Ad petendum maximi ſunt exactores,tenaciſſimi retentores,parciſſimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occiſio apud illos eſt pro nihilo.

Caſtitas.

Inſolentia aduerſus exteros.

Iracundia.

Fraudulentia.

Sordes.
Temulentia.

ἀνδροφονία.

De legibus & conſuetudinibus eorum. Cap.6.

Pœna adulterij.

Furti.

Arcani euulgati.

Leges matrimoniorum.

HOc autem habent in lege ſiue conſuetudine, vt occidant viros & mulieres, ſi quando inueniantur in adulterio manifeſtè. Similiter etiam virginem , ſi fornicata fuerit cum aliquo, occidunt eam cum eo. Præterea ſi aliquis in præda vel furto manifeſto inuenitur, ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Item ſi quis denudauit conſilia, maximè quando volunt ad bellum procedere,dantur ei ſuper poſteriora centum plagæ,quanto maiores vnus ruſticus cum magno baculo poteſt dare. Similiter cùm aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo, non eis à maioribus ſuis parcitur,ſed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Matrimonio autem generaliter coniunguntur omnibus,etiam propinquis carne, excepta matre & filia & ſorore ex eadem matre. Nam ſororem tantùm ex patre,& vxorem quoq; patris,poſt eius mortem ſolent ducere. Vxorẽ etiam fratris alius frater iunior,poſt eius mortem,vel alius de parentela,tenetur ducere. Vnde dum adhuc eſſemus in terra, Dux quidam Ruſſiæ, Andreas nomine,apud Baty,quòd equos Tartarorum de terra educeret,& alijs venderet, accuſatus eſt: quod licet non eſſet probatum, occiſus eſt. Hoc audiens iunior frater,& vxor occiſi, pariter venerunt ad præfatum Ducem, ſupplicare volentes,ne terra auferretur eiſdem. At ille paruo præcepit,vt fratris defuncti duceret vxorem, mulieri quoq; vt illum in virum duceret, ſecundum Tartarorum conſuetudinẽ. Quæ reſpondit,ſe potius occidi velle, quàm ſic contra legem facere. At ille nihilominus eam illi tradidit quamuis ambo renuerent, quantum poſſent. Itaq; ducentes eos in lectum, clamantem puerum & plorantẽ ſuper illam poſuerunt,ipſoſq; commiſceri pariter coëgerunt.Deniq; poſt mortem maritorum,vxores Tartarorum non de facili ſolent ad ſecunda coniugia tranſire, niſi fortè quis velit ſororiam aut nouercam ſuam ducere. Nulla verò differentia eſt apud eos inter filiũ vxoris & concubinæ,ſed dat pater qnod vult vnicuiq;. Itaq; ſi ſunt etiam ex Ducum genere,ita fit Dux filius concubinæ, ſicut filius vxoris legitimæ. Vnde cùm rex Georgiæ duos filios nuper,vnum ſcilicet nomine Melich legitimum,alterum verò Dauid ex adulterio natum haberet, morienſq; terræ partem adulteræ filio reliquiſſet, Melich,cui etiam ex parte matris regnum obuenerat, quia per fœminas tenebatur, perrexit ad Imperatorem Tartarorum, eo quòd & Dauid iter arripuerat ad illum. Ambobus igitur ad curiam venientibus, datiſq; maximis muneribus, petebat adulteræ filius,vt fieret ei iuſtitia ſecundum morem Tartarorum. Dataq; eſt ſententia contra Melich,vt Dauid,qui maior erat natu, ſubeſſet,ac terrã à patre ſibi conceſſam quietè ac pacificè poſſideret. Cumq; Tartarorum vnus habet vxorum multitudinem, vnaquæq; per ſe ſuam habet familiam & ſtationem.Et vna die Tartarus comedit & bibit & dormit cum vna, altera die cum alia. Vna tamen inter cæteras maior habetur, cum qua frequentius quã cum alijs commoratur. Et licet,vt dictum eſt,ſint multæ, nunquam tamen de facili contendunt inter ſe.

Andreas Dux Ruſſię.
¶Vide Herberſteinium de rebus Moſchoui. pag. 8.b.

Melich & Dauid fratres Georgiani.

πολυγαμία.

De ſuperſtitioſis traditionibus ipſorum. Cap.7.

ἐθελοθρησκεία.

QVibuſdam verò traditionibus indifferentia quędã eſſe peccata dicunt,quas vel ipſi vel anteceſſores eorum confinxerunt.Vnum eſt, cultellum in ignem figere, vel quocunq; modo ignem cultello tangere, vel etiam de caldaria cum cultello carnes extrahere, vel cum ſecuri ἀθεότης.

Cultus lunæ.

Luſtrationis ritus

Ignis ſuperſtitioſa efficacitas,

iuxta ignem incidere. Credunt enim, quòd ſic auferri debeat caput igni. Aliud eſt appodiare ſe ad flagellum, quo percutitur equus: ipſi enim non vtuntur calcaribus. Item flagello ſagittas tangere, iunenes aues capere vel occidere, cum fręno equum percutere, os cum oſſe alio frangere. Itemq; lac, vel aliquem potum aut cibum ſuper terram effundere, in ſtatione mingere. Quod ſi voluntariè facit, occiditur, ſi autem aliter, oportet quòd pecuniam multā incantatori ſoluat, à quo purificetur. Qui etiam faciat, vt ſtatio cum omnibus, quæ in ipſa ſunt, inter duos ignes tranſeat. Antequam ſic purificetur, nullus audet intrare, nec aliquid de illa exportare. Præterea ſi alicui morſellus imponitur, quem deglutire non poſſit, & illum de ore ſuo eijcit, foramen ſub ſtatione fit, per quod extrahitur, ac ſine vlla miſeratione occiditur. Iterum ſi quis calcat ſuper limen ſtationis Ducis alicuius, interficitur. Multa etiam habent his ſimilia, quæ reputant peccata. At homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, ac res illorum diripere, & contra Dei præcepta vel prohibitiones facere, nullum apud eos eſt peccatum. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua nihil ſciunt. Credunt tamen, quòd poſt mortem in alio ſeculo viuant, gregéſque multiplicent, comedant & bibant, & cætera faciant, quæ hîc à viuentibus fiunt. In principio lunationis vel in plenilunio incipiunt, quicquid noui agere volunt, ipſamq; Lunam Imperatorem magnum appellant, eamq; deprecantes genua flectunt. Omnes, qui morantur in ſtationibus ſuis, oportet per ignem purificari. Quæ ſcilicet purificatio fit hoc modo. Duos quidem ignes faciunt, & duas haſtas iuxta eos, vnamq; cordam in ſummitate haſtarum ponunt. Ligantq; ſuper cordam illam quaſdam de Bucaramo ſciſsiones, ſub qua ſcilicet corda & ligaturis inter illos ignes tranſeunt homines, ac beſtiæ ac ſtationes. Sunt etiam duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, ac quædam carmina recitantes. Cæterum ſi aliquis à fulgure occiditur, oportet prædicto modo per ignes tranſire omnes illos, qui in illis ſtationibus morantur. Statio ſiquidem ac lectus & currus, filtra & veſtes, & quicquid talium habent, à nullo tanguntur, ſed ab hominibus tanquam immunda reſpuuntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, omnia purificari credunt per ignem. Vnde quando veniunt ad eos nuncij, vel Principes, aut qualeſcunq; perſonæ, oportet ipſos & munera ſua per duos ignes, vt purificentur, tranſire, ne fortè veneficia fecerint, aut venenum ſeu aliquid mali attulerint.

De initio imperij ſiue Principatus eorum. Cap. 8.

Tartariæ populi.

Chingis ortus & res geſtæ.

Naymani. ¶Infra cap. 25.

Fratres diſcordantes oppreſſi.

Occoday Cham.

Homines ſylueſtres.

TErra quidem illa Orientalis, de qua dictum eſt ſuprà, quæ Mongal nominatur, quatuor quondam habuiſſe populos memoratur. Vnus eorum Yeka Mongal, id eſt, magni Mongali vocabantur. Secundus Sumongal, id eſt, aquatici Mongali, qui ſeipſos appellabant Tartaros, à quodam fluuio per eorum terram currente, qui Tartar nominatur. Tertius appellabatur Merkat. Quartus verò Metrit. Omnes vnam perſonarum formam & vnam linguam habebant hi populi, quamuis inter ſe per Principes ac prouincias eſſent diuiſi. In terra Yeka Mongal quidam fuit, qui vocabatur Chingis. Iſte cœpit robuſtus venator eſſe: didicit enim homines furari, & prædam capere. Ad alias terras ibat, & quoſcunque poterat, captiuabat, ſibiq; aſſociabat. Homines quoque ſuæ gentis inclinauit ad ſe, qui tanquam Ducem ſequebantur ipſum ad malè agendum. Cœpit autem pugnare cum Sumongal, ſiue cum Tartaris, & Ducem eorum interfecit, multoq; bello ſibi Tartaros omnes ſubiecit, & in ſeruitutem redegit. Poſt hęc cum iſtis omnibus contra Merkatas, iuxta terram poſitos Tartarorum pugnauit, quos etiam bello ſibi ſubiecit. Inde procedens contra Metritas pugnā exercuit, & illos etiam obtinuit. Audientes Naymani, quòd Chingis taliter eleuatus eſſet, indignati ſunt. Ipſi enim habuerant Imperatorem ſtrenuum valdè, cui dabant tributum cunctę nationes prædictæ. Qui cùm eſſet mortuus, filij eius ſucceſſerunt loco ipſius. Sed quia iuuenes ac ſtulti erant, populum tenere neſciebant, ſed ad inuicem diuiſi ac ſciſſi erant. Vnde Chingi prædicto modo iam exaltato, nihilominus in terras prædictas faciebant inſultum, & habitatores occidebant, ac diripiebant prædam eorum. Quod audiens Chingis, omnes ſibi ſubiectos congregauit. Naymani & Karakytay ex aduerſo ſimiliter in quandam vallem ſtrictam conuenerunt, & commiſſum eſt prælium, in quo Naymani & Karakytay à Mongalis deuicti ſunt. Qui etiam pro maiori parte occiſi fuerunt, & alij, qui euadere non potuerunt, in ſeruitutem redacti ſunt. In terra prædictorū Karakytaorum Occoday Cham, filius Chingiſcham, poſtquā imperator fuit poſitus, quandā ciuitatem ædificauit, quā Chanyl appellauit. Prope quam ad Meridiem eſt quoddā deſertum magnū, in quo pro certo ſylueſtres homines habitare dicuntur, qui nullatenus loquuntur, nec iuncturas in cruribus habent, & ſi quando cadunt, per ſe ſurgere non valent. Sed tamen diſcretionem tantam habent, quòd filtra de lana Camelorum, quibus veſtiuntur, faciunt & contra ventum ponunt. Et ſi quando Tartari pergentes ad eos vulnerant eos ſagittis, gramina in vulneribus ponunt, & fortiter ante ipſos fugiunt.

De

De mutua victoria ipſorum & Kythaorum. Cap.9.

MOngali autem in terram ſuam reuertentes, ſe contra * Kythaos ad prælium parauerunt, & caſtra mouentes, eorum terram intrauerunt. Quod audiens eorum Imperator, venit cum exercitu ſuo contra illos, & commiſſum eſt pręlium durū, in quo Mongali ſunt deuicti, omneſq; nobiles eorum, qui erant in exercitu, præter ſeptem occiſi ſunt. Vnde cùm illis volentibus aliquam impugnare regionē, minatur aliquis ſtragem, adhuc reſpondent: Olim etiam occiſi non niſi ſeptem remanſimus, & tamen modò creuimus in multitudinem magnam, ideoq; non terremur de talibus. Chingis autem & alij, qui remanſerunt, in terram ſuam fugerunt. Cumq; quieuiſſet aliquantulum, præparauit ſe rurſus ad prælium, & proceſſit contra terram Huyrorum. Iſti ſunt homines Chriſtiani de ſecta Neſtorianorum. Et hos etiam Mongali deuicerunt, eorumq; literam acceperunt; prius enim ſcripturam non habebant, nunc autem eandem Mongalorum literam appellant. Inde contra terram Saruyur, & contra terram Karanitarum, & contra terram Hudirat proceſſit, quos omnes bello deuicit. Inde in terram ſuam redijt, & aliquantulum quieuit. Deinde conuocatis omnibus hominibus ſuis, contra Kythaos pariter proceſſerunt, diuq; contra illos pugnantes, magnam partem terræ illorum vicerunt, eorumq; Imperatorem in ciuitatem ſuam maiorem concluſerunt. Quam & tam longo tempore obſederunt, quod exercitus expenſæ omninò defecerunt. Cumq; iam quod manducarent, penitus non haberent, pręcipit Chingiſcham ſuis, vt de decē hominibus vnū ad manducandum darent. Illi verò de ciuitate machinis & ſagittis viriliter contra illos pugnabāt, & cùm deficerent lapides, argentū & maximè liquefactum proijciebant. Ciuitas ſiquidē illa multis erat diuitijs plena. Cumq; diu Mongali pugnaſſent, & eam bello vincere non poſſent, vnam magnā ſub terra viam ab exercitu vſq; ad mediū ciuitatis fecerunt, & proſilientes in mediū eius, contra ciues pugnauerunt. Illi quoque, qui extra remanſerant, eodem modo contra illos pugnabant. Deniq; concidentes portas ciuitatis intrauerunt, & imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes vrbem poſſederunt, aurumq; & argentum, & omnes eius diuitias abſtulerunt. Et cùm illi terrę ſuos homines præfeciſſent, in terrā propriam reuerſi ſunt. Tunc primum Imperatore Kythaorum deuicto, factus eſt Chingiſcham imperator. Quandam tamen partē illius terræ, quia poſita erat in mari, nullatenus deuicerunt vſq; hodie. Sunt autem Kytai homines pagani, habentes literam ſpecialem, & etiam, vt dicitur, veteris & noui Teſtamenti ſcripturam. Habent etiam vitas patrū & eremitas & domos, in quibus orant temporibus ſuis, ad modum Eccleſiarum factas. Quoſdam etiam ſanctos habere ſe dicunt, & vnum Deum colunt. Chriſtum IESVM Dominum venerantur, & credunt vitā æternam, ſed non baptizantur. Scripturam noſtram honorant ac reuerentur. Chriſtianos diligunt, & eleemoſynas plures faciunt, homines benigni ſatis & humani videntur. Barbam non habent, & in diſpoſitione faciei cum Mongalis in parte concordant. Meliores artifices in mundo non inueniuntur in omnibus operibus, in quibus homines exercentur. Terra eorum eſt opulenta nimis in frumento & vino, auro & ſerico ac rebus cæteris.

* *Haythono & Paulo Veneto ſunt Cathay.*

Tartarorum Cathayna clades.

Nouæ victorię.

Literæ.

Argentum loco lapidum in hoſtem proiectum.

Chingis ſalutatur Imperator.

Cathaynorum literæ & religio.

Opificiorum ἐξοχή.

De pugna ipſorum contra Indiam minorem *&* *maiorem.* Cap.10.

CVm autem Mongali cum Imperatore ſuo Chingiſcham poſt pręfatam victoriā aliquantulum quieuiſſent, exercitus ſuos diuiſerunt. Imperator ſiquidem vnum de filijs ſuis nomine Thoſut, quem etiam Can, id eſt, Imperatorē appellabant, cum exercitu contra Comanos miſit, quos ille multo bello deuicit, & poſtmodum in terram ſuam redijt. Alium verò filiū cum exercitu contra Indos miſit, qui & minorem Indiam ſubiecit. Hi ſunt nigri Sarraceni, qui Æthipes ſunt vocati. Hic autem exercitus ad pugnam contra Chriſtianos, qui ſunt in India maiori, proceſſit. Quod audiens Rex illius terræ, qui vulgò * Presbyter Iohannes appellatur, contra illos venit exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum, vnamquanq; poſuit in ſella ſuper equum. Poſuit & interius ignem, & hominem cum folle ſuper equum poſt imaginem. Itaq; cum multis equis & imaginibus, taliter præparatis, ad pugnam contra Mongalos ſeu Tartaros proceſſerunt. Et cùm ad locum prælij perueniſſent, equos iſtos vnum iuxta alium pręmiſerunt. Viri autem, qui erant retrò, neſcio quid ſuper ignem, qui erat intra imagines, poſuerunt, & cum follibus fortiter ſufflauerunt. Vnde factum eſt, vt ex Græco igne homines & equi comburerentur, & etiam aër ex fumo denigraretur. Túmque ſuper Tartaros ſagittas iecerunt Indi, ex quibus multi vulnerati fuerunt & interfecti. Sícq; eiecerunt illos cum magna confuſione de ſuis finibus, nec vnquam, quod ad ipſos vltra redierint audiuimus.

Thoſſut Can, Chingis F.

India minor debellata.

Regis maioris Indiæ ſtratagema.

* *Vide ſcolion in lib.1.cap.51. M. Pauli Veneti.*

Victoria.

Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulſi, Buri*thabethinos vicerunt.* Cap. 11.

De monſtroſis mulieribus & canibus monſtroſa narratio.

¶ Forſan autem videri allegorica alluſio, poſſit ad Canibales de quibus Petrus Martyr Mediolan. de rebus Oceanicis.

CVm autem per deſerta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt, in qua, ſicut nobis apud Imperatoris curiam per clericos Ruthenos, & alios, qui diu fuerant inter ipſos, firmiter aſſerendo referebatur, monſtra quædam, imaginem fœmineam habentia, repererunt. Quas cùm per multos interpretes interrogaſſent, vbi viri terræ illius eſſent, reſponderunt, quòd in illa terra quæcunq; fœminę naſcebãtur, habebant formã humanam, maſculi vero ſpeciẽ caninam. Dumq; moram in terra illa protraherent, Canes in alia fluuij parte conuenerunt. Et cùm eſſet hyems aſperrima omnes ſe in aquam proiecerunt. Poſt hæc incontinenti ſponte in puluerẽ voluebantur, ſicq; puluis admixtus aquę ſuper eos congelabatur, & vt ita pluries fecerunt, glacie ſuper eos depreſſata, cum impetu magno contra Tartaros ad pugnam conuenerunt. At verò cum illi ſagittas ſuper eos iaciebant, ac ſi ſuper lapides ſagittaſſent, retrò ſagittæ redibant. Alia quoq; arma eorũ in nullo eos lædere poterant. Ipſi verò Canes inſultum in Tartaros facientes, morſibus vulnerauerunt multos, & occiderunt, ſicq; illos de ſuis finibus eiecerunt. Vnde adhuc inter illos eſt prouerbium de hoc facto, quod dicunt ad inuicem ridendo: Pater meus vel frater meus à Canibus fuit occiſus. Mulieres autem illorũ, quas ceperant, ad terrã ſuã duxerunt, & vſq; ad diẽ mortis eorũ ibidẽ fuerunt. Cùm autẽ exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cuius habitatores pagani ſunt, & hos Tartari bello vicerunt. Hi conſuetudinem habent mirabilem, imò potius miſerabilem. Cùm enim alicuius pater humanæ naturæ ſoluit debitum, congregant omnẽ parentelam, & comedunt eum. Hi pilos in barba non habent, imò ferrum quoddam in manibus, ſicut vidimus, portant, cum quo ſemper barbam, ſi forte crinis aliquis in ea creſcit, depilant. Multum etiam deformes ſunt. Inde verò ille Tartarorum exercitus in terram ſuam eſt reuerſus.

Burithabeth regio.

Incolarum mores

Qualiter à montibus Caſpijs, & ab hominibus ſub*terraneis repulſi ſunt.* Cap. 12.

Alia Chingis expeditio.

CHingiſcham etiã illo tẽpore, quo dimiſit alios exercitus contra Orientẽ, per terram Kergis cum expeditione perrexit, quos tamen tunc bello non vicit, & vt nobis dicebatur, ibidẽ vſq; ad montes Caſpios peruenit. At illi montes in ea parte, ad quam applicauerunt, de lapide Adamantino ſunt: ideóq; ſagittas & arma ferrea illorũ ad ſe traxerunt. Homines autẽ inter Caſpios montes concluſi clamorem exercitus, vt creditur, audientes, montem frangere cœperunt, & cùm alio tempore poſt decem annos redirent Tartari, montem confractum inuenerunt. Cumq; ad illos accedere attentaſſent, minimè potuerunt: quia nubes quędam erat poſita ante ipſos, vltra quam ire nullatenus poterant. Omninò quippe viſum amittebant, ſtatim vt ad illam perueniebant. Illi autem ex aduerſo credentes, quòd Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, inſultum contra eos fecerunt, ſed ſtatim vt peruenerunt ad nubem propter cauſam prædictam, procedere non potuerunt. Ac verò antequam ad montes prædictos peruenirent Tartari, pluſquam per menſem per vaſtam ſolitudinem tranſierunt, & inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem, pluſquàm per menſem per magnum deſertum perrexerunt. Itaq; peruenerunt ad quandam terram, in qua vias quidem tritas videbant, ſed neminem inuenire poterant. Tandem quęrentes, vnũ hominem cum vxore ſua repererunt, quos in pręſentiam Chingiſcham adduxerunt. Qui cùm interrogaſſet illos, vbi homines illius terræ eſſent, reſponderunt, quòd in terra ſub montibus habitarent. Tunc Chingiſcham retenta vxore, miſit ad eos virum illum, mandans illis, vt venirent ad ipſius mandatum. Qui pergens ad illos, omnia narrauit, quæ Chingiſcham eis mandauit. Illi verò reſpondentes dixerunt, quod die tali venirent ad ipſum, vt facerent eius mandatum. Ac ipſi medio tempore per vias occultas ſub terra ſe congregantes, ad pugnam contra illos venerunt, & ſubitò ſuper eos irruentes, plurimos occiderunt. Solis quoque ſonitus in ortu ſuo ſuſtinere non poterant, imò tempore, quo oriebatur, oportebat eos vnam aurem ad terram ponere, & ſuperiorem fortiter obturare, ne ſonum illum terribilem audirent. Nec ſic tamen cauere poterant, quin hac de cauſa plurimi ex eis interirent. Videns ergo Chingiſcham & ſui, quòd nihil proficerent, ſed potius homines ſuos perderent, fugerunt, ac terra illa exierunt. Illum tamen virum cum vxore ſua ſecum deduxerunt, qui etiam vſque ad mortem in terra eorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò, cur in regione ſua ſub terra ſoleant habitare, dixerunt, quòd ibi quodam tempore anni, cúm oritur Sol, tantus fit ſonitus, vt homines nulla ratione valeant ſuſtinere. Quin etiam tunc in organis & tympanis cæteriſque muſicis inſtrumentis percutere ſolent, vt ſonitum illum non audiant.

¶ Vide an Hamſem regionem dicat: de qua Haythonus cap. 10.

Troglodytæ.

Fabuloſus Solis orientis ſonitus.

De

De ſtatutis Chingiſcham, et morte ipſius, et filijs ac *Ducibus*. Cap.13.

CVm autem de terra illa reuerteretur Chingiſcham, defecerunt eis victualia, famemq́; patiebantur maximam. Tunc interiora vnius beſtiæ recentia caſu inuenerunt: quæ accipientes, depoſitis tantum ſtercoribus, decoxerunt, & coram Chingiſcham deportata pariter comederunt. Ideoq́; ſtatuit Chingiſcham, vt nec ſanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de beſtia, quæ manducari poteſt, proijciatur, exceptis ſtercoribus. Inde ergò in terram propriam reuerſus eſt, ibiq́; leges & ſtatuta edidit, quæ Tartari inuiolabiliter obſeruant, de quibus ſcilicet iam aliâs ſuperiùs dictum eſt. Poſt hoc ab ictu tonitrui occiſus eſt. Habuit autem quatuor filios: Occoday vocabatur primus, Thoſſut Can ſecundus, Thiaday tertius, quarti nomen ignoramus. Ab his iiij. deſcenderunt omnes Duces Mongalorum. Primus filiorum Occoday eſt Cuyne, qui nunc eſt Imperator. Huius fratres Cocten & Chyrenen. Ex filijs autem Thoſſut Can ſunt Bathy, Ordu, Siba, Bora. Bathy poſt Imperatorem omnibus ditior eſt ac potentior. Ordu verò omnium Ducum ſenior. Filij Thiaday, ſunt Hurin & Cadan. Filij autem alterius filij Chingiſcham, cuius ignoramus nomen, ſunt, Mengu & Bithat & alij plures. Huius Mengu mater Seroctan eſt, Domina magna inter Tartaros, excepta Imperatoris matre plus nominata, omnibusq́; potentior, excepto Bathy. Hæc autem ſunt nomina Ducum: Ordu, qui fuit in Polonia, & Hungaria, Bathy quoq; & Huryn & Cadan & Sÿban & Ouygat, qui omnes fuerunt in Hungaria. Sed & Cyrpodan, qui adhuc eſt vltra mare contra quoſdam Soldanos Sarracenorum, & alios habitatores terræ transmarinæ. Alij verò remanſerunt in terra, ſcilicet Mengu, Chyrenen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Correnſa. Alij quoq; Duces eorum plures ſunt, quorum nomina nobis ignota ſunt.

Chingis lex.

Interitus.

Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

De poteſtate Imperatoris & Ducum eius. Cap.14.

POrrò Imperator eorum, ſcilicet Tartarorum, ſuper omnes habet mirabile dominium. Nullus enim audet in aliqua morari parte, niſi vbi aſſignauerit ipſe. Et ipſe quidem aſſignat Ducibus vbi maneant. Duces autem loca Millenarijs aſſignant, Millenarij verò Centenarijs, & Centenarij Decanis. Quicquid autem eis præcipitur, quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, ſiue ad bellum, ſiue ad mortem, vel vbicunque, ſine vlla obediunt contradictione. Nam etſi petit alicuius filiam virginem, vel ſororem, mox ei ſine contradictione exponunt eam, imò frequenter colligit virgines ex omnibus Tartarorum finibus, & ſi vult aliquas retinere, ſibi retinet, alias verò dat ſuis hominibus. Nuncios etiam quoſcunq; & vbicunq; tranſmittat, oportet quòd dent ei ſine mora equos & expenſas. Similiter vndecunque veniant ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet equos & currus & expenſas tribui. Ac verò nuncij, qui aliunde veniunt, in magna miſeria, & victus & veſtitus penuria ſunt. Maximeq́; quando veniunt ad Principes, & ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc adeò parum datur decem hominibus, quòd vix inde poſſent duo viuere. Inſuper & ſi aliquæ illis iniuriæ fiunt, minimè conqueri facile poſſunt. Multa quoque munera tam à principibus quàm à cæteris ab illis petuntur: quæ ſi non dederint, vilipenduntur, & quaſi pro nihilo reputantur. Hinc & nos magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis pro expenſis à fidelibus erant datæ, de neceſſitate oportuit in muneribus dare. Denique ſic omnia ſunt in manu Imperatoris, quod nemo audet dicere, Hoc meum eſt vel illius, ſed omnia, ſcilicet res & iumenta ac homines, ſunt ipſius. Super hoc etiam nuper emanauit ſtatutum eiuſdem. Idem quoq; per omnia dominium habent Duces ſuper ſibi ſubditos homines.

Imperatoris Tartarorum ſeruile in omnes imperium.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

De electione Imperatoris Occoday, & legatione *Ducis Bathy*. Cap.15.

MOrtuo, vt ſuprà dictum eſt, Cyngiſcham, conuenerunt Duces, & elegerunt Occoday, filium eius Imperatorem. Qui habito conſilio Principum, diuiſit exercitus. Miſitq́; Bathy, qui in ſecundo gradu attingebat eum, contra terram Altiſſodan & contra terram Biſminorum, qui Sarraceni erant, ſed loquebantur Comanicum. Qui terram illorum ingreſſus, cum eis pugnauit, eoſq́; ſibi bello ſubiecit. Quędam autem ciuitas, nomine Barchin, diu reſtitit eis. Ciues enim in circuitu ciuitatis foueas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas repleuiſſent. Ciues autem vrbis Sarguit hoc audientes, exierunt obuiam eis, ſpontè in manus eorum ſe tradentes. Vnde ciuitas eorum deſtructa non fuit, ſed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios tranſtulerunt, acceptiſq́; ſpolijs, vrbem alijs hominibus repleuerunt, & contra ciuitatem Orna perrexerunt. Hæc erat nimium populoſa & diuitijs copioſa. Erant enim ibi

Occoday ſurrogatur patri.

Bathy eiuſq; expeditio.

Barchin ciuitas.

Sarguit ciuitas.

Orna ciuitas.

plures Chriſtiani, videlicet Gaſari & Rutheni, & Alani, & alij nec non & Sarraceni. Eratq; Sarracenorum ciuitatis dominium. Eſt etiam poſita ſuper quendam magnum fluuium, & eſt quaſi portus, habens forum maximum. Cumq; Tartari non poſſent eos aliter vincere, fluuium, qui per vrbem currebat, præciderunt, & illam cum rebus & hominibus ſubmerſerunt. Quo facto, contra Ruſſiam perrexerunt, & magnam ſtragem in ea fecerunt, ciuitates & caſtra deſtruxerunt, & homines occiderunt. Kiouiam, Ruſſiæ metropolin, diu obſederunt, & tandem ceperunt, ac ciues interfecerunt. Vnde quando per illam terram ibamus, innumerabilia capita & oſſa hominum mortuorum, iacentia ſuper campum, inueniebamus. Fuerat enim vrbs valdè magna & populoſa, nunc quaſi ad nihilum eſt redacta: vix enim domus ibi remanſerunt ducentę, quarum etiam habitatores tenentur in maxima ſeruitute. Porrò de Ruſſia & de Comania Tartari contra Hungaros & Polonos proceſſerunt, ibiq; plures ex ipſis interfecti fuerunt, & vt iam ſuperius dictum eſt, ſi Hungari viriliter reſtitiſſent, Tartari ab eis confuſi receſſiſſent. Inde reuertentes in terram Morduanorum, qui ſunt Pagani, venerunt, eoſq; bello vicerunt. Inde contra Byleros, id eſt, contra Bulgariam magnam profecti ſunt, & ipſam omninò deſtruxerunt. Hinc ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Baſtarcos, id eſt Hungariam magnam proceſſerunt, & illos etiam deuicerunt. Hinc ampliùs ad Aquilonem pergentes, ad Paroſſitas venerunt, qui paruos habentes ſtomachos & os paruum, non manducant, ſed carnes decoquunt, quibus decoctis, ſe ſuper ollam ponunt, & fumum recipiunt, & de hoc ſolo reficiuntur, vel ſi aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum eſt. Hinc & ad Samogetas venerunt, qui tantùm de venationibus viuunt, & tabernacula veſteſq; tantum habent de pellibus beſtiarum. Inde ad quandam terram ſuper Oceanum peruenerunt, vbi monſtra quædam inuenerunt, quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, ſed pedes bouinos, & caput quidem humanum, ſed faciem vt canis. Duo verba loquebantur vt homines, tertiò latrabant vt canes. Hinc redierunt in Comaniam, & vſq; nunc ibi morantur ex eis quidam.

¶ Vide Mechouiam, lib. 1, ca. 3.

Morduani.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Paroſſitę.

Samogetę.

Monſtra aquilonaria.

† *De his regionibus Herberſteinius pag. 8.b & 91.b. Paret enim hodie vtraq; Moſchorum Principi. Item de Bulgaria Guaguinus pag. 106.b.*

De legatione Cyrpodan Ducis. Cap. 16.

EO tempore miſit Occoday Can Cyrpodan Ducem cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, qui & illos bello ſuperauit. Hi homines ſunt Pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum conſuetudo talis eſt, vt cùm alicuius pater moritur, præ dolore quaſi vnam corrigiam in ſignum lamenti ab aure vſq; aurem de facie ſua leuet. His autem deuictis, Dux Cyrpodan contra Armenios iuit ad meridiem cum ſuis. Qui cùm tranſirent per deſerta quædam, monſtra inuenerunt, effigiem humanam habentia, quæ non niſi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant, & duo cum vno arcu ſagittabant, adeoq; fortiter currebant, quòd equi eos inueſtigare non poterant. Currebant autem ſuper vnum pedem illum ſaltando, & cùm eſſent fatigati, taliter eundo ibant ſuper manum & pedem, ſe tanquam in circulo reuoluendo. Cumq; ſic etiam feſſi eſſent, iterum ſecundùm priorem modum currebant. Hos Iſidorus Cyclopedes appellat. Et ex eis Tartari nonnullos occiderunt. Et ſicut nobis à Ruthenis Clericis in curia dicebatur, qui morantur cum Imperatore prædicto, plures ex eis nuncij venerunt in legatione ad curiam Imperatoris, ſuperiùs annotati, vt poſſent habere pacem cum illo. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello deuicerunt, & etiam Georgiæ partem. Aliæ verò pars venit ad mandatum eorum, & ſingulis annis dederunt, & adhuc dant ei pro tributo xx. millia Yperperarum. Hinc ad terram Soldani Deurum, potentis & magni, proceſſerunt, cum quo etiam pugnantes, ipſum deuicerunt. Denique proceſſerunt vlterius debellando ac vincendo vſque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ, & nunc etiam terram obtinent, alias quoque terras vltra illas proponentes impugnare: nec poſtea reuerſi ſunt in terram ſuam vſq; hodiè. Idemq; exercitus contra terram Caliphi Baldach perrexit, quam etiam ſibi ſubdidit, & vt CCCC. Byzantios, exceptis Baldekinis cæteriſq; muneribus, ei quotidiè pro tributo daret, obtinuit. Sed & quolibet anno mittunt nuncios ad Caliphum, vt ad eos veniat. Qui cum tributo munera magna traſmittens, vt eum ſupportent, rogat. Ipſe autem Imperator Tartarorum munera quidem accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat, pro eo mittit.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia ſubacta.

Soldanus Halapię.

† Calipha Baldacenſis.

Qualiter Tartari ſe habent in prælijs. Cap. 17.

ORdinauit Chingiſcham Tartaros per Decanos & centenarios & millenarios. Decem quoque millenarijs præponunt vnum, cunctoq; nihilominus exercitui duos aut tres Duces, ita tamen vt ad vnum habeant reſpectum. Cumq; in bello contra aliquos congrediuntur, niſi communi-

Tartarorum militaris diſciplina.

communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt, occiduntur. Et ſi vnus aut duo, vel plures ex decem audacter accedunt ad pugnam, alij verò ex illo Denario non ſequuntur, ſimiliter occiduntur. Sed etiam ſi vnus ex decem vel plures capiuntur, ſocij eorum ſi non eos liberant, ipſi etiam occiduntur. Porrò arma debent habere talia. Duos arcus vel vnum bonum ad minus. Treſq; pharetras ſagittis plenas, & vnam ſecurim & funes ad machinas trahendas. Diuites autem habent gladios in fine acutos, ex vna parte tantùm incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos. Habent & equos armatos, crura etiam tecta, galeas & loricas. Verùm loricas & equorum cooperturas quidam habent de corio, ſuper corpus artificioſè duplicato vel etiam triplicato. Galea verò ſuperius eſt de chalybe, vel de ferro: ſed illud, quod in circuitu protegit collum & gulam, eſt de corio. Quidam autem de ferro habent omnia ſupradicta, in hunc modum formata. Laminas multas tenues ad vnius digiti latitudinem & palmæ longitudinē faciunt, & in qualibet octo foramina paruula facientes, interius tres corrigias ſtrictas & fortes ponunt. Sicq; laminas, vnam alij quaſi per gradus aſcendendo, ſupponunt. Itaq; laminas ad corrigias, tenuibus corrigiolis per foramina prædicta immiſſis, ligant, & in ſuperiori parte corrigiolam vnam ex vtraque parte duplicatam cum alia corrigiola conſuunt, vt laminæ ſimul benè firmiterq; cohæreant. Hæc faciunt tam ad cooperturas equorum, quàm ad armaturas hominum. Adeoq; faciunt illa lucere, quod in eis poteſt homo faciem ſuam videre. Aliqui verò in collo ferri lanceæ vncum habent, cum quo de ſella, ſi poſſunt, hominem detrahant. Sagittarum eorum ferramenta ſunt acutiſſima, ex vtraque parte quaſi gladius biceps incidentia, ſemperq; iuxta pharetram portant limas ad acuendum ſagittas. Habent verò ſcuta de viminibus, aut de virgulis facta. Sed non credimus, quòd ea ſoleant portare, niſi ad caſtra & ad cuſtodiam Imperatoris ac principum, & hoc tantùm de nocte. In bellis aſtutiſſimi ſunt: quia per annos xlij. cum cæteris gentibus dimicârunt. Cùm autem ad flumina peruenerunt, maiores habent rotundum ac leue corium, in cuius ſummitate per circuitum anſas crebras facientes, funem imponunt ac ſtringunt, ita quod in circuitu quaſi ventrem efficiunt, quem veſtibus ac rebus cæteris replent, fortiſſimeq; ad inuicem comprimunt. In medio autem ponunt ſellas & alias res duriores: ibi quoque ſedent homines. Huiuſmodi nauim ad equi caudam ligant, & hominem, qui equum regat, pariter natare faciunt, vel habent aliquando duos remos, cum quibus remigant. Equo igitur in aquam impulſo, omnes alij equi ſequuntur illum, & ſic tranſeunt fluuium. Pauperior autem quilibet vnam burſam vel ſaccum de corio benè conſutum habet, in quo res ſuas omnes imponit, & in ſummitate fortiter ligatum, ad equi caudam ſuſpendit, ſicq; modo prędicto tranſit.

Armatura.

Vſus bellorum.

Mos tranandi flumina.

Qualiter reſiſtendum ſit eis. Cap. 18.

NVllam æſtimo prouinciam eſſe, quæ per ſe poſſit eis reſiſtere: quia de omni terra poteſtatis ſuæ ſolent homines ad bellum congregare. Et ſiquidem vicina prouincia non vult eis opem ferre, quam impugnant, delentes illam, cum hominibus, quos ex illa capiunt, contra aliam pugnant. Et illos quidem in acie primos ponunt, & ſi malè pugnant, ipſos occidunt. Itaq; ſi Chriſtiani eis reſiſtere volunt, oportet quòd Principes ac rectores terrarum in vnum conueniant, ac de communi conſilio eis reſiſtant. Habeantq; pugnatores arcus fortes & baliſtas, quas multùm timent, ſagittaſq; ſufficientes, dolabrum quoq; de bono ferro, vel ſecurim cum manubrio longo. Ferramenta verò ſagittarum more Tartarorum, quando ſunt calida, temperare debent in aqua, cum ſale mixta, vt fortia ſint ad penetrandum illorum arma. Gladios etiam & lanceas cum vncis habeant, qui volunt, ad detrahendū illos de ſella, de qua facillimè cadunt. Habeant & galeas & arma cætera, ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & ſagittis eorum, & ſi qui non ita ſunt armati, debent more illorum poſt alios ire, & contra ipſos arcubus vel baliſtis traijcere. Et ſicut dictum eſt ſuprà de Tartaris, debent acies ſuas ordinare, ac legem pugnantibus imponere. Quicunq; conuerſus fuerit ad prædam ante victoriam, maximam debet pœnam ſubire: talis enim apud illos occiditur abſq; miſeratione. Locus ad prælium, ſi fieri poteſt, eligendus eſt planus, vt vndiq; poſſint videre, nec omnes debent in vnum conuenire, ſed acies multas & diuiſas, nec tamen nimis diſtantes ab inuicem, facere. Contra illos, qui primò veniunt, debent vnam aciem mittere, & alia parata ſit ad iuuandum illam opportuno tempore. Habeant & ſpeculatores ex omni parte, qui videant, quando veniunt acies cęteræ. Nam ideò ſemper debent aciem contra aciem, vt ei occurrant, mittere, quoniam illi ſemper nituntur aduerſarios in medio concludere. Hoc autem acies caueant, ne ſi etiam illi fugere videantur, diu poſt illos currant, ne fortè, ſicut facere ſolent, ipſos ad paratas inſidias trahant: quia plus fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Et iterum ne fatigentur equi eorum: quia noſtri multitudinem non habent equorum. Tartari verò quos equitant die vna, non aſcendunt tribus diebus, vel quatuor poſtea. Præterea ſi cedunt Tartari, non ideò debent noſtri recedere, vel ab inuicem

Παραίνεσις de bello contra Tartaros gerendo.

Ferri temperamentum.

uicem ſeparari: quoniam hoc ſimulando faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & ſic ad terræ deſtructionem liberè ingrediantur. Cæterùm Duces noſtri die noctúque facere debent exercitum cuſtodiri: nec iacere ſpoliati, ſed ſemper ad pugnam parati: quia Tartari quaſi Dæmones ſemper vigilant, excogitantes artem nocendi. Porrò ſi aliqui Tartarorum in bello de ſuis equis proijciuntur, ſtatim capiendi ſunt, quia quando ſunt in terra fortiter ſagittant, & equos hominesq́; vulnerant.

De itinere Fratris Iohannis de Plano carpini vſque ad *primam cuſtodiam Tartarorum.* Cap. 19.

Itinerarium Ioann. & ſociorum legatorum.

Boleſlaus Dux Sileſiæ.

* *Mazouia.*

* *Grimiſlaua, vt Mechouius lib. 1. cap. 9.*

Literę Papę ad Ruſſos.

Daniel, frater Baſilij.

Lituani.

NOs igitur ex mandato ſedis Apoſtolicæ cùm iremus ad Orientis nationes, elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficiſci: quia timebamus, ne per illos in proximo Eccleſiæ Dei periculum immineret. Itaq; pergētes, ad regem Boëmorū peruenimus: qui cùm eſſet nobis familiaris, conſuluit, vt per Poloniam & Ruſſiam iter ageremus. Habebat enim conſanguineos in Polonia, quorum auxilio Ruſſiam intrare poſſemus. Datiſq; literis & bono conductu, fecit & expenſas nobis dari per curias & ciuitates eius, quo vſque ad Ducem Sleſiæ Bolezlaum, nepotem eius, veniremus, qui etiam erat nobis familiaris & notus. Hinc & ipſe nobis ſimiliter fecit, donec veniremus ad Conradum, Ducem * Lautiſciæ, ad quem tunc, Dei gratia nobis fauente, venerat Dominus Waſilico, Dux Ruſſiæ, à quo etiam plenius de facto audiuimus Tartarorum: quia nuncios illuc miſerat, qui iam redierant ad ipſum. Audito autem, quòd oporteret nos illis munera dare, quaſdam pelles caſtorum & aliorum animalium fecimus emi, de hoc, quod datum nobis fuerat in eleemoſynam ad ſubſidiū viæ. Quod agnoſcentes Dux Conradus & * Duciſſa Cracouiæ, & Epiſcopus & quidam milites, plures etiam nobis dederunt huiuſmodi pelles. Denique Dux Waſilico à Duce Cracouiæ, & Epiſcopo atque Baronibus pro nobis attentè rogatus, ſecum nos in terram ſuam duxit, & vt aliquantulum quieſceremus, aliquot diebus nos in expenſis ſuis detinuit. Et cùm rogatus à nobis, feciſſet Epiſcopos ſuos venire, legimus eis literas Domini Papæ, monentis eos, ad ſanctæ matris Eccleſię vnitatem redire. Ad idem quoque nos ipſi monuimus eos, & induximus, quantum potuimus, tam Ducem quàm Epiſcopos & alios. Sed quia Dux Daniel, frater Waſiliconis prædicti, præſens non erat, quoniam ad Baty profectus erat, non potuerunt eo tempore finaliter reſpondere. Poſt hæc Dux Waſilico transmiſit nos vſque in Kiouiam metropolin Ruſſiæ, cum ſeruiente vno. Ibamus tamen in periculo capitis ſemper propter Lituanos, qui ſæpè faciebant inſultum ſuper terram Ruſſiæ, & in illis maximè locis, per quos debebamus tranſire. At per prædictum ſeruientem eramus ſecuri à Ruthenis, quorum etiam maxima pars occiſa vel captiuata erat à Tartaris. Porrò in Danilone vſque ad mortem tunc infirmati fuimus. Nihilominus tamen in vehiculo per niuem & frigus magnum trahi nos fecimus. Cùm ergò Kiouiam peruenimus, habuimus de via noſtra conſilium cum millenario ac cæteris ibidem nobilibus. Qui reſponderunt nobis, quòd ſi duceremus equos illos, quos tunc habebamus, ad Tartaros, cùm eſſent magnæ niues, morerentur omnes: quia neſcirent herbam fodere ſub niue, ſicut equi faciunt Tartarorum, nec inueniri poſſet aliquod pro eis ad manducandum, cùm Tartari nec ſtramina nec fœnum habeant, nec pabulum. Itaque decreuimus eos illic dimittere cum duobus pueris, deputatis eorum cuſtodiæ. Ideoq; nos oportuit millenario dare munera, vt ipſum haberemus propitium, ad dandum nobis equos ſubductitios & conductum. Secundo igitur die poſt feſtum Purificationis cepto itinere, venimus ad villam Canouæ, quę ſub Tartaris erat immediatè. Cuius præfectus nobis dedit equos & conductum vſque ad aliam, in qua reperimus præfectum Micheam, omni malitia plenum. Qui tamen acceptis à nobis muneribus ſecundum velle ſuum, duxit nos vſq; ad primam cuſtodiam Tartarorum.

Pabulum equorum Tartaric.

Micheas πανοῦργος.

Qualiter primò cum ſocijs ſuis receptus eſt à Tartaris. Cap. 20.

Papa Chriſtianorum pater & Dominus.

CVm ergo in prima ſexta feria poſt diem cinerum, Sole ad occaſum tendente, hoſpitaremur, Tartari ſuper nos armati horribiliter irruerunt, quærentes cuiuſmodi homines eſſemus: cumq́; reſpondiſſemus, quòd Domini Papæ nuncij eſſemus, quibuſdam cibarijs à nobis acceptis, continuó diſceſſerunt. Porrò mane facto, cùm ſurgentes aliquantulum proceſſiſſemus, maiores illorum, qui erant in cuſtodia, nobis occurrerunt, interrogantes, cur ad eos veniremus? & quid negotij haberemus? Quibus reſpondimus, Domini Papæ nuncij ſumus, qui Chriſtianorum pater eſt ac Dominus. Hic nos idcircò tam ad Regem quàm ad Principes, omneſq; Tartaros, mittit, quia placet ei, quòd omnes Chriſtiani Tartarorū ſint amici, & pacem habeant cum ipſis. Deſiderat inſuper, vt apud Deum in cœlo ſint magni, & idcircò monet eos tam per nos quàm per literas ſuas, vt efficiantur Chriſtiani, fidemq; recipiant Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, quia non poſſunt aliter ſaluari. Mandat præterea, quòd miratur de tanta occiſione hominũ, & maximè Chriſtianorum, ac potiſſimè Hungarorum, Montanorum, & Polonorum, qui ſunt ei ſubiecti, facta per Tartaros, cùm in nullo lęſiſſent, aut lædere attentaſſent eos. Et quia Dominus Deus grauiter eſt ſuper hoc offenſus, monet eos, vt à talibus de cætero caueant, & de commiſſis pœnitentiam agant. Super his etiam rogat, vt ei reſcribant, quid facere velint de cætero, & quæ ſit eorum intentio. Quibus auditis, & intellectis, dixerunt Tartari, ſe velle equos nobis ſubductitios vſq; ad Correnſam & ducatum præbere. Statimq; munera petierunt, & à nobis acceperunt. Equis igitur acceptis, de quibus deſcenderant ipſi, cum eorum ducatu ad Correnſam arripuimus iter eundi. Ipſi tamen velociter equitantes, nuncium vnum præmiſerunt ad præfatum Ducem cum his verbis, quę dixeramus eiſdem. Eſt autem Dux iſte Dominus omnium, qui poſiti ſunt in cuſtodia contra omnes Occidentis populos, ne fortè ſubitò & improuiſò irruant aliqui ſuper illos. Et iſte dicitur habere ſexaginta millia hominum armatorum ſub ſe.

Legationis mandata.

Correnſa.

Dux limitis occidentalis.

Qualiter recepti ſunt apud Correnſam. Cap. 21.

CVm ergò perueniſſemus ad eius curiam, fecit nobis longè à ſe poni ſtationem, & miſit ad nos procuratores ſuos, vt quærerent à nobis, cum quo ei vellemus inclinare, id eſt, quæ ei munera inclinando vellemus offerre. Quibus reſpondimus, quòd Dominus Papa non mittebat aliqua munera; quia non erat certus, quòd ad illos peruenire poſſemus, & inſuper veneramus per loca valdè periculoſa. Veruntamen in quantum de his, quæ habebamus ex gratia Dei & Domini Papæ ad victum noſtrum, ſicut poterimus, honorabimus ipſum. Acceptiſq; muneribus duxerunt nos ad ordam ſiue tentorium ipſius, & inſtructi fuimus, vt ante oſtium ſtationis ter cum ſiniſtro genu inclinaremus, & caueremus attentè, ne pedem ſuper limē oſtij poneremus. Et poſtquam intrauimus, oportuit nos coram Duce omnibuſq; maioribus, qui ad hoc erant vocati, dicere flexis genibus ea, quæ dixeramus ſuperiùs. Literas etiam Dom. Papę obtulimus: ſed interpres, quem de Kyouia, dato pretio, duxeramus, non erat ſufficiens ad interpretandũ, nec aliquis alius habebatur idoneus. Hinc equi nobis dati ſunt, & tres Tartari, qui nos ducerent feſtinanter ad ducem Bathy. Ipſe eſt apud eos potentior excepto Imperatore, cui tenentur prę cunctis principibus obedire. Itaq; iter arripuimus ſecunda feria poſt primā dominicam || xl. & equitando, quantum equi trotare poterant, quoniam habebamus equos recentes ferè ter aut quater omni die, properabamus de mane vſq; ad noctem, imò etiam de nocte ſæpiſſimè, nec tamen ante quartam feriam maioris hebdomadæ potuimus ad ipſum peruenire. Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quæ tota eſt plana, & flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur * Neper, iuxta quod ex parte Ruſſiæ ambulabat Correnza & Montij, qui maior eſt illo ex altera parte per campeſtria. Secundum appellatur * Don, ſuper quod ambulat quidam Princeps, habens in coniugio ſororem Baty, qui vocatur Tirbon. Tertium dicitur * Volga, quod eſt magnum valdè, ſuper quod incedit Bathy. Quartum nominatur * Iaec, ſuper quod duo millenarij vadunt, vnus ex parte fluminis vna, & alter ex altera. Hi omnes in hyeme ad mare deſcendunt, & in æſtate ſuper ripam eorundem fluminum ad montes aſcendunt. Hoc eſt mare magnum, de quo brachium ſancti Georgij exit, quod in Conſtantinopolin vadit. Hæc autem flumina ſunt piſcibus valdè plena, maximè Volga, intrantq; mare Græciæ, quod dicitur Magnum mare. Super Nepre autem multis diebus iuimus per glaciem. Super littora quoq; maris Græciæ ſatis periculoſè per glaciem iuimus in pluribus locis multis diebus. Congelantur enim circa littora vndæ ad tres leucas inferiùs. Prius autem quàm ad Bathy perueniremus, duo ex noſtris Tartaris præceſſerunt, ad indicandum ei omnia verba, quæ apud Correnſam dixeramus.

Mos ſalutandi Tartaricos proceres.

Bathy eiúſque potentia.

|| Quadrageſimæ.

Comania.

* *Veteribus Boryſthenes.*

* *Tanaus.*

* *Rha.*

* *Rhymnus.*

Pontus Euxinus.

Volga non intrat.

Qualiter recepti ſunt apud Bathy magnum

Principem. Cap. 22.

POrrò cùm in finibus terræ Comanorum ad Bathy perueniremus, benè poſiti fuimus per vnam leucam à ſtationibus eius. Cumq; duci debuimus ad curiam ipſius, dictum fuit nobis, quòd inter duos ignes tranſire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis: Ite ſecurè, quia pro nulla cauſa volumus hoc facere, niſi tantùm, vt ſi vos aliquid malum cogitatis Domino noſtro, vel portatis venenum, ignis auferat omne malum. Quibus reſpondimus: quod propter hoc, ne de tali re ſuſpectos redderemus nos, tranſiremus. Cùm igitur ad Ordam perueniſſemus, interrogati á pocuratore ipſius Eldegay, cum quo inclinare vellemus? idem quod prius apud Correnſam reſpondimus, datiſq; muneribus & acceptis,

Ceremonia per duos ignes tranſeundi.

Eldegay.

Bathy audit legatos.

Gerit ſe regificè.

Eiuſdem bibendi ad Symphoniæ cantum mos.

Authoritas.

acceptis, auditis etiam itineris cauſis, introduxerunt nos in ſtationem Principis, prius facta inclinatione, & audita de limine non calcando, ſicut prius, admonitione. Ingreſſi autem flexis genibus, verba noſtra propoſuimus, deinde literas obtulimus, & vt nobis darentur interpretes ad transferendum eas, rogauimus. Qui etiam in die Paraſceue dati fuerunt nobis, & eas in litera Ruthenica, Sarracenica & in Tartarica diligenter cum ipſis tranſtulimus. Hæc interpretatio Bathy præſentata fuit: quam & legit, & attentè notauit. Tandem ad noſtram ſtationem reducti fuimus, ſed nulla cibaria nobis dederunt, niſi ſemel aliquantulum millij in vna ſcutella, ſcilicet in prima nocte quando venimus. Iſte Bathy magnificè ſe gerit, habens oſtiarios & omnes officiales ad modum Imperatoris, & ſedet in eminenti loco velut in throno cum vna de vxoribus ſuis. Alij verò tam fratres ſui & filij, quàm alij maiores inferiùs ſedent in medio ſuper bancum, & homines cæteri poſt eos in terra deorſum, ſed viri à dextris, & fœminæ à ſiniſtris. Tentoria quoque de panno lineo habet pulchra & magna ſatis, quæ fuerunt Hungariæ regis. Nec aliquis ad eius tentorium audet accedere præter familiam, niſi vocatus, quantumcunque ſit potens & magnus, niſi fortè ſciatur, quòd ſit voluntas ipſius. Nos etiam dicta cauſa ſedimus à ſiniſtris: Sic etenim & omnes nuncij faciunt in eundo: ſed in redeundo ab Imperatore, ſemper ponebamur à dextris. In medio ponitur menſa eius prope oſtium ſtationis, ſuper quam apponitur potus in aureis & argenteis vaſis. Nec vnquam bibit Bathy, vel aliquis Tartarorum Princeps, maximè quando in publico ſunt, niſi cantetur ei vel cytharizetur. Et cùm equitat, ſemper portatur ſolinum, vel tentoriolum ſuper caput eius in haſta. Sicq; faciunt cuncti maiores Principes Tartarorum, & etiam vxores eorum. Idem verò Bathy ſatis eſt hominibus ſuis benignus, valdè tamen ab eis timetur, & in pugna eſt crudeliſſimus, ſagax eſt multum & aſtutiſſimus in bello: quia iam pugnauit tempore longo.

Qualiter recedentes à Bathy per terram Comanorum *& Kangittarum tranſierunt.* Cap. 23.

Legati iubentur ad Cuyne Imperat. pergere.

Comaniæ deſcriptio.

Oceanus ſeptentrionalis.

Terra Kangittarum.

Ieroſlaus, Dux Ruſſiæ.

IN die porrò Sabbathi ſancti ad ſtationem fuimus vocati, & exiuit ad nos procurator Bathy prædictus, dicens ex parte ipſius, quòd ad Imperatorem Cuyne in terram ipſorum iremus, retentis quibuſdam ex noſtris ſub hac ſpecie, quòd vellent eos remittere ad Dominum Papam, quibus & literas dedimus de omnibus factis noſtris, quas deferrent eidem. Sed cùm rediiſſent vſq; ad Montij Ducem ſupradictum, ibi retenti fuerunt vſque ad reditum noſtrum. Nos autem in die Paſchę officio dicto, & facta comeſtione qualicunq; cum duobus Tartaris, qui nobis apud Correnſam fuerant aſſignati, cum multis lacrymis receſſimus, neſcientes vtrum ad mortem vel vitam pergeremus. Eramus tamen ita infirmi corpore, quòd vix poteramus equitare. In tota ſiquidem illa quadrageſima fuerat cibus noſter millium cum aqua & ſale tantùm, & in alijs ſimiliter diebus ieiuniorum. Nec habebamus aliquid ad bibendum pręter niuem in caldario liquefactam. Ibamus autem per Comaniam equitando fortiſſimè, quoniam habebamus equos recentes quinquies aut pluries in die, niſi quando per deſerta ibamus, & tunc equos meliores atque fortiores, qui poſſent continuum ſuſtinere laborem, accipiebamus. Et hoc ab ineunte quadrageſima vſque ad octo dies poſt Paſcha. Hæc terra Comania ab Aquilone immediatè poſt Ruſſiam habet Morduynos, Byleros, id eſt, magnam Bulgariam, Baſtarcos, id eſt, magnam Hungariam, poſt Baſtarcos, Paroſitas & Samogetas. Poſt Samogetas, illos, qui dicuntur habere faciem caninam in Oceani littoribus deſertis. A meridie habet Alanos, Circaſſos, Gazaros, Græciam & Conſtantinopolin, ac terram Iberorum, Cathos, Brutachios, qui dicuntur eſſe Iudæi, caput radentes per totùm, terram quoq; Cithorum atque Georgianorum & Armeniorum & Turcorum. Ab occidente autem Hungariam habet atque Ruſſiam. Et eſt Comania terra maxima & longa. Cuius populos, ſcilicet Comanos, Tartari occiderunt, quidam tamen à facie eorum fugerunt, & quidam in eorum ſeruitutem redacti ſunt. Plurimi autem ex eis, qui fugerunt, ad ipſos redierunt. Poſt hæc intrauimus terram Kangittarum, quæ magnam habet in plurimis locis penuriam aquarum, in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum. Vnde homines Ieroſlai, Ducis Ruſſiæ, cùm ad ipſum in terram Tartarorum perrexerunt, plures eorum in illo deſerto præ ſiti mortui ſunt. In hac etiam terra & in Comania multa inuenimus capita & oſſa mortuorum hominum, ſuper terram iacentia tanquam ſterquilinium. Per hanc itaq; terram iuimus ab octo diebus poſt Paſcha ferè vſque ad Aſcenſionem Dominicam. Huiuſq; habitatores Pagani erant, & tam ipſi quàm Comani non laborabant, ſed tantùm de animalibus viuebant, nec domos ædificabant, ſed in tabernaculis habitabant. Iſtos etiam Tartari deleuerunt, & habitabant in terris eorum, illiq; qui remanſerunt, redacti ſunt in ſeruitutem ipſorum.

Qualiter

Qualiter ad primam Imperatoris futuri curiam *deuenerunt*. Cap.24.

POrrò de terra Kangittarum intrauimus terram Biſerminorum, qui loquuntur lingua Comanica, ſed legem tenent Sarracenorum. In hac etiam terra inuenimus vrbes innumeras cum caſtris dirutas, villaſq; multas deſertas. Huius Dominus dicebatur Altiſoldanus, qui cum tota ſua progenie à Tartaris eſt deſtructus. Habet autem hæc terra montes maximos. Et à meridie quidem habet Hieruſalem & Baldach, totamq; Sarracenorum terram. Atque in finibus illis propinquis morantur duo fratres carnales, Tartarorum Duces, ſcilicet Burin & Cadan, filij Thiaday, qui fuit filius Chingiſcham. Ab Aquilone verò terram habet nigrorum Kythaorum & Oceanum. In illa verò moratur Syban, frater Bathy. Per hanc iuimus à feſto Aſcenſionis dominicæ ferè vſque ad viij. dies ante feſtum ſanct. Iohan. Baptiſtæ. Deinde ingreſſi ſumus terram nigrorum Kythaorum, in qua Imperator ædificauit domum, vbi etiam vocati fuimus ad bibendum. Et ille, qui erat ibidem ex parte imperatoris, fecit maiores ciuitatis, & etiam duos filios eius, plaudere coram nobis. Hinc exeuntes, quoddam mare paruum inuenimus, in cuius littore quidam exiſtit mons paruus. In quo ſcilicet monte quoddam foramen eſſe dicitur, vnde in hyeme tam maximę tempeſtates ventorum exeunt, quòd homines inde vix & cum magno periculo tranſire poſſunt. In æſtate verò ſemper quidem ibi ventorum ſonitus auditur, ſed de foramine tenuiter egreditur. Per huius maris littora plurimis diebus perreximus, quod quidem licet non multum ſit magnum, plures inſulas habet, & illud in ſiniſtris dimiſimus. In terra verò illa habitat Ordu, quem omnium Ducum Tartarorum antiquiorem diximus, & eſt orda, ſiue curia patris ipſius, quam inhabitat, & regis vna de vxoribus eius. Conſuetudo enim eſt apud Tartaros, quòd principum & maiorum curiæ non delentur, ſed ſemper ordinantur aliquæ mulieres, quæ illas regant, eiſque donariorum partes, ſicut Dominis earum dari ſolebant, dantur. Sic tandem ad primam Imperatoris curiam venimus, in qua erat vna de vxoribus ipſius.

Terra Biſerminorum.

Altiſoldanus.

Montes maximi.

Burin.
Cadan.

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syban, frater Bathy.

Nigri Cathayni.

Mare paruum.

Plurimis diebus.

Plures inſulę.

Ordu. cap. 13.

Prima curia Imperatoris.

Qualiter ad ipſum Cuyne, Imperatorem futurum *peruenerunt*. Cap.25.

AT verò quia nondum Imperatorem videramus, noluerunt vocare nos, nec intromittere ad Ordam ipſius, ſed nobis in tentorio noſtro ſecundum morem Tartarorum valdè benè ſeruiri fecerunt, & vt quieſceremus, nos ibidem per vnam diem tenuerunt. Inde procedentes in vigilia ſanctorum Petri & Pauli, terram Naymanorum intrauimus, qui ſunt Pagani. In ipſa verò die Apoſtolorum ibidem cecidit magna nix, & habuimus magnum frigus. Hæc quidem terra montuoſa & frigida eſt ſupra modum, ibiq; de planicie reperitur modicum. Iſtæ quoque duæ nationes prædictæ non laborabant, ſed ſicut & Tartari in tentorijs habitabant, quas & ipſi deleuerant. per hanc etiam multis diebus perreximus. Deinde terram Mongalorum intrauimus, quos Tartaros appellamus. Per has itaque terras, vt credimus, tribus ſeptimanis equitando fortiter iuimus, & in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad Cuyne Imperatorem electum peruenimus. Ideò autem per omnem viam iſtam valdè feſtinauimus, quia præceptum erat Tartaris noſtris, vt citò nos deducerent ad curiam ſolennem, iam ex annis pluribus indictam, propter ipſius Imperatoris electionem. Idcircò de mane ſurgentes, ibamus vſque ad noctem ſine comeſtione, & ſæpius tam tardè veniebamus, quòd non comedebamus in ſero, ſed quod manducare debebamus in veſpere, dabatur nobis in mane. Mutatiſq; frequentius equis, nullatenus parcebatur eis, ſed equitabamus velociter ac ſine intermiſſione, quantum poterant equi trotare.

Terra Naymanorum.

Tartaria.

Iulij 22.

Acceleratum legatorum iter.

Qualiter Cuyne Fratres Minores ſuſcepit. Cap.26.

CVm autem peruenimus ad Cuyne, fecit nobis dari tentorium & expenſas, quales Tartaris dare ſolent, nobis tamen melius quàm alijs nuncijs faciebant. Ad ipſum autem vocati non fuimus, eo quòd nondum electus erat, nec adhuc de imperio ſe intromittebat. Interpretatio tamen literarum Domini Papæ, ac verba etiam à nobis dicta, à prædicto Baty erant ei mandata. Cùm ergo ſtetiſſemus ibi per quinque vel ſex dies, ad matrem ſuam nos tranſmiſit, vbi adunabatur curia ſolennis. Et cùm veniſſemus illuc, tam extenſum erat tentorium magnum, de alba purpura præparatum, eratq; tam grande noſtro iudicio, quòd pluſquam duo millia hominum poterant eſſe ſub illo. Et in circuitu factum erat ligneum tabulatum varijs imaginibus depictum. Illuc ergò perreximus cum Tartaris, nobis ad cuſtodiam aſſignatis, ibiq; conuenerant

Cuyne in legato benignitas.

Tentorium regium.

Comitia.

Sympoſium procerum.

Ieroſlaus Dux Ruſſiæ.

Legati diuerſarum nationum.

omnes duces, & vnuſquiſq; cum hominibus ſuis equitabat in circuitu per planiciem & colles. In prima die veſtiti ſunt omnes purpuris albis, in ſecunda verò rubeis. Et tunc venit Cuyne ad tentorium illud. Porrò tertia die fuerunt omnes in blaueis purpuris, & quarta in optimis Baldakinis. In illo autem tabulato iuxta tentorium erant duæ maiores portæ, per quarum vnam ſolus Imperator debebat intrare, & ad illam nulla erat cuſtodia, quamuis eſſet aperta, quia per illam nullus audebat ingredi vel exire: per aliam omnes, qui admittebantur, intrabant, & ad illam cuſtodes cum gladijs & arcubus & ſagittis erant. Itaq; ſi quis tentorio propinquabat vltra terminos, qui poſiti erant, ſi capiebatur, verberabatur, ſi fugiebat, ſagitta ſiue ferro ſagittabatur. Multiq; ibi erant, qui in frænis, pectoralibus, ſellis & huiuſmodi, iudicio noſtro, auri circiter viginti marcas habebant. Sic Duces infra tentorium colloquebantur, & de Imperatoris electione tractabant, vt à nobis creditur. Alius autem vniuerſus populus longè extra tabulatum collocabatur, & ita ferè vſque ad meridiem morabantur. Tunc incipiebant lac iumentinum bibere, & vſque ad veſperas tantum bibebant, quod erat viſu mirabile. Nos autem vocauerunt interius, & dederunt nobis cereuiſiam: quia iumentinũ lac non bibebamus. Et hoc quidem nobis pro magno fecerunt honore: ſed tamen nos compellebant ad bibendum, quod nullatenus poteràmus propter conſuetudinem ſuſtinere. Vnde oſtendimus eis, hoc eſſe nobis graue, ideoq; nos ceſſauerunt compellere. Foris autem erat Dux Ieroſlaus de Suſdal Ruſſiæ, pluresq; Duces Kythaorum & Solangorum. Duo quoq; filij regis Georgiæ, nuncius etiam Caliphi de Baldach, qui erat Soldanus, & plus quam decem alij Soldani Sarracenorum, vt credimus. Et ſicut nobis à procuratoribus dicebatur, erant ibi nunciorum plus quàm quatuor millia, inter illos, qui tributa portabant, & illos, qui deferebant munera, & Soldanos ac Duces alios, qui ad tradendum ſeipſos veniebant, & illos, pro quibus ipſi miſerant, illoſq; , qui terrarum præfecti erant. Hi omnes ſimul extra tabulatum ponebantur, eiſq; ſimul biberè præbebatur. Nobis autem & Duci Ierozlao ferè ſemper ab eis dabatur ſuperior locus, quando cum eis eramus exterius.

Qualiter in imperium ſublimatus fuit. Cap. 27.

Imperij Cuynæ primitiæ.

Syra orda.

Aurea orda.

Auguſti 15.

Preces ſolennes.

Et quidem, ſi benè meminimus, ibidem per ſeptimanas circiter quatuor fuimus. Credimuſq;, quòd ibi fuit electio celebrata, non tamen ibidem fuit publicata. Propter hoc autem id maximè credebatur, quia ſemper, quando Cuyne tentorio exibat, eidem cantabatur, & cum virgis ſpecioſis, in ſummitate lanam coccineam habentibus, inclinabatur, quod alteri Ducum nulli fiebat, quouſq; exterius morabatur. Hęc autem ſtatio ſiue Curia nominatur ab eis Syra orda. Hinc exeuntes, vnanimiter omnes equitauimus per tres aut quatuor leucas ad alium locum, vbi erat in quadã pulchra planicie iuxta riuum inter montes aliud tentorium, quod apud ipſos appellatur Orda aurea, præparatũ. Ibi enim Cuyne debebat poni in ſede in die Aſſumptionis Dominæ noſtræ. Sed propter grandinem nimiam, quæ tunc, vt ſuprà dictum eſt, cecidit, res dilata fuit. Eratq; tentorium in columnis poſitum, quæ laminis aureis erant tectæ, & clauis aureis cum alijs lignis fixæ. Porrò de Baldakino erat tectum ſuperius, ſed alij erant panni exterius. Fuimus autem ibi vſq; ad feſtum Beati Bartholomæi, in quo maxima multitudo conuenit, & contra meridiem verſis vultibus ſtetit. Et quidam ad iactum lapidis longè à cæteris erant, ſemperq; orationes faciendo, ac genua flectendo, contra meridiem longius, & longius procedebant. Nos autem vtrum incantationes facerent, aut genua Deo vel alteri flecterent, neſcientes, nolebamus facere genu flexiones. Cumq; diu ita feciſſent, ad tentorium reuerſi ſunt, & Cuyne in ſede imperiali poſuerunt, Duceſq; coram eo genua flexerunt. Poſt hoc idem fecit vniuerſus populus, exceptis nobis, qui eis ſubditi non eramus.

De ætate ac moribus ac ſigillo ipſius. Cap. 28.

Cuynæ ætas & mores.

Studium Chriſtianiſmi.

Maieſtas.

Hic autem Imperator quando ſublimatus eſt in regnum, videbatur eſſe circiter xl. vel xlv. annorum. Mediocris erat ſtaturæ, prudens valde, nimis aſtutus multumq; ſerioſus, & grauis in moribus. Nec vnquam videbat eum homo de facili ridere, vel aliquam leuitatem facere, ſicut dicebant Chriſtiani, qui cum ipſo morabantur continuè. Dicebant etiam nobis aſſerendo firmiter Chriſtiani, qui erant de familia eius, quòd deberet fieri Chriſtianus. Cuius ſignum erat, quod ipſe Clericos Chriſtianos tenebat, & expenſas eis dabat. Habebat etiam ſemper capellam Chriſtianorum ante maius tentorium ſuum, vbi cantant Clerici publicè & apertè, ac pulſant ad horas, vt cęteri Chriſtiani ſecundùm mores Gręcorum, quantacunq; ſit ibi multitudo Tartarorum, vel etiam aliorum hominum. Hoc tamen non faciunt alij Duces ipſorum. Eſt autem mos Imperatoris ipſius, vt nunquam ore proprio loquatur cum extraneo, quantumcunq;

tumcunq; magnus ſit, ſed audit & reſpondet per interpoſitam perſonam, & quandocunq; negotium proponunt, vel Imperatoris reſponſionem audiunt illi, qui ſub eo ſunt, quantumcunq; ſint magni, flexis genibus vſq; ad finem verborum perſiſtunt. Nec alicui de conſuetudine ſuper aliquo negotio loqui licitum eſt, poſtquam ab Imperatore definitum eſt. Habet autem Imperator prædictus procuratorem & protonotarios, atq; ſcriptores, omneſq; officiales in negotijs tam publicis quàm priuatis, exceptis Aduocatis. Nam ſine litium vel iudiciorum ſtrepitu ſecundum arbitrium Imperatoris omnia fiunt. Alij quoque Principes Tartarorum de his, quæ ad illos pertinent, idem faciunt. Hoc autem nouerint vniuerſi, quia nobis tunc exiſtentibus in ſolenni curia, iam ex pluribus annis indicta, idem Cuyne Imperator, de nouo electus, cum omnibus ſuis Principibus erexit vexillum contra Eccleſiam Dei, ac Romanum Imperium, & contra omnia regna Chriſtianorum & populos Occidentis, niſi fortaſſe, quod abſit, facerent ea, quæ mandabat Domino Papæ, atque potentibus, & omnibus Chriſtianorum populis, videlicet vt ipſi ſubdantur eis. Nam excepta Chriſtianitate, nulla eſt terra in orbe, quam timeant, & idcirco contra nos ad pugnam ſe præparant. Huius ſiquidem Imperatoris pater, ſcilicet Occoday, necatus fuerat veneno, & ob hoc à bellis quieuerant tempore pauco. Intentio autem eorum, vt dictum eſt ſuprà, eſt, ſibi totum ſubijcere mundum, ſicut à Chingiſcham habent mandatum. Vnde & ipſe Imperator in literis ſuis ita ſcribit: Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum Imperator. In ſuperſcriptione quoque ſigilli eius eſt hoc: Deus in cœlo, & Cuyne Cham ſuper terram, Dei fortitudo: omnium hominum Imperatoris ſigillum.

Poteſtas ex lex †.

Bellum in Chriſtianos cogitatum.

† *Contrà Xenophon: δίκαιον ἐςι νόμιμον. Et præclarè Ariſtoteles Politic. lib. 3. cap. 12. in hanc ſententiam: Qui legem præeſſe vult, is velle videtur Deũ ac leges imperare: qui autem vult hominem, is etiam belluam adiungit, cùm præſertim tale quid ſit cupiditas & iracundia: & magiſtratus & optimus quiſq; à recta via detorqueantur &c. Adde quæ è Chryſipppo adducuntur ff. li. 1. tit. 3. l. 2.*

De admiſſione Fratrum & nunciorum ad Imperatorem. Cap. 29.

IN loco illo, vbi poſitus eſt Imperator in throno, vocati fuimus coram ipſo. Cumq; Chingay protonotarius eius nomina noſtra ſcripſiſſet, illorũq; à quibus miſſi eramus, & Ducis Solangorum & aliorum, clamauit alta voce, recitans illa coram Imperatore ac Ducum vniuerſitate. Quo facto, flexit vnuſquiſq; noſtrum quater genu ſiniſtrum, & monuerunt, ne tangeremus limen deorſum. Cumq; pro cultellis nos diligentiſſimè ſcrutati fuiſſent, & nullatenus inueniſſent, intrauimus oſtium ab Orientali parte: quia nullus ab Occidente, niſi ſolus imperator, audet intrare. Similiter & Dux ab illa parte ingreditur ſolus, ſi eſt tentorium eius. Minores autem non multum curant de talibus. Tunc ergò primum in eius præſentia ſuam intrauimus ſtationem, videlicet poſtquam factus eſt Imperator ibidem. Omnes quoque nuncij tunc ab eo recepti ſunt, ſed pauciſſimi tentorium eius intrauerunt. Ibi verò tanta donaria ab ipſis nuncijs fuerunt ei præſentata, quòd quaſi videbantur infinita, videlicet in ſamitis ac purpureis & baldakinis ac cingulis ſericis cum auro præparatis, pellibus etiam nobilibus, cęteriſq; muneribus. Quoddam etiam Solinum, ſiue tentoriolum, quod ſuper caput Imperatoris portatur, fuit eidem præſentatum, quod totum erat cum gemmis præparatum. Quidam verò præfectus vnius prouinciæ adduxit ei Camelos multos cum Baldakinis tectos. Similiter ſellæ poſitæ cum inſtrumentis quibuſdam erant, in quibus homines interius ſedere valebant. Equos etiam multos & mulos adducebant eidem phaleratos & armatos, quoſdam quidem de corio, & quoſdam de ferro. Nos etiam requiſiti fuimus, an ei munera dare vellemus: ſed iam facultas non erat, quoniam omnia ferè noſtra conſumpſeramus. Ibidem longè à ſtationibus ſuper montem erant poſiti currus pluſquam quingenti, qui omnes auro & argento ac ſericis veſtibus erant pleni. Cunctiq; inter imperatorem & Duces diuiſi fuerunt, ſinguliq; Duces inter homines ſuos partes ſuas, vt eis placuit, diuiſerunt.

Cuyne audit legatos.

Munera eidem oblata.

Currus Θησαυροφόροι.

De loco diuiſionis Imperatoris & matris ſuæ, & morte *Ieroſlai, Ducis Ruſsiæ.*

INde recedentes, venimus ad alium locum, vbi tentorium mirabile, totum de purpura rufa, quod Kitay dederant, erat poſitum. Illic interius introducti fuimus, & ſemper cùm intrabamus nobis dabatur ad bibendum cereuiſia vel vinum, & etiam carnes coctæ, ſi volebamus, ad edendum. Erátque ſolariolum vnum, de tabulis altè præparatum, vbi thronus Imperatoris erat poſitus, ex ebore mirabiliter ſculptus, in quo etiam erat aurum, & lapides precioſi, ſi benè meminimus, & illuc aſcendebatur per gradus. Erátque rotundum ſuperius. Banci

Tentorium purpureum.

Solium eburneum.

verò erant poſiti in circuitu ſedis, vbi dominæ ſedebant à parte ſiniſtra in ſcamnis, à dextris autem nemo ſedebat ſuperius, ſed Duces ſedebant in Bancis inferius, & hoc in medio. Alij verò ſedebant poſt eos, & quolibet die veniebat dominatum maxima multitudo. Iſta verò tria tentoria, de quibus ſuprà diximus, erant valdè magna, aliaq; habebant vxores eius de filtro albo ſatis magna & pulchra. Ibidem Imperator diuiſus eſt à matre ſua, quæ iuit in vnam terræ partem, & Imperator in aliam ad iudicia facienda. Capta ſiquidem erat amica Imperatoris iſtius, quæ veneno interfecerat patrem eius, eo tempore, quo exercitus eorum in Hungaria fuit. Propter quod etiam exercitus eorum, qui erat in partibus illis, receſſit. De qua cum alijs pluribus factum fuit iudicium, & occiſi fuerunt. Eodem tempore mortuus fuit Ierozlaus, Dux magnus Soldal, quæ eſt quædam Ruſſiæ pars. Vocatus enim ad matrem Imperatoris quaſi pro honore, vt manducaret ac biberet de manu ipſius, in continenti ad hoſpitium eſt reuerſus, infirmatuſq; mortuus eſt poſt ſeptem dies, totúmque corpus eius miro modo glaucum effectum eſt, dicebaturq; ab omnibus, quod ibidem, vt terram eius liberè ac plenariè poſſiderent, fuiſſet impotionatus.

Nex Occoday vindicata. Ieroslaus Dux Ruſſiæ.

Qualiter tandem Fratres ad Imperatorem accedentes, *literas dederunt & acceperunt*. Cap. 31.

Cuyne cum legatis diſſimulanter agit.

DEniq; Tartari noſtri nos ad Imperatorem duxerunt: qui cùm audiſſet per illos, nos ad eum veniſſe, iuſſit nos ad matrem redire. Volebat enim ſecundo die, ſicut ſuperiùs dictum eſt, contra totam Occidentis terram vexillum erigere, quod nos volebat ignorare. Itaque reuerſi ſtetimus paucis diebus, & iterum ad ipſum reuerſi ſumus. Cum quo benè per menſem fuimus in tanta fame ac ſiti, quòd vix viuere poteramus. Nam expenſæ, quæ nobis pro diebus quatuor dabantur, vix vni ſufficiebant. Nec inuenire poteramus aliquid ad emendum, quia forum erat nimis remotum. Sed Dominus nobis quendam Ruthenum, nomine Coſmam, aurifabrum præparauit, qui ſatis dilectus Imperatori, nos in aliquo ſuſtentauit. Et hic nobis oſtendit thronum Imperatoris, quem ipſe fecerat, antequam poneretur in ſede, & ſigillum eiuſdem, quod etiam fabricauerat ipſe. Poſt hoc Imperator pro nobis miſit, nobiſq; per Chingay protonotarium ſuum dici fecit, vt verba noſtra & negotia ſcriberemus, eiq; porrigeremus. Quod & fecimus. Poſt plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, & vtrum eſſent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogauit. Cui reſpondimus, quòd nullam iſtarum literarum habebamus. Sarraceni tamen erant in terra, ſed remoti erant à Domino Papa. Diximus tamen, quia nobis expedire videbatur, quòd in Tartarico ſcriberent, & nobis interpretarentur, nos autem in litera noſtra diligenter ſcriberemus, & tam literam quàm interpretationem ad Dominum Papam deferremus. Tunc à nobis receſſerunt, & ad Imperatorem iuerunt. Porrò à die Beati Martini fuimus vocati. Tunc Kadac, totius imperij procurator, & Chingay & Bala, pluresq; ſcriptores ad nos venerunt, nobiſq; literam de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cùm in Latina litera ſcripſiſſemus, faciebant ſibi per ſingulas orationes interpretari, volentes ſcire, ſi nos in aliquo verbo erraremus. Cùm igitur ambæ literæ fuiſſent ſcriptæ, fecerunt nos ſemel ac ſecundo legere, ne fortè minus aliquid haberemus. Dixerunt enim nobis, videte, quòd omnia benè intelligatis, quia non expediret, quòd non omnia benè intelligeretis. Literas etiam in Sarracenico ſcripſerunt, vt aliquis in partibus noſtris inueniri poſſet, qui eas, ſi opus eſſet, legeret.

Coſmas Ruſſus.

Chingay internuncius.

Prudens de literis conſilium.

Qualiter licentiati fuerunt. Cap. 32.

VT autem nobis Tartari noſtri dixerunt, propoſuit Imperator nuncios ſuos nobiſcum mittere. Volebat tamen, vt credimus, quod nos id ab eo peteremus. Sed cùm vnus de Tartaris noſtris, qui ſenior erat, nos ad hoc petendum hortaretur, nobis quidem, vt venirent, nequaquam bonum videbatur. Ideoq; reſpondimus ei, quòd non erat noſtrum petere, ſed ſi ſponte ipſe Imperator mitteret eos, libenter eos ſecurè conduceremus, Domino adiuuante. Nobis autem ob plures cauſas vt venirent, non videbatur expedire. Prima quidem fuit, quia timuimus, ne viſis diſſentionibus aut guerris, quæ fiunt inter nos, magis animarentur ad veniendum contra nos. Secunda fuit, timebamus eos exploratores terræ fieri. Tertia verò, quia timebamus eos interfici. Gentes enim noſtræ arrogantes ſunt & ſuperbæ. Vnde quando ſeruientes, qui ſtant nobiſcum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati ſcilicet Alemanniæ, in habitu Tartarico ibant ad ipſum, in via ferè lapidati ſunt à Teutonicis, & coacti ſunt deponere habitum illum. Conſuetudo autem eſt Tartarorum, vt cum illis, qui nuncios eorum occiderint, nunquam faciant pacem, niſi ſumant de ipſis vltionem. Quarta etiã cauſa fuit, quia timebamus ne nobis auferrentur vi.

Legati abhorrent à Tartarorum ad Chriſtianos legatione.

Quinta verò cauſa erat, quia de aduentu eorum nulla foret vtilitas, cum nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel poteſtatem, niſi quód literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam & ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipſi nos habebamus, & malum ex eorum aduentu poſſe contingere credebamus. Itaq; tertia die poſt hoc, ſcilicet in feſto beati Briccij nobis dederunt licentiam & literam, Imperatoris ſigillò munitam, mittentes nos ad ipſius Imperatoris matrem, quę vnicuiq; noſtrum dedit pelliceum vnum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat pilos de foris, & purpuram vnam. De quibus Tartari noſtri furati ſunt ex vnaquaq; vnum paſſum. De illa quoq;, quæ dabatur ſeruienti, meliorem medietatem ſunt furati. Quod nos quidem non ignorauimus, ſed inde verba mouere noluimus.

Nouemb. 13.
Honorantur cõmeatu & lautijs.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TVnc iter ad reuertendum arripuimus, ac per totam hyemem venimus, iacentes in deſertis ſæpiùs in niue, niſi quantum poteramus nobis cum pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores, ſed planus campus. Et ſæpe manè nos inueniebamus totos niue, quam ventus pellebat, coopertos. Sic venientes vſq; ad Aſcenſionem Domini peruenimus ad Bathy. A quo cùm inquireremùs, quid reſponderet Domino Papæ, dixit ſe nolle aliud, niſi quod Imperator diligenter ſcripſerat, demandare. Datiſq; nobis de conductu literis, ab eo receſſimus, & ſabbatho infra octauas Pentecoſtes vſq; ad Montij peruenimus, vbi erant ſocij noſtri, ac ſeruientes, qui fuerant retenti, quos ad nos fecimus reduci. Hinc vſq; Correnſam peruenimus, cui iterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Deditq; nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, vſque ad Kiouiam Ruſſiæ. Tartarus tamen noſter non dimiſit nos, donec exiremus vltimam Tartarorum cuſtodiam. Iſti verò alij, qui nobis à Correnſa dati ſunt, in ſex diebus ab vltima cuſtodia vſq; ad Kiouiam nos duxerunt. Venimus autem illuc ante feſtum Beati Iohannis Baptiſtę xv. diebus. Porrò Kiouienſes aduentum noſtrum percipientes, occurrerunt nobis omnes lætanter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte ſuſcitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Ruſſiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam. Daniel & Waſilico frater eius feſtum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem noſtram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medioq; tempore inter ſe & cum Epiſcopis, cæteriſq; probis viris, ſuper his, quæ locuti fueramus eiſdem, in proceſſu noſtro ad Tartaros conſilium habentes, reſponderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellent in ſpecialem Dominum, & in patrem, ſanctam quoq; Romanam Eccleſiam in dominam & magiſtram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ priùs de hac materia per Abbatem ſuum tranſmiſerant. Et ſuper hoc etiam nobiſcum ad Dominum Papam nuncios ſuos & literas tranſmiſerunt.

Difficilis legatorum reditus.
Bathy.
Correnſa.
Iunij 8.
Gratulationes à ducibus factæ.
Baſilius & Daniel Principes.
Ruſſi agnoſcunt primatum Papæ.

☞ The voyage of *Johannes de Plano Carpini* vnto the Northeaſt parts of the world, in the yeere of our *Lord,* 1246.

Of the firſt ſending of certaine Friers Prędicants and Minorites *vnto the Tartars, taken out of the* 32. *Booke of* Vincentius Beluacenſis *his* Speculum Hiſtoriale: *beginning at the ſecond Chapter.*

ABout this time alſo, Pope Innocentius the fourth ſent Frier Aſcelline being one of the order of the Prædicants, together with three other Friers (of the ſame authoritie whereunto they were called) conſorted with him out of diuers Couens of their order, with letters Apoſtolicall vnto the Tartars campe: wherein hee exhorted them to giue ouer their bloudie ſlaughter of mankinde, and to receiue the Chriſtian faith. And I, in verie deede, receiued the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars onelie, (which, according to the congruence of times, I haue aboue inſerted into this my worke) from a Frier Minorite, called Simon de Sanct. Quintin, who lately returned from the ſame voyage. And at that verie time alſo, there was a certaine other Frier Minorite, namely Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, ſent with certaine aſſociates vnto the Tartars, who likewiſe (as himſelfe witneſſeth) abode and conuerſed with them a yeere and three moneths at the leaſt. For both he & one Frier Benedict a Polonian being of the ſame order, and a partaker of all his miſerie and tribulation, receiued ſtraight commaundement from the Pope, that both of them ſhoulde diligently ſearche out all things that concerned the ſtate of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier Iohn hath written a litle Hiſtorie (which is come to our hands) of ſuch things, as with his owne eyes hee ſawe among

Aſcellinus.
Simon Quintinianus.
Iohn de plano Carpini.
Benedictus Polonus.

among the Tartars, or which he heard from diuers Chriſtians worthy of credit, remaining there in captiuitie. Out of which hiſtorie I thought good by way of concluſion, to inſert ſome what for the ſupply of thoſe things which are wanting in the ſaid Frier Simon.

Of the ſituation and qualitie of the Tartars land, By *Iohannes de Plano Carpini.* Chap. 3.

A deſcription of Tartaria.

The North Ocean.

Syra Orda.

The intemperature of the aire.

What Orda ſignifieth.

There is towards the Eaſt a land which is called Mongal or Tartaria, lying in that part of the worlde which is thought to be moſt North Eaſterly. On the Eaſt part it hath the countrey of Kythay and of the people called Solangi: on the South part the countrey of the Saracens: on the South eaſt the land of the Huini: and on the Weſt the prouince of Namani: but on the North ſide it is inuironed with the Ocean Sea. In ſome part thereof it is full of mountaines, and in other places plaine and ſmoothe grounde, but euerie where ſandie and barren, neither is the hundreth part thereof fruitefull. For it cannot beare fruite vnleſſe it be moiſtened with riuer waters, which bee verie rare in that countrey. Whereupon they haue neither villages, nor cities among them, except one which is called Cracurim, and is ſaid to be a proper towne. We our ſelues ſawe not this towne, but were almoſt within halfe a dayes iourney thereof, when we remained at Syra Orda, which is the great court of their Emperour. And albeit the foreſaid lande is otherwiſe vnfruitfull, yet is it very commodious for the bringing vp of cattell. In certaine places thereof are ſome ſmall ſtore of trees growing, but otherwiſe it is altogether deſtitute of woods. Therefore the Emperour, and his noble men and all other warme themſelues, and dreſſe their meate with fires made of the doung of oxen, and horſes. The ayre alſo in that countrey is verie intemperate. For in the midſt of Sommer there be great thunders and lightnings, by the which many men are ſlaine, and at the ſame time there falleth great abundance of ſnowe. There bee alſo ſuch mightie tempeſtes of colde windes, that ſometimes men are not able to ſitte on horſebacke. Whereupon, being neere vnto the Orda (for by this name they call the habitations of their Emperours and noble men) in regarde of the great winde we were conſtrained to lye groueling on the earth, and could not ſee by reaſon of the duſt. There is neuer any raine in Winter, but onely in Sommer, albeit in ſo little quantitie, that ſometimes it ſcarcely ſufficeth to allay the duſt, or to moyſten the rootes of the graſſe. There is often times great ſtore of haile alſo. Inſomuch that when the Emperour elect was to be placed in his Emperiall throne (my ſelfe being then preſent) there fell ſuch abundance of haile, that, vpon the ſudden melting thereof, more then 160. perſons were drowned in the ſame place: there were manie tentes and other thinges alſo caried away. Likewiſe, in the Sommer ſeaſon there is on the ſudden extreame heate, and ſuddenly againe intollerable colde.

Of their forme, habite, and maner of liuing. *Chap. 4.*

The ſhape of the Tartars.

Their habite.

Like vnto Frobiſhers men.

Their tabernacles.

Their cattell.

ſwine

Their victuals.

The Mongals or Tartars, in outward ſhape, are vnlike to all other people. For they are broader betweene the eyes, and the balles of their cheekes, then men of other nations bee. They haue flat and ſmall noſes, litle eyes, and eye liddes ſtanding ſtreight vpright, they are ſhauen on the crownes like prieſts. They weare their haire ſomewhat longer about their eares, then vpon their foreheads: but behinde they let it growe long like womans haire, whereof they braide two lockes binding eche of them behind either eare. They haue ſhort feet alſo. The garments, as well of their men, as of their women are all of one faſhion. They vſe neither cloakes, hattes, nor cappes. But they weare Iackets framed after a ſtrange manner, of buckeram, ſkarlet, or Baldakines. Their ſhoubes or gownes are hayrie on the outſide, and open behinde, with tailes hanging downe to their hammes. They vſe not to waſhe their garments, neither will in any wiſe ſuffer them to bee waſhed, eſpecially in the time of thunder. Their habitations bee rounde and cunningly made with wickers and ſtaues in manner of a tent. But in the middeſt of the toppes thereof, they haue a window open to conuey the light in and the ſmoake out. For their fire is alwayes in the middeſt. Their walles bee couered with felt. Their doores are made of felte alſo. Some of theſe Tabernacles may quickely be taken aſunder, and ſet together againe, and are caried vpon beaſtes backes. Other ſome cannot be taken inſunder, but are ſtowed vpon carts. And whitherſoeuer they goe, be it either to warre, or to any other place, they tranſport their tabernacles with them. They are very rich in cattel, as in camels, oxen, ſheep, and goats. And I thinke they haue more horſes and mares then all the world beſides. But they haue no kine nor other beaſts. Their Emperors, Dukes, & other of their nobles doe abound with ſilk, gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones. Their victuals are al things that may be eaten: for we ſaw ſome of them eat lice.

They drinke milke in great quantitie, but eſpecially mares milke, if they haue it: They ſeeth Mill alſo in water, making it ſo thinne, that they may drinke thereof. Euery one of them drinkes off a cup full or two in a morning, and ſometime they eate nought elſe all the day long. But in the euening each man hath a little fleſh giuen him to eate, and they drinke the broath thereof. Howbeit in ſummer time, when they haue mares milke enough, they ſeldome eate fleſh, vnles perhaps it be giuen them, or they take ſome beaſt or bird in hunting.

Of their manners both good and bad. *Chap.5.*

Their manners are partly prayſe-worthie, and partly deteſtable: For they are more obedient vnto their lords and maſters, then any other either clergie or laie-people in the whole world. For they doe highly reuerence them, and will deceiue them, neither in wordes nor deedes. They ſeldome or neuer fall out among themſelues, and, as for fightings or brawlings, wounds or manſlaughters, they neuer happen among them. There are neither theeues nor robbers of great riches to be found, and therefore the tabernacles and cartes of them that haue any treaſures are not ſtrengthened with lockes or barres. If any beaſt goe aſtray, the finder thereof either lets it goe, or driueth it to them that are put in office for the ſame purpoſe, at whoſe handes the owner of the ſaid beaſt demaundeth it, and without any difficultie receiueth it againe. One of them honoureth another exceedingly, and beſtoweth banquets very familiarly and liberallly, notwithſtanding that good victuals are daintie and ſcarce among them. They are alſo very hardie, and when they haue faſted a day or two without any maner of ſuſtenance, they ſing and are merry as if they had eaten their bellies full. In riding, they endure much cold and and extreme heat. There be, in a maner, no contentions among them, and although they vſe commonly to be drunken, yet doe they not quarell in their drunkennes. Noe one of them deſpiſeth another but helpeth and furthereth him, as much as conueniently he can. Their women are chaſte, neither is there ſo much as a word vttered concerning their diſhoneſtie. Some of them will notwithſtanding ſpeake filthy and immodeſt words. But towards other people, the ſaid Tartars be moſt inſolent, and they ſcorne and ſet nought by all other noble and and ignoble perſons whatſoeuer. For we ſaw in the Emperours court the great duke of Ruſſia, the kings ſonne of Georgia, and many great Soldanes receiuing no due honour and eſtimation among them. So that euen the very Tartars aſſigned to giue attendance vnto them, were they neuer ſo baſe, would alwaies goe before them, and take the vpper hand of them, yea, and ſometimes would conſtraine them to ſit behinde their backes. Moreouer they are angrie and of a diſdainefull nature vnto other people, and beyond all meaſure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them. They ſpeake fayre in the beginning, but in concluſion, they ſting like ſcorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falſhood, circumuenting all men whom they are able, by their ſleights. Whatſoeuer miſchiefe they entend to practiſe againſt a man, they keepe it wonderfully ſecrete, ſo that he may by no meanes prouide for himſelfe, nor find a remedie againſt their conſpiracies. They are vnmanerly alſo and vncleanly in taking their meat and their drinke, and in other actions. Drunkennes is honourable among them, and when any of them hath taken more drinke then his ſtomacke can well beare, hee caſteth it vp and falles to drinking againe. They are moſt intollerable exacters, moſt couetous poſſeſſours, and moſt nigardly giuers. The ſlaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them.

Their obediẽce

Their abſtinence.

Their courteſie.

Their chaſtity.

Their inſolencie againſt ſtrangers.

Of their lawes and cuſtomes. *Chap 6.*

Moreouer, they haue this law or cuſtome, that whatſoeuer man or woman be manifeſtly taken in adultery, they are puniſhed with death. A virgine likewiſe that hath committed fornication, they ſlay together with her mate. Whoſoeuer be taken in robberie or theft, is put to death without all pitie. Alſo, if any man diſcloſe their ſecrets, eſpecially in time of warre, he receiueth an hundreth blowes on the backe with a baſtinado, layd on by a tall fellow. In like ſort when any inferiours offend in ought, they finde no fauour at their ſuperiours handes, but are puniſhed with grieuous ſtripes. They are ioyned in matrimony to all in generall, yea, euen to their neare kinſfolkes except their mother, daughter and ſiſter by the mothers ſide. For they vſe to marrie their ſiſter by the fathers ſide onely, and alſo the wife of their father after his deceaſe. The yonger brother alſo, or ſome other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceaſed. For, at the time of our aboad in the countrey, a certaine duke of Ruſſia named Andreas, was accuſed before duke Baty for conueying the Tartars horſes out of the land, and for ſelling them to others: and although it could not be prooued, yet was he put to death. His yonger brother and the wife of the party deceaſed hearing this, came & made their ſupplication vnto the forenamed duke,

Puniſhment of adultery.

Of theft.

Of ſecretes diſcloſed.

Lawes of matrimonie.

Andreas duke of Ruſſia.

Melich & Dauid two brothers.

that the dukedome of Ruſſia might not be taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceaſed brothers wife, and the woman alſo to take him vnto her huſband, according to the cuſtome of the Tartars. She anſwered, that ſhe had rather die, then ſo haynouſly tranſgreſſe the law. Howbeit, hee deliuered her vnto him, although they both refuſed as much as they could. Wherefore carying them to bed, they conſtrained the youth, lamenting and weeping, to lie downe and commit inceſt with his brothers wife. To be ſhort, after the death of their huſbands, the Tartars wiues vſe very ſeldome to marrie the ſecond time, vnleſſe perhaps ſome man takes his brothers wife or his ſtepmother in mariage. They make no difference betweene the ſonne of their wife and of their concubine, but the father giues what he pleaſeth vnto each one: For of late the king of Georgia hauing two ſonnes, one lawfully begotten called Melich; but the other Dauid, borne in adulterie, at his death left part of his lande vnto his baſe ſonne. Hereupon Melich (vnto whome the kingdome fell by right of his mother, becauſe it was gouerned before time by women) went vnto the Emperour of the Tartars, Dauid alſo hauing taken his iourney vnto him. Nowe both of them comming to the court and proffering large giftes, the ſonne of the harlot made ſuite, that he might haue iuſtice, according to the cuſtome of the Tartars. Well, ſentence paſſed againſt Melich, that Dauid being his elder brother, ſhould haue ſuperioritie ouer him, and ſhould quietly and peaceably poſſeſſe the portion of land granted vnto him by his father. Whenſoeuer a Tartar hath many wiues, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her ſelfe. And ſometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and ſometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the reſt, with whom hee is oftener conuerſant, then with the other. And notwithſtanding (as it hath bin ſaid) they are many, yet do they ſeldome fal out among themſelues.

Of their ſuperſtitious traditions. *Chap. 7.*

Ridiculous traditions.

The Tartars worſhip the moone.

Their cuſtome of purifying.

But by reaſon of certain traditions, which either they or their predeceſſors haue deuiſed, they accompt ſome things indifferent to be faults. One is to thruſt a knife into the fire, or any way to touch the fire with a knife, or with their knife to take fleſh out of the cauldrō, or to hewe with an hatchet neare vnto the fire. For they think by that means to take away the head or force from the fire. Another is to leane vpon the whip, wherewith they beate their horſes: for they ride not with ſpurs. Alſo, to touch arrowes with a whip, to take or kill yong birds, to ſtrike an horſe with ẏ raine of their bridle, and to breake one bone againſt another. Alſo, to powre out milke, meate, or any kinde of drinke vpon the ground, or to make water within their tabernacle: which whoſoeuer doth willingly, he is ſlaine, but otherwiſe he muſt pay a great ſumme of money to the inchanter to be purified. Who likewiſe muſt cauſe the tabernacle with all things therein, to paſſe betweene two fiers. Before it be on this wiſe purified, no man dare once enter into it, nor conueigh any thing thereout. Beſides, if any man hath a morſell giuen him, which he is not able to ſwallow, and for that cauſe caſteth it out of his mouth, there is an hole made vnder his tabernacle, by which hee is drawen forth and ſlaine without all compaſſion. Likewiſe, whoſoeuer treads vpon the threſhold of any of their dukes tabernacles, he is put to death. Many other things there be, like vnto theſe, which they take for heinous offences. But to ſlay men, to inuade the dominions of other people, and to rifle their goods, to tranſgreſſe the commaundements and prohibitions of God, are with them no offences at all. They know nothing concerning eternall life, and euerlaſting damnation, and yet they thinke, that after death they ſhall liue in another world, that they ſhall multiply their cattell, that they ſhal eate and drinke and doe other things which liuing men performe here vpon earth. At a new moone, or a full moone, they begin all enterpriſes that they take in hand, and they call the moone the Great Emperour, and worſhip it vpon their knees. All men that abide in their tabernacles muſt be purified with fire: Which purification is on this wiſe, They kindle two fires, and pitch two Iauelines into the ground neere vnto the ſaid fires, binding a corde to the tops of the Iauelines. And about the corde they tye certaine iagges of buckram, vnder which corde, and betweene which fires, men, beaſtes, and tabernacles do paſſe, There ſtand two women alſo, one on the right ſide, and another on the left caſting water, and repeating certaine charmes. If any man be ſlaine by lightning, all that dwell in the ſame tabernacle with him muſt paſſe by fire in maner aforeſaid. For their tabernacles, beds, and cartes, their feltes and garments, and whatſoeuer ſuch things they haue, are touched by no man, yea, and are abandoned by all men as things vncleane. And to bee ſhort, they thinke that all things are to be purged by fire. Therefore, when any ambaſſadours, princes, or other perſonages whatſoeuer come vnto them, they and their giftes muſt paſſe betweene two fires to be purified, leſt peraduenture they haue practiſed ſome witchcraft, or haue brought ſome poyſon or other miſchiefe with them.

Of

Of the beginning of their empire or gouernment. Chap.7.

The people of Tartaria.

The Eaſt countrie, whereof wee haue entreated, which is called Mongal, is reported to haue had of olde time foure ſortes of people. One of their companions was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals. The ſecond company was called Sumongal, that is, the Water-Mongals, who called themſelues Tartars of a certaine riuer running through their countrey named Tartar. The third was called Merkat, and the fourth Metrit. All theſe people had one and the ſame perſon, attire of body and language, albeit they were diuided by princes and prouinces. In the prouince of Yeka Mongal, there was a certaine man called Chingis. This man became a mighty hunter. For he learned to ſteale men, & to take them for a pray. He ranged into other countries taking as many captiues as he could, and ioining them vnto himſelfe. Alſo hee allured the men of his owne countrey vnto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe miſchiefe. Then began he to make warre vpon the Sumongals or Tartars, and ſlewe their captaine, and after many conflicts, ſubdued them vnto himſelfe, and brought them all into bondage. Afterward he vſed their helpe to fight againſt the Merkats, dwelling by the Tartars, whom alſo hee vanquiſhed in battell. Proceeding from thence, he fought againſt the Metrites, and conquered them alſo. The Naimani hearing that Chingis was thus exalted, greatly diſdeined thereat. For they had a mighty & puiſſant Emperour, vnto whom all the foreſaid nations payed tribute. Whoſe ſonnes, when he was dead, ſucceeded him in his Empire. Howbeit, being young and fooliſh, they knew not howe to gouerne the people, but were diuided, and fell at variance among themſelues. Now Chingis being exalted, as is aforeſaid, they neuertheleſſe inuaded the forenamed countries, put the inhabitants to the ſword, and carried away their goods for a pray. Which Chingis hauing intelligence of, gathered all his ſubiects together. The Naimani alſo, and the people called Karakitay aſſembled and banded themſelues at a certaine ſtraight valley, where, after a battell foughten they were vanquiſhed by the Mongals. And being thus vanquiſhed, they were, the greater part of them, ſlaine; and others, which could not eſcape, were carried into captiuitie. In the land of the foreſayd Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the ſonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created Emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl. Neare vnto which citie, on the South ſide, there is an huge deſert, wherein wilde men are certainely reported to inhabite, which cannot ſpeake at all, and are deſtitute of ioynts in their legges, ſo that if they fall, they cannot riſe alone by themſelues. Howbeit, they are of diſcretion to make feltes of Camels haire, wherewith they clothe themſelues, and which they holde againſt the winde. And if at any time, the Tartars purſuing them, chance to wound them with their arrowes, they put herbes into their wounds, and flye ſtrongly before them.

The original & the exploits of Chingis.

The Naimani.

The diſcord of brethren.

Occoday Cham.

Of the mutuall victories betweene them, and the people of Kythay. Chap.9.

Haython & Paulus Venetus call them* Cathayans.

But the Mongals returning home into their owne countrey, prepared themſelues to battell againſt the * Kythayans: Which their Emperour hearing, ſet forward againſt them with his armie, and they fought a cruell battell, wherein the Mongals were ouercome, and all their nobles in the armie, except ſeuen, were ſlaine. And for this cauſe, when they, purpoſing to inuade anie region, are threatned by the inhabitants thereof to be ſlaine, they doe, to this day, anſwere: in old time alſo our whole number beſides being ſlaine, we remayned but ſeuen of vs aliue, and yet notwithſtanding we are now growen vnto a great multitude, thinke not therefore to daunt vs with ſuch brags. But Chingis and the reſidue that remained aliue, fled home into their countrey: And hauing breathed him a little, he prepared himſelfe to warre, and went forth againſt the people called Huyri: Theſe men were Chriſtians of the ſect of Neſtorius. And theſe alſo the Mongals ouercame, and receiued letters or learning from them: for before that time they had not the arte of writing, and nowe they call it the hand or letters of the Mongals. Immediately after, hee marched againſt the countrey of Saruyur, and of the Karanites, and againſt the land of Hudirat; all which he vanquiſhed. Then returned he home into his owne countrey, and breathed himſelfe. Afterward, aſſembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord againſt the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and ſhut vp their Emperour into his greateſt citie: which citie they had ſo long time beſieged, that they began to want neceſſary prouiſion for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede vpon, Chingis Cham commaunded his ſouldiers, that they ſhould eate euery tenth man of the companie.

New victories.

Letters.

But

Siluer caſt at the enemie in ſtead of ſtones.

But they of the citie fought manfully againſt them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes, and when ſtones wanted they threw ſiluer, and eſpecially melted ſiluer: for the ſame citie abounded with great riches. Alſo, when the Mongals had fought a long time and could not preuayle by warre, they made a great trench vnderneath the ground from the armie vnto the middeſt of the citie, and there iſſuing foorth they fought againſt the citizens, and the remnant alſo without the walles fought in like manner. At laſt, breaking open the gates of the citie, they entred, and putting the Emperour, with many other to the ſworde, they tooke poſſeſſion thereof and conueighed away the golde, ſiluer, and all the riches therein. And hauing appointed certaine deputies ouer the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the firſt time, when the Emperour of the Kythayans being vanquiſhed, Chingis Cham obtayned the Empire. But ſome parte of the countrey, becauſe it lyeth within the ſea, they could by no meanes conquere vnto this day. The men of Kytay are Pagans, hauing a ſpeciall kinde of writing by themſelues, and (as it is reported) the Scriptures of the olde and newe Teſtament. They haue alſo recorded in hyſtories the liues of their forefathers: and they haue Eremites, and certaine houſes made after the manner of our Churches, which in thoſe dayes they greatly reſorted vnto. They ſay that they haue diuers Saints alſo, and they worſhip one God. They adore and reuerence CHRIST IESVS our Lorde, and beleeue the article of eternall life, but are not baptized. They doe alſo honourably eſteeme and reuerence our Scriptures. They loue Chriſtians, and beſtowe much almes, and are a very courteous and gentle people. They haue no beardes, and they agree partly with the Mongals in the diſpoſition of their countenance. In all occupations which men practiſe, there are not better artificers in the whole worlde. Their countrey is exceeding rich, in corne, wine, golde, ſilke, and other commodities.

Chingis Cham proclaimed Emperour.

Part of Cathay in the ſea.

The letters, & the religion of the Cathayans.

Their excellent workmanſhip.

Of their warre againſt *India maior* and *minor.* *Chap.10.*

AND when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while reſted themſelues after the foreſayd victorie, they diuided their armies. For the Emperour ſent one of his ſonnes named Thoſſut (whom alſo they called Can, that is to ſay, Emperour) with an armie againſt the people of Comania, whom he vanquiſhed with much warre, and afterward returned into his owne country. But he ſent his other ſonne with an armie againſt the Indians, who alſo ſubdued India minor. These Indians are the blacke Saracens, which are alſo called Æthiopians. But here the armie marched forward to fight againſt Chriſtians dwelling in India maior. Which the King of that countrey hearing (who is commonly called Presbiter Iohn) gathered his ſouldiers together, and came foorth againſt them. And making mens images of copper, he ſet each of them vpon a ſaddle on horſebacke, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellowes on the horſe backe behinde euery image. And ſo with many horſes and images in ſuch ſorte furniſhed, they marched on to fight againſt the Mongals or Tartars. And comming neare vnto the place of the battell, they firſt of all ſent thoſe horſes in order one after another. But the men that ſate behind laide I wote not what vpon the fire within the images, and blew ſtrongly with their bellowes. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that the men and the horſes were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with ſmoake. Then the Indians caſt dartes vpon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and ſlain. And ſo they expelled them out of their dominions with great confuſion, neither did we heare, that euer they returned thither againe.

Thoſſut Can ſon of Chingis.

India minor ſubdued.

The ſtratagem of the king of India.

How being repelled by monſtrous men ſhapen like dogs, they ouercame the people of *Burithabeth.* *Chap.11.*

BUt returning through the deſerts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherin (as it was reported vnto vs in the Emperours court, by certaine clergie men of Ruſſia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by ſtrong and ſtedfaſt affirmation) they found certaine monſters reſembling women: who being aſked by many interpreters, where the men of that land were, they anſwered, that whatſoeuer women were borne there, were indued with the ſhape of mankinde, but the males were like vnto dogges. And delaying the time, in that countrey they met with the ſaid dogges on the other ſide of the riuer. And in the midſt of ſharpe winter, they caſt themſelues into the water: Afterward they wallowed in the duſt vpon the maine land, and ſo the duſt being mingled with water, was frozen to their backes, and hauing often times ſo done, the ice being ſtrongly frozen vpon them, with great fury they came to fight againſt the Tartars. And when the Tartars threwe their dartes, or ſhot their arrowes among them, they rebounded backe againe,

A ſtrange report of certain mõſtrous women and dogs.

as if they had lighted vpon ſtones. And the reſt of their weapons coulde by no meanes hurt them. Howbeit, the Dogges made an aſſault vpon the Tartars, and wounding ſome of them with their teeth, and ſlaying others, at length they draue them out of their countries. And thereupon they haue a Prouerbe of the ſame matter, as yet rife among them, which they ſpeake in ieſting ſorte one to another; My father or my brother was ſlaine of Dogges. The women which they tooke, they brought into their owne countrey, who remayned there till their dying day. And in traueiling homewardes, the ſayd armie of the Mongals came vnto the lande of Burithabeth (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell. Theſe people haue a ſtrange or rather a miſerable kinde of cuſtome. For when anie mans father deceaſeth, he aſſembleth all his kindred, and they eate him. Theſe men haue no beards at all, for we ſaw them carie a certaine iron inſtrument in their hands, wherewith, if any haires growe vpon their chinne, they preſently plucke them out. They are alſo very deformed. From thence the Tartars armie returned to their owne home.

The region of Burithabeth.

The manners of the people.

How they had the repulſe at the *Caſpian* mountaynes, and were driuen backe by men dwelling in caues. *Chap.* 12.

Moreouer Chingis Cham, at the ſame time when he ſent other armies againſt the Eaſt, hee himſelfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which notwithſtanding, he conquered not in that expedition, and as it was reported vnto vs, he went on forward euen to the Caſpian mountaines. But the mountaines on that part where they encamped themſelues, were of adamant, and therefore they drew vnto them their arrowes, and weapons of iron. And certaine men contained within thoſe Caſpian mountaynes, hearing, as it was thought, the noyſe of the armie, made a breach through, ſo that when the Tartars returned vnto the ſame place tenne yeeres after, they found the mountaine broken. And attempting to goe vnto them, they could not: for there ſtood a cloud before them, beyond which they were not able to paſſe, being depriued of their ſight ſo ſoone as they approched thereunto. But they on the contrary ſide thinking that the Tartars durſt not come nigh them, gaue the aſſault, & when they came at the cloud, they could not proceed for the cauſe aforeſaid. Alſo the Tartars, before they came vnto the ſaid mountaines, paſſed for the ſpace of a moneth and more, through a vaſt wildernes, & departing thence towards the Eaſt, they were aboue a moneth traueiling through another huge deſert. At length, they came vnto a land wherin they ſaw beaten waies, but could not find any people. Howbeit, at the laſt, diligently ſeeking, they found a man & his wife, whom they preſented before Chingis Cham: and demanding of them where the people of that countrey were, they anſwered, that the people inhabited vnder the ground in mountains. Then Chingis Cham keeping ſtill the woman, ſent her huſband vnto thē, giuing thē charge to come at his command. And going vnto them, he declared all things that Chingis Cham had commanded them. But they anſwered, that they would vpon ſuch a day viſite him, to ſatiſfie his deſire. And in the meane ſeaſon, by blinde & hidden paſſages vnder the earth, aſſembling themſelues, they came againſt the Tartars in warlike manner, and ſuddenly iſſuing forth, they ſlewe a great number of them. This people were not able to endure the terrible noiſe, which in that place the Sunne made at his vpriſing: for at the time of the Sunne riſing, they were inforced to lay one eare vpon the ground, and to ſtoppe the other cloſe, leaſt they ſhould heare that dreadfull ſound. Neither could they ſo eſcape, for by this meanes many of them were deſtroyed. Chingis Cham therefore and his company, ſeeing that they preuailed not, but continually loſt ſome of their number, fled and departed out of that land. But the man and his wife aforeſaid they caried along with them, who all their life time continued in the Tartars countrey. Being demaunded why the men of their countrey doe inhabite vnder the ground, they ſayd, that at a certeine time of the yeare, when the ſunne riſeth, there is ſuch an huge noyſe, that the people cannot endure it. Moreouer, they vſe to play vpon cymbals, drums, and other muſicall inſtruments, to the ende they may not heare that ſounde.

Another expeditiō of Chingis.

A fabulous narration of the ſun riſing.

Of the ſtatutes of *Chingis Cham*, of his death, of his ſonnes, and of his dukes. *Chap.* 13.

But as Chingis Cham returned out of that countrey, his people wanted victuals, & ſuffered extreme famin. Then by chance they found yͤ freſh intrails of a beaſt: which they tooke, & caſting away the dung therof, cauſed it to be ſodden, brought it before Chingis Cham, & did eat therof. And hereupon Chingis Cham enacted; that neither the blood, nor the intrails, nor any other part of a

The lawe of Chingis.

The death of Chingis.
His ſonnes.
His graund-children.
The Tartarian dukes.

beaſt which might be eaten, ſhould be caſt away, ſaue onely the dunge. Wherefore he returned thence into his owne land, and there he ordayned lawes and ſtatutes, which the Tartars doe moſt ſtrictly and inuiolably obſerue, of the which we haue before ſpoken. He was afterward ſlaine by a thunderclap. He had foure ſonnes: the firſt was called Occoday, the ſecond Thoſſut Can, the third Thiaday: the name of the fourth is vnknowen. From theſe foure deſcended all the dukes of the Mongals. The firſt ſonne of Occoday is Cuyne, who is now Emperour: his brothers be Cocten and Chyrinen. The ſonnes of Thoſſut Can are Bathy, Ordu, Siba, and Bora. Bathy, next vnto the Emperour, is richer and mightier then all the reſt. But Ordu is the ſeignior of all the dukes. The ſonnes of Thiaday be Hurin and Cadan. The ſonnes of Chingis Cham his other ſonne, whoſe name is vnknowen, are Mengu, Bithat, and certaine others. The mother of Mengu was named Seroctan, and of all others moſt honoured among the Tartars, except the Emperors mother, and mightier then any ſubiect except Bathy. Theſe be the names of the dukes: Ordu, who was in Poland and in Hungarie: Bathy alſo & Hurin & Cadan, and Siban, and Ouygat, all which were in Hungarie. In like maner Cyrpodan, who is as yet beyond the ſea, making war againſt certaine Soldans of the Saracens, and other inhabitants of farre countries. Others remained in the land, as namely Mengu, Chyrinen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Correnſa. There be many other of their dukes, whoſe names are vnknowen vnto vs.

Of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of his dukes. *Chap.* 14.

The abſolute and lordly dominion of the Tartarian Emperour ouer his ſubiects.

Their barbarous inhumanitie towards ambaſſadours

MOreouer, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion ouer all his ſubiects. For no man dare abide in any place, vnles he hath aſſigned him to be there. Alſo he himſelfe appointeth to his dukes where they ſhould inhabite. Likewiſe the dukes aſſigne places vnto euery Millenarie, or conducter of a thouſand ſouldiers, the Millenaries vnto each captaine of an 100. the captaines vnto euery corporall of ten. Whatſoeuer is giuen them in charge, whenſoeuer, or whereſoeuer, be it to fight or to loſe their liues, or howſoeuer it be, they obey without any gainſaying. For if he demandeth any mans daughter, or ſiſter being a virgine, they preſently deliuer her vnto him without all contradiction: yea, often times he makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and thoſe whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himſelfe, others he beſtoweth vpon his men. Alſo, whatſoeuer meſſenger he ſendeth, or whitherſoeuer, his ſubiects muſt without delay finde them horſes and other neceſſaries. In like ſorte, from what countrey ſoeuer tribute payers, or ambaſſadours come vnto him, they muſt haue horſes, carriages, and expenſes allowed them. Notwithſtanding ambaſſadours comming from other places do ſuffer great miſery, and are in much wante both of victuals, and of apparel: eſpecially when they come to any of the dukes, and there they are conſtrayned to make ſome lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed ſo little ſuſtenance, that ſcarcely two could liue thereof. Likewiſe, if any iniuries be offered them, they cannot without danger make complaint. Many gifts alſo are demaunded of them, both by dukes and others, which if they doe not beſtow, they are baſely eſteemed, and ſet at nought. And hereupon, wee were of neceſſitie enforced to beſtowe in giftes a great part of thoſe things which were giuen vs by well diſpoſed people, to defray our charges. To be ſhort, all things are ſo in the power and poſſeſſion of the Emperour, that no man dare ſay, This is mine, or, this is my neighbours; but all, both goods, cattell and men are his owne. Concerning this matter alſo he publiſhed a ſtatute of late. The very ſame authority and iuriſdiction, doe the dukes in like ſorte exerciſe vpon their ſubiects.

Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the expedition of duke Bathy. *Chap.* 15.

Occoday ſucceedeth his father.
The expeditiō of Bathy.
The citie of Barchin.

AFter the death of Chingis Cham aforeſayd, the dukes aſſembled themſelues and choſe Occoday his ſonne to be their Emperour. And he, entering into conſultation with his nobles, diuided his armies, and ſent duke Bathy his nephew againſt the countrie of Altiſoldan, and againſt the people called Biſermini, who were Saracens, but ſpake the language of Comania. The Tartars inuading their countrey, fought with them and ſubdued them in battel. But a certeine citie called Barchin reſiſted them a long time. For the citizens had caſt vp many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the ſaid ditches. But the citizens of Sarguit hearing this, came foorth to meete them, yeelding themſelues vnto them of their owne accord. Whereupon their citie was not deſtroyed, but they ſlue manie of them and others they carried away captiue, and taking ſpoyles, they filled the citie with other inhabitants, and ſo marched foorth againſt the citie of Orna. This towne was very populous and exceeding rich. For there were many Chriſtians therein, as namely Gaſarians, Ruſſians, and Alanians, with others, and Saracens alſo. The gouernment of the citie was in the Saracens hande. It ſtandeth vpon a mightie riuer, and is a kinde of porte towne, hauing a great marte exerciſed therein. And when the Tartars could not otherwiſe ouercome it, they turned the ſaid riuer, running through the citie, out of his chanell, and ſo drowned the citie with the inhabitantes and their goods. Which being done, they ſet forward againſt Ruſſia, and made foule hauocke there, deſtroying cities and caſtles and murthering the people. They layd ſiege a long while vnto Kiow the chiefe citie of Ruſſia, and at length they tooke it and ſlue the citizens. Whereupon, traueiling through that countrey, wee found an innumerable multitude of dead mens ſkulles and bones lying vpon the earth. For it was a very large and a populous citie, but it is nowe in a maner brought to nothing: for there doe ſcarce remaine 200. houſes, the inhabitants whereof are kept in extreame bondage. Moreouer, out of Ruſſia and Comania, they proceeded forward againſt the Hungarians, and the Polonians, and there manie of them were ſlaine, as is aforeſaid: and had the Hungarians manfully withſtood them, the Tartars had beene confounded and driuen backe. Returning from thence, they inuaded the countrey of the Morduans being pagans, and conquered them in battell. Then they marched againſt the people called Byleri, or Bulgaria magna, & vtterly waſted the countrey. From hence they proceeded towards the North againſt the people called Baſtarci or Hungaria magna, and conquered them alſo. And ſo going on further North, they came vnto the Paroſſitæ, who hauing little ſtomacks and ſmall mouthes, eate not any thing at all, but ſeething fleſh they ſtand or ſitte ouer the potte, and receiuing the ſteame or ſmoke thereof, are therewith onely nouriſhed, and if they eate anie thing it is very little. From hence they came to the Samogetę, who liue onely vpon hunting, and vſe to dwell in tabernacles onely, and to weare garments made of beaſtes ſkinnes. From thence they proceeded vnto a countrey lying vpon the Ocean ſea, where they found certaine monſters, who in all things reſembled the ſhape of men, ſauing that their feete were like the feete of an oxe, and they had in deede mens heads but dogges faces. They ſpake, as it were, two words like men, but at the third they barked like dogges. From hence they retired into Comania, and there ſome of them remaine vnto this day.

Orna.

The Morduans.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Paroſſitæ.

Samogetæ.

The North ocean.

Northerne monſters.

Of the expedition of duke *Cyrpodan*. *Chap.* 16.

AT the ſame time Occoday Can ſent duke Cyrpodan with an armie againſt Kergis, who alſo ſubdued them in battell. Theſe men are Pagans, hauing no beardes at all. They haue a cuſtome when any of their fathers die, for griefe and in token of lamentation to drawe as it were, a leather thong ouerthwart their faces, from one eare to the other. This nation being conquered, duke Cyrpodan marched with his forces Southward againſt the Armenians. And trauailing through certain deſert places, they found monſters in the ſhape of men, which had each of them but one arme & one hand growing out of the midſt of their breaſt, and but one foote. Two of them vſed to ſhoote in one bowe, and they ran ſo ſwiftly, that horſes could not ouertake them. They ran alſo vpon that one foote by hopping and leaping, and being weary of ſuch walking, they went vpon their hand and their foote, turning themſelues round, as it were in a circle. And being wearie of ſo doing, they ran againe according to their wonted manner. Iſidore calleth them Cyclopedes. And as it was told vs in court, by the clergie men of Ruſſia, who remaine with the foreſayd Emperour, many ambaſſadours were ſent from them vnto the Emperours court, to obtaine peace. From thence they proceeded forth into Armenia, which they conquered in battell, and part alſo of Georgia. And the other part is vnder their iuriſdiction, paying as yet euery yeare vnto them for tribute, 20000. pieces of coyne called Yperpera. From thence they marched into the dominions of the puiſſant and mighty Soldan called Deurum, whom alſo they vanquiſhed in fight. And to be ſhort, they went on farther ſacking and conquering, euen vnto the Soldan of Aleppo his dominions, and now they haue ſubdued that land alſo, determining to inuade other countries beyond it: neither returned they afterward into their owne land vnto this day. Likewiſe the ſame armie marched forward againſt the Caliph of Baldach his countrey, which they ſubdued alſo, & exacted at his handes the dayly tribute of 400. Byzantines, beſides Baldakines and other giftes. Alſo euery yeare they ſend meſſengers vnto the Caliph mouing him to come vnto them. Who ſending backe great gifts together with his tribute beſeecheth thē to be fauourable vnto him. Howbeit the Tartarian Emperour receiueth al his gifts, & yet ſtill neuertheles ſends for him, to haue him come.

Kergis.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia conquered.

The Soldan of Aleppo his land.

The Caliph of Baldach.

How the *Tartars* behaue themſelues in warre. *Chap.* 17.

The militarie diſcipline of the Tartars.

CHingis Cham diuided his Tartars by captaines of ten, captaines of an 100. and captaines of a 1000. And ouer ten Millenaries or captains of a 1000, he placed, as it were, one Colonel, and yet notwithſtanding ouer one whole armie he authoriſed two or three dukes, but yet ſo that all ſhould haue eſpeciall regard vnto one of the ſaid dukes. And when they ioine battel againſt any other nation, vnles they do all with one conſent giue backe, euery man that flies is put to death. And if one or two, or more of ten proceed manfully to the battel, but the reſidue of thoſe ten draw backe & follow not the company, they are in like maner ſlaine. Alſo, if one among ten or more bee taken, their fellowes, if they reſcue thẽ not, are puniſhed with death. Moreouer they are enioined to haue theſe weapons following. Two long bowes or one good one at the leaſt, three quiuers full of arrowes, & one axe, and ropes to draw engines withal. But the richer ſort haue ſingle edged ſwords, with ſharpe points, and ſomewhat crooked. They haue alſo armed horſes with their ſhoulders and breaſts defenced, they haue helmets and brigandines. Some of them haue iackes, and capariſons for their horſes made of leather artificially doubled or trebled vpon their bodies. The vpper part of their helmet is of iron or ſteele, but that part which compaſſeth about the necke and the throate is of leather. Howbeit ſome of them haue all their foreſaide furniture of iron framed in maner following. They beate out many thinne plates a finger broad, and a handful long, and making in euery one of them eight little holes, they put thereunto three ſtrong and ſtreight leather thongs. So they ioine the plates one to another, as it were, aſcending by degrees. Then they tie the plates vnto the ſaid thongs, with other ſmall and ſlender thongs, drawen through the holes aforeſayd, and in the vpper part, on each ſide therof, they faſten one ſmall doubled thong vnto another, that the plates may firmely be knit together. Theſe they make, as well for their horſes capariſons, as for the armour of their men: And they ſkowre them ſo bright that a man may behold his face in them. Some of them vpon the necke of their launce haue an hooke, wherewithall they attempt to pull men out of their ſaddles. The heads of their arrowes are exceedingly ſharpe cutting both wayes like a two edged ſworde, and they alwaies carie a file in their quiuers to whet their arrowheads. They haue targets made of wickers, or of ſmall roddes. Howbeit they doe not (as we ſuppoſe) accuſtome to carrie them, but onely about the tents, or in the Emperours or dukes guardes, & that only in the night ſeaſon. They are moſt politique in warres, hauing bene exerciſed therein with other nations for the ſpace of theſe 42. yeres. When they come at any riuers, the chiefe men of the company haue a round and light piece of leather, about the borders whereof making many loopes, they put a rope into them to drawe it together like a purſe, and ſo bring it into the rounde forme of a ball, which leather they fill with their garments and other neceſſaries, truſſing it vp moſt ſtrongly. But vpon the midſt of the vpper parte thereof, they lay their ſaddles and other hard things, there alſo doe the men themſelues ſit. This their boate they tye vnto an horſe tayle, cauſing a man to ſwimme before, & to guide ouer the horſe, or ſometime they haue two oares to row themſelues ouer. The firſt horſe therefore being driuen into the water, all the other horſes of the company followe him, and ſo they paſſe through the riuer. But the poorer ſort of common ſouldiers haue euery man his leather bag or ſachell well ſowen together, wherin he packs vp all his trinkets, and ſtrongly truſſing it vp hangs it at his horſes tayle, and ſo paſſeth ouer, in maner aforeſaid.

Their weapõs

Their experience & cunning in warres.

Their maner of paſſing ouer riuers.

Howe they may be reſiſted. *Chap* 18.

I Deeme not any one kingdome or prouince able to reſiſt them: becauſe they vſe to take vp ſouldiers out of euery countrey of their dominions. And if ſo be the neighbour prouince which they inuade, wil not aide them, vtterly waſting it, with the inhabitants therof, whom they take from thence with them, they proceed on to fight againſt another countrey. And placing their captiues in the forefront of the battell, if they fight not couragiouſly, they put them to the ſworde. Wherefore, if Chriſtians would withſtande them, it is expedient, that the prouinces and gouernours of countreies ſhould agree in one, and ſo by common counſell, ſhould giue them reſiſtance. Their ſouldiers alſo muſt be furniſhed with ſtrong hand-bowes & croſ-bowes, which they greatly dread, & with ſufficiẽt arrowes, with maces alſo of good iron, or an axe with a long handle or ſtaffe. When they make their arrow heads, they muſt (according to yͤ Tartars cuſtome) dip thẽ red-hot into water mingled with ſalte, that they may be ſtrong to pierce the enemies armour. They that wil may haue ſwords alſo & lances with hooks at the ends, to pull thẽ from their ſaddles, out of which they are eaſilie remoued. They muſt haue helmets likewiſe & other armour to defend thẽſelues & their horſes frõ the Tartars weapons & arrowes, & they that are vnarmed, muſt (according to yͤ Tartars cuſtome)

Counſel how to wage warre againſt the Tartars.

A notable temper of iron or ſteele.

march behinde their fellowes, and diſcharge at the enemie with long bowes and croſ-bowes. And (as it is aboue ſaid of the Tartars) they muſt orderly diſpoſe their bandes and troupes, and ordeine lawes for their ſouldiers. Whoſoeuer runneth to the pray or ſpoyle, before the victorie be atchieued, muſt vndergoe a moſt ſeuere puniſhment. For ſuch a fellow is put to death among the Tartars without all pitie or mercie. The place of battel muſt be choſen, if it be poſſible, in a plaine fielde, where they may ſee round about, neither muſt all be in one company, but in manie and ſeuerall bandes, not very farre diſtant one from another. They which giue the firſt encounter muſt ſende one band before, and muſt haue another in a readyneſſe to relieue and ſecond the former in time conuenient. They muſt haue ſpies alſo on euery ſide to giue them notice when the reſt of the enemies bandes approch. For therefore ought they alwayes to ſend forth band againſt band & troupe againſt troupe, becauſe the Tartar euer practiſeth to gette his enemie in the midſt and ſo to enuiron him. Let our bands take this caueat alſo, if the enemie retire, not to make any long purſuit after him, leſt peraduenture (according to his cuſtome) he might draw them into ſome ſecret ambuſh: for the Tartar fights more by policie then by maine force. And againe, leſt our horſes bee tired: for we are not ſo well ſtored with horſes as they. Thoſe horſes which the Tartars vſe one day, they ride not vpon three or foure dayes after. Moreouer, if the Tartars draw homeward, our men muſt not therefore depart and caſſeir their bandes, or ſeparate themſelues aſunder: becauſe they doe this vpon policie, namely to haue our armie diuided, that they may more ſecurely inuade and waſte the countrey. And in very deede, our captaines ought both day and night to keepe their armie in a readines: and not to lie out of their armour, but at all aſſayes, to bee prouided for battell. For the Tartars like diuels are alwaies watching and deuiſing howe to practiſe miſchiefe. Furthermore, if in battell any of the Tartars be caſt off their horſe backes, they muſt preſently bee layd holde on and taken, for being on foote they ſhoote ſtrongly, wounding and killing both horſes and men.

Of the iourney of frier * *Iohn* vnto the firſt guard of the *Tartars*. *Chap*. 19.

*Iohannes de plano Carpini.

WE therefore by the commaundement of the ſea apoſtolique ſetting foorth towards the nations of the Eaſt, choſe firſt to trauel vnto the Tartars, becauſe we feared that there might be great danger imminent vpon the Church of God next vnto them, by their inuaſions. Proceeding on therefore, we came to the king of Bohemia, who being of our familiar acquaintance, aduiſed vs to take our iourney through Polonia and Ruſſia. For we had kinſfolkes in Polonia, by whoſe aſſiſtance, we might enter into Ruſſia. Hauing giuen vs his letters, hee cauſed our charges alſo to be defrayed, in all his chiefe houſes and cities, till we came vnto his nephew Boleſlaus duke of Sleſia, who alſo was familiar and well knowen vnto vs. The like fauour he ſhewed vs alſo, till wee came vnto Conradus duke of * Lautiſcia, vnto whome then (by Gods eſpeciall fauour towards vs) lord Waſilico duke of Ruſſia was come, from whoſe mouth we heard more at large cōcerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had ſent ambaſſadours thither, who were returned backe vnto him. Wherefore, it being giuen vs to vnderſtand, that we muſt beſtow giftes vpon them, we cauſed certaine ſkinnes of beuers and other beaſtes to be bought with part of that money, which was giuen vpon almes to ſuccour vs by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the *duches of Cracow, and a biſhop, and certaine ſouldiers being aduertiſed of, gaue vs likewiſe more of the ſame ſkins. And to be ſhort, duke Waſilico being earneſtly requeſted by the duke of Cracow, and by the biſhop and barons, on our behalfe, conducted vs with him, vnto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, enterteined vs at his owne charges, to the ende that we might refreſh our ſelues a while. And when, being requeſted by vs, he had cauſed his biſhops to reſort vnto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admoniſhing them to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church. To the ſame purpoſe alſo, we our ſelues admoniſhed them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the biſhops and others thereunto. Howbeit becauſe duke Daniel the brother of Waſilico aforeſaid (hauing as then taken his iourney vnto Baty) was abſent, they could not at that time, make a finall anſwere. After theſe things duke Waſilico ſent vs forward with one of his ſeruants as farre as Kiow the chiefe citie of Ruſſia. Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our liues by reaſon of the Lituanians, who did often inuade yͤ borders of Ruſſia, euen in thoſe verie places by which we were to paſſe. But in regard of the foreſayd ſeruant, wee were out of the Ruſſians daunger, the greateſt part of whome were either ſlaine, or caried into captiuitie by the Tartars. Moreouer, at Danilon wee were feeble euen vnto the death. (Notwithſtanding wee cauſed our ſelues to bee carried in a waggon through the ſnowe and extreme colde) And being come vnto Kiow, wee conſulted with the Millenary, & other noble men there concerning our iourney. They told vs, that if wee

The iourney of frier Iohn & his fellow Legates.

Boleſlaus duke of Sileſia.

*Mazouia.

*Grimſlaua.

Daniel brother vnto Waſilico.

The Lithuanians

The fodder of the Tartarian horſes.

carried thoſe horſes, which wee then had, vnto the Tartars, great ſtore of ſnowe lying vpon the ground, they would all dye: becauſe they knew not howe to digge vp the graſſe vnder the ſnow, as the Tartarian horſes doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eate, the Tartars hauing neither hay nor ſtrawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leaue them behind at Kiow with two ſeruants appointed to keepe them. And wee were conſtrayned to beſtow gifts vpon the Millenary, that we might obtaine his fauour to allowe vs poſte horſes and a guide. Wherefore beginning our iourney the ſecond daye after the feaſt of the Purification, wee arriued at the towne of Canow, which was immediatly vnder the dominion of the Tartars. The gouernour whereof allowed vs horſes and a guide vnto another towne, wherein wee found one Michæas to be gouernour, a man full of all malice and deſpight. Who notwithſtanding, hauing receiued giftes at our handes, according to his maner conducted vs to the firſt guarde of the Tartars.

Michæas the malicious.

How he and his company were at the firſt receiued of the *Tartars*. *Chap.20.*

The contents of the legacie.

Wherefore, the firſt ſaturday next after Aſhwedneſday, hauing about the Sunnes going downe, taken vp our place of reſt, the armed Tartars came ruſhing vpon vs in vnciuil and horrible maner, being very inquiſitiue of vs what maner of perſons, or of what condition we were: & when we had anſwered them that we were the Popes Legates, receiuing ſome victuals at our handes, they immediatly departed. Moreouer in the morning riſing and proceeding on our iourney, the chiefe of them which were in the guard met with vs, demaunding why, or for what intent and purpoſe we came thither? and what buſines we had with them? Vnto whom we anſwered, We are the legates of our lord the Pope, who is the father & lord of the Chriſtians. He hath ſent vs as well vnto your Emperour, as to your princes, and all other Tartars for this purpoſe, becauſe it is his pleaſure, that all Chriſtians ſhould be in league with the Tartars, and ſhould haue peace with them. It is his deſire alſo that they ſhould become great or in fauour with God in heauen, therfore he admoniſheth them aſwel by vs, as by his own letters, to become Chriſtians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, becauſe they could not otherwiſe be ſaued. Moreouer, he giues thẽ to vnderſtand, that he much marueileth at their mõſtrous ſlaughters & maſſacres of mankind, & eſpecially of Chriſtians, but moſt of al of Hungariãs, Mountaineirs, & Polonians, being al his ſubiects, hauing not iniuried them in ought, nor attempted to doe them iniurie. And becauſe the Lord God is grieuouſly offended thereat, he aduiſeth them from henceforth to beware of ſuch dealing, & to repent them of that which they had done. He requeſteth alſo, that they would write an anſwere vnto him, what they purpoſe to doe hereafter, and what their intention is. All which things being heard and vnderſtood, the Tartars ſayd that they would appoint vs poſte horſes and a guide vnto Correnſa. And immediately demanding gifts at our hands, they obtained them. Then receiuing the ſame horſes, from which they diſmounted, together with a guide wee tooke our iourney vnto Correnſa. But they riding a ſwift pace, ſent a meſſenger before vnto the ſayd duke Correnſa, to ſignifie the meſſage, which we had deliuered vnto them. This duke is gouernour of all them, which lie in guard againſt the natiõs of the Weſt, leaſt ſome enemy might on the ſudden and at vnawares breake in vpon them. And hee is ſaid to haue 60000. men vnder him.

Correnſa.

The duke of the Weſterne marches.

How they were receiued at the court of *Correnſa*. *Chap.21.*

The maner of ſaluting the Tartarian princes.

Being come therefore vnto his court, hee cauſed our tent to bee placed farre from him, and ſent his agents to demaund of vs with what we would incline vnto him, that is to ſay, what giftes we would offer, in doing our obeiſance vnto him. Vnto whome wee anſwered, that our lord the Pope had not ſent any giftes at all, becauſe he was not certaine that wee ſhould euer bee able to come at them: for we paſſed through moſt dangerous places. Notwithſtanding, to our abilitie, we will honour him with ſome part of thoſe things, which haue bene, by the goodnes of God, & the fauour of the Pope, beſtowed vpõ vs for our ſuſtenance. Hauing receiued our gifts, they conducted vs vnto the Orda or tent of the duke, & we were inſtructed to bow thriſe with our left knee before the doore of the tente, and in any caſe to beware, leſt wee ſet our foote vpon the threſhold of the ſayd doore. And that after we were entred, wee ſhould rehearſe before the duke and all his nobles, the ſame wordes, which wee had before ſayde, kneeling vpon our knees. Then preſented wee the letters of our lord the Pope: but our interpreter whome we had hired and brought with vs from Kiow was not ſufficiently able to interpret them, neither was there any other eſteemed to bee meete for the ſame purpoſe. Here certaine poſte horſes and three Tartars were appoynted for vs to conduct vs from hence with al ſpeede vnto duke Bathy. This Bathy is the mightieſt prince among them except the Emperour, & they are bound to obey him before all other princes. We began our iourney towards his court the firſt tueſday in Lent, and riding as faſt as our horſes could trot (for we had freſh horſes almoſt thriſe or foure times a day) we poſted from morning till night, yea very often in the night ſeaſon alſo, and yet could we not come at him before Maundie thurſday. All this iourney we went through the land of Comania, which is al plaine ground, and hath foure mighty riuers running through it: The firſt is called ‡Neper, on the ſide whereof towards Ruſſia, duke Correnſa & Montij marched vp and downe, which Montij on the other ſide vpon the plaines is greater then he. The ſecond is called ‡Don, vpon the banke whereof marcheth a certain prince hauing in mariage the ſiſter of Baty, his name is Tirbon. The third is called ‡Volga, which is an exceeding great riuer, vpon the bankes whereof duke Bathy marcheth. The fourth is called ‡Iacc, vpon which two Millenaries doe march, on each ſide of the riuer one. All theſe, in the winter time, deſcend down to the ſea, & in ſummer aſcend backe by the bankes of the ſaid riuers vp to the mountains. The ſea laſt named is the ‖Great ſea, out of which the arme of S. George proceedeth, which runneth by Conſtantinople. Theſe riuers do abound with plenty of fiſhes, but eſpecially Volga, & they exonerate thẽſelues into the Grecian ſea, which is called Mare maior. Ouer Neper we went many daies vpon the ice. Along the ſhore alſo of the Grecian ſea we went very dangerouſly vpon the ice in ſundry places, & that for many daies together. For about the ſhore the waters are frozen three leagues into the ſea. But before we came vnto Bathy, two of our Tartars rode afore, to giue him intelligence of all the ſayings which we had vttered in the preſence of Correnſa.

Duke Bathy & his power.

‡Boriſthenes.

‡Tanais.

‡Rha.

‡Rhymnus.

‖Pontus Euxinus.

He is deceiued, for albeit Neper & Don run into Mare maior: yet Volga & Iacc flowe into the Caſpian ſea.

How we were receiued at the court of the great prince *Bathy*. *Chap.* 22.

MOreouer, when we came vnto Bathy in the land of Comania, we were ſeated a good league diſtant from his tabernacles. And when we ſhould be conducted vnto his court, it was tolde vs that we muſt paſſe between two fires. But we would by no means be induced thereunto. Howbeit, they ſaid vnto vs: you may paſſe through without al danger: for we would haue you to doe it for none other cauſe, but only that if you intend any miſchiefe againſt our lord, or bring any poyſon with you, fire may take away all euill. Unto whom we anſwered, that to the end we might cleare ourſelues from all ſuſpition of any ſuch matter, we were contented to paſſe through. When therefore we were come vnto the Orda, being demanded by his agent Eldegay with what preſent or gift we would do our obeiſance: Wee gaue the ſame anſwere which we did at the court of Correnſa. The gifts being giuen and receiued, the cauſes of our iourney alſo being heard, they brought vs into the tabernacle of the prince, firſt bowing our ſelues at the doore, & being admoniſhed, as before, not to tread vpon the threſhold. And being entred, we ſpake vnto him kneeling vpon our knees, & deliuered him our letters, and requeſted him to haue interpreters to tranſlate them. Who accordingly on good friday were ſent vnto vs, and we together with them, diligently tranſlated our ſayd letters into the Ruſſian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages. This interpretation was preſented vnto Bathy, which he read, & attentiuely noted. At length wee were conducted home againe vnto our owne lodging, howbeit no victuals were giuen vnto vs, except it were once a litle Millet in a dich, the firſt night of our comming. This Bathy caries himſelfe very ſtately & magnificently, hauing porters and all officers after the maner of the Emperour, and ſittes in a lofty ſeate or throne together with one of his wiues. The reſt, namely, as well his brethren and ſonnes, as other great perſonages ſit vnderneath him in the midſt vpon a bench, and others ſit downe vpon the ground, behinde him, but the men on the right hand and the women on the left. He hath very faire and large tentes of linnen cloth alſo, which were once the kings of Hungaria. Neither dare any man come into his tent (beſides them of his owne family) vnles he be called, be he neuer ſo mighty and great, except perhaps it be knowen that it is his pleaſure. Wee alſo, for the ſame cauſe, ſate on the left hand; for ſo doe all ambaſſadors in going: but in returning from the Emperour, we were alwaies placed on the right hand. In the middeſt ſtands his table, neare vnto the doore of the tent, vpon the which there is drinke filled in golden and ſiluer veſſels. Neither doth Bathy at any time drinke, nor any other of the Tartarian princes, eſpecially being in a publique place, but they haue ſinging and minſtrilſie before them. And alwaies, when hee rides, there is a canopie or ſmall tent caried ouer his head vpon the point of a iaueline. And ſo doe all the great princes of the Tartars, & their wiues alſo. The ſayd Bathy is courteous enough vnto his owne men, and yet is hee had in great awe by them: he is moſt cruel in fight: he is exceedingly prudent and politique in warre, becauſe he hath now continued a long time in martiall affaires.

A ceremony of paſſing betweene two fiers.

Eldegay.

Bathy heareth the Legates.

He behaues himſelfe like a king.

Their cuſtome of drinking at the ſound of muſicke.

How departing from *Bathy*, they paſſed through the land of *Comania*, and of the *Kangittæ*. *Chap.* 23.

They traueiled poſt from Eaſter day to the 22. of July Eaſtward of Volga.

A deſcription of Comania.

The North Ocean.

The land of the Kangittæ.

Ieroſlaus duke of Ruſſia.

MOreouer, vpon Eaſter euen we were called vnto the tent, and there came forth to meete vs the foreſaid agent of Bathy, ſaying on his maſters behalfe, that we ſhould go into their land, vnto the Emperor Cuyne, deteining certaine of our company with this pretence, that they would ſend them backe vnto the Pope, to whom we gaue letters of al our affaires to deliuer vnto him. But being come as farre as duke Montij aforeſaid, there they were kept vntill our returne. Upon Eaſter day, hauing ſaid our praiers, and taken a ſlender breakfaſt, in the company of two Tartars, which were aſſigned vnto vs by Corenſa we departed with many teares, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were ſo feeble in bodie, that we were ſcarce able to ride. For all that Lent through, our meat was Millet onely with a little water and ſalte. And ſo likewiſe vpon other faſting dayes. Neither had we ought to drinke, but ſnowe melted in a ſkillet. And paſſing through Comania we rode moſt earneſtly, hauing change of horſes fiue times or oftener in a day, except when we went through deſerts, for then we were allowed better and ſtronger horſes, which could vndergoe the whole labour. And thus farre had we trauailed from the beginning of Lent vntill eight dayes after Eaſter. The land of Comania on the North ſide immediately after Ruſſia, hath the people called Morduyni Byleri, that is, Bulgaria magna, the Baſtarci, that is, Hungaria magna, next vnto the Baſtarci, the Paroſitæ and the Samogetæ. Next vnto the Samogetæ are thoſe people which are ſayd to haue dogges faces, inhabiting vpon the deſert ſhores of the Ocean. On the South ſide it hath the Alani, the Circaſſi, the Gazari, Greece and Conſtantinople; alſo the land of Iberia, the Cathes, the Brutaches who are ſaid to be Iewes ſhauing their heads all ouer, the landes alſo of Scythia, of Georgia, of Armenia, of Turkie. On the Weſt ſide it hath Hungaria, and Ruſſia. Alſo Comania is a moſt large and long countrey. The inhabitantes whereof called Comani the Tartars ſlewe, ſome notwithſtanding fled from them, and the reſt were ſubdued vnder their bondage. But moſt of them that fled are returned againe. Afterward wee entred the lande of the Kangittæ, which in many places hath great ſcarcetie of waters, wherein there are but fewe inhabitants by reaſon of the foreſayd defect of water. For this cauſe diuers of the ſeruants of Ieroſlaus duke of Ruſſia, as they were traueiling towards him into the land of Tartaria, died for thirſt, in that deſert. As before in Comania, ſo likewiſe in this countrey, wee found many ſkulles and bones of dead men lying vpon the earth like a dunghill. Through this countrey we were traueiling from the eight day after Eaſter vntill Aſcenſion day. The inhabitants therof were Pagans, and neither they nor the Comanians vſed to till the ground, but liued onely vpon cattell, neither built they any houſes but dwelled in tents. Theſe men alſo haue the Tartars rooted out, and doe poſſeſſe and inhabite their countrey, howbeit, thoſe that remained are reduced into their bondage.

How they came vnto the firſt court of the new Emperour. *Chap.* 24.

The land of the Biſermini.

Alti Soldanus.

Huge mountaines.

Burin and Cadan

The North ocean.

Syban brother vnto Bathy.

The blacke Kythayans.

A ſmall ſea.

Many dayes.

Ordu cap. 13.

MOreouer, out of the land of the Kangittæ, we entered into the countrey of ẏ Biſermini, who ſpeake the language of Comania, but obſerue the law of the Saracens. In this countrey we found innumerable cities with caſtles ruined, & many towns left deſolate. The lord of this country was called Soldan Alti, who with al his progenie, was deſtroyed by the Tartars. This country hath moſt huge mountains. On the South ſide it hath Ieruſalem and Baldach, and all the whole countrey of the Saracens. In the next territories adioyning doe inhabite two carnall brothers dukes of the Tartars, namely, Burin and Cadan, the ſonnes of Thyaday, who was the ſonne of Chingis Can. On the North ſide thereof it hath the land of the blacke Kythayans, and the Ocean. In the ſame countrie Syban the brother of Bathy remaineth. Through this countrie we were traueiling from the feaſt of Aſcenſion, vntil eight daies before the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt. And then we entred into the land of the blacke Kythayans, in which the Emperour built an houſe, where we were called in to drinke. Alſo the Emperours deputy in that place cauſed the chiefe men of the citie and his two ſonnes to daunce before vs. Departing from hence, wee founde a certaine ſmall ſea, vpon the ſhore whereof ſtands a little mountaine. In which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from whence, in winter time ſuch vehement tempeſts of winds doe iſſue, that traueilers can ſcarcely, and with great danger paſſe by the ſame way. In ſummer time, the noiſe in deede of the winde is heard there, but it proceedeth gently out of the hole. Along the ſhores of the foreſaid ſea we trauailed for the ſpace of many dayes, which although it bee not very great, yet hath it many iſlandes, and wee paſſed by leauing it on our left hande. In this lande dwelleth Ordu, whome wee ſayde to bee auncient vnto all the Tartarian dukes. And it is the Orda or court of his faher which hee inhabiteth, and one of his wiues beareth rule there.

For it is a cuſtome among the Tartars, that the Courts of Princes or of noble men are not diſſolued, but alwayes ſome women are appointed to keepe and gouerne them, vpon whom certain gifts are beſtowed, in like ſort as they are giuen vnto their Lords. And ſo at length we arriued at the firſt court of the Emperour, wherein one of his wiues dwelt.

The firſt court of the Emperour.

Howe they came vnto *Cuyne* himſelfe, who was forthwith to be choſen Emperour. *Chap. 25.*

BUt becauſe we had not as yet ſeene the Emperour, they would not inuite vs nor admit vs into his Orda, but cauſed good attendance and entertainement, after the Tartars faſhion, to be giuen vnto vs in our owne tent, and they cauſed vs to ſtay there, and to refreſh our ſelues with them one day. Departing thence vpon the euen of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, wee entered into the land of the Naymani, who are Pagans. But vpon the very feaſt day of the ſaide Apoſtles, there fel a mightie ſnowe in that place, and wee had extreame colde weather. This lande is full of mountaines, and colde beyonde meaſure, and there is little plaine ground to bee ſeene. Theſe two nations laſt mentioned vſed not to till their grounde, but, like vnto the Tartars, dwelt in tents, which the ſayde Tartars had deſtroyed. Through this countrey wee were trauailing manie dayes. Then entered wee into the lande of the Mongals, whome wee call Tartars. Through the Tartars lande wee continued our trauaile (as wee ſuppoſe) for the ſpace of ſome three weekes, riding alwayes haſtily and with ſpeede, and vpon the day of Marie Magdalene we arriued at the court of Cuyne the Emperour elect. But therefore did we make great haſte all this way, becauſe our Tartarian guides were ſtraightly commaunded to bring vs vnto the court Imperiall with all ſpeede, which court hath beene theſe many yeeres, ordained for the election of the Emperour. Wherefore riſing earely, wee trauailed vntill night without eating of any thing, and oftentimes wee came ſo late vnto our lodging, that we had no time to eate the ſame night, but that which we ſhould haue eaten ouer night, was giuen vs in the morning. And often changing our horſes, wee ſpared no Horſe-fleſhe, but rode ſwiftly and without intermiſſion, as faſt as our horſes could trot.

The land of Naymani.

The 22. of Iuly.

How *Cuyne* enterteined the Minorite Friers. *Chap. 26.*

BUt when wee were come vnto the court of Cuyne, hee cauſed (after the Tartars manner) a Tent and all expenſes neceſſarie to bee prouided for vs. And his people entreated vs with more regarde and courteſie, then they did anie other Ambaſſadours. Howbeeit wee were not called before his preſence, becauſe hee was not as yet elected, nor admitted vnto his empire. Notwithſtanding, the interpretation of the Popes letters, and the meſſage which we deliuered, were ſent vnto him by the foreſaid Bathy. And hauing ſtayed there fiue or ſixe dayes, hee ſent vs vnto his mother, vnder whome there was maintayned a verie ſolemne and royall court. And being come thither, we ſaw an huge tent of fine white cloth pitched, which was, to our iudgement, of ſo great quantitie, that more then two thouſand men might ſtand within it, and round about it there was a wall of planks ſet vp, painted with diuers images. Wee therefore with our Tartars aſſigned to attende vpon vs, tooke our iourney thither, and there were all the Dukes aſſembled, eche one of them riding vp and downe with his traine ouer the hilles and dales. The firſt day they were all clad in white, but the ſecond in ſkarlet robes. Then came Cuyne vnto the ſaide tent. Moreouer, the third day they were all in blew robes, and the fourth in moſt rich robes of Baldakin cloth. In the wall of boardes, about the tent aforeſaid, were two great gates, by one of the which gates, the Emperour only was to enter, and at that gate there was no gard of men appointed to ſtand, although it ſtood continually open, becauſe none durſt go in or come out the ſame way: all that were admitted, entred by another gate, at which there ſtood watchmen, with bowes, ſwords, & arrowes. And whoſoeuer approched vnto the tent beyond the bounds and limit aſſigned, being caught, was beaten, but if he fled, he was ſhot at with arrowes or iron. There were many that to our iudgement, had vpon their bridles, trappers, ſaddles, and ſuch like furniture, to the value of 20. markes in pure gold. The foreſaid Dukes (as we thinke) communed together within the tent, and conſulted about the election of their Emperor. But all the reſidue of the people were placed farre away without the walles of board, & in this maner they ſtaied almoſt til noone. Then began they to drink mares milk, & ſo continued drinking til euen tide, and that in ſo great quantity, as it was wonderfull. And they called vs in vnto them, and gaue vs of their ale, becauſe we could not drink their mares milke. And this they did vnto vs in token of great honor. But they compelled vs to drink ſo much, that in regard of our cuſtomary diet, wee coulde by no means endure it. Whereupon, giuing them to vnderſtand,

that

The curteſie of Cuyne towards Ambaſſadors.

The tent roial.

A generall aſſemblie.

The banquet of the Nobles.

that it was hurtful vnto vs, they ceaſſed to compel vs any more. Without the doore ſtoode Duke Ieroſlaus of Suſdal, in Ruſſia, and a great many Dukes of the Kythayans, and of the Solangi. The two ſonnes alſo of the king of Georgia, the ligier of the Caliph of Baldach, who was a Soldan, and (as we thinke) aboue ten Soldans of the Saracens beſide. And, as it was tolde vs by the agents, there were more then 4000. ambaſſadors, partly of ſuch as paide tributes, and ſuch as preſented gifts, and other Soldans, and Dukes, which came to yeeld themſelues, and ſuch as the Tartars had ſent for, and ſuch as were gouernours of lands. All theſe were placed without the liſts, and had drinke giuen vnto them. But almoſt continually they all of them gaue vs and Duke Ieroſlaus the vpper hand, when we were abroad in their companie.

Ieroſlaus Duke of Suſdal.

Ambaſſadors of ſundry nations.

How he was exalted to his Empire. *Chap.27.*

AND to our remembrance, we remained there, about the ſpace of foure weekes. The election was to our thinking there celebrated, but it was not publiſhed and proclaimed there. And it was greatly ſuſpected ſo to be, becauſe alwayes when Cuyne came forth out of the tent, he had a noyſe of muſicke, and was bowed vnto, or honoured with faire wands, hauing purple wooll vpon the tops of them, and that, ſo long as he remained abroad: which ſeruice was performed to none of the other Dukes. The foreſaid tent or court is called by them Syra Orda. Departing thence, wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4. leagues vnto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a riuers ſide, betweene certaine mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda. For there was Cuyne to be placed in the throne Emperiall, vpon the day of the Aſſumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the ſame time, as is aboue ſaid, the matter was deferred. There was alſo a tent erected vpon pillars, which were couered with plates of golde, and were ioyned vnto other timber with golden nailes. It was couered aboue with Baldakin cloth, but there was other cloth ſpread ouer that, next vnto the ayre. Wee abode there vnto the feaſt of Saint Bartholomew, what time there was aſſembled an huge multitude ſtanding with their faces towards the South. And a certaine number of them beeing a ſtones caſt diſtant from the reſidue, making continuall prayers, and kneeling vpon their knees, proceeded farther and farther towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they vſed inchantments, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to ſome other, woulde not kneele vpon the grounde with them. And hauing done ſo a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our ſelues, for wee were none of his ſubiects.

The beginnings of Cuyne his empire.

Syra Orda.

The golden Orda.

The 15. of Auguſt.

Wollen cloth.

Of his age and demeanour, and of his ſeale. *Chap.28.*

THis Emperour, when hee was exalted vnto his gouernment, ſeemed to bee about the age of fourty or fourty fiue yeeres, He was of a meane ſtature, very wiſe and politike, and paſſing ſerious and graue in all his demeanour. A rare thing it was, for a man to ſee him laugh or behaue himſelfe lightly, as thoſe Chriſtians report, which abode continually with him. Certaine Chriſtians of his familie earneſtly and ſtrongly affirmed vnto vs, that he himſelfe was about to become a Chriſtian. A token and argument whereof was, that hee reteined diuers Cleargie men of the Chriſtians. Hee had likewiſe at all times a Chappell of Chriſtians, neere vnto his great Tent, where the Clearkes (like vnto other Chriſtians, and according to the cuſtome of the Græcians) doe ſing publiquely and openly, and ring belles at certaine houres, bee there neuer ſo great a multitude of Tartars, or of other people in preſence. And yet none of their Dukes doe the like. It is the manner of the Emperour neuer to talke his owne ſelfe with a ſtranger, though he be neuer ſo great, but heareth and anſweareth by a ſpeaker. And when any of his ſubiects (howe great ſoeuer they bee) are in propounding anie matter of importaunce vnto him, or in hearing his anſweare, they continue kneeling vpon their knees vnto the ende of their conference. Neither is it lawfull for any man to ſpeake of any affaires, after they haue beene determined of by the Emperour. The ſayde Emperour, hath in his affaires both publike and priuate, an Agent, and Secretary of eſtate, with Scribes and all other Officials, except aduocates. For, without the noyſe of pleading, or ſentence giuing, all things are done according to the Emperours will and pleaſure. Other Tartarian princes do the like in thoſe things which belong vnto thē. But, be it known vnto al men, that whileſt we remained at the ſaid Emperors court, which hath bin ordained and kept for theſe many yeeres, the ſaide Cuyne being Emperor new elect, together with al his princes, erected a flag of defiance againſt the Church of God, & the Romane empire, and againſt al

His inclination to Chriſtianitie.

His maieſtie.

A lawleſſe authoritie.

Chriſtian

Warre intended againſt all Chriſtians.

Chriſtian kingdomes and nations of the Weſt, vnleſſe peraduenture (which God forbid) they will condeſcend vnto thoſe things, which he hath inoined vnto our lord the Pope, & to all potentates and people of the Chriſtiãs, namely, that they wil become obedient vnto him. For, except Chriſtendom, there is no land vnder heauẽ, which they ſtand in feare of, and for that cauſe they prepare themſelues to battel againſt vs. This Emperors father, namely Occoday was poiſoned to death, which is the cauſe why they haue for a ſhort ſpace abſteined from warre. But their intent and purpoſe is (as I haue aboue ſaid) to ſubdue the whole world vnto themſelues, as they were commanded by Chingis Can. Hence it is that the Emperor in his letters writeth after this maner: The power of God, & Emperour of all men. Alſo, vpon his ſeale, there is this poſie ingrauen: God in heauen, and *Cuyne Can* vpon earth, the power of God: the ſeale of the Emperour of all men.

Of the admiſſion of the Friers and Ambaſſadours vnto the Emperour. Chap.29.

Cuyne heareth the Legates.

IN the ſame place where the Emperour was eſtabliſhed into his throne, we were ſummoned before him. And Chingay his chiefe ſecretary hauing written downe our names, and the names of them that ſent vs, with the name of the Duke of Solangi, & of others, cried out with a loude voice, rehearſing the ſaid names before the Emperour, and the aſſembly of his Dukes. Which beeing done, ech one of vs bowed his left knee foure times, & they gaue vs warning not to touch the threſhold. And after they had ſearched vs moſt diligently for kniues, and could not find any about vs, we entred in at the doore vpon the Eaſt ſide: becauſe no man dare preſume to enter at the Weſt doore, but the Emperour onely. In like maner, euery Tartarian Duke entreth on the Weſt ſide into his tent. Howbeit the inferiour ſort doe not greatly regard ſuch ceremonies. This therefore was the firſt time, when we entred into the Emperours tent in his preſence, after he was created Emperour. Likewiſe all other ambaſſadours were there receiued by him, but very fewe were admitted into his tent. And there were preſented vnto him ſuch abundance of gifts by the ſaide Ambaſſadours, that they ſeemed to be infinite, namely in Samites, robes of purple, and of Baldakin cloth, ſilke girdles wrought with golde, and coſtly ſkinnes, with other gifts alſo. Likewiſe there was a certaine Sun Canopie, or ſmall tent (which was to bee caried ouer the Emperours head) preſented vnto him, being ſet full of precious ſtones. And a gouernour of one Prouince brought vnto him a companie of camels couered with Baldakins. They had ſaddles alſo vpon their backs, with certaine other inſtruments, within the which were places for men to ſitte vpon. Alſo they brought many horſes & mules vnto him furniſhed wͭ trappers and capariſons, ſome being made of leather, and ſome of iron. And we were demanded whether we would beſtow any gifts vpõ him or no: But wee were not of abilitie ſo to doe, hauing in a maner ſpent all our prouiſion. There were alſo vpon an hill ſtanding a good diſtance from the tents, more then 500. carts, which were all ful ſiluer and of gold, and ſilke garments. And they were all diuided betweene the Emperour and his Dukes, and euery Duke beſtowed vpon his owne followers what pleaſed him.

Gifts preſented vnto him.

500. Carts ful of treaſure.

Of the place where the Emperor and his mother tooke their leaues one of another, and of *Ieroſlaus* Duke of *Ruſsia*. *Chap.30.*

A tent of purple.

DEparting thence, we came vnto another place, where a wonderfull braue tent, all of red purple, giuen by the Kythayans, was pitched. Wee were admitted into that alſo, and alwaies when we entred, there was giuen vnto vs ale and wine to drinke, & ſodden fleſh (when we would) to eate. There was alſo a loftie ſtage built of boords, where the Emperours throne was placed, being very curiouſly wrought out of iuorie, wherein alſo there was golde and precious ſtones, and (as we remember) there were certain degrees or ſtaires to aſcend vnto it. And it was round vpon the top. There were benches placed about the ſaide throne, whereon the ladies ſate towarde the left hand of the Emperour vpon ſtooles, (but none ſate aloft on the right hande) and the Dukes ſate vpon benches below, the ſaid throne being in the midſt. Certaine others ſate behinde the Dukes, and euery day there reſorted great companie of Ladies thither. The three tents whereof we ſpake before, were very large, but the Emperour his wiues had other great and faire tentes made of white felt. This was the place where the Emperour parted companie with his mother: for ſhe went into one part of the land, and the Emperour into another to execute iuſtice. For there was taken a certaine Concubine of this Emperour, which had poyſoned his father to death, at the ſame time when the Tartars armie was in Hungarie, which, for the ſame cauſe returned home. Moreouer, vpon the foreſaide Concubine, and many other of her confederats ſentence of iudgement was pronounced, and they were put to death. At the ſame time Ieroſlaus the great Duke of Soldal, which

A throne of Iuorie.

The death of Occoday reuenged.

Or, Suſdal.

which is a part of Ruſſia, deceaſed. For being (as it were for honours ſake) inuited to eate and drink with the Emperours mother, and immediatly after the banquet, returning vnto his lodging, he fel ſicke, and within ſeuen dayes, died. And after his death, his body was of a ſtrange blew colour, and it was commonly reported, that the ſaid Duke was poiſoned, to the ende that the Tartars might freely and totally poſſeſſe his Dukedome.

How the Friers comming at length vnto the Emperour, gaue, and receiued letters. *Chap. 31.*

Cuyne diſſembleth with the Legates.

Coſmas a Ruſſian.

The meſſage of Chingay.

TO be ſhort, the Tartars brought vs vnto their Emperor, who when he had heard of them, that we were come vnto him, cōmanded that we ſhould return, vnto his mother. For he was determined the next day, (as it is aboueſaid) to ſet vp a flag of defiãce againſt al ẏ countreis of the Weſt, which he would haue vs in no caſe to know. Wherefore returning, we ſtaied ſome few dayes with his mother, and ſo returned backe again vnto him. With whom we continued for the ſpace of one whole moneth in ſuch extreme hunger and thirſt, that we could ſcarce hold life and ſoule together. For the prouiſion allowed vs for foure dayes, was ſcantly ſufficient for one day. Neither could we buy vs any ſuſtenance, becauſe the market was too farre off. Howbeit the Lorde prouided for vs a Ruſſian goldſmith, named Coſmas, who being greatly in the Emperours fauour, procured vs ſome ſuſtenance. This man ſhewed vnto vs the throne of the Emperour, which hee had made, before it was ſet in the proper place, and his ſeale, which he alſo had framed. Afterward the Emperor ſent for vs, giuing vs to vnderſtand by Chingay his chief Secretary, that wee ſhould write downe our meſſages & affaires, and ſhould deliuer them vnto him. Which thing we performed accordingly. After many daies he called for vs againe, demanding whether there were any with our Lord the Pope, which vnderſtood the Ruſſian, the Sarracen, or the Tartarian language? To whom we anſwered, that we had none of thoſe letters or languages. Howbeit, that there were certaine Saracens in the land, but inhabiting a great diſtance from our Lord the Pope. And wee ſaide, that wee thought it moſt expedient, that when they had written their mindes in the Tartarian language, and had interpreted the meaning therof vnto vs, we ſhould diligently tranſlate it into our own tongue, and ſo deliuer both the letter and the tranſlation thereof vnto our Lord the Pope. Then departed they from vs, and went vnto the Emperour. And after the day of S. Martine, we were called for againe. Then Kadac principal agent for the whole empire, and Chingay, and Bala, with diuers other Scribes, came vnto vs, and interpreted the lettet word for word. And hauing written it in Latine, they cauſed vs to interprete vnto them eche ſentence, to wit if we had erred in any word. And when both letters were written, they made vs to reade them ouer twiſe more, leaſt we ſhould haue miſtaken ought. For they ſaid vnto vs: Take heed that ye vnderſtand all things throughly, for if you ſhould not vnderſtand the whole matter aright, it might breed ſome inconuenience. They wrote the ſaid letters alſo in the Saracen tongue, that there might be ſome found in our dominions which could reade and interprete them, if need ſhould require.

How they were licenſed to depart. *Chap. 32.*

The Legates are loath to haue any Ambaſſadours ſent from the Tartars to the Chriſtians.

ANd (as our Tartars told vs) the Emperour was purpoſed to ſend his ambaſſadors with vs. Howbeit, he was deſirous (as we thought) that we our ſelues ſhould craue that fauour at his hands. And when one of our Tartars being an ancient man, exhorted vs to make the ſaid petition, we thought it not good for vs, that the Emperor ſhould ſend his ambaſſadours. Wherfore we gaue him anſwere, that it was not for vs to make any ſuch petition, but if it pleaſed the Emperour of his owne accord to ſend them, we would diligently (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſee them conducted in ſafetie. Howbeit, we thought it expedient for vs, that they ſhould not goe, and that for diuers cauſes. Firſt, becauſe we feared, leaſt they, ſeeing the diſſentions and warres which are among vs, ſhould be the more encouraged to make warre againſt vs. Secondly, we feared, that they would be inſteade of ſpies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we miſdoubted that they would be ſlaine by the way. For our nations be arrogant and proud. For when as thoſe ſeruants (which at the requeſt of the Cardinall, attended vpon vs, namely the legates of Almaine) returned vnto him in the Tartars attire, they were almoſt ſtoned in the way, by the Dutch, and were compelled to put off thoſe garments. And it is the Tartars cuſtome, neuer to bee reconciled vnto ſuch as haue ſlaine their Ambaſſadours, till they haue reuenged themſelues. Fourthly, leaſt they ſhould bee taken from vs by mayne force. Fiftly, becauſe there could come no good by their ambaſſade, for they were to haue none other commiſſion, or authoritie, but onely to deliuer their Emperours letter vnto the Pope, and to the Princes of Chriſtendome, which very ſame letters wee our ſelues had, and we knew right well, that much harme might enſue thereof. Wherefore, the third day after this, namely, vpon the feaſt of Saint Brice, they gaue vs our paſſe-port and a Letter ſealed with the Emperours owne ſeale, ſending vs vnto the Emperours mother, who gaue vnto eche of vs a gowne made of Foxe-ſkinnes, with the furre on the outſide, and a piece of purple. And our Tartars ſtole a yarde out of euery one of them. And out of that which was giuen vnto our ſeruant, they ſtole the better halfe. Which falſe dealing of theirs, we knew well inough, but would make no wordes thereof.

November 13.

They are rewarded with gifts.

How they returned homewards. Chap. 33.

Then taking our iourney to returne, we trauailed all Winter long, lying in the deſerts oftentimes vpon the ſnow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye vpon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field. And oftentimes in the morning, we found our ſelues all couered with ſnow driuen ouer vs by the winde. And ſo trauailing till the feaſt of our Lordes Aſcenſion, we arriued at the court of Bathy. Of whom when wee had enquired, what anſwere he would ſend vnto our Lord the Pope, he ſaid that he had nothing to giue vs in charge, but onely that we ſhould diligently deliuer that which the Emperour had written. And, hauing receiued letters for our ſafe conduct, the thirteenth day after Pentecoſt, being Saterday, wee were proceeded as farre as Montij, with whome our foreſaide aſſociates and ſeruants remained, which were withheld from vs, and we cauſed them to be deliuered vnto vs. From hence wee trauailed vnto Correnſa, to whom, requiring gifts the ſecond time at our hands, we gaue none, becauſe we had not wherewithall. And hee appointed vs two Comanians, which liued among the common people of the Tartars, to be our guides vnto the citie of Kiow in Ruſſia. Howbeit one of our Tartars parted not from vs, till we were paſt the vtmoſt gard of the Tartars. But the other guides, namely the Comanians, which were giuen vs by Correnſa, brought vs from the laſt garde vnto the citie of Kiow, in the ſpace of ſixe dayes. And there we arriued fifteene dayes before the feaſt of Saint Iohn Baptiſt. Moreouer, the Citizens of Kiow hauing intelligence of our approch, came foorth all of them to meete vs, with great ioy. For they reioyced ouer vs, as ouer men that had bene riſen from death to life. So likewiſe they did vnto vs throughout all Ruſſia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Waſilico made vs a royall feaſt, and interteined vs with them againſt our willes for the ſpace of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their Biſhops, and other men of account, being in conſultation together about thoſe matters which we had propounded vnto them in our iourney towards the Tartars, anſwered vs with common conſent, ſaying: that they would holde the Pope for their ſpeciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their Lady & miſtreſſe, confirming likewiſe al things which they had ſent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their Abbate. And for the ſame purpoſe, they ſent their Ambaſſadours and letters by vs alſo, vnto our Lord the Pope.

The ſore iourneys of the Legates in returning.

Bathy.

Correnſa.

Iune 8.

How they were welcomed at their returne.

Baſilius and Daniel Princes.

Itinerarium fratris *Willielmi de Rubruquis* de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratię 1253. ad *partes Orientales.*

EXcellentiſſimo Domino & Chriſtianiſſimo, Lodouico Dei gratia Regi Francorum illuſtri, frater Willielmus de Rubruquis in ordine fratrum Minorum minimus ſalutem, & ſemper triumphare in Chriſto. Scriptum eſt in Eccleſiaſtico de ſapiente, In terram alienarum gentium tranſibit, bona & mala in omnibus tentabit. Hoc opus, Domine mi Rex, feci: ſed vtinam vt ſapiens & non ſtultus. Multi enim faciunt quod facit ſapiens, ſed non ſapienter, ſed magis ſtultè: de quorum numero timeo me eſſe. Tamen quocunque modo fecerim; quia dixiſtis mihi quando receſſi à vobis, vt omnia ſcriberem vobis, quæcunque viderem inter Tartaros, & etiam monuiſtis vt non timerem vobis ſcribere longas literas, facio quod iniunxiſtis: Cum timore tamen & verecundia, quia verba congrua mihi non ſuppetunt, quæ debeam tantæ ſcribere Maieſtati. Nouerit ergò veſtra ſancta maieſtas, quòd anno Domini milleſſimo ducenteſſimo, quinquageſſimo tertio, nonas Maij ingreſſi ſumus mare Ponti, quod Bulgarici vocant, Maius Mare: & habet mille octo milliaria in longum, vt didici à mercatoribus, & diſtinguitur quaſi in duas partes. Circa medium enim eius ſunt duæ prouinciæ terræ, vna ad Aquilonem, & alia ad meridiem. Illa quæ eſt ad meridiem dicitur Synopolis; & eſt caſtrum & portus Soldani Turchiæ. Quæ verò ad Aquilonem eſt, eſt Prouincia quædam, quæ nunc dicitur

Ecclus. 39. ver. 4.

dicitur à Latinis Gaſaria, à Græcis verò qui inhabitant eam ſuper littus maris dicitur Caſſaria, hoc eſt Cæſaria. Et ſunt promontoria quædam extendentia ſe in mare, & contra meridiem verſus Synopolim. Et ſunt trecenta milliaria inter Synopolim & Caſſariam. Ita quod ſint ſeptingenta miliaria ab iſtis punctis verſus Conſtantinopolim in longum & latum: & ſeptingenta verſus Orientem: hoc eſt, Hiberiam, quæ eſt prouincia Georgiæ. Ad prouinciam Gaſariæ ſiue Caſariæ applicuimus, quæ eſt quaſi triangularis, ad Occidentem habens ciuitatem, quæ dicitur Kerſoua, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens marterizatus. Et nauigantes corā ea vidimus inſulam in qua eſt templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum. In medio verò quaſi in cuſpide ad meridiem habet ciuitatem quæ dicitur Soldaia, quę ex tranſuerſo reſpicit Synopolim: Et illuc applicant omnes Mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras Aquilonares, & è contrario venientes de Roſſia & terris Aquilonaribus, volentes tranſire in Turchiam. Illi portant varium & griſiam, & alias pelles pretioſas. Alij portant telas de cottone ſiue bombaſio, & pannos ſericos & ſpecies aromaticas. Ad Orientē verò illius prouinciæ eſt ciuitas quæ dicitur Matriga, vbi cadit fluuius Tanais in mare Ponti per orificium habens latitudinem duodecem milliarium. Ille enim fluuius antequam ingrediatur mare Ponti, facit quoddam mare verſus Aquilonem, habens in latitudine & longitudine ſeptinginta milliaria, nuſquam habens profunditatem vltra ſex paſſus, vnde magna vaſa non ingrediuntur illud. Sed mercatores de Conſtantinopoli applicantes ad prædictam ciuitatem Matertam, mittunt barcas ſuas vſque ad flumen Tanaim, vt emant piſces ſiccatos, ſturiones, thoſas, borbatas, & alios piſces infinitæ multitudinis. Prædicta verò prouincia Caſſaria cingitur mari in tribus lateribus: ad Occidentem ſcilicet, vbi eſt Kerſoua ciuitas Clementis, ad meridiem vbi eſt ciuitas Soldaia, ad quam applicuimus, quæ eſt cuſpis prouinciæ, & ad Orientem Maricandis, vbi eſt ciuitas Materta, & orificium Tanais. Vltra illud orificium eſt Zikia, quæ non obedit Tartaris: Et Sueui & Hiberi ad Orientem, qui non obediunt Tartaris. Poſteà verſus meridiem eſt Trapeſunda quę habet proprium Dominum nomine Guidonem, qui eſt de genere imperatorum Conſtantinopolitanorum, qui obedit Tartaris: poſteà Synopolis quæ eſt Soldani Turchiæ qui ſimiliter obedit: poſteà terra Vaſtacij cuius filius dicitur Aſtar ab auo materno, qui non obedit. Ab orificio Tanais verſus Occidentem vſque ad Danubium totum eſt ſubditum. Etiam vltrà Danubium verſus Conſtantinopolim, Valakia, quæ eſt terra Aſſani, & minor Bulgaria vſque in Solonomam omnes ſoluunt eis tributum. Et etiam vltra tributum condictum ſumpſerunt annis nuper tranſactis de qualibet domo ſecurim vnam, & totum frumentum quod inuenerunt in maſſa. Applicuimus ergò Soldaię in 12. Kalendas Iunij: & præuenerant nos quidam mercatores de Conſtantinopoli, qui dixerunt venturos illuc nuncios de terra ſancta volentes ire ad Sartach. Ego tamen prędicaueram publicè in Ramis Palmarum apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non eſſem nuncius, nec veſter, nec alicuius, ſed ibam apud illos incredulos ſecundùm regulam noſtram. Tunc cùm applicuiſſem, monebant me dicti mercatores vt cautè loquerer, quia dixerunt me eſſe nuncium, & ſi non dicerem me eſſe nuncium, quod non præberetur mihi tranſitus. Tunc loquutus ſum hoc modo ad capitaneos ciuitatis, imò ad vicarios capitaneorum, quia capitanei iuerant ad Baatu portantes tributum, & non fuerant adhuc reuerſi. Nos audiuimus, dixi, de Domino veſtro Sartach in Terra Sancta quod eſſet Chriſtianus: & gauiſi ſunt inde vehementer Chriſtiani, & præcipuè Dominus Rex Francorum Chriſtianiſſimus, qui ibi peregrinatur, & pugnat contra Saracenos, vt eripiat loca ſancta de manibus eorum: vnde volo ire ad Sartach, & portare ei literas Domini Regis, in quibus monet eum de vtilitate totius Chriſtianitatis. Et ipſi receperunt nos gratanter, & dederunt nobis hoſpitium in eccleſia Epiſcopali. Et Epiſcopus ipſius eccleſiæ fuerat ad Sartach, qui multa bona dixit mihi de Sartach, quæ ego poſtea non inueni. Tunc dederunt nobis optionem vtrum vellemus habere bigas cum bobus ad portandum res noſtras vel equos pro ſummarijs. Et mercatores Conſtantinopolitani conſuluerunt mihi quod non acciperem bigas, imò quod emerem proprias bigas coopertas, in quibus apportant Ruteni pelles ſuas, & in illis includerem res noſtras quas vellem quotidiè deponere, quia ſi acciperem equos, oporteret me in qualibet Herbergia deponere & reponere ſuper alios, & præterea equitarem lentiori greſſu iuxta boues. Et tunc acquieui conſilio eorum malo, tum quia fui in itinere vſq; Sarthach duobus menſibus, quod potuiſſem vno menſe feciſſe, ſi iuiſſem equis. Attuleram mecum de Conſtantinopoli fructus & vinum muſcatum, & biſcoctum delicatum de conſilio mercatorum ad pręſentandū capitaneis primis, vt faciliùs pateret mihi tranſitus; quia nullus apud eos reſpicitur rectis oculis, qui venit vacua manu. Quæ omnia poſui in vna biga, quando nō inueni ibi capitaneos ciuitatis, quia dicebāt mihi, quod gratiſſima forēt Sarthach, ſi poſſem deferre ea vſq; ad eū. Arripuimus ergo iter tunc circa Kalend. Iunij cum bigis noſtris quatuor coopertis & cū alijs duabus quas accepimus ab eis, In quibus portabantur lectiſternia ad dormiendū de nocte, & quinque equos dabant nobis ad equitandum. Eramus enim quinq; perſonæ.

Soldaia.

Matriga ciuitas.

Zikia.

perſonæ. Ego & ſocius meus frater Bartholomeus de Cremona, & Goſet lator præſentium,& homo dei Turgemannus, & puer Nicolaus, quem emeram Conſtantinopoli de noſtra eleemoſyna. Dederunt etiam duos homines qui ducebant bigas & cuſtodiebant boues & equos. Sunt autem alta promontoria ſuper Mare à Kerſoua vſque ad orificium Tanais: & ſunt quadraginta caſtella inter Kerſouam & Soldaiam,quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium idioma: inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma eſt Teutonicum. Poſt illa montana verſus Aquilonem eſt pulcherrima ſylua in planicie, plena fontibus & riuulis: Et poſt illam ſyluam eſt planicies maxima, quæ durat per quinque dietas vſque ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ ad aquilonem,quæ coarctatur habens Mare ad Orientem & Occidentem; Ita quod eſt vnum foſſatum magnum ab vno Mari vſque ad aliud. In illa planicie ſolebant eſſe Comani antequam venirent Tartari, & cogebant ciuitates prædictas & caſtra vt darent eis tributum. Et cum venerunt Tartari, tanta multitudo Comanorũ intrauit prouinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt vſque ad ripam Maris, quod comedebant ſe mutuò viui morientes: ſecundum quod narrauit mihi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit: Quod viui deuorabant & lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, ſicut canes cadauera. Verſus extremitatem illius prouinciæ ſunt lacus multi & magni: in quorum ripis ſunt fontes ſalmaſtri, quorum aqua, quàm cito intrat lacum, efficit ſalem durum ad modum glaciei. Et de illis ſalinis habent Baatu & Sartach magnos reditus: quia de tota Ruſſia veniunt illuc pro ſale: & de qualibet biga onuſta dant duas telas de cottone valentes dimidiam Ipperperam. Veniunt & per Mare multæ naues pro ſale, quæ omnes dant tributum ſecundum ſui quantitatem. Poſtquam ergo receſſimus de Soldaia, tertia die inuenimus Tartaros: inter quos cùm intraueram, viſum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud ſæculum. Quorum vitam & mores vobis deſcribam prout poſſum.

De Tartaris & domibus eorum.

NVſquam habent manentem ciuitatem, ſed futuram ignorant. Inter ſe diuiſerunt Scythiam, quæ durat à Danubio vſque ad ortum ſolis. Et quilibet Capitaneus, ſecundum quod habet plures vel pauciores homines ſub ſe, ſcit terminos paſcuorum ſuorum, & vbi debet paſcere hyeme & æſtate, vere & autumno. In hyeme enim deſcendunt ad calidiores regiones verſus meridiem. In æſtate aſcendunt ad frigidiores verſus aquilonem. Loca paſcuoſa ſine aquis paſcunt in hyeme quando eſt ibi nix, quia niuem habent pro aqua. Domum in qua dormiunt fundant ſuper rotam de virgis cancellatis, cuius tigna ſunt de virgis, & conveniunt in vnam paruulam rotam ſuperius, de qua aſcendit collum ſurſum tanquam fumigatorium, quam cooperiunt filtro albo: & frequentius imbuunt etiam filtrum calce vel terra alba & puluere oſſium,vt albens ſplendeat, & aliquando nigro. Et filtrum illud circa collum ſuperius decorant pulchra varietate picturæ. Ante oſtium ſimiliter ſuſpendunt filtrum opere polimitario variatum. Conſumunt enim filtrum coloratum in faciendo vites & arbores, aues & beſtias. Et faciunt tales domos ita magnas, quod habent triginta pedes in latitudine. Ego enim menſuraui ſemel latitudinem inter veſtigia rotarum vnius bigæ viginti pedum: & quando domus erat ſuper bigam excedebat extra rotas in vtroque latere quinque pedibus ad minus. Ego numeraui in vna biga viginti duos boues trahentes vnam domum: Vndecem in vno ordine ſecundum latitudinem bigæ, & alios vndecem ante illos: Axis bigæ erat magnus ad modum arboris nauis: Et vnus homo ſtabat in oſtio domus ſuper bigam minans boues. Inſuper faciunt quadrangulos de virgulis fiſſis attenuatis ad quantitatem vnius arcæ magnæ: & poſtea de vna extremitate ad aliam eleuant teſtudinem de ſimilibus virgis, & oſtiolum faciunt in anteriori extremitate: & poſtea cooperiunt illam ciſtam ſiue domunculam filtro nigro imbuto ſeuo ſiue lacte ouino, ne poſſit penetrari pluuia: quod ſimiliter decorant opere polimitario vel plumario. Et in talibus arcis ponunt totam ſuppellectilem ſuam & theſaurum: quas ligant fortiter ſuper bigas alteras quas trahunt cameli, vt poſſint tranſuadare flumina. Tales arcas nunquam deponunt de bigis. Quando deponunt domus ſuas manſionarias, ſemper vertunt portam ad meridiem; & conſequenter collocant bigas cum arcis hinc & inde prope domum ad dimidium iactum lapidis: ita quod domus ſtat inter duos ordines bigarum quaſi inter duos muros.

Nota.

Matronæ faciunt ſibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas neſcirem vobis deſcribere niſi per picturam. || Imo omnia depinxiſſem vobis ſi ſciuiſſem pingere. Vnus diues Moal ſiue Tartar habet bene tales bigas cum arcis ducentas vel centum. Baatu habet ſexdecem vxores: quælibet habet vnam magnam domum, exceptis alijs paruis, quas collocant poſt magnam, quæ ſunt quaſi cameræ; in quibus habitant puellæ. Ad quamlibet iſtarum domorum appendent ducentæ bigæ. Et quando deponunt domus, prima vxor deponit ſuam curiam in capite occidentali, & poſtea aliæ ſecundum ordinem ſuum: ita quod vltima vxor erit in capite Orientali: & erit ſpacium inter curiam vnius dominæ & alterius, iactus vnius lapidis. Vnde curia vnius diuitis Moal apparebit quaſi vna magna Villa: tunc pauciſſimi viri erunt in ea. Vna muliercula ducet 20. bigas vel 30. Terra enim plana eſt. Et ligant bigas cum bobus vel camelis vnam poſt aliam: & ſedebit muliercula in anteriori minans bouem, & omnes aliæ pari greſſu ſequentur. Si contingat venire ad aliquem malum paſſum, ſoluunt eas & tranſducunt ſigillatim: Vadunt enim lento greſſu, ſicut agnus vel bos poteſt ambulare.

De lectis eorum & poculis.

POſtquam depoſuerint domus verſa porta ad meridiem, collocant lectum domini ad partem aquilonarem. Locus mulierum eſt ſemper ad latus Orientale hoc eſt ad ſiniſtrum domini domus cum ſedet in lecto ſuo verſa facie ad meridiem: locus verò virorum ad latus occidentale, hoc eſt ad dextrum. Viri ingredientes domum nullo modo ſuſpenderent pharetram ad partem mulierum. Et ſuper caput Domini eſt ſemper vna imago quaſi puppa & ſtatuuncula de filtro, quam vocant fratrem domini: alia ſimilis ſuper caput dominæ, quam vocant fratrem dominæ, affixa parieti: & ſuperius inter vtramque illarum eſt vna paruula, macilenta, quæ eſt quaſi cuſtos totius domus. Domina domus ponit ad latus ſuum dextrum ad pedes lecti in eminenti loco pelliculam hœdinam impletam lana vel alia materia, & iuxta illam ſtatuunculam paruulam reſpicientem famulas & mulieres. Iuxta oſtium ad partem mulieris eſt iterum alia imago cum vbere vaccino, pro mulieribus quæ mungunt vaccas. De officio fœminarum eſt mungere vaccas. Ad aliud latus oſtij verſus viros eſt alia ſtatua cum vbere equæ pro viris qui mungunt equas. Et cum conuenerint ad potandum primo ſpargunt de potu illi imagini, quæ eſt ſuper caput domini: poſtea alijs imaginibus per ordinem: poſtea exit miniſter domum cum cipho & potu, & ſpargit ter ad meridiem, qualibet vice flectendo genu; & hoc ad reuerentiam ignis: poſtea ad Orientem ad reuerentiam aeris: poſtea ad Occidentem ad reuerentiam aquæ: ad aquilonem proijciunt pro mortuis. Quando tenet dominus ciphum in manu & debet bibere, tunc primo antequam bibat, infundit terræ partem ſuam. Si bibit ſedens ſuper equum, infundit antequam bibat, ſuper collum vel crinem equi. Poſtquam vero miniſter ſic ſparſerit ad quatuor latera mundi, reuertitur in domum & ſunt parati duo famuli cum duobus ciphis & totidem patenis vt deferant potum domino & vxori ſedenti iuxta eum ſurſum in lecto. Et cum habet plures vxores, illa cum qua dormit in nocte ſedet iuxta eum in die: & oportet quod omnes aliæ veniant ad domum illam illa die ad bibendum: & ibi tenetur curia illa die: & xenia quæ deferuntur, illa deponuntur in theſauris illius dominæ. Bancus ibi eſt cum vtre lactis vel cum alio potu & cum ciphis.

De potibus eorum & qualiter prouocant alios *ad bibendum.*

Similiter in Florida.

FAciunt in hyeme optimum potum, de riſio, de millio, de melle: claret ſicut vinum. Et defertur eis vinum à remotis partibus. In æſtate non curant niſi de Coſmos. Stat ſemper infra domum ad introitum portæ, & iuxta illud ſtat cithariſta cum citherula ſua. Citheras & vielas noſtras non vidi ibi, ſed multa alia inſtrumenta, quæ apud nos non habentur. Et cum incipit bibere tunc vnus miniſtrorũ exclamat alta voce, HA: & cithariſta percutit citharum. Et quando faciunt feſtum magnum, tunc omnes plaudunt manibus & ſaltant ad vocem citharæ, viri coram Domino, & mulieres coram domina. Et poſtquam dominus biberit, tunc exclamat miniſter ſicut priùs, & tacet cithariſta: tunc bibunt omnes in circuitu viri & mulieres: & aliquando bibunt certatim valde turpiter & gulóſe. Et quando volunt aliquem prouocare ad potũ arripiunt eum per aures & trahunt fortiter vt dilatent ei gulam, & plaudunt & ſaltant coram eo. Item cum aliqui volunt facere magnum feſtum & gaudium, vnus accipit ciphum plenum, & alij duo ſunt ei à dextris & ſiniſtris: & ſic illi tres veniunt cantantes vſque ad illum cui debent porrigere ciphum, & cantant & ſaltant coram eo: & cum porrigit manum ad recipiendum ciphum, ipſi ſubito reſiliunt, & iterum ſicut prius reuertuntur, & ſic illudunt ei ter vel quater retrahendo ciphum, donec fuerit bene exhileratus & bonum habeat appetitum, & tunc dant ei ciphum, & cantant & plaudunt manibus & terunt pedibus donec biberit.

De cibarijs eorum.

DE cibis & victualibus eorum noueritis, quod indifferenter comedunt omnia morticinia ſua. Et inter tot pecora & armenta non poteſt eſſe quin multa animalia moriantur. Tamen in æſtate quamdiu durat eis coſmos, hoc eſt lac equinum, non curant de alio cibo. Vnde tunc ſi contingat eis mori bouem vel equum, ſiccant carnes ſcindendo per tenues pecias & ſuſpendendo ad ſolem & ventum, quæ ſtatim ſine ſale ſiccantur abſque aliquo fætore. De inteſtinis equorum faciunt andulges meliores quàm de porcis: quas comedunt recentes: reliquas carnes reſeruant ad hyemem. De pellibus boum faciunt vtres magnos, quos mirabiliter ſiccant ad fumum. De poſteriori parte pellis equi faciunt pulcherrimos ſoculares. De carne vnius arietis dant comedere quinquaginta hominibus vel centum. Scindunt enim minutatim in ſcutella cum ſale & aqua, aliam enim ſalſam non faciunt, & tunc cum puncto cultelli vel furcinula, quas proprias faciunt ad hoc, cum qua ſolemus comedere pira & poma cocta in vino, porrigunt cuilibet circumſtantium buccellam vnam vel duas, ſecundum multitudinem comedentium. Dominus antequam proponitur caro arietis in primo ipſe accipit quod placet ei: & etiam ſi dat alicui partem ſpecialem, oportet quod accipiens comedat eam ſolus, & nemini licet dare ei. Si non poteſt totum comedere, aſportat ſecum, vel dat garcioni ſuo, ſi eſt preſens, qui cuſtodiat ei: ſin aliter, recondit in ſaptargat ſuo, hoc eſt in burſa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia, in qua & oſſa recondunt, quando non habent ſpacium bene rodendi ea, vt poſtea rodant, ne pereat aliquid de cibo.

Quomodo faciunt Coſmos.

IPſum Coſmos, hoc eſt lac iumentinum fit hoc modo. Extendunt cordam longam ſuper terram ad duos palos fixos in terra, & ad illam cordam ligant circiter horas tres, pullos equarum quas volunt mungere. Tunc ſtant matres iuxta pullos ſuos & permittunt ſe pacifice mungi. Et ſi aliqua eſt nimis indomita, tunc accipit vnus homo pullum & ſupponit ei permittens parum ſugere, tunc retrahit illum, & emunctor lactis ſuccedit. Congregata ergo multitudine lactis, quod eſt ita dulce ſicut vaccinum, dum eſt recens, fundunt illud in magnum vtrem ſiue bucellam, & incipiunt illud concutere cum ligno ad hoc aptato, quod groſſum eſt inferius ſicut caput hominis & cauatum ſubtus: & quam cito concutiunt illud, incipit bullire ſicut vinum nouũ, & aceſcere ſiue fermentari, & excutiunt illud donec extrahant butirum. Tunc guſtant illud; & quando eſt temperate pungitiuum bibunt: pungit enim ſuper linguam ſicut vinum raſpei dum bibitur. Et poſtquam homo ceſſat bibere, relinquit ſaporem ſuper linguam lactis amygdalini, & multum reddit interiora hominis iucunda, & etiam inebriat debilia capita: multum etiam prouocat vrinam. Faciunt etiam Cara-coſmos, hoc eſt nigrum coſmos ad vſum magnorum dominorum, hoc modo. Lac equinum non coagulatur. Ratio enim eſt: quod nullius animalis lac niſi cuius fetet venter non inuenitur coagulum. In ventre pulli equi non inuenitur: vnde lac equæ non coagulatur. Concutiunt ergo lac in tantum, quod omnino quod ſpiſſum eſt in eo vadat ad fundum rectà, ſicut fæces vini, & quod purum eſt remanet ſuperius, & eſt ſicut ſerum, & ſicut muſtum album. Fæces ſunt albæ multum, & dantur ſeruis, & faciunt multum dormire. Illud clarum bibunt domini: & eſt pro certo valde ſuauis potus & bonæ efficaciæ. Baatu habet 30. caſalia circa herbergiam ſuam ad vnam dietam, quorum vnumquodq; qualibet die ſeruit ei de tali lacte centum equarum, hoc eſt, qualibet die lac trium millium equarũ, excepto alio lacte albo, quod deferunt alij. Sicut enim in Syria ruſtici dant tertiam partem fructuum, quam ipſi afferunt ad curias dominorum ſuorum, ita & iſti lac equarũ tertiæ diei. De lacte vaccino primò extrahunt butyrũ & bulliunt illud vſque ad perfectã decoctionẽ, & poſtea recondunt illud in vtribus arietinis quos ad hoc reſeruant. Et non ponunt ſal in butiro: tamen propter magnam decoctionẽ non putreſcit: & reſeruant illud contra hyemem. Reſiduũ lac quod remanet poſt butirum permittunt aceſcere quantum acrius fieri poteſt & bulliunt illud, & coagulatur bulliendo, & coagulum illud deſiccant ad ſolem, & efficitur durum ſicut ſcoria ferri. Quod recondunt in ſaccis contra hyemem: tempore hyemali quando deficit eis lac, ponunt illud acre coagulum, quod ipſi vocant gri-vt,in vtre, & ſuper infundunt aquam calidam, & concutiunt fortiter donec illud reſoluatur in aqua; quæ ex illo efficitur tota acetoſa, & illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. Summè cauent ne bibant aquam puram.

De beſtijs quas comedunt, & de veſtibus, ac *de venatione eorum.*

MAgni domini habent caſalia verſus meridiem, de quibus afferunt eis milium & farinam contra hyemem. pauperes procurant ſibi pro arietibus & pellibus commutando. Sclaui etiam implent ventrem ſuum aqua craſſa, & hac contenti ſunt. Mures cum longis caudis non comedunt & omne genus murium habens curtam caudam. Sunt etiam ibi multæ marmotes, quas ipſi vocant Sogur: quæ conueniunt in vna fouea in hyeme 20. vel 30. pariter, & dormiunt ſex menſibus: quas capiunt in magna multitudine. Sunt etiam ibi, cuniculi habentes longam caudam ſicut cati; & in ſummitate caudæ habent pilos nigros & albos. Habent & multas alias beſtiolas bonas ad comedendum: quas ipſi valde bene diſcernunt. Ceruos non vidi ibi, lepores paucos vidi, gaſelos multos. Aſinos ſylueſtres vidi in magna multitudine, qui ſunt quaſi muli. Vidi & aliud genus animalis quod dicitur Artak, quod habet recte corpus arietis & cornua torta, ſed tantæ quantitatis, quod vix poteram vna manu leuare duo cornua: & faciunt de cornibus illis ciphos magnos. Habent falcones, girfalcones, & herodios in magna multitudine: quos omnes portant ſuper manum dexteram: & ponunt ſemper falconi vnam corrigiam paruulam circa collum, quæ pendet ei vſque ad medietatem pectoris: per quam cum proijciunt eum ad prędam, inclinant cum ſiniſtra manu caput & pectus falconis, ne verberetur à vento, vel ne feratur ſurſum. Magnum ergo partem victus ſui acquirunt venatione. De veſtibus & habitu eorum noueritis, quod de Cataya & alijs regionibus Orientis, & etiam de Perſide & alijs regionibus auſtri veniunt eis panni ſerici & aurei, & telæ de bambaſio, quibus induuntur in æſtate. De Ruſſia, de Moxel, & Maiore Bulgaria & Paſcatir, quæ eſt maior Hungaria, & Kerſis: (quę omnes ſunt regiones ad Aquilonem & plenæ ſyluis;) & alijs multis regionibus ad latus aquilonare, quæ eis obediunt, adducuntur eis pelles precioſæ multi generis: quas nunquã vidi in partibus noſtris: Quibus induuntur in hyeme. Et faciunt ſemper in hyeme duas pelliceas ad minus: vnam, cuius pilus eſt ad carnem: aliam cuius pilus eſt extra contra ventum & niues, quæ multoties ſunt de pellibus lupinis vel vulpibus vel papionibus. Et dum ſedent in domo habent aliam delicatiorem. Pauperes faciunt illas exteriores de canibus & capris. Quum volunt venari feras, conueniunt magna multitudo & circundant regionem in qua ſciunt feras eſſe, & paulatim appropinquant ſibi, donec concludant feras inter ſe quaſi infra circulum, & tunc ſagitant ad eas. faciunt etiam braccas de pellibus. Diuites etiam furrant veſtes ſuas de ſtupa ſetæ, quæ eſt ſupra modum mollis, & leuis & calida. Pauperes furrant veſtes de tela de bambaſio, de delicatiori lana quam poſſunt extrahere: de groſſiori faciunt filtrum ad cooperiendum domos ſuas & ciſtas, & ad lectiſternia. De lana etiam & tertia parte pilorum equi admixta, faciunt cordas ſuas. De filtro etiam faciunt pauellas ſub ſellis, & capas contra pluuiam. Vnde multum expendunt de lana. Habitum virorum vidiſtis.

Maior Hungaria.

Nota.

De raſura virorum & ornatu mulierum.

VIri radunt in ſummitate capitis quadrangulum, & ab anterioribus angulis ducunt raſuram criſtæ capitis vſque ad tempora. Radunt etiam tempora & collum vſque ad ſummum concauitatis ceruicis: & frontem anterius vſque ad frontinellam, ſuper quam relinquunt manipulum pilorum deſcendentium vſque ad ſupercilia: In angulis occipitis relinquunt crines, quibus faciunt tricas, quas ſuccingunt nodando vſque ad aures. Et habitus puellarum non differt ab habitu virorum, niſi quod aliquantulum eſt longior. Sed in craſtino poſtquam eſt nupta radit caluariam ſuam à medietate capitis verſus frontem, & habet tunicam latam ſicut cucullam monialis, & per omnia latiorem & longiorem, fiſſam ante, quam ligat ſub dextro latere. In hoc enim differunt Tartari à Turcis: quod Turci ligant tunicas ſuas ad ſiniſtram, Tartari ſemper ad dextram. Poſtea habent ornamentum capitis, quod vocant botta, quod fit de cortice arboris vel alia materia, quam poſſunt inuenire, leuiore: & eſt groſſum & rotundum, quantum poteſt duabus manibus complecti; longum vero vnius cubiti & plus, quadrum ſuperius, ſicut capitellum vnius columnæ. Iſtud botta cooperiunt panno ſerico precioſo; & eſt concauum interius: & ſuper capitellum in medio vel ſuper quadraturā illam ponunt virgulam de calamis pennarum vel cannis gracilibus longitudinis ſcilicet vnius cubiti & plus: & illam ſibi virgulam ornant ſuperius de pennis pauonis, & per longum in circuitu pennulis caudæ malardi, & etiam lapidibus præcioſis. Diuites dominæ iſtud ornamentum ponunt in ſummitate capitis quod ſtringunt fortiter cum almucia, quę foramen habet in ſummitate ad hoc aptatū, & in iſto recondunt crines ſuos quos recolligūt à parte poſteriori ad ſummitatem capitis quaſi in nodo vno & reponunt in illo botta, quod poſtea fortiter ligant ſub gutture. Vnde quum equitant plures dominæ ſimul & videntur à longe, apparent milites, habentes galeas in capitibus cum lanceis eleuatis. Illud enim botta apparet galea deſuper lancea. Et ſedent omnes mulieres ſuper equos ſicut viti diuerſificantes coxas; & ligant cucullas ſuas panno ſerico aerij coloris ſuper renes, & alia faſcia ſtringunt ad mamillas: & ligant vnam peciam albam ſub occulis, quæ deſcendit vſque ad pectus. Et ſunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, & quæ minus habet de naſo pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies ſuas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

De officio mulierum, & operibus earum, ac de *nuptijs earum.*

OFicium fœminarum eſt ducere bigas, ponere domus ſuper eas & deponere, mungere vaccas, facere butirum & griut, parare pelles, & conſuere eas, quas conſuunt filo de neruis. diuidunt enim neruos in minuta fila, & poſtea illa contorquent in vnum longum filum. Conſuunt etiam ſoculares & ſoccos & alias veſtes. Veſtes vero nunquam lauant, quia dicunt quod Deus tunc iraſcitur, & quod fiant tonitrua ſi ſuſpendantur ad ſiccandum: Imo lauantes verberant & eis auferunt. Tonitrua ſupra modum timent: tunc omnes extraneos emittunt de domibus ſuis; & inuoluunt ſe in filtris nigris, in quibus latitant, donec tranſierit. Nunquā etiā lauant ſcutellos, imo carne cocta alueū in quo debent ponere eam lauant brodio bulliente de caldaria, & poſtea refundunt in caldariam. faciunt & filtrum & cooperiunt domos. Viri faciunt ſolùm arcus & ſagittas, fabricant ſtrepas & fræna, & faciunt cellas, carpentant domos & bigas: cuſtodiunt equos & mungunt equas, concutiunt ipſum coſmos & lac equinum, faciunt vtres in quibus reconditur: cuſtodiunt etiam camelos, & onerant eos. Oues & Capras cuſtodiunt mixtim & mungunt aliquando viri, aliquando mulieres. De lacte ouium inſpiſſato & ſalſo parant pelles. Cum volunt manus vel caput lauare implent os ſuum aqua & paulatim fundunt de ore ſuo ſuper manus, & eadem humectant crines ſuos, & lauant caput ſuum. De nuptijs eorum noueritis, quod nemo habet ibi vxorem niſi emat eam: vnde aliquando ſunt puellæ multum adultæ ante quam nubant: ſemper enim tenent eas parentes, donec vendant eas. Seruant etiam gradus conſanguinitatis primum & ſecundum: nullum autem ſeruant affinitatis. Habent enim ſimul vel ſucceſſiue duas ſorores. Nulla vidua nubit inter eos, hac ratione; quia credunt quod omnes qui ſeruiunt eis in hac vita ſeruient in futura. Vnde de vidua credunt, quod ſemper reuertitur poſt mortem ad primum maritum. Vnde accidit turpis conſuetudo inter eos quod filius ſcilicet ducit aliquando omnes vxores patris ſui, excepta matre. Curia enim patris & matris ſemper accidit iuniori filio. Vnde oportet quod ipſe prouideat omnibus vxoribus patris ſui, quia adueniunt eæ cum curia paterna. Et tunc ſi vult vtitur eis pro vxoribus, quia non reputat ſibi iniuriam, ſi reuertatur ad patrem poſt mortem. Cum ergo aliquis fecerit pactum cum aliquo de filia accipienda, facit pater puellæ conuiuium, & illa fugit ad conſanguineos, vt ibi lateat: Tunc pater dicit, Ecce filia mea tua eſt, accipe eam vbicunque inueneris: Tunc ille quærit eam cum amicis ſuis, donec inveniat eam, & oportet, quod vi capiat eam, & ducat eam quaſi violenter ad domum.

Pellium paratio

De iuſticijs eorum & iudicijs, et de morte ac *ſepultura eorum.*

DE iuſticijs eorum noueritis, quod quando duo homines pugnant, nemo audet ſe intermittere. Etiam pater non audet inuare filium. Sed qui peiorem partem habet, appellat ad curiam domini. Et ſi alius poſt appellationem tangat eum, interficitur. Sed oportet quod ſtatim abſque dilatione vadat: Et ille qui paſſus eſt iniuriam ducit eum quaſi captiuum. Neminem puniunt capitali ſententia, niſi deprehenſus fuerit in facto, vel confeſſus. Sed quum diffamatus eſt à pluribus, bene torquent eum, vt confiteatur. Homicidiū puniunt capitali ſententia, & etiam coitum cum non ſua. Non ſuam dico vel vxorem vel famulam: Sua enim ſclaua licet vti prout libet. Item enorme furtum puniunt morte. Pro leui furto,ſicut pro vno ariete,dummodo non fuerit ſæpe deprehenſus in hoc,verberant crudeliter. Et ſi dant centum ictus oportet quod habeant centum baculos,.de illis dico, qui verberantur ſententia curiæ. Item falſos nuncios, quia faciunt ſe nuncios & non ſunt,interficiunt. Item ſacrilegas, de quibus dicam vobis poſtea plenius,quia tales reputant veneficas.Quando aliquis moritur plangunt vehemēter vlulando: & tunc ſunt liberi quod non dant vectigal vſque ad annum. Et ſi quis intereſt morti alicujus adulti, non ingreditur domum ipſius Mangucham vſque ad annum. Si paruulus eſt qui moritur, non ingreditur vſque poſt lunationem. Iuxta ſepulturam defuncti ſemper relinqunt domum vnam. Si eſt de nobilibus, hoc eſt de genere Chingis, qui fuit primus pater & dominus eorum, illius qui moritur ignoratur ſepultura: & ſemper circa loca illa vbi ſepeliunt nobiles ſuos eſt vna herbergia hominum cuſtodientium ſepulturas. Non intellexi quod ipſi recondunt theſaurum cum mortuis. Comani faciunt magnum tumulum ſuper defunctum & erigunt ei ſtatuam verſa facie ad orientem, tenentem ciphum in manu ſua ante vmbelicum. fabricant & diuitibus pyramides, id eſt domunculas acutas: & alicubi vidi magnas turres de tegulis coctis: alicubi lapideas domos, quamuis lapides non inueniantur ibi. Vidi quendam nouiter defunctum, cui ſuſpenderant pelles ſexdecem equorum, ad quodlibet latus mundi quatuor inter perticas altas: & appoſuerunt ei coſmos vt biberet,& carnes vt comederet: & tamen dicebant de illo quod fuerat baptizatus. Alias vidi ſepulturas verſus orientem. Areas ſcilicet magnas ſtructas lapidibus, aliquas rotundas, aliquas quadratas, & poſtea quatuor lapides longos erectos ad quatuor regiones mundi circa aream. Et vbi aliquis infirmatur cubat in lecto & ponit ſignum ſuper domum ſuam, quod ibi eſt infirmus, & quod nullus ingrediatur: vnde nullus viſitat infirmum niſi ſeruiens eius. Quando etiam aliquis de magnis curijs infirmatur, ponunt cuſtodes longe circa curiam, qui infra illos terminos neminem permittunt tranſire: timent enim ne mali ſpiritus vel ventus veniant cum ingredientibus. Ipſos diuinatores vocant tanquam ſacerdotes ſuos.

Qualiter ingreſsi ſunt inter Tartaros,& de *ingratitudine eorum.*

QVando ergo ingreſſi ſumus inter illos barbaros, viſum fuit mihi, vt dixi ſuperius, quod ingrederer aliud ſæculum. Circumdederunt enim nos in equis poſtquam diu fecerant nos expectare ſedentes in vmbra ſub bigis nigris. Prima quæſtio fuit,vtrum vnquam fuiſſemus inter eos. habito quod non: inceperunt impudenter petere de cibarijs noſtris, & dedimus de pane biſcocto & vino quod attuleramus nobiſcum de villa: & potata vna lagena vini,petierunt aliam,dicentes,quod homo non ingreditur domum vno pede. non dedimus eis,excuſantes nos quod parum haberemus. Tunc quæſiuerunt vnde veniremus,& quo vellemus ire. dixi eis ſuperiora verba,quod audieramus de Sartach, quod eſſet Chriſtianus, & quod vellem ire ad eum, quia habebam deferre ei literas veſtras. Ipſi diligenter quæſiuerunt,vtrum irem de mea voluntate,vel vtrum mitterer. Ego reſpondi quod nemo coegit me ad eundum, nec iuiſſem niſi voluiſſem: vnde de mea voluntate ibam, & etiam de voluntate ſuperioris mei. Bene caui, quod nunquam dixi,me eſſe nuncium veſtrum. Tunc quæſiuerunt quid eſſet in bigis,vtrum eſſet aurum vel argentum, vel veſtes precioſæ, quas deferrem Sartach. Ego reſpondi, quod Sartach videret quid deferremus ei,quando perueniremus ad eum; & quod non intererat eorum iſta quærere: ſed facerent me deduci vſque ad capitaneum ſuum, & ipſe ſi vellet mihi præbere ducatum vſque ad Sartach faceret: ſin minus,reuerterer. Erat enim in illa prouincia vnus conſanguineus Baatu, nomine Scacatai, cui dominus imperator Conſtantinopolitanus mittebat literas deprecatorias, quod me permitteret tranſire. Tunc ipſi acquieuerunt,præbentes nobis equos & boues & duos homines, qui deducerent nos. Et alij qui adduxerant nos ſunt reuerſi. Prius tamen antequam prædicta darent, fecerunt nos diu expectare petentes de pane noſtro pro paruulis ſuis: Et omnia quæ videbant ſuper famulos noſtros,cultellos,chirothecas, burſas, corrigias,omnia admirantes & volentes habere. Excuſabam me, quia longa nobis reſtabat via,nec debebamus ita cito ſpoliare nos rebus neceſſarijs ad tantam viam perficiendam. Tunc dicebant quod eſſem batrator. Verum eſt quod nihil abſtulerint vi: Sed valde importune & impudenter petunt quæ vident. Et ſi dat homo eis perdit, quia ſunt ingrati. Reputant ſe dominos mundi,& videtur eis,quod nihil debeat eis negari ab aliquo. Si non dat, & poſtea indigeat ſeruicio eorum, male miniſtrant ei. Dederunt nobis bibere de lacte ſuo vaccino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoſo valde, quod ipſi vocant Apram: & ſic receſſimus ab eis. Et viſum fuit mihi recte,quod euaſiſſem de manibus dæmonum. In craſtino peruenimus ad capitaneum. Ex quo receſſimus a Soldaia vſque ad Sartach in duobus menſibus nunquam iacuimus in domo nec in tentorio, ſed ſemper ſub dio, vel ſub bigis noſtris, nec vidimus aliquam villam, vel veſtigium alicujus ædificij vbi fuiſſet villa, niſi tumbas Comanorũ in maxima multitudine. Illo ſero dedit nobis garcio qui ducebat nos bibere coſmos; ad cuius hauſtum totus ſudaui propter horrorem & nouitatem, quia nunquam biberam de eo. valde tamen ſapidum videbatur mihi, ſicut vere eſt.

De curia Scacatay, & quod Chriſtiani non *bibunt coſmos.*

MAne ergo obuiauimus bigis Scacatay onuſtis domibus. Et videbatur mihi quod obuiaret mihi ciuitas magna. Mirabar etiam ſuper multitudine armentorum boum & equorum & gregum ouium: paucos videbam homines qui iſta gubernarent. vnde inquiſiui quot homines haberet ſub ſe? & dictum fuit mihi, quod non pluſquam quingentos, quorum medietatem tranſiueramus in alia herbergia. Tunc incepit mihi dicere garcio qui ducebat nos, quod aliquid oporteret Scacatay dare: & ipſe fecit nos ſtare, & præceſſit nuncians aduentum noſtrum. Iam erat hora pluſquam tertia, & depoſuerunt domos ſuas iuxta quandam aquam. Et venit ad nos interpres ipſius, qui ſtatim cognito, quod nunquam fueramus inter illos, popoſcit de cibis noſtris, & dedimus ei, poſcebat etiam veſtimentum aliquod, quia dicturus erat verbũ noſtrum ante dominum ſuum. Excuſauimus nos. Quæſiuit quid portaremus domino ſuo? Accepimus vnum flaſconem de vino, & impleuimus vnum veringal de biſcocto & platellum vnum de pomis & aliis fructibus. Sed non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretioſum. Sic tamen ingreſſi ſumus cum timore & verecundia. Sedebat ipſe in lecto ſuo tenens citharulam in manu, & vxor ſua iuxta eum: de qua credebã in veritate, quod amputaſſet ſibi naſum inter oculos vt ſimior eſſet: nihil enim habebat ibi de naſo, & vnxerat locum illum quodam vnguento nigro, & etiam ſupercilia: quod erat turpiſſimum in oculis noſtris. Tunc dixi ei verba ſupradicta. Vbique enim oportebat nos dicere idem verbum. Super hoc enim eramus bene pręmoniti ab illis qui fuerant inter illos, quod nunquam mutaremus verba noſtra. Rogaui etiam eum vt dignaretur accipere munuſculum de manu noſtra, excuſans me, quia monachus eram, nec erat ordinis noſtri poſſidere aurum, vel argentum, vel veſtes precioſas. Vnde non habebam aliquid talium, quod poſſem ei dare: ſed de cibis noſtris acciperet pro benedictione. Tunc fecit recipi, & diſtribuit ſtatim hominibus ſuis qui conuenerant ad potandum. Dedi etiam ei literas Imperatoris Conſtantinopolitani: (Hoc fuit in octauis aſcenſionis) Qui ſtatim eas Soldaiam miſit vt ibi interpretarentur: quia erant in Græco, nec habebat ſecum qui ſciret literas Græcas. Quæſiuit etiam à nobis, ſi vellemus bibere coſmos, hoc eſt, lac iumentinum. Chriſtiani enim Ruteni, Græci, & Alani, qui ſunt inter eos, qui volunt ſtricte cuſtodire legem ſuam, non bibunt illud: Imo non reputant ſe Chriſtianos poſtquam biberunt. Et ſacerdotes eorum reconciliant eos, tanquam negaſſent fidem Chriſtianam. Ego reſpondi, quod habebamus adhuc ſufficienter ad bibendum: & cum ille potus deficeret nobis, oporteret nos bibere illud, quod daretur nobis. Quæſiuit etiam quid contineretur in literis noſtris, quas mittebatis Sartach. Dixi quod clauſæ erant bullæ noſtræ: & quod non erant in eis niſi bona verba & amicabilia. Quæſiuit & quæ verba diceremus Sartach? Reſpondi, Verba fidei Chriſtianę. Quæſiuit quæ? Quia libenter vellet audire. Tunc expoſui ei prout potui per interpretem meum, qui nullius erat ingenij, nec alicuius eloquentiæ, ſymbolũ fidei. Quo audito, ipſe tacuit & mouit caput. Tunc aſſignauit nobis duos homines, qui nos cuſtodirent, & equos & boues: & fecit nos bigare ſecum, donec reuerteretur nuncius, quem ipſe miſerat pro interpretatione literarum imperatoris; & iuimus cum eo vſque in craſtinum Pentecoſtes.

Nota diligenter.

Qualiter Alani venerunt ad eos in vigilia *Pentecoſtes.*

IN vigilia Pentecoſtes venerunt ad nos quidam Alani, qui ibi dicuntur || Acias, Chriſtiani ſecundum ritum Græcorum; habentes literas Gręcas & ſacerdotes Græcos: tamen non ſunt ſchiſmatici ſicut Græci; ſed ſine acceptione perſonarum venerantur omnem Chriſtianum: & detulerunt nobis carnes coctas, rogantes vt comederemus de cibo eorum, & oraremus pro quodam defuncto eorum. Tunc dixi quod vigilia erat tantæ ſolennitatis, quod illa die non comederemus carnes. Et expoſui eis de ſolennitate, ſuper quo fuerunt multum gauiſi; quia omnia ignorabant quæ ſpectant ad ritum Chriſtianum, ſolo nomine Chriſti excepto. Quæſiuerunt & ipſi & alij multi Chriſtiani, Ruteni & Hungari, vtrum poſſent ſaluari, quia oportebat eos bibere coſmos, & comedere morticinia & interfecta à Saracenis & alijs infidelibus:

|| Vel Akas.

quæ etiam ipſi Græci & Ruteni ſacerdotes reputant quaſi morticinia vel idolis immolata: quia ignorabant tempora ieiunij: nec poterant cuſtodire etiam ſi cognouiſſent. Tunc rectificabar eos prout potui, docens & confortans in fide. Carnes quas detulerant reſeruauimus vſque ad diem feſtum: nihil enim inueniebamus venale pro auro & argento, niſi pro telis & alijs ||pannis: & illos non habebamus. Quum famuli noſtri offerebant eis ipperpera, ipſi fricabant digitis, & ponebant ad nares, vt odore ſentirent, vtrum eſſent cuprum. Nec dabant nobis cibum niſi lac vaccinum acre valde & fœtidum. Vinum iam deficiebat nobis. Aqua ita turbabatur ab equis, quod non erat potabilis. Niſi fuiſſet biſcoctum quod habebamus, & gratia dei, fortè fuiſſemus mortui.

||Nota diligentiſsime.

De Saraceno qui dixit ſe velle baptizarj, et de hominibus *qui apparent leproſi.*

IN die pentecoſtes venit ad nos quidam Saracenus, qui cum loqueretur nobiſcum, incepimus exponere fidem. Qui audiens beneficia dei exhibita humano generi in incarnatione Chriſti, & reſurrectionem mortuorum, & iudicium futurum, & quod ablutio peccatorum eſſet in baptiſmo: dixit ſe velle baptizari. Et cum pararemus nos ad baptizandum eum, ipſe ſubito aſcendit equum ſuum, dicens ſe iturum domum & habiturum conſilium cum vxore ſua. Qui in craſtino loquens nobiſcum, dixit quod nullo modo auderet accipere baptiſma, quia tunc non biberet coſmos. Chriſtiani enim illius loci hoc dicebant, quod nullus verus Chriſtianus deberet bibere: & ſine potu illo non poſſet viuere in ſolitudine illa. A qua opinione nullo modo potui diuertere illum. Vnde noueritis pro certo quod multũ elongantur à fide propter illam opinionem quæ iam viguit inter illos per Rutenos, quorum maxima multitudo eſt inter eos. Illa die dedit nobis ille capitaneus vnum hominem, qui nos deduceret vſque ad Sartach: & duos qui ducerent nos vſque ad proximam herbergiam; quæ inde diſtabat quinque dietas prout boues poterant ire. Dederunt etiam nobis vnam capram pro cibo & plures vtres lactis vaccini, & de coſmos parum: quia illud precioſum eſt inter illos. Et ſic arripientes iter rectè in aquilonem, viſum fuit mihi quod vnam portam inferni tranſiſſemus. Garciones qui ducebant nos, incipiebant nobis audacter furari, quia videbant nos parum cautos. Tandem amiſſis pluribus vexatio dabat nobis intellectum. Peruenimus tandem ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ, quæ clauditur vno foſſato ab vno mari vſque ad aliud: extra quam erat herbergia eorum apud quos intraſſemus: videbantur nobis leproſi omnes: quia erant viles homines ibi collocati, vt reciperent tributum ab accipientibus ſal a ſalinis ſuperius dictis. Ab illo loco, vt dicebant, oportebat nos ambulare quindecim diebus, quibus non inueniremus populum. Cum illis bibimus coſmos: & dedimus illis vnum veringal plenum fructibus & panem biſcoctum. Qui dederunt nobis octo boues, vnam capram pro tanto itinere, & neſcio quot vtres plenos lacte vaccino. Sic mutatis bobus arripuimus iter, quod perfecimus decem diebus vſque ad aliam herbergiam: nec inuenimus aquam in illa via niſi in foſſis in conuallibus factis, exceptis duobus paruis fluminibus. Et tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo exiuimus prædictam prouinciam Gaſariæ, habentes mare ad meridiem & vaſtam ſolitudinem ad aquilonem: quæ durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine: In qua nulla eſt ſylua, nullus mons, nullus lapis. Herba eſt optima. In hac ſolebant paſcere Comani, qui dicuntur Capchat. A Tentonicis verò dicuntur Valani, & prouincia Valania. Ab Iſidoro vero dicitur à flumine Tanai vſque ad paludes Meotidis & Danubium Alania. Et durat iſta terra in longitudine a Danubio vſque Tanaim; qui eſt terminus Aſiæ & Europæ, itinere duorum menſium velociter equitando prout equitant Tartari: Quæ tota inhabitabatur à Comanis Capchat, & etiam vltra à Tanai vſque ||Etiliam: Inter quæ flumina ſunt decem dietæ magnæ. Ad aquilonem verò iſtius prouincię iacet Ruſſia, quę vbique ſyluas habet, & protenditur à Polonia & Hungaria vſque Tanaim: quæ tota vaſtata eſt à Tartaris, & adhuc quotidiè vaſtatur. Præponunt enim Rutenis, quia ſunt Chriſtiani, Saracenos: & cum non poſſunt amplius dare aurum vel argentum, ducunt eos & paruulos eorum tanquam greges ad ſolitudinem vt cuſtodiant animalia eorum. Vltra Ruſſiiam ad aquilonem eſt Pruſſia, quam nuper ſubiugauerunt totam fratres Teutonici. Et certe de facili acquierent Ruſſiam, ſi apponerent manum. Si enim Tartari audirent, quod magnus ſacerdos, hoc eſt, Papa faceret cruce ſignari contra eos, omnes fugerent ad ſolitudines ſuas.

Salinæ

Decem dietæ.

Comaniæ longitudo.

||Etilia quæ & Volga flumen.

Ruſſia.

Pruſſia.

De tedijs quæ patiebantur, & de ſepultura Comanorum.

IBbanus ergo verſus orientem, nihil videntes niſi cœlum & terram, & aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, & etiam ſepulturas Comanorum, quæ apparebant nobis à duabus leucis ſecundum quod ſolebant parentelæ eorum ſepeliri ſimul. Quam diu eramus in ſolitudine bene erat nobis: quòd tędium quod patiebar quum veniebanus ad manſiones eorum non poſſem exprimere verbis. Volebat enim dux noſter, quod ad quoſlibet capitaneos ingrederer cum xenio: & ad hoc non ſufficiebant expenſæ. Quotidie enim eramus octo perſonæ comedentes viaticum noſtrũ exceptis ſeruientibus, qui omnes volebant comedere nobiſcum. Nos enim eramus quinque, & ipſi tres qui ducebant nos: duo ducentes bigas, & vnus iturus nobiſcum vſque ad Sartach. Carnes quas dabant non ſufficiebant; nec inueniebamus aliquid venale pro moneta. Et cum ſedebamus ſub bigis noſtris pro vmbra, quia calor erat ibi maximus illo tempore, ipſi ita importune ingerebant ſe nobis, quod conculcabant nos, volentes omnia noſtra videre. Si arripiebat eos appetitus purgandi ventrem, non elongabant ſe a nobis, quam poſſit faba iactari. Imo iuxta nos colloquentes mutuò faciebant immunditias ſuas: & multa alia faciebant quæ erant ſupra modum tędioſa. Super omnia grauabat me, quod cum volebam dicere eis aliquod verbum ædificationis, interpres meus dicebat, non facietis me prædicare; quia neſcio talia verba dicere. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim perpendi poſtea, quum incepi aliquantulum intelligere idioma, quod quum dicebam vnum, ipſe totum aliud dicebat, ſecundum quod ei occurrebat. Tunc videns periculum loquendi per ipſum, elegi magis tacere. Ambulauimus ergo cum magno labore de manſione in manſionem: ita quod paucis diebus ante feſtum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ veni ad fluuium magnum Tanais: qui diuidit Aſiam ab Europa, ſicut Nilus fluuius Ægypti, Aſiam ab Africa. In illo loco quo applicuimus fecerunt Baatu & Sartach fieri quoddam caſale de Rutenis in ripa orientali, qui transferunt nuncios & mercatores cum nauiculis. Ipſi tranſtulerunt nos primo & poſtea bigas ponentes vnam rotam in vna barca & aliam in alia, ligantes barcas ad inuicem; & ſic remigantes tranſibant. Ibi egit dux noſter valde ſtulte. Ipſe enim credebat, quod illi de caſali deberent nobis miniſtrare equos, & dimiſit animalia quæ adduxeramus in alia biga, vt redirent ad dominos ſuos. Et quum poſtulauimus ab eis animalia, ipſi reſpondebant quod habebant priuilegiũ à Baatu, quod non tenerentur ad aliud, niſi transferre euntes & redeuntes: etiam à mercatoribus accipiebant magnum tributum. Stetimus ergo ibi in ripa fluminis tribus diebus. Prima die dederunt nobis magnam borbatam recentem: ſecunda die panem de ſiligine & parum de carnibus, quas acceperat procurator villæ oſtiatim per diuerſas domos. Tertia die piſces ſiccos, quos habent ibi in magna multitudine. Fluuius ille erat ibi tantæ latitudinis, quantæ eſt Sequana Pariſijs. Et antequam perueniſſemus ad locum illum, tranſiuimus multas aquas pulcherrimas & piſcoſiſſimas: Sed Tartari neſciunt eos capere: nec curant de piſce niſi ſit ita magnus, quod poſſunt comedere carnes eius, ſicut carnes arietinas. Ille fluuius eſt terminus Orientalis Ruſſiæ; & oritur de paludibus quæ pertingunt ad Oceanum ad aquilonem. Fluuius vero currit ad meridiem in quoddam magnum Mare ſeptingentorum millium, antequam pertingat ad Mare Ponti: Et omnes aquæ quas tranſiuimus vadunt ad illas partes. Habet etiam prędictum flumen magnam ſyluam in ripa Occidentali. Vltra locum illum non aſcendunt Tartari verſus Aquilonem: quia tunc temporis ‖ circa introitum Auguſti incipiunt redire verſus meridiem. Vnde aliud eſt caſale inferiùs vbi tranſeunt nuncij tempore hyemali. Eramus igitur ibi in magna anguſtia, quia nec equos nec boues inueniebamus pro pecunia. Tandem poſtquam oſtendi eis, quod laboraui pro communi vtilitate omnium Chriſtianorum, accõmodauerunt nobis boues & homines: nos autem oportebat ire pedibus. Tunc temporis metebant ſiliginem: triticum non proficiebat ibi bene. Milium habent in magna copia. Mulieres Rutenæ ornant capita ſicut noſtræ. Supertunicalia ſua exterius ornant vario vel griſio a pedibus vſque ad genua. Homines portant capas ſicut Teutonici: ſed in capite portant pileos de filtro acutos in ſummitate longo acumine. Ambulauimus ergo tribus diebus non inuenientes populum. Et cum eſſemus valde fatigati & boues ſimiliter, nec ſciremus quorſum poſſemus Tartaros inuenire, accurrerunt ſubito duo equi, quos recepimus cum gaudio magno, & aſcenderunt eos dux noſter & interpres, vt ſpecularentur quorſum poſſemus populum inuenire. Tandem quarta die inuentis hominibus gauiſi ſumus tanquam naufragi venientes ad portum. Tunc acceptis equis & bobus iuimus de manſione ad manſionem donec peruenimus vſque ad herbergiam Sartach ſecundo Calendas Auguſti.

Calor maximus ibi in æſtate.

Tanais fluuius.

Caſale Rutenorum.

Latitudo Tanais.

Oceanus.

‖Ad introitum Auguſti redeunt ad meridiem.

De regione Sartach, & de gentibus illius.

REgio iſta vltra Tanaim eſt pulcherrima, habens flumina & ſyluas ad aquilonem. Sunt ſyluæ maximæ, quas inhabitant duo genera hominum: Moxel ſcilicet, qui ſunt ſine lege, puri pagani. Ciuitatem non habent ſed caſulas in ſyluis. Dominus eorum & magna pars eorum fuerunt interfecti in Alemania, Tartari enim duxerant eos ad introitum Alemaniæ. Vnde ipſi multum commendant Alemanos, ſperantes quod adhuc liberabuntur per eos à ſeruitute Tartarorum. Si mercator veniat ad eos, oportet quod ille apud quem primo deſcendit prouideat ei quamdiu vult eſſe inter eos. Si quis dormiat cum vxore alterius, ille non curat niſi videat proprijs oculis: vnde non ſunt Zelotypi. Abundant apud eos porci, mel, & cera, pelles precioſæ, & falcones. Poſt illos ſunt alij qui dicuntur Merdas, quos latini vocant Merduos, & ſunt Saraceni. Poſt illos eſt || Etilia, quæ eſt maior fluuius, quam vnquam viderim: & venit ab Aquilone de maiori Bulgaria tendens ad meridiem: & cadit in quendam lacum habentem ſpacium quatuor menſium in circuitu, de quo poſtea dicam vobis. Iſta ergo duo flumina Tanais & Etilia verſus regiones Aquilonis per quas tranſiuimus non diſtant ab inuicem niſi decem dietis, ſed ad meridiem multum diuiduntur ab inuicem. Tanais enim deſcendit in Mare Ponti: Etilia facit prædictum Mare ſiue lacum, cum alijs multis fluminibus, quæ cadunt in illum de Perſide. Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos in quibus habitant in lateribus verſus ſolitudinem illam Cergis & Alani ſiue || Acas, qui ſunt Chriſtiani & adhuc pugnant contra Tartaros. Poſt iſtos prope Mare ſiue lacum Etiliæ ſunt quidam Saraceni qui dicuntur Leſgi, qui ſimiliter obediunt. Poſt hos eſt Porta ferrea, quam fecit Alexander ad excludendas Barbaras gentes de Perſide: de cuius ſitu dicam vobis poſtea, || quia tranſiui per eam in reditu. Et inter iſta duo flumina in illis terris per quas tranſiuimus habitabant Comani antequam Tartari occuparent eas.

Merdui Saraceni.

|| vel Volga fluuius.

|| Kerkis, vel Aas.

Leſgi Saraceni.

|| Reditus eius per Derbent.

De Curia Sartach & de gloria eius.

INuenimus ergo Sartach prope Etiliam per tres dietas: cuius curia valde magna videbatur nobis: quia habet ſex vxores, & filius eius primogenitus iuxta eum duas vel tres: & quælibet habet domum magnam & bigas forte ducentas. Acceſſit autem ductor noſter ad quendam Neſtorinum Coiat nomine, qui eſt vnus de maioribus Curiæ ſuæ. Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini Iannam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. In ſero præcepit nobis dictus Coiat, vt veniremus ad eum. Tunc incepit quærere ductor noſter quid portaremus ei, & cœpit multum ſcandalizari, quum vidit quod nihil parabamus ad portandum. Stetimus coram eo, & ipſe ſedebat in gloria ſua & faciebat ſonare citharam & ſaltare coram ſe. Tunc dixi ei verba prædicta qualiter veniremus ad dominum eius, rogans eum vt iuuaret nos vt Dominus eius videret literas noſtras. Excuſaui etiam me quia monachus eram, non habens, nec recipiens, nec tractans aurum vel argentum vel aliquid precioſum, ſolis libris & capella in qua ſeruiebamus deo exceptis: vnde nullum xenium afferebamus ei nec domino ſuo. Qui enim propria dimiſeram, non poteram portator eſſe alienorum. Tunc reſpondit ſatis manſuete, quod bene faciebam ex quo eram monachus: ſic ſeruarem votum meum, & non indigebat rebus noſtris; ſed magis daret nobis de ſuis, ſi indigeremus: & fecit nos ſedere & bibere de lacte ſuo. Et poſt pauca rogauit vt diceremus benedictionem pro eo, quod & fecimus. Quæſiuit & quis eſſet maior dominus inter Francos. Dixi, Imperator, ſi haberet terram ſuam in pace. Non, inquit, ſed Rex Franciæ. Audiuerat enim de vobis à domino Baldewyno de Hannonia. Inueni etiam ibi vnum de Socijs domus Dominicæ, qui fuerat in Cypro, qui narrauerat omnia quæ viderat. Tunc reuerſi ſumus ad hoſpitium noſtrum. In craſtino miſi ei vnum flaſconem de vino Muſcato, quod optime ſe cuſtodierat in tam longa via; & cophinum plenum biſcocto quod fuit ei gratiſſimum, & retinuit illo ſero famulos noſtros ſecum. In craſtino mandauit mihi quod venirem ad curiam; afferens literas regis & capellam & libros mecum, quia dominus ſuus vellet videre ea: quod & fecimus, onerantes vnam bigam libris & capella, & aliam pane & vino & fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros & veſtes explicari, & circumſtabant nos in equis multi Tartari & Chriſtiani & Saraceni: quibus inſpectis, quæſiuit, ſi vellem iſta omnia dare domino ſuo, quo audito, expaui, & diſplicuit mihi verbum, diſſimulans tamen reſpondi, domine rogamus, quatenus dominus noſter dignetur recipere panem iſtum, vinum & fructus non pro xenio quia exiguum quid eſt, ſed pro benedictione, ne vacua manu veniamus coram eo. Ipſe autem videbit literas domini regis, & per eas ſciet, qua de cauſa venimus ad eum: & tunc ſtabimus mandato eius nos & omnes res noſtræ. Veſtes enim ſanctæ ſunt, & non licet eas contingere niſi ſacerdotibus. Tunc præcepit quod indueremus nos ituri coram domino ſuo: quod & fecimus. Ego autem indutus precioſioribus veſtibus accepi in pectore puluinar, quod erat valde pulchrum, & biblium quod dederatis mihi, pſalterium pulcherrimum, quod dederat mihi domina regina, in quo erant picturæ pulchræ. Socius meus accepit miſſale & crucem, clericus indutus ſupercilicio accepit thuribulum: ſic acceſſimus ante dominum eius:

Coiat Neſtorinus.

& leuauerunt

filtrum quod pendebat ante oſtium vt nos poſſet videre. Tunc fecerunt flectere genua ter clerico & interpreti: à nobis non requiſiuerunt. Tunc monuerunt nos valde diligenter, vt caueremus ingrediendo & egrediendo ne tangeremus limen domus, & vt cantaremus aliquam benedictionem pro eo. Tunc ingreſſi ſumus cantando, Salue regina. In introitu autem oſtij ſtabat bancus cum coſmos & cum ciphis. Et conuenerant omnes vxores eius: & ipſi Moal. Ingredientes nobiſcum comprimebant nos. Illic Coiac tulit ei thuribulum cum incenſo, quod ipſe reſpexit, tenens in manu diligenter: poſtea tulit ei pſalterium quod valde reſpexit, & vxor eius ſedens iuxta eum. Poſtea tulit biblium, & ipſe quæſiuit, ſi euangelium eſſet ibi. Dixi, etiam tota Scriptura Sacra. Accepit etiam crucem in manu ſua, & quæſiuit de imagine, vtrum eſſet imago Chriſti? Reſpondi quod ſic. Ipſi Neſtoriani & Armeni nunquam faciunt ſuper cruces ſuas figuram Chriſti. Vnde videntur male ſentire de paſſione, vel erubeſcunt eam. Poſtea fecit circumſtantes nos retrahere ſe, vt plenius poſſet videre ornamenta noſtra. Tunc obtuli ei literas veſtras cum tranſcriptis in Arabico & Syriano. Feceram enim eas transferri in Acon in vtraque litera & lingua. Et ibi erant ſacerdotes Armeni, qui ſciebant Turcicum & Arabicum, & Ille Socius domus Domini qui ſciebat Syrianum, & Turcicum & Arabicum. Tunc exiuimus & depoſuimus veſtimenta noſtra: & venerunt ſcriptores & ille Coiac, & fecerunt literas interpretari. Quibus auditis, fecit recipi panem & vinum & fructus: veſtimentà & libros fecit nos reportare ad hoſpitium. Hoc actum eſt in feſto Sancti Petri ad vincula.

Qualiter habuerunt in mandatis adire Baatu *patrem Sartach.*

IN craſtino mane venit quidam ſacerdos frater ipſius Coiac poſtulans vaſculum cum chriſmate, quia Sartach volebat illud videre, vt dicebat, & dedimus ei. Hora veſpertina vocauit nos Coiac, dicens nobis: Dominus rex ſcripſit bona verba Domino meo: Sed ſunt in eis difficilia, de quibus nihil auderet facere, ſine conſilio patris ſui. Vnde oportet vos ire ad patrem ſuum, & duas bigas quas adduxiſtis heri cum veſtimentis & libris dimittetis mihi, quia Dominus meus vult res diligentius videre. Ego ſtatim ſuſpicatus ſum malum de cupiditate eius, & dixi ei. Domine, non ſolum illas ſed etiam duas quas adhuc habemus relinquemus ſub cuſtodia veſtra. Non inquit, illas relinquetis, de alijs facietis velle yeſtrum. Dixi quod hoc nullo modo poſſet fieri. Sed totam dimitteremus ei. Tunc quæſiuit ſi vellemus morari in terra? Ego dixi, Si bene intellexiſtis literas domini regis, poteſtis ſcire, quod ſic. Tunc dixit, quod oporteret nos eſſe patientes multum, & humiles. Sic diſceſſimus ab eo illo ſero. In craſtino mane miſit vnum ſacerdotem Neſtorinum pro bigis, & nos duximus omnes quatuor. Tunc occurrens nobis frater ipſius Coiacis, ſeperauit omnia noſtra ab ipſis rebus quas tuleramus pridie ad curiam, & illa accepit tanquam ſua, ſcilicet libros & veſtimenta: & Coiac præceperat, quod ferremus nobiſcum veſtimenta quibus induti fueramus coram Sartach vt illis indueremur coram Baatu ſi expediret: quas ille ſacerdos abſtulit nobis vi, dicens: Tu attuliſti eas ad Sartach, modo vis ferre Baatu? Et cum vellem ei reddere rationem, reſpondit mihi, Ne loquaris nimis, & vade viam tuam. Tunc neceſſaria fuit patientia, quia apud Sartach, non patebat nobis ingreſſus; nec aliquis erat, qui nobis exhiberet iuſticiam. Timebam etiam de interprete, ne ipſe aliquid aliter dixiſſet, quam ego dixiſſem ei: quia ipſe bene voluiſſet, quod de omnibus feciſſemus xenium. Vnum erat mihi ſolacium, quia quum perſenſi cupiditatem eorum, ego ſubtraxi de libris Biblium & ſententias, & alios libros quos magis diligebam. Pſalterium dominæ reginæ non fui auſus ſubtrahere, quia illud fuerat nimis notatum propter aureas picturas quæ erant in eo. Sic ergo reuerſi ſumus cum duobus reſiduis bigis ad hoſpitium noſtrum. Tunc venit ille, qui debebat ducere nos ad Baatu, volens cum feſtinatione arripere iter: cui dixi quod nulla ratione ducerem bigas. Quod ipſe retulit ad Coiac. Tunc præcepit Coiac quod relinqueremus eas apud ipſum cum garcione noſtro: quod & fecimus. Sic ergo euntes verſus Baatu recta in Orientem, tertia die peruenimus ad Etiliam: cuius aquas cum vidi, mirabar vnde ab Aquilone deſcenderunt tantæ aquæ. Antequam recederemus à Sartach, dixit nobis ſupradictus Coiac cum alijs multis ſcriptoribus curiæ, Nolite dicere quod dominus noſter ſit Chriſtianus, ſed Moal. Quia nomen Chriſtianitatis videtur eis nomen cuiuſdam gentis. In tantam ſuperbiam ſunt erecti, quod quamuis aliquid forte credant de Chriſto, tamen nolunt dici Chriſtiani volentes nomen ſuum, hoc eſt,

Perueniunt ad Etiliam vel Volgam.

Tartari volunt vocari Moal.

Moal exaltare ſuper omne nomen. Nec volunt vocari Tartari: Tartari enim fuerunt alia gens de quibus ſic didici.

Qualiter Sartach, & Mangucham & Kencham *faciunt reuerentiam Chriſtianis.*

Con can.
Vnde venerunt Turci.
Caracatay.
Oceanus.
Vel Nayman.
Prebsyter Iohannes.
Kencham vbi habitauit.
Frater Andreas in Curia Kencham.
Vut can, vel Vnc.
Caracarum Villula.
Crit, & Merkit.
Moal pauperrimi homines.
Tartarorum ſedes.
Cyngis.
Mangu-can.
Mancherule.

TEmpore quo Franci ceperunt Antiochiam tenebat monarchiam in illis lateribus Aquilonis quidam qui vocabatur Concan. Con eſt proprium nomen: Can nomen dignitatis quod idem eſt qui diuinator. Omnes diuinatores vocant Can. Vnde principes dicuntur Can, quia penes eos ſpectat regimen populi per diuinationem. Vnde legitur in hiſtoria Antiochiæ, quod Turci miſerunt propter ſuccurſum contra Francos ad regnum Con can. De illis enim partibus venerunt omnes Turci. Iſte Con erat Cara-Catay. Cara idem eſt quod nigrum. Catai nomen gentis. Vnde Cara-Catay idem eſt quod nigri Catay. Et hoc dicitur ad differentiam ipſorum Catay qui erant in Oriente ſuper Oceanum de quibus poſtea dicam vobis. Iſti Catay erant in quibuſdam alpibus per quas tranſiui. Et in quadam planicie inter illas Alpes erat quidam Neſtorinus paſtor potens & dominus ſuper populum, qui dicebatur Yayman, qui erant Chriſtiani Neſtorini. Mortuo Con can eleuauit ſe ille Neſtorius in regem, & vocabant eum Neſtoriani Regem Iohannem: & plus dicebant de ipſo in decuplo quàm veritas eſſet. Ita enim faciunt Neſtoriani venientes de partibus illis. De nihilo enim faciunt magnos rumores. Vnde diſſeminauerunt de Sartach quod eſſet Chriſtianus, & de Mangu Can & Ken can: quia faciunt maiorem reuerentiam Chriſtianis, quàm alijs populis, & tamen in veritate Chriſtiani non ſunt. Sic ergo exiuit magna fama de illo Rege Iohanne. Et quando ego tranſiui per paſcua eius, nullus aliquid ſciebat de eo niſi Neſtoriani pauci. In paſcuis eius habitat Kencam, apud cuius curiam fuit frater Andreas: & ego etiam tranſiui per eam in reditu. Huic Iohanni erat frater quidam potens, paſtor ſimiliter, nomine Vut: & ipſe erat vltra Alpes ipſorum Caracatay, diſtans à fratre ſuo ſpacium trium hebdomadarum & erat dominus cuiuſdam Villulæ quæ dicitur Caracarum, populum habens ſub ſe, qui dicebantur Crit, Merkit, qui erant Chriſtiani Neſtorini. Sed ipſe dominus eorum dimiſſo cultu Chriſti, ſectabatur idola; habens ſacerdotes idolorum, qui omnes ſunt inuocatores dæmonum & ſortilegi. Vltra paſcua iſtius ad decem vel quindecem dietas erant paſcua Moal: qui erant pauperrimi homines ſine capitaneo & ſine lege, exceptis ſortilegijs & diuinationibus, quibus omnes in partibus illis intendunt. Et iuxta Moal erant alij pauperes, qui dicebantur Tartari. Rex Iohannes mortuus fuit ſine hærede, & ditatus eſt frater eius Vnc; & faciebat ſe vocari Can: & mittebantur armenta greges eius vſque ad terminos Moal. Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo Moal: & furabatur de animalibus Vnc can quod poterat: In tantum quod conqueſti ſunt paſtores Vut domino ſuo. Tunc congregauit exercitum & equitauit in terram Moal, quærens ipſum Cyngis. Et ille fugit inter Tartaros & latuit ibi. Tunc ipſe Vut accepta prædâ Moal & à Tartaris reuerſus eſt. Tunc ipſe Cyngis allocutus eſt Tartaros & ipſos Moal dicens, Quia ſine duce ſumus opprimunt nos vicini noſtri. Et fecerunt ipſum ducem & capitaneum Tartari & Moal. Tunc latenter congregato exercitu irruit ſuper ipſum Vut, & vicit ipſum, & ipſe fugit in Cathaiam. Ibi capta fuit filia eius, quam Cyngis dedit vni ex filijs in vxorem, ex quo ipſa ſuſcepit iſtum qui nunc regnat Mangu. Tunc ipſe Cyngis premittebat vbique ipſos Tartaros: & inde exiuit nomen eorum, quia vbique clamabatur, Ecce Tartari veniunt. Sed per crebra bella modo omnes fere deleti ſunt. Vnde iſti Moal modo volunt extinguere illud nomen, & ſuum eleuare. Terra illa in qua primo fuerunt, & vbi eſt adhuc curia Cyngiscan, vocatur Mancherule. Sed quia Tartari eſt regio circa quam fuit acquiſitio eorum, illam ciuitatem habent pro regali, & ibi prope eligunt ſuum Can.

De Rutenis & Hungaris, & Alanis, & de mari Caſpio.

DE Sartach autem vtrum credit in Chriſtum vel non neſcio. Hoc ſcio quod Chriſtianus non vult dici. Immò magis videtur mihi deridere Chriſtianos. Ipſe enim eſt in itinere Chriſtianorum, ſcilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgariæ, Soldainorum, Kerkiſorum, Alanorum: qui omnes tranſeunt per eum quum vadunt ad curiam patris ſui deferre ei munera, vnde magis amplectitur eos. Tamen ſi Saraceni veniant, & maius afferant, citiùs expediuntur. Habet etiam circa ſe Neſtorinos ſacerdotes, qui pulſant tabulam, & cantant officium ſuum.

Berta vel Berca.

Eſt alius qui dicitur Berta ſuper Baatu, qui paſcit verſus Portam ferream, vbi eſt iter Saracenorum omnium qui veniunt de Perſide & de Turchia, qui euntes ad Baatu, & tranſeuntes per eum, deferunt ei munera. Et ille facit ſe Saracenum, & non permittit in terra ſua comedi carnes porcinas. Baatu in reditu noſtro præceperat ei, quod transferret ſe de illo loco vltra Etiliam ad Orientem, nolens nuncios Saracenorum tranſire per eum, quia videbatur ſibi damnoſum.

Quatuor autem diebus quibus fuimus in curia Sartach, nunquam prouiſum fuit nobis de cibo, niſi ſemel de modico coſmos. In via verò inter ipſum & patrem ſuum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni enim & Hungari, & Alani ſerui eorum, quorum eſt magna multitudo inter eos, aſſociant ſe viginti vel triginta ſimul, & fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras & arcus, & quemcunque inueniunt de nocte interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et quando ſunt equi eorum fatigati veniunt de nocte ad multitudinem equorum in paſcuis, & mutant equos, & vnum vel duos ducunt ſecum, vt comedant quum indiguerint. Occurſum ergo talium timebat multum Dux noſter. In illa via fuiſſemus mortui fame, ſi non portauiſſemus nobiſcum modicum de biſcocto.

Exacta maris Caſpij deſcriptio.

Canglæ populi, vel Cangittæ.

Frater Andreas.

Reprehenditur Iſidori error de mari Caſpio.

Venimus tandem ad Etiliam maximum flumen. Eſt enim in quadruplo maius quàm Sequana, & profundiſſimum: Veniens de maiori Bulgaria, quæ eſt ad Aquilonem, tendens in quendam lacum, ſiue quoddam mare, quod modò vocant mare Sircan, à quadam ciuitate, quæ eſt iuxta ripam eius in Perſide. Sed Iſidorus vocat illud mare Caſpium. Habet enim montes Caſpios, & Perſidem à meridie: montes verò Muſihet, hoc eſt, Aſſaſſinorum ad Orientem, qui contiguantur cum montibus Caſpijs: Ad Aquilonem verò habet illam ſolitudinem, in qua modò ſunt Tartari. Prius verò erant ibi quidam qui dicebantur Canglæ: Et ex illo latere recipit Etiliam, qui creſcit in æſtate ſicut Nilus Ægypti. Ad Occidentem verò habet montes Alanorum & Leſgi; & Portam feream, & montes Georgianorum. Habet igitur illud mare tria latera inter montes, Aquilonare verò habet ad planiciem. Frater Andreas ipſe circumdedit duo latera eius, meridionale ſcilicet & Orientale. Ego verò alia duo; Aquilonare ſcilicet in eundo à Baatu ad Mangu cham, Occidentale verò in reuertendo de Baatu in Syriam. Quatuor menſibus poteſt circundari. Et non eſt verum quod dicit Iſidorus, quòd ſit ſinus exiens ab Oceano: nuſquam enim tangit Oceanum, ſed vndique circundatur terra.

De curia Baatu, & qualiter recepti fuerunt ab eo.

TOta illa regio à latere Occidentali iſtius maris, vbi ſunt Porta ferrea Alexandri, & montes Alanorum, vſq; ad Oceanum Aquilonarem & paludes Mæotidis vbi mergitur Tanais, ſolebat dici Albania: de qua dicit Iſidorus, quòd habet canes ita magnos, tantæque feritatis, vt tauros premant, leones perimant. Quod verũ eſt, prout intellexi à narrantibus, quod ibi verſus Oceanum Aquilonarem faciunt canes trahere in bigis ſicut boues propter magnitudinem & fortitudinem eorum. In illo ergo loco vbi nos applicuimus ſuper Etiliam eſt caſale nouum, quod fecerunt Tartari de Rutenis mixtim, qui tranſponunt nuncios euntes, & redeuntes ad curiam Baatu: quia Baatu eſt in vlteriori ripa verſus Orientem: nec tranſit illum locum vbi nos applicuimus aſcendendo in æſtate, ſed iam incipiebat deſcendere. De Ianuario enim vſque ad Auguſtum aſcendit ipſe, & omnes alij verſus frigidas regiones, & in Auguſto incipiunt redire. Deſcendimus ergo in naui ab illo caſali vſque ad curiam eius. Et ab illo loco vſque ad villas maioris Bulgarię verſus Aquilonem, ſunt quinque dietæ. Et miror quis Diabolus portauit illuc legem Machometi. A Porta enim ferrea, quæ eſt exitus Perſidis, ſunt pluſquam triginta dietæ per tranſuerſum, ſolitudinem aſcendendo iuxta Etiliam vſque in illam Bulgariam, vbi nulla eſt ciuitas, niſi quædam caſalia propè vbi cadit Etilia in mare. Et illi Bulgari ſunt peſſimi Saraceni, fortius tenentes legem Machometi, quàm aliqui alij. Quum ergo vidi curiam Baatu, expaui; quia videbantur propè domus eius, quaſi quædam magna ciuitas protenſa in lõgum, & populus vndiq; circumfuſus, vſq; ad tres vel quatuor leucas. Et ſicut populus Iſrael ſciebat vnuſquiſq;, ad quam regionem tabernaculi deberet figere tentoria: ita ipſi ſciunt ad quod latus curiæ debeant ſe collocare, quando ipſi deponunt domus. Vnde dicitur curia Orda lingua eorum, quod ſonat medium, quia ſemper eſt in medio hominum ſuorum: hoc excepto, quod rectà ad meridiem nullus ſe collocat, quia ad partem illam aperiuntur portæ Curiæ: Sed à dextris & à ſiniſtris extendunt ſe quantum volunt ſecundum exigentiam locorum: dummodo rectè ante curiam, vel ex oppoſito curiæ non deſcendunt. Fuimus ergo ducti ad quendam Saracenum, qui non prouidebat nobis de aliquo cibo: ſequenti die fuimus ad curiam, & fecerat extendi magnum tentorium, quia domus non potuiſſet capere tot homines & mulieres, quot conuenerant. Monuit nos ductor noſter vt non loqueremur, donec Baatu præciperet: & tunc loqueremur breuiter. Quæſiuit etiam vtrum miſiſſetis nuncios ad eos. Dixi qualiter miſeratis ad Kencham, & quod nec ad ipſum miſiſſetis nuncios, nec ad Sartach literas, niſi credidiſſetis eos fuiſſe Chriſtianos: quia non pro timore aliquo, ſed ex congratulatione, quia audiueratis eos eſſe Chriſtianos, miſiſtis. Tunc duxit nos ad papilionem: & monebamur, ne tangeremus cordas tentorij, quas ipſi reputant loco liminis domus. Stetimus ibi nudis pedibus in habitu noſtro diſcoopertis capitibus, & eramus ſpectaculum magnum in oculis eorum. Fuerat enim ibi frater Iohannes de Plano carpini, ſed ipſe mutauerat habitum ne contemneretur; quia erat nuncius Domini Papæ. Tunc inducti fuimus vſque ad medium tentorij, nec requiſiuerunt vt faceremus aliquam reuerentiam genua flectendo, ſicut ſolent facere nuncij. Stetimus ergo coram eo quantum poſſit dici, Miſerere mei Deus: & omnes erant in ſummo ſilentio. Ipſe verò ſuper ſolium longum ſedebat & latum ſicut lectus, totum deauratum, ad quod aſcendebatur tribus gradibus, & vna domina iuxta eum. Viri vero diffuſi ſedebant à dextris dominæ & à ſiniſtris: quod non implebant mulieres ex parte vna, quia erant ibi ſolæ vxores Baatu, implebant viri. Bancus verò cum coſmos & ciphis maximis aureis & argenteis, ornatis lapidibus prætioſis erat in introitu tentorij. Reſpexit ergo nos diligentius, & nos eum: & videbatur mihi ſimilis in ſtatura Domino Iohanni de Bello monte cuius anima requieſcit in pace. Erat etiam vultus eius tunc perfuſus gutta roſea. Tandem præcepit vt loquerer. Tunc ductor noſter pręcepit vt flecteremus genua, & loqueremur. Flexi vnum genu tanquam homini: tunc innuit quod ambo flecterem, quod & feci, nolens contendere ſuper hoc. Tunc præcepit quod loquerer. Et ego cogitans quod orarem Dominum, quia flexeram ambo genua, Incepi verba oratione, dicens: Domine, nos oramus Dominum, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, qui dedit vobis iſta terrena, vt det vobis poſt hęc cœleſtia: quia hæc ſine illis vana ſunt. Et ipſe diligenter auſcultauit, & ſubiunxi: Noueritis pro certo quòd cœleſtia non habebitis, niſi fueritis Chriſtianus. Dicit enim Deus, Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, ſaluus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Ad illud verbum ipſe modeſtè ſubriſit, & alij Moal inceperunt plaudere manus deridendo nos. Et obſtupuit interpres meus, quem oportuit me confortare ne timerem. Tunc facto ſilentio, dixi: Ego veni ad filium veſtrum, quia audiuimus quòd eſſet Chriſtianus, & attuli ei literas ex parte Domini Regis Francorum: ipſe miſit me huc ad vos. Vos debetis

Oceanus Aquilonaris.

Iſidorus.

Oceanus Aquilonaris.

Deſcendit naui per flumen Volga.

Nota.

30 dietę à Porta ferrea.

Aſtracan.

Decſcriptio curiæ Baatu.

Horda ſonat medium.

Miſit rex Franciæ ad Kencham nuncios.

Iohannes de Plano carpini.

Literæ Regis Francorum.

ſcire qua de cauſa. Tunc fecit me ſurgere. Et quæſiuit nomen veſtrum, & meum, & ſocij mei, & interpretis, & fecit omnia ſcribi. Quæſiuit etiam, quia intellexerat quod exieratis terram veſtram cum exercitu vt haberetis bellum. Reſpondi, Contra Saracenos violantes domum Dei Hieruſalem. Quæſiuit etiam ſi vnquam miſiſſetis nuncios ad eum. Ad vos dixi nunquam. Tunc fecit nos ſedere, & dari de lacte ſuo ad bibendum, quod ipſi valdè magnum reputant, quando aliquis bibit coſmos cum eo in domo ſua. Et dum ſedens reſpicerem terram, præcepit vt eleuarem vultum, volens adhuc nos amplius reſpicere, vel fortè pro ſortilegio: quia habent pro malo omine vel ſigno, vel pro mala Prognoſtica, quando aliquis ſedet coram eis inclinata facie quaſi triſtis, maximè quum appodiat maxillam, vel mentum ſuper manum. Tunc exiuimus, & poſt pauca, venit Ductor noſter ad nos, & ducens nos ad hoſpitium, dixit mihi, Dominus Rex rogat, quod retinearis in terra iſta: & hoc non poteſt Baatu facere ſine conſcientia Mangu cham. Vnde oportet quod tu & interpres tuus eatis ad Mangu cham. Socius verò tuus & alius homo reuertentur ad curiam Sartach ibi expectantes donec reuertatis. Tunc incepit homo DEI Interpres lugere reputans ſe perditum: Socius etiam meus conteſtari, quod citius amputarent ei caput, quam quod diuideretur à me. Et ego dixi, quod ſine ſocio non poſſem ire: Et etiam quod benè indigebamus duobus famulis, quia ſi contingeret vnum infirmari, non poſſem ſolus remanere. Tunc ipſe reuerſus ad curiam dixit verba Baatu. Tunc præcepit: vadant duo ſacerdotes & interpres: & Clericus reuertatur ad Sartach. Ille reuerſus dixit nobis ſummam. Et quando volebam loqui pro Clerico, quod iret nobiſcum, dixit, Non loquamini amplius, quia Baatu definiuit, & eo amplius non audeo redire ad curiam. De eleemoſyna habebat Goſet clericus viginti ſex ipperpera, & non plus: quorum decem retinuit ſibi & puero: & ſexdecem dedit homini Dei pro nobis. Et ſic diuiſi ſumus cum lachrimis ab inuicem: Illo redeunte ad curiam Sartach, & nobis ibi remanentibus.

De itinere fratrum verſus curiam Mangu cham.

Quinque ſeptimanas iuxta Etiliam deſcendebant.

Quidam Hungari.

Comanus.

Iter quatuor menſium à Volga.

Ingens frigus.

IN Vigilia Aſſumptionis peruenit ipſe clericus ad Curiam Sartach: & in craſtino fuerunt Sacerdotes Neſtorini induti veſtimentis noſtris coram Sartach. Tunc ducti fuimus ad alium hoſpitem, qui debebat nobis prouidere de domo & cibo & equis. Sed quia non habuimus quod daremus ei, omnia malè faciebat. Et bigauimus cum Baatu deſcendendo iuxta Etiliam quinque ſeptimanas. Aliquando habuit ſocius meus tantam famem, quod dicebat mihi quaſi lachrymando: videbatur mihi quod nunquam comederim. Forum ſequitur ſemper Curiam Baatu. Sed illud erat tam longè à nobis, quod non poteramus ire. Oportebat enim nos ire pedibus pro defectu equorum. Tandem inuenerunt nos quidam Hungari, qui fuerant Clericuli, quorum vnus ſciebat adhuc cantare multa corde, & habebatur ab alijs Hungaris quaſi Sacerdos, & vocabatur ad exequias ſuorum defunctorum: Et alius fuerat competenter inſtructus in Grammatica: qui intelligebat quicquid dicebamus ei literaliter, ſed neſciebat reſpondere: qui fecerunt nobis magnam conſolationem, afferentes coſmos ad bibendum, & carnes aliquando ad comedendum: qui quum poſtulaſſent à nobis aliquos libros, & non haberem quos poſſem dare, nullos enim habebam, niſi Biblium & breuiarium, dolui multum. Tunc dixi eis, afferte nobis chartas, & ego ſcribam vobis, quamdiu erimus hîc: quod & fecerunt. Et ſcripſi vtraſque horas Beatæ Virginis & officium defunctorum. Quodam die iunxit ſe nobis quidam Comanus, ſalutans nos verbis latinis, dicens, Saluete Domini. Ego mirans, ipſo reſalutato, quæſiui ab eo, quis eum docuerat illam ſalutationem. Et ipſe dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus à fratribus noſtris qui docuerant illum eam. Dixit etiam quod Baatu quæſiuerat ab eo multa de nobis, & quod ipſe dixerat ei conditiones ordinis noſtri. Ego vidi Baatu equitantem cum turba ſua, & omnes patres familias equitantes cum eo, ſecundùm æſtimationem meam non erant quingenti viri. Tandem circa finem exaltationis ſanctæ crucis venit ad nos quidam diues Moal, cuius pater erat millenarius, quod magnum eſt inter eos, dicens, Ego vos debeo ducere ad Mangu cham, & eſt iter quatuor menſium: & tantum frigus eſt ibi, quod finduntur ibi lapides & arbores pro frigore: Videatis vtrum poteritis ſuſtinere. Cui reſpondi: Spero in virtute Dei, quod nos ſuſtinebimus, quod alij homines poſſunt ſuſtinere. Tunc dixit: Si non poteritis ſuſtinere, ego relinquam vos in via. Cui reſpondi, hoc non eſſet iuſtum: quia non iuimus pro nobis, niſi miſſi à Domino veſtro: Vnde ex quo vobis committimur, non debetis nos dimittere. Tunc dixit, benè erit. Poſt hoc fecit nos oſtendere ſibi omnes veſtes noſtras, & quod ſibi videbatur minus neceſſarium fecit deponere ſub cuſtodia hoſpitis noſtri. In craſtino attulerunt cuilibet noſtrum vnam pelliceam villoſam arietinam & braccas de eadem, & botas ſiue bucellos ſecundùm morem eorum cum ſoccis de filtro; & almucias de pellibus ſecundùm modum eorum. Et ſecunda die poſt exaltationem Sanctæ crucis incepimus equitare nos tres habentes ſignarios: & equitauimus continuè verſus Orientem vſque ad feſtum Omnium Sanctorum, per totam illam terram, & adhuc amplius habitabant Cangle, quædam parentela Romanorum. Ad Aquilonem habebamus maiorem Bulgariam, & ad meridiem prædictum mare Caſpium.

16. Septemb.

Cangle populi. Maior Bulgaria.

De flumine Iagag, & de diuerſis regionibus ſiue *nationibus*.

POſtquam iueramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia inuenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: & venit ab Aquilone de terra Paſcatir deſcendens in prędictum mare. Idioma Paſcatir & Hungarorum idem eſt: & ſunt paſtores ſine ciuitate aliqua. Et contiguatur maiori Bulgariæ ab Occidente. Ab illa terra verſus Orientem in latere illo Aquilonari non eſt amplius aliqua ciuitas. Vnde Bulgaria maior eſt vltima regio habens ciuitatem. De illa regione Paſcatir exierunt Huni, qui poſteà dicti ſunt Hungari. Vnde ipſa eſt maior Bulgaria. Et dicit Iſidorus, quòd pernicibus equis clauſtra Alexandri rupibus Caucaſi feras gentes cohibentia tranſierunt: ita quod vſque in Ægyptum ſoluebatur eis tributum. Deſtruxerunt etiam omnes terras vſque in Franciam. Vnde fuerunt maioris potentiæ, quàm ſunt adhuc Tartari. Cum illis occurrerunt Blaci & Bulgari & Vandali. De illa enim maiori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari: Et qui ſunt vltra Danubium propè Conſtantinopolin, & iuxta Paſcatir ſunt Ilac, quod idem eſt quod Blac: ſed B. neſciunt Tartari ſonare: à quibus venerunt illi qui ſunt in terra Aſſani. Vtroſque enim vocant Ilac, & hos & illos lingua Rutenorum & Polonorum, & Boëmorum. Sclauorum eſt idem idioma cum lingua Vandalorum, quorum omnium manus fuit cum Hunis: & nunc pro maiori parte eſt cum Tartaris quos Deus ſuſcitauit à remotioribus partibus, populum multum, & gentem ſtultam, ſecundùm quod dicit Dominus, Prouocabo eos, id eſt, non cuſtodientes Legem ſuam, in eo qui non eſt populus, & in gente ſtulta irritabo eos. Hoc completur ad literam ſuper omnes nationes non cuſtodientes Legem Dei. Hoc quod dixi de terra Paſcatir ſcio per fratres Prædicatores, || qui iuerunt illuc ante aduentum Tartarorum. Et ex tùnc erant ipſi ſubiugati à vicinis Bulgaris Saracenis, & plures eorum facti Saraceni. Alia poſſunt ſciri per Chronica: quia conſtat quod illæ prouinciæ poſt Conſtantinopolim, quæ modo dicuntur Bulgaria, Valachia, Sclauonia, fuerunt prouinciæ Gręcorum. Hungaria fuit Pannonia. Equitauimus ergo per terram Cangle à feſto Sanctæ crucis vſque ad feſtum Omnium Sanctorum, quolibet die ferè quantum eſt à Pariſijs vſque Aurelianum, ſecundùm quod poſſum eſtimare, & plus aliquando: ſecundùm quod habebamus copiam equorum. Aliquando enim mutabamus bis in die vel ter equos. Aliquando ibamus duobus diebus vel tribus, quibus non inueniebamus populum, & oportebat leuius ire. De viginti vel triginta equis nos ſemper habebamus peiores, quia extranei eramus. Omnes enim accipiebant ante nos equos meliores. Mihi ſemper prouidebant de forti equo, quia eram ponderoſus valdè: ſed vtrum ſuauiter ambularet vel non, de hoc non auderem facere quæſtionem. Nec etiam audebam conqueri, ſi durè portaret. Sed fortunam ſuam oportebat vnumquemque ſuſtinere. Vnde oriebatur nobis difficillimus labor: quia multoties fatigabantur equi, antequam poſſemus peruenire ad populum. Et tunc oportebat nos percutere & flagellare equos, ponere etiam veſtes ſuper alios ſaginarios, mutare equos ſaginarios; aliquando nos duos ire in vno equo.

Iagag flumen 12. dietis à Volga.

Paſcatir terra, vel Baſcirdorum terra vel Zibier.

Hungari à Paſcatir oriundi.

Nota.

Deut. 32.21.

|| Qui fuerunt iſti fratres?

Cangle planicies ingens.

De fame & ſiti, & alijs miſerijs quas ſuſtinuerunt *in itinere*.

DE fame & ſiti, frigore & fatigatione non eſt numerus. Non enim dant cibum niſi in ſero. In mane dant aliquid bibere, vel ſorbere milium. In ſero dabant nobis carnes, ſcapulam arietis cum coſtis & de brodio ad menſuram bibere. Quando habebamus de brodio carnium ad ſatietatem optimè reficiebamur. Et videbatur mihi ſuauiſſimus potus &

maximè nutriens. Feria ſexta permanebam ieiunus vſq; ad noctem, nihil hauriens. Tunc oportebat me in triſtitia & dolore comedere carnes. Aliquando oportebat nos comedere carnes ſemicoctas vel ferè crudas propter defectum materiæ ignis, quando iacebamus in campis & de nocte deſcendebamus: quia tunc non poteramus benè colligere ſtercora equorum vel boum: aliam materiam ignis raro inueniebamus; niſi fortè alicubi aliquas ſpinas. In ripis etiam aliquorum fluminum ſunt alicubi ſyluæ. Sed hoc raro. In principio deſpiciebat nos multùm Ductor noſter, & faſtidiebat eum ducere tam viles homines. Poſtea tamen quando incepit nos melius cognoſcere, ducebat nos per curias diuitum Moallorum: & oportebat nos orare pro ipſis. Vnde ſi habuiſſem bonum interpretem, habebam oportunitatem ſeminandi multa bona. Ille Chingis primus Cham habuit quatuor filios, de quibus egreſſi ſunt multi, qui omnes habent modo magnas curias: & quotidiè multiplicantur & diffunduntur per illam Vaſtam ſolitudinem, quæ eſt ſicut mare. Per multos ergò illorum ducebat nos Ductor noſter. Et mirabantur ſupra modum, quia nolebamus recipere aurum, vel argentum, vel veſtes præcioſas. Quærebant etiam de magno Papa, ſi eſſet ita ſenex ſicut audierant: audierant enim quod eſſet quingentorum annorum. Quærebant de terris noſtris ſi ibi eſſent multæ oues, & boues, & equi. De Oceano mari non potuerunt intelligere, quod eſſet ſine termino vel ſine ripa. In vigilia omnium Sanctorum dimiſimus viam in Orientem, ‖ quia iam populus deſcenderat multum verſus meridiem: Et direximus iter per quaſdam Alpes rectè in meridiem continuè per octo dies. In illa ſolitudine vidi multos aſinos, quos vocant Colan, qui magis aſſimulantur mulis: quos multum proſequuti ſunt Dux noſte & ſocij eius, ſed nihil profecerunt propter nimiam velocitatem eorum. Septima die inceperunt nobis apparere ad meridiem montes altiſſimi: & intrauimus planiciem, quæ irrigabatur ſicut hortus, & inuenimus terras cultas. In octauis omnium Sanctorum intrauimus villam quandam Saracenorum nomine Kenchat: cuius capitaneus occurrebat extra villam duci noſtro cum ceruiſia & ciphis. Hic eſt enim mos eorum; quod de omnibus villis ſubditis eis, occurratur nuncijs Baatu, & Mangu cham cum cibo & potu. Tunc temporis ibant ibi ſuper glaciem. Et prius à feſto Sancti Michaelis habueramus gelu in ſolitudine. Quæſiui de nomine Prouinciæ illius: ſed quia iam eramus in alio territorio neſcierunt mihi dicere, niſi à nomine ciuitatis, quæ erat valdè parua. Et deſcendebat magnus fluuius de montibus, qui irrigabat totam regionem, ſecundùm quod volebant aquam ducere: nec deſcendebat in aliquod mare, ſed abſorbebatur à terra: & faciebat etiam multas paludes. Ibi vidi vites, & bibi bis de vino.

Defectus materiæ ignis.

Aliqua flumina.

Vaſta ſolitudo.

‖Nota diligenter. Iter verſus meridiem octo dierum.

Aſini velociſſimi.
Montes altiſſimi.

Terræ cultæ.
Kenchat villa Saracenorum.

Septimo die Nouembris ibant ſuper glaciem.

Ciuitas valdè parua.
Magnus fluuius.
Multæ paludes.
Vites.

De interfectione Ban & habitatione Teuto*nicorum*.

SEquenti die venimus ad aliud caſale propinquius montibus. Et quæſiui de montibus, de quibus intellexi, quòd eſſent montes Caucaſi: qui contiguantur ex vtraque parte maris ab Occidente vſque ad Orientem: & quod tranſiueramus mare ſupradictum, quod intrat Etilia. Quæſiui etiam de Talas ciuitate, in qua erant Teutonici ſerui Buri, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quæſiueram multum in curia Sartach & Baatu. Sed nihil poteram intelligere, niſi quod Ban dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occaſione. Ipſe non erat in bonis paſcuis. Et quadam die dum eſſet ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus ſuis. Nonne ſum de genere Chingis can ſicut Baatus (Et ipſe erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam ſuper ripam Etiliæ, ſicut Baatu, vt paſcam ibi? Quæ verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ipſe Baatu ſcripſit hominibus illius, vt adducerent ei dominum ipſorum vinctum: quod & fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quæſiuit ab eo ſi dixiſſet tale verbum: & ipſe confeſſus eſt, tamen excuſauit ſe, quia ebrius erat: (quia ſolent condonare ebrijs:) & Baatu reſpondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput. De illis Teutonicis nihil potui cognoſcere vſque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in ſupradicto caſali intellexi, quod Talas erat poſt nos iuxta mõtes per ſex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipſe Mangu tranſtulerat eos de licentia Baatu verſus Orientem ſpacio itineris vnius menſis à Talas ad quandam villam quæ dicitur Bolac: vbi fodiunt aurum, & fabricant arma. Vnde non potui ire nec redire per eos. Tranſiui eundo ſatis prope, per tres dietas fortè, ciuitatem illam: ſed ego ignoraui: nec potuiſſem etiam declinaſſe extra viam, ſi benè ſciuiſſem. A prædicto caſali iuimus ad Orientem iuxta montes prædictos: & ex tunc intrauimus inter homines Mangu cham, qui vbique cantabant & plaudebant coram ductore noſtro: quia ipſe erat nuncius Baatu. Hunc enim honorem exhibent ſibi mutuo, vt homines Mangu cham recipiant nuncios Baatu

Caſale.

Montes Caucaſi contiguantur mari Orientali.
Talas, vel Chincitalas ciuitas.
Frater Andreas.

Caſale.

Bolac villa. Aurifodinæ.

Inter ditionem Mangu cham.

Alpes in quibus habitabant Cara-catay.

Magnus fluuius.

Terra culta.

Equius villa bona.

Longiſſimè à Perſide.

Lacus quindecem dietarum circuitu.

Cailac magna villa & plena mercatoribus.

Contomanni.

prædicto modo: Et ſimiliter homines Baatu nuncios Mangu. Tamen homines Baatu ſuperiores ſunt, nec exequuntur ita diligenter. Paucis diebus poſt hæc intrauimus Alpes, in quibus ſolebant habitare Cara catay: & inuenimus ibi magnum fluuium, quem oportuit nos tranſire nauigio. Poſt hæc intrauimus quandam vallem, vbi vidi caſtrum quoddam deſtructum, cuius muri non erant niſi de luto, & terra colebatur ibi. Et pòſt inuenimus quandam bonam villam quæ dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes Perſicum: longiſſimè tamen erant à Perſide. Sequenti die tranſgreſſis illis Alpibus quæ deſcendebant à magnis montibus ad meridiem, ingreſſi ſumus pulcherrimam planiciem habentem montes altos à dextris, & quoddam mare à ſiniſtris, ſiue quendam lacum qui durat quindecem dietas in circuitu. Et illa planicies tota irrigabatur ad libitum aquis deſcendentibus de montibus, quæ omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In æſtate rediuimus ad latus Aquilonare illius maris, vbi ſimiliter erant magni montes. In planicie prædicta ſolebant eſſe multæ villæ: ſed pro maiori parte omnes erant deſtructæ, vt paſcerent ibi Tartari: quia optima paſcua erant ibi. Vnam magnam villam inuenimus ibi nomine Cailac, in qua erat forum, & frequentabant eam multi mercatores. In illa quieuimus quindecem diebus, expectantes quendam ſcriptorem Baatu, qui debebat eſſe ſocius ducis noſtri in negotijs expediendis in curia Mangu. Terra illa ſolebat dici Organum: & ſolebant habere proprium idioma, & propriam literam: Sed hæc tota erat occupata à Contomannis. Etiam in literatura illa & idiomate ſolebant facere Neſtorini de partibus illis. Dicuntur Organa, quia ſolebant eſſe optimi Organiſtæ vel Cithariſtæ, vt dicebatur mihi. Ibi primo vidi Idolatrias, de quibus noueritis, quod ſunt multæ ſectæ in Oriente.

Quod Neſtorini et Saraceni ſunt mixti & Idolatrę.

Iugures populi, Idolatræ.

Cailac.

Iugures ſecta diuiſa ab alijs Idololatris.

fuit apud Caracarum frater Wilhelmus.

PRimi ſunt Iugures, quorum terra contiguatur cum terra prædicta Organum inter montes illos verſus Orientem: Et in omnibus ciuitatibus eorum ſunt mixti Neſtorini & Saraceni. Et ipſi etiã ſunt diffuſi verſus Perſidem in ciuitatibus Saracenorum. In prędicta ciuitate Cealac habebant etiam ipſi tres Idolatrias, quarum duas intraui, vt viderem ſtultitias eorum. In prima inueni quendam, qui habebat cruciculam de atramento ſuper manum ſuam. Vnde credidi quod eſſet Chriſtianus: quia ad omnia quæ quærebam ab eo, reſpondebat vt Chriſtianus. Vnde quęſiui ab eo: Quare ergo non habetis crucem & imaginem Ieſu Chriſti? Et ipſe reſpondit, non habemus conſuetudinem. vnde ego credidi quod eſſent Chriſtiani: ſed ex defectu doctrinę omitterent. Videbam enim ibi poſt quandam ciſtam, quæ erat eis loco altaris, ſuper quam ponunt lucernas & oblationes, quandam imaginarionem habentem alas quaſi Sancti Michaelis: & alias quaſi ipſorum tenentes digitos ſicut ad benedicendum. Illo ſero non potui aliud inuenire. Quia Saraceni in tantũ inuitant eos, quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis. Vnde quando quærebam a Sararcenis de ritu talium, ipſi ſcandalizabantur. In craſtino fuerunt kalendæ & paſcha Saracenorum & mutaui hoſpitium: ita quod fui hoſpitatus prope aliam Idolatriam. Homines enim colligunt nuncios, quilibet ſecuudum poſſe ſuum vel portionem ſuam. Tunc intrans Idolatriam prædictam inueni ſacerdotes Idolorum. In kalendis enim aperiunt templa ſua, & ornant ſe ſacerdotes, & offerunt populi oblationes de pane & fructibus. Primò ergo deſcribo vobis ritus communes omnes Idolatrarum: & poſtea iſtorum Iugurum; qui ſunt quaſi ſecta diuiſa ab alijs. Omnes adorant ad Aquilonem complofis manibus: & proſternentes ſe genibus flexis ad terram, ponentes frontem ſuper manus. Vnde Neſtorini in partibus illis nullo modo iungunt manus orando: ſed orant extenſis palmis ante pectus. Porrigunt templa ſua ab Oriente in Occidentem: & in latere Aquilonari faciunt cameram vnam quaſi eorũ exeuntem: vel aliter, Si eſt domus quadrata, in medio domus ad latus aquilonare intercludunt vnam cameram in loco chori. Ibi ergo collocant vnam arcam longam & latam ſicut menſam vnam. Et poſt illam arcam contra meridiem collocant principale idolum: quod ego vidi apud Caracarum, ita magnum ſicut pingitur Sanctus Chriſtopherus. Et dixit mihi quidam ſacerdos Neſtorinus, qui venerat ex Cataya, quod in terra illa eſt Idolum ita magnum, quod poteſt videri à duabus dietis. Et collocant alia idola in circuitu, omnia pulcherrime deaurata: Super ciſtam illam, quæ eſt quaſi menſa vna, ponunt lucernas & oblationes. Omnes portæ templorum ſunt apertæ ad meridiem contrario modo Saracenis. Item habent campanas magnas ſicut nos. Ideo credo quod orientales Chriſtiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni tamen habent & Græci in Gaſaria.

De templis eorum & idolis, & qualiter ſe habent *in officio deorum ſuorum.*

OMnes ſacerdotes eorum raſum habent totum caput & barbam ; ſunt veſtiti de croceo, & ſeruant caſtitatem, ex quo radunt caput: Et viuunt pariter centum vel ducenti in vna congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant templum, ponunt duo ſcamna, & ſedent è regione chorus contra chorum habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt ſuper illa ſcamna: & habent capita diſcooperta quādiu inſunt in tēplo, legentes in ſilencio, & tenentes ſilencium. Vnde cùm ingreſſus fuiſſem apud Oratorium quoddam eorum, & inueniſſem eos ita ſedentes, multis modis tentaui eos prouocare ad verba, & nullo modo potui. Habent etiam quocunque vadunt quendam reſtem centum vel ducentorum nucleorum, ſicut nos portamus pater noſter: Et dicunt ſemper hæc verba: *Ou mam Hactaui*: hoc eſt, Deus tu noſti; ſecundum quod quidem eorum interpretatus eſt mihi. Et toties expectant remunerationem à Deo, quoties hoc dicendo memoratur Dei. Circa templum ſuum ſemper faciunt pulchrum atrium, quod bene includunt muro: & ad meridiem faciunt portam magnam, in qua ſedent ad colloquendum. Et ſuper illam portam erigunt perticam longam, quæ emineat ſi poſſint, ſuper totam villam. Et per illam perticam poteſt cognoſci, quod domus illa ſit templum Idolorum. Iſta communia ſunt omnibus Idolatris. Quando ergo ingreſſus fui prędictam Idolatriam, inueni ſacerdotes ſedentes ſub porta exteriori. Illi quos vidi, videbantur mihi fratres Franci eſſe raſis barbis. Tyaras habebant in capitibus cartaceas. Iſtorum Iugurum ſacerdotes habent talem habitum quocunque vadunt: ſemper ſunt in tunicis croceis ſatis ſtrictis accincti deſuper recte ſicut Franci: & habent pallium ſuper humerum ſiniſtrum deſcendens inuolutū per pectus & dorſum ad latus dextrum ſicut diaconus portans caſulam in quadrageſima. Iſtorum literas acceperunt Tartari. Ipſi incipiunt ſcribere ſurſum, & ducunt lineam deorſum, & eodem modo ipſi legunt & multiplicant lineas a ſiniſtra ad dextram. Iſti multum vtuutur cartis & caracteribus pro ſortilegio. Vnde templa ſua plena ſunt breuibus ſuſpenſis. Et Mangu-cham mittit vobis literas in idiomate Moal & literatura eorum. Iſti comburunt mortuos ſuos ſecundum antiquum modum, & recondunt puluerem in ſummitate pyramidis. Cum ergo ſediſſem iuxta prædictos ſacerdotes, poſtquam ingreſſus fueram templum & vidiſſem idola eorum multa magna & parua: quæſiui ab eis, quid ipſi crederent de Deo. Qui reſponderunt, Non credimus niſi vnum Deum. Et ego quæſiui. Creditis quod ipſe ſit ſpiritus vel aliquid corporale? Dixerunt, credimus quod ſit ſpiritus. Et ego: Creditis quod nunquam ſumpſerit humanam naturam? Dixerunt, minime. Tunc ego: ex quo creditis, quod non ſit niſi vnus ſpiritus, quare facitis ei imagines corporales, & tot inſuper? Et ex quo non creditis quod factus ſit homo, quare facitis ei magis imagines hominum, quàm alterius animalis? Tunc reſponderunt, Nos non figuramus iſtas imagines Deo. Sed quando aliquis diues moritur ex noſtris, vel filius, vel vxor, vel aliquis charus eius facit fieri imaginem defuncti, & ponit eam hic: & nos veneramur eam ad memoriam eius. Quibus ego, Tunc ergo non facitis iſta niſi propter adulationem hominum. Immo dixerunt ad memoriam. Tunc quæſiuerunt à me quaſi deridendo: vbi eſt Deus? Quibus ego. Vbi eſt anima veſtra? Dixerunt, in corpore noſtro. Quibus ego. Nonne eſt vbique in corpore tuo & totum regit, & tamen non videtur? Ita Deus vbique eſt, & omnia gubernat, inuiſibilis tamen, quia intellectus & ſapientia eſt. Tunc cum vellem plura ratiocinari cum illis, interpres meus fatigatus, non valens verba exprimere, fecit me tacere. Iſtorum ſectę ſunt Moal ſiue Tartari, quantum ad hoc, quod ipſi non credunt niſi vnum Deum: tamen faciunt de filtro imagines defunctorum ſuorum, & induunt eas quinque pannis precioſiſſimis, & ponunt in vna biga vel duabus, & illas bigas nullus audet tangere: & ſunt ſub cuſtodia diuinatorum ſuorum, qui ſunt eorum ſacerdotes, de quibus poſtea narrabo vobis. Iſti diuinatores ſemper ſunt ante curiam ipſius Mangu & aliorū diuitum: pauperes enim non habent eos; niſi illi qui ſunt de genere Chingis. Et cum debent bigare, ipſi præcedunt, ſicut columna nubis filios Iſrael, & ipſi conſiderant locum metandi caſtra, & poſt deponunt domos ſuas; & poſt eos tota curia. Et tunc cum ſit dies feſtus ſiue kalendæ ipſi extrahunt prædictas imagines & ponunt eas ordinate per circuitum in domo ſua. Tunc veniunt Moal & ingrediuntur domum illam, & inclinant ſe imaginibus illis & venerantur illas. Et illam domum nemini ingredi extraneo licet: Quadam enim vice volui ingredi & multum durè increpatus fui.

Tyarę cartaceæ.

Chinenſes ita etiam ſcribunt.

Sortilegi.

Bombuſtio mortuorum.

De diuerſis nationibus, & de illis qui comedere *ſolebant parentes ſuos.*

Patria Preſbiteri Iohannis.

Tangut populi, fortiſſimi.

Boues piloſis caudis: his ſimiles ſunt in Quiuera Americæ ſeptentrionalis prouincia.

Tebet populi.

Auri abundantia.

Tangut homines magni ſed fuſci.

Langa & Solanga

Solangi ſimiles Hiſpanis, & fuſci.

Tabula de dente elephantino.

Muc populi.

Magna Cathaya.

PRædicti vero Iugures, qui ſunt mixti cum Chriſtianis & Saracenis, per frequentes diſputationes, vt credo, peruenerunt ad hoc, quod non credunt niſi vnum deum. Et iſti fuerunt habitantes in ciuitatibus, qui poſt obediuerunt Chingis Cham: vnde ipſe dedit regi eorum filiam ſuam. Et ipſa Caracarum eſt quaſi in territorio eorum: Et tota terra regis ſiue preſbyteri Iohannis & Vut fratris eius circa terras eorum: Sed iſti in paſcuis ad aquilonem, illi Iugures inter montes ad meridiem. Inde eſt quod ipſi Moal ſumpſerunt literas eorum. Et ipſi ſunt magni ſcriptores eorum: & omnes fere Neſtorini ſciunt literas eorum. Poſt iſtos ſunt ipſi Tangut ad orientem inter montes illos, homines fortiſſimi, qui ceperunt Chingis in bello. Et pace facta dimiſſus ab eis, poſtea ſubiugauit eos. Iſti habent boues fortiſſimos habentes caudas plenas pilis ſicut equi, & ventres piloſos & dorſa. Baſſiores ſunt alijs bobus in tibijs, ſed ferociores multum. Iſti trahunt magnas domos Moallorum: & habent cornua gracilia, longa, acuoſa, acutiſſima: ita quod oportet ſemper ſecare ſummitates eorum. Vacca non permittit ſe iniungi niſi cantetur ei. Habent etiam naturam bubali quia ſi vident hominem indutum rubeis, inſiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Poſt illos ſunt Tebet homines ſolentes comedere parentes ſuos defunctos, vt cauſa pietatis non facerent aliud ſepulchrum eis niſi viſcera ſua. Modo tamen hoc dimiſerunt, quia abominabiles erant omni nationi. Tamen adhuc faciunt pulchros ciphos de capitibus parentum, vt illis bibentes habeant memoriam eorum in iocunditate ſua. Hoc dixit mihi qui viderat. Iſti habent multum de auro in terra ſua. Vnde qui indiget auro, fodit donec reperiat, & accipiat quando indiget, reſiduum condens in terra: quia ſi reponeret in arca vel in theſauro, crederet quod Deus auferret ei aliud quod eſt in terra. De iſtis hominibus vidi perſonas multum deformes. Tangut vidi homines magnos ſed fuſcos. Iugures ſunt mediocris ſtaturæ ſicut noſtri. Apud Iugures eſt fons & radix ideomatis Turci & Comanici. Poſt Tebet ſunt Langa & Solanga, quorum nuncios vidi in curia: Qui adduxerant magnas bigas pluſquam decem, quarum quælibet trahebatur ſex bobus. Iſti ſunt parui homines & fuſci ſicut Hiſpani: & habent tunicas ſicut ſupertunicale diaconi manicis parum ſtrictioribus: & habent in capitibus mitras ſicut epiſcopi. Sed pars anterior eſt parum interior quàm poſterior, & non terminatur in vnum angulum: ſed ſunt quadræ deſuper, & ſunt de ſtramine rigidato per calorem magnum, & limato in tantum, quod fulget ad radium ſolis ſicut ſpeculum vel galea bene burnita. Et circa tempora habent longas bendas de eadem materia aſſutas ipſi mitræ; quæ ſe extendunt ad ventum ſicut duo cornua egredientia de temporibus. Et quando ventus nimis iactat eas plicant eas per medium mitræ ſuperius à tempore in tempus: & iacent ſicut circulus ex tranſuerſo capitis. Et principalis nuncius quando veniebat ad curiam, habebat tabulam de dente elephantino ad longitudinem vnius cubiti, & ad latitudinem vnius palmi, raſam multum: Et quandocunque loquebatur ipſi Cham, vel alicui magno viro, ſemper aſpiciebat in illam tabulam, ac ſi inueniret ibi ea quæ dicebat: nec reſpiciebat ad dextram vel ſiniſtram, nec in faciem illius cui loquebatur. Etiam accedens coram domino & recedens nuſquam reſpicit niſi in tabulam ſuam. Vltra iſtos ſunt alij homines, vt intellexi pro vero, qui dicuntur Muc, qui habent villas, ſed nulla animalia ſibi appropriant: tamen ſunt multi greges & multa armenta in terra ipſorum, & nullus cuſtodit ea. Sed cum aliquis indiget aliquo, aſcendit collem & clamat, & omnia animalia audientia clamorem accedunt circa illum, & permittunt ſe tractari quaſi domeſtica. Et ſi nuncius vel aliquis extraneus accedat ad regionem illam, ipſi includunt eum in domo, & miniſtrant ei neceſſaria, donec negocium eius fuerit expeditum. Quia ſi iret extraneus per regionem, animalia ad odorem eius fugerent, & efficerentur ſylueſtria. Vltra eſt magna Cathaya, cuius incolæ antiquitus vt credo dicebantur Seres. Ab ipſis enim veniunt optimi panni ſerici. Et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam oppido eorum. Bene intellexi, quod in illa regione eſt oppidum habens muros argenteos & propugnacula aurea. In iſta terra ſunt multæ prouinciæ, quarum plures adhuc non obediunt Moallis. Et inter *

Aliqua deſiderantur.

The iournal of frier *William de Rubruquis* a French *man of the order of the minorite friers, vnto the Eaſt parts* of the worlde. An.Dom.1253.

TO his moſt Soueraigne, & moſt Chriſtian Lord Lewis, by Gods grace the renowmed king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meaneſt of the Minorites order, wiſheth health & cōtinual triumph in CHRIST.

It is written in the booke of Eccleſiaſticus concerning the wiſe man: He ſhall trauell into forren countries, and good and euill ſhall he trie in all things. The very ſame action (my lord and king) haue I atchieued: howbeit I wiſh that I haue done it like a wiſe man, and not like a foole. For many there be, that performe the ſame action which a wiſe man doth, not wiſely but more vndiſcreetly: of which number I feare my ſelfe to be one. Notwithſtanding howſoeuer I haue done it, becauſe you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnes, to write all things vnto you, which I ſhould ſee among the Tartars, and you wiſhed me alſo that I ſhould not feare to write long letters, I haue done as your maieſtie inioined me: yet with feare and reuerence, becauſe I want wordes and eloquence ſufficient to write vnto ſo great a maieſtie. Be it knowen therefore vnto your ſacred Maieſtie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253. about the Nones of May, we entered into the ſea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great ſea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certaine merchants) 1008 miles, and is in a maner, diuided into two parts. About the midſt thereof are two prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South prouince is called Synopolis, and it is the caſtle and porte of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North prouince is called of the Latines, Gaſaria: of the Greeks, which inhabite vpon the ſea ſhore thereof, it is called Caſſaria, that is to ſay Cæſaria. And there are certaine head lands ſtretching foorth into the ſea towards Synopolis. Alſo, there are 300. miles of diſtance betweene Synopolis and Caſſaria. Inſomuch that the diſtance from thoſe points or places to Conſtantinople, in length and breadth is about 700. miles: and 700. miles alſo from thence to the Eaſt, namely to the countrey of Hiberia which is a prouince of Georgia. At the prouince of Gaſaria or Caſſaria we arriued, which prouince is, in a maner, three ſquare, hauing a citie on the Weſt part thereof called Kerſoua, wherein S. Clement ſuffered martyrdome. And ſayling before the ſaid citie, we ſawe an iſland, in which a Church is ſayd to be built by the hands of angels. But about the midſt of the ſaid prouince toward the South, as it were, vpon a ſharpe angle or point, ſtandeth a citie called Soldaia directly ouer againſt Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the North countries, in their iourney outward, arriue, and as they returne homeward alſo from Ruſſia, and the ſaid Northerne regions, into Turkie. The foreſaid merchants tranſport thither ermines and gray furres, with other rich and coſtly ſkinnes. Others carrie cloathes made of cotton or bombaſt, and ſilke, and diuers kindes of ſpices. But vpon the Eaſt part of the ſaid prouince ſtandeth a citie called Matriga, where the riuer Tanais diſchargeth his ſtreames into the ſea of Pontus, the mouth whereof is twelue miles in breadth. For this riuer, before it entreth into the ſea of Pontus, maketh a little ſea, which hath in breadth and length ſeuen hundreth miles, & it is in no place thereof aboue ſixe paces deepe, whereupon great veſſels cannot ſayle ouer it. Howbeit the merchants of Conſtantinople, arriuing at the foreſayd citie of ‖ Materta, ſend their barkes vnto the riuer of Tanais to buy dried fiſhes, Sturgeons, Thoſſes, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fiſhes. The foreſayd prouince of Caſſaria is compaſſed in with the ſea on three ſides thereof: namely on the Weſt ſide, where Kerſoua the citie of Saint Clement is ſituate: on the South ſide the citie of Soldaia whereat we arriued: on the Eaſt ſide Maricandis, and there ſtands the citie of Matriga vpon the mouth of the riuer Tanais. Beyond the ſayd mouth ſtandeth Zikia, which is not in ſubiection vnto the Tartars: alſo the people called Sueui and Hiberi towards the Eaſt, who likewiſe are not vnder the Tartars dominion. Moreouer towards the South, ſtandeth the citie of Trapeſunda, which hath a gouernour proper to it ſelfe, named Guydo, being of the linage of the emperours of Conſtantinople, and is ſubiect vnto the Tartars. Next vnto that is Synopolis the citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewiſe is in ſubiection vnto them. Next vnto theſe lyeth the countrey of Vaſtacius, whoſe ſonne is called Aſtar, of his grandfather by the mothers ſide, who is not in ſubiection. All the land from the mouth of Tanais Weſtward as farre as Danubius is vnder their iuriſdiction. Yea beyond Danubius alſo, towards Conſtantinople, Valakia, which is the land of Aſſanus, and Bulgaria minor as farre as Solonia, doe all pay tribute vnto them. And beſides the

Ecclus.39.ver.4.

Gaſaria.

Soldaia.

The citie of Matriga.

‖ Matriga.

Zikia.

tribute impoſed, they haue alſo, of late yeares, exacted of euery houſhold an axe, and all ſuch corne as they found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at Soldaia the twelfth of the Kalends of Iune. And diuers merchants of Conſtantinople, which were arriued there before vs, reported that certaine meſſengers were comming thither from the holy land, who were deſirous to trauell vnto Sartach. Notwithſtanding I my ſelf had publikely giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within ẏ Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans meſſenger, but that I trauailed vnto thoſe infidels according to the rule of our order. And being arriued, the ſaid merchāts admoniſhed me to take diligent heede what I ſpake: becauſe they hauing reported me to be a meſſenger, if I ſhould ſay the contrary, that I were no meſſenger, I could not haue free paſſage granted vnto me. Thē I ſpake after this maner vnto the gouernors of the citie, or rather vnto their Lieutenāts, becauſe the gouernors thēſelues were gone to pay tribute vnto Baatu, & were not as yet returned. We heard of your lord Sartach (quoth I) in the holy land, that he was become a Chriſtian: and the Chriſtians were exceeding glad therof, & eſpecially the moſt Chriſtian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, & fighteth againſt the Saracens to redeeme the holy places out of their handes: wherfore I am determined to go vnto Sartach, & to deliuer vnto him ẏ letters of my lord the king, wherein he admoniſheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Chriſtendome. And they receiued vs with gladnes, and gaue vs enterteinement in the cathedrall Church. The biſhop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the ſaide Sartach, which afterward I found to be nothing ſo. Then put they vs to our choyce, whither we woulde haue cartes and oxen, or packe horſes to tranſport our cariages. And the marchants of Conſtantinople aduiſed me, not to take cartes of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy couered cartes of mine owne, (ſuch as the Ruſſians carrie their ſkins in) and to put all our carriages, which I would daylie take out, into them: becauſe, if I ſhould vſe horſes, I muſt be conſtrained at euery baite to take downe my carriages, and to lift them vp againe on ſundry horſes backs: and beſides, that I ſhould ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the cartes. Wherfore, contenting my ſelfe with their euil counſel, I was traueiling vnto Sartach 2. moneths which I could haue done in one, if I had gone by horſe. I brought with me from Conſtantinople (being by the marchants aduiſed ſo to doe) pleaſant fruits, muſcadel wine, and delicate biſket bread to preſent vnto the gouernours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtaine free paſſage: becauſe they looke fauourablie vpon no man which commeth with an emptie hand. All which thinges I beſtowed in one of my cartes, (not finding the gouernours of the citie at home) for they told me, if I could carrie them to Sartach, that they would be moſt acceptable vnto him. Wee tooke our iourney therefore about the kalends of Iune, with fower couered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to reſt vpon in the night, and they allowed vs fiue horſes to ride vpon.

Frier Bartholomeus de Cremona.

For there were iuſt fiue perſons in our company: namely, I my ſelfe and mine aſſociate frier Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goſet the bearer of theſe preſents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas my ſeruant, whome I bought at Conſtantinople with ſome part of the almes beſtowed vpon me. Moreouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our carts and gaue attendance vnto our oxen and horſes. There be high promontories on the ſea ſhore from Kerſoua vnto the mouth of Tanais. Alſo there are fortie caſtles betweene Kerſoua and Soldaia, euery one of which almoſt haue their proper languages: amongſt whome there were many Gothes, who ſpake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the ſaid mountaines towards the North, there is a moſt beautifull wood growing on a plaine ful of fountaines & freſhets. And beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champion, continuing fiue dayes iourney vnto the very extremitie and borders of the ſaid prouince northward, and there it is a narrow Iſthmus or neck land, hauing ſea on the Eaſt & Weſt ſides therof, inſomuch that there is a ditch made frō one ſea vnto the other.

The necke of Taurica Cherſoneſus.

In the ſame plaine (before the Tartars ſprang vp) were the Comanians wont to inhabite, who compelled the foreſayd cities and caſtles to pay tribute vnto them. But when the Tartars came vpon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the foreſaid prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the ſea ſhore, being in ſuch extreame famine, that they which were aliue, were conſtrained to eate vp thoſe which were dead: and (as a marchant reported vnto me who ſawe it with his owne eyes) that the liuing men deuoured and tore with their teeth, the raw fleſh of the dead, as dogges would gnawe vpon carrion. Towards the borders of the ſayd prouince there be many great lakes: vpon the bankes whereof are ſalt pits or fountaines, the water of which ſo ſoone as it entereth into the lake, becommeth hard ſalte like vnto ice. And out of thoſe ſalte pittes Baatu and Sartach haue great reuenues: for they repayre thither out of all Ruſſia for ſalte: and for each carte loade they giue two webbes of cotton amounting to the value of half an Yperpera. There come by ſea alſo many ſhips for ſalt, which pay tribute euery one of them according to their burden.

The Tartars.

The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars. Amongſt whome being entred, tered, me thought I was come into a new world. Whoſe life and maners I will deſcribe vnto your Highnes aſwell as I can.

Of the *Tartars*, and of their houſes. *Chap.* 2.

They haue in no place any ſetled citie to abide in, neither knowe they of the celeſtiall citie to come. They haue diuided all Scythia among themſelues, which ſtretcheth from the riuer Danubius euen vnto the riſing of the ſunne. And euery of their captaines, according to the great or ſmall number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his paſtures, and where he ought to feed his cattel winter and ſummer, Spring and autumne. For in the winter they deſcend vnto the warme regions ſouthward. And in the ſummer they aſcend vnto the colde regions northward. In winter when ſnowe lyeth vpon the ground, they feede their cattell vpon paſtures without water, becauſe then they vſe ſnow in ſtead of water. Their houſes wherein they ſleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the roofe whereof conſiſteth (in like ſorte) of wickers, meeting aboue into one little roundell, out of which roundell aſcendeth vpward a necke like vnto a chimney, which they couer with white felte, and oftentimes they lay morter or white earth vpon the ſayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may ſhine white. And ſometimes alſo they couer it with blacke felte. The ſayd felte on the necke of their houſe, they doe garniſh ouer with beautifull varietie of pictures. Before the doore likewiſe they hang a felt curiouſly painted ouer. For they ſpend all their coloured felt, in painting vines, trees, birds, and beaſtes thereupon. The ſayd houſes they make ſo large, that they conteine thirtie foote in breadth. For meaſuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete ouer: and when the houſe was vpon the carte, it ſtretched ouer the wheeles on each ſide fiue feete at the leaſt. I told 22. oxen in one teame, drawing an houſe vpon a cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleuen more before them: the axletree of the carte was of an huge bignes like vnto the maſt of a ſhip. And a fellow ſtood in the doore of the houſe, vpon the foreſtall of the carte driuing forth the oxen. Moreouer, they make certaine foureſquare baſkets of ſmall ſlender wickers as big as great cheſtes: and afterward, from one ſide to another, they frame an hollow lidde or couer of ſuch like wickers, and make a doore in the fore ſide thereof. And then they couer the ſayd cheſt or little houſe with black felt rubbed ouer with tallow or ſheeps milke to keepe the raine from ſoaking through, which they decke likewiſe with painting or with feathers. And in ſuch cheſts they put their whole houſhold ſtuffe & treaſure. Alſo the ſame cheſts they do ſtrongly bind vpon other carts, which are drawen with camels, to yͤ end they may wade through riuers. Neither do they at any time take down the ſayd cheſts from off their carts. When they take down their dwelling houſes, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: & next of all they place the carts laden with their cheſts, here & there, within half a ſtones caſt of yͤ houſe: inſomuch that the houſe ſtandeth between two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals. The matrons make for thẽſelues moſt beautiful carts, which I am not able to deſcribe vnto your maieſtie but by pictures onlie: for I would right willingly haue painted al things for you, had my ſkill bin ought in that art. One rich Moal or Tartar hath 200. or 100. ſuch cartes with cheſts. Duke Baatu hath ſixteene wiues, euery one of which hath one great houſe, beſides other little houſes, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And vnto euery of the ſaid houſes do belong 200. cartes. When they take their houſes from off the cartes, the principal wife placeth her court on the Weſt frontier, and ſo all the reſt in their order: ſo that the laſt wife dwelleth vpon the Eaſt frontier: and one of the ſaid ladies courts is diſtant from another about a ſtones caſt. Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like vnto a great village, very few men abiding in the ſame. One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their countries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oxen, one behind another. And there ſittes a wench in the foremoſt carte driuing the oxen, and al the reſidue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad paſſage, they let them looſe, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a ſlowe pace, as faſt as a lambe or an oxe can walke.

The benefite of a painter in ſtrange countreis.

Of their beds, and of their drinking pots. *Chap.* 3.

Hauing taken downe their houſes from off their cartes, and turning the doores Southward, they place the bed of the maſter of the houſe, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwaies on the Eaſt ſide, namely on the left hand of the good man of the houſe ſitting vpon his bed with his face Southwards: but the mens place is vpon yͤ Weſt ſide, namely at the right hand of their maſter. Men when they enter into the houſe, wil not in any caſe hang their quiuers on the womens ſide. Ouer the maſters head there is alwayes an image, like a puppet, made of felte, which they call the maſters brother: and another ouer the head of the good wife or miſtreſſe, which they call her brother being faſtened to the wall: and aboue betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole houſe. The good wife or miſtreſſe of the houſe placeth aloft at her beds feete, on the right hand, the ſkinne of a Kidde ſtuffed with wooll or ſome other matter, and neare vnto that a litle image or puppet looking towards the maidens and women. Next vnto the doore alſo on the womens ſide, there is another image with a cowes vdder, for the women that milke the kine. For it is the duety of their women to milke kine. On the other ſide of the doore next vnto the men, there is another image with the vdder of a mare, for the men which milke mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merie, they ſprinckle parte of their drinke vpon the image which is aboue the maſters head: afterward vpon other images in order: then goeth a ſeruant out of the houſe with a cuppe full of drinke ſprinckling it thriſe towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the fire. Then perfourmeth he the like ſuperſtitious idolatrie towards the Eaſt, for the honour of the ayre: and then to the Weſt for the honour of the water: & laſtly to the North in the behalfe of the dead. When the maiſter holdeth a cuppe in his hande to drinke, before he taſteth thereof, hee powreth his part vpon the ground. If he drinketh ſitting on horſe backe, hee powreth out part thereof vpon the necke or maine of his horſe before hee himſelfe drinketh. After the ſeruaunt aforeſaide hath ſo diſcharged his cuppes to the fower quarters of the world, hee returneth into the houſe: and two other ſeruants ſtand ready with two cuppes, and two baſons, to carrie drinke vnto their maſter and his wife, ſitting together vpon a bed. And if he hath more wiues then one, ſhe with whome hee ſlept the night before, ſitteth by his ſide the daye following: and all his other wiues muſt that day reſorte vnto the ſame houſe to drinke: and there is the court holden for that day: the giftes alſo which are preſented that daye are layd vp in the cheſts of the ſayd wife. And vpon a bench ſtands a veſſell of milke or of other drinke and drinking cuppes.

Of their drinkes, and how they prouoke one another to drinking. *Chap.4.*

IN winter time they make excellent drinke of Riſe, of Mill, and of honie, being well and high coloured like wine. Alſo they haue wine brought vnto them from farre countries. In ſummer time they care not for any drinke, but Coſmos. And it ſtandeth alwaies within the entrance of his doore, and next vnto it ſtands a minſtrell with his fidle. I ſawe there no ſuch citerns and vials as ours commonly be, but many other muſicall inſtruments which are not vſed among vs. And when the maſter of the houſe begins to drinke, one of his ſeruants cryeth out with a lowde voice HA, and the minſtrell playes vpon his fidle. And when they make any great ſolemne feaſt, they all of them clap their hands & daunce to the noyſe of muſique, the men before their maſter and the women before their miſtreſſe. And when the maſter hath drunke, then cries out his ſeruant as before, and the minſtrell ſtayeth his muſique. Then drinke they all around both men and women: and ſometimes they carowſe for the victory very filthily and drunkenly. Alſo when they will prouoke any man, they pul him by the eares to the drinke, and ſo lug and draw him ſtrongly to ſtretch out his throate clapping their handes and dauncing before him. Moreouer when ſome of them will make great feaſting and reioycing, one of the company takes a full cuppe, and two other ſtand, one on his right hand and another on his left, and ſo they three come ſinging to the man who is to haue the cuppe reached vnto him, ſtill ſinging and dauncing before him: and when he ſtretcheth foorth his hand to receiue the cuppe, they leape ſuddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and ſo hauing deluded him thrice or fower times by drawing backe the cuppe vntill he be merie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the cuppe, ſinging and dauncing and ſtamping with their feete, vntill he hath done drinking.

They vſe the like cuſtome in Florida.

Of their foode and victuals. *Chap.5.*

COncerning their foode and victuals, be it knowen vnto your Highneſſe that they do, without al difference or exception, eat all their dead carrions. And amongſt ſo many droues it cannot be, but ſome cattell muſt needes die. Howbeit in ſummer, ſo long as their Coſmos, that is, their mares milke laſteth, they care not for any foode. And if they chance to haue an oxe or an horſe dye, they drie the fleſh thereof: for cutting it into thin ſlices and hanging it vp againſt the Sunne and the wind, it is preſently dried without ſalt, and alſo without ſtenche or corruption. They make

Drying of fleſh in the wind.

make better puddings of their horſes then of their hogs, which they eate being new made: the reſt of the fleſh they reſerue vntill winter. They make of their oxe ſkins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully dry in the ſmoake. Of the hinder part of their horſe hides they make very fine ſandals & pantofles. They giue vnto 50. or an 100. men the fleſh of one ram to eat. For they mince it in a bowle with ſalt and water (other ſauce they haue none) and then with the point of a knife, or a litle forke which they make for the ſame purpoſe (ſuch as wee vſe to take roſted peares or apples out of wine withal) they reach vnto euery one of the company a morſell or twaine, according to the multitude of gueſtes. The maſter of the houſe, before the rams fleſh be diſtributed, firſt of all himſelfe taketh thereof, what he pleaſeth. Alſo, if he giueth vnto any of the company a ſpeciall part, the receiuer therof muſt eat it alone, and muſt not impart ought therof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it vp all, he caries it with him, or deliuers it vnto his boy, if he be preſent, to keepe it: if not, he puts it vp into his Saptargat, that is to ſay, his foure ſquare buget, which they vſe to cary about with them for the ſauing of all ſuch prouiſion, and wherein they lay vp their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burniſh them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

How they make their drinke called *Coſmos.* *Chap.6.*

Their drinke called Coſmos, which is mares milke, is prepared after this maner. They faſten a long line vnto 2. poſts ſtanding firmely in the ground, & vnto the ſame line they tie the young foles of thoſe mares, which they mean to milke. Then come the dams to ſtand by their foles gently ſuffering themſelues to be milked. And if any of them be too vnruly, then one takes her fole, & puts it vnder her, letting it ſuck a while, and preſently carying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the ſaid mare. And hauing gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as ſweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powre it into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the ſaid bag with a piece of wood made for the purpoſe, hauing a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and ſo ſoone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, & to be ſower and ſharp of taſte, and they beate it in that maner till butter come thereof. Then taſte they thereof, and being indifferently ſharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the wine of raſpes, when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught therof, it leaueth behind it a taſte like the taſte of almon milke, and goeth downe very pleaſantly, intoxicating weake braines: alſo it cauſeth vrine to be auoided in great meaſure. Likewiſe Caracoſmos, that is to ſay black Coſmos, for great lords to drink, they make on this maner. Firſt they beat the ſaid milke ſo long till the thickeſt part thereof deſcend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remaineth aboue, being like vnto whay or white muſt. The ſaid lees or dregs being very white, are giuen to ſeruants, and will cauſe them to ſleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleare their maſters drinke: and in very deed it is marueilous ſweete and holeſome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirty cottages or granges within a daies iourney of his abiding place: euery one of which ſerueth him dayly with the Caracoſmos of an hundreth mares milk, and ſo all of them together euery day with the mil[illegible] of 3000. mares, beſides white milke which other of his ſubiects bring. For euen as the huſbandmen of Syria beſtow the third part of their fruicts and carie it vnto the courts of their lords, euen ſo doe they their mares milke euery third day. Out of their cowes milke they firſt churne butter, boyling the which butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams ſkinnes, which they reſerue for the ſame purpoſe. Neither doe they ſalte their butter: and yet by reaſon of the long ſeething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in ſtore for winter. The churnmilke which remaineth of the butter, they let alone till it be as ſowre as poſſibly it may be, then they boile it and in boiling, it is turned all into curdes, which curds they drie in the ſun, making them as hard as the droſſe of iron: and this kind of food alſo they ſtore vp in ſachels againſt winter. In the winter ſeaſon when milke faileth them, they put the foreſaid curds (which they cal Gry-vt) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it luſti[illegible]ll they haue reſolued it into the ſaid water, which is thereby made exceedingly ſowre, and that th[illegible]rinke in ſtead of milke. They are very ſcrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not [illegible]e water by it ſelfe.

Of the beaſtes which they eat, of their garments, and of their maner of hunting. *Chap.7.*

Great lords haue cottages or granges towards the South, from whence their tenants bring them Millet and meale againſt winter. The poorer ſort prouide themſelues of ſuch neceſſaries, for yͤ exchange of rams, & of other beaſts ſkins. The Tartars ſlaues fil their bellies with thick water, & are therewithall contented. They wil neither eate miſe with long tailes, nor any kinde of miſe with ſhort tailes. They haue alſo certaine litle beaſts called by thē Sogur, which lie in a caue twenty or thirty of them together, al the whole winter ſleeping there for the ſpace of ſixe moneths: and theſe they take in great abundance. There are alſo a kind of conies hauing long tayles like vnto cats: & on the outſide of their tailes grow blacke & white haires. They haue many other ſmall beaſts good to eat, which they know and diſcerne right well. I ſaw no Deere there, & but a fewe hares, but a great nūber of Roes. I ſaw wild aſſes in great abundance, which be like vnto Mules. Alſo I ſaw another kind of beaſt called Artak, hauing in al reſemblance the body of a ram, & crooked hornes, which are of ſuch bignes, that I could ſcarce lift vp a paire of them with one hand: & of theſe hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Falcons, Girfalcons, & other haukes in great plenty: all which they cary vpon their right hands: & they put alwaies about their Falcons necks a ſtring of leather, which hangeth down to yͤ midſt of their gorges, by the which ſtring, whē they caſt them off the fiſt at their game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads & breaſts of the ſayd haukes, leaſt they ſhould be toſſed vp & downe, & beaten with the wind, or leaſt they ſhould ſoare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals, by hunting & hauking. Concerning their garments and attire be it knowen vnto your Maieſtie, that out of Cataya & other regions of the Eaſt, out of Perſia alſo and other countries of the South, there are brought vnto them ſtuffes of ſilke, cloth of gold, & cotton cloth, which they weare in time of ſummer. But out of Ruſſia, Moxel, Bulgaria the greater, & Paſcatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kerſis (all which are Northerne regions & full of woods) & alſo out of many other countries of the North, which are ſubiect vnto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and coſtly ſkins of diuers ſortes (which I neuer ſaw in our countries) wherewithal they are clad in winter. And alwaies againſt winter they make themſelues two gownes, one with the fur inward to their ſkin, & another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind & ſnow, which for the moſt part are made of woolues ſkins, or Fox ſkins, or els of Papions. And whē they ſit within the houſe, they haue a finer gowne to weare. The poorer ſort make their vpper gowne of dogs or of goats ſkins. When they goe to hunt for wild beaſts, there meets a great company of them together, & inuironing the place round about, where they are ſure to find ſome game, by litle & litle they approch on al ſides, til they haue gotten the wild beaſts into the midſt, as it were into a circle, & then they diſcharge their arrowes at them. Alſo they make thēſelues breeches of ſkins. The rich Tartars ſomtimes fur their gowns with pelluce or ſilke ſhag, which is exceeding ſoft, light, & warme. The poorer ſort do line their clothes with cottō cloth which is made of the fineſt wooll they can pick out, & of the courſer part of the ſaid wool, they make felt to couer their houſes and their cheſts, and for their bedding alſo. Of the ſame wool, being mixed with one third part of horſe haire, they make all their cordage. They make alſo of the ſaid felt couerings for their ſtooles, and caps to defende their heads from the weather: for all which purpoſes they ſpend a great quantity of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attyre of the men.

Our falconers vſe the left fiſt. Another ſtrãge cuſtome, which I leaue to be ſcanned by falconers themſelues.

Great expenſe of wooll.

Of the faſhion which the *Tartars* vſe in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women. *Chap.* 8.

The men ſhaue a plot foure ſquare vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formoſt corners they ſhaue, as it were, two ſeames downe to their temples: they ſhaue alſo their temples and the hinder part of their head euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewiſe they ſhaue the forepart of their ſcalp downe to their foreheads, & vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of hayre reaching downe vnto their eye browes: vpon the two hindermoſt corners of of their heads, they haue two lockes alſo, which they twine and braid into knots and ſo bind and knit them vnder each eare one. Moreouer their womens garments differ not from their mens, ſauing that they are ſomwhat longer. But on the morrowe after one of their women is maried, ſhee ſhaues her ſcalpe from the middeſt of her head down to her forehead, & weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nuns hood, being open before and girt vnto them vnder the right ſide. For herein doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: becauſe the Turkes faſten their garments to their bodies on the left ſide: but the Tartars alwaies on the right ſide. They haue alſo an ornament for their heads which they call Botta, being made of the barke of a tree, or of ſome ſuch other lighter matter as they can find, which by reaſon of the thicknes & roundnes therof cannot be holden but in both hands together: & it hath a ſquare ſharp ſpire riſing frō the top therof, being more then a cubite in length, & faſhioned like vnto a pinacle. The ſaid Botta they couer al ouer with a piece of rich ſilke: & it is hollow within: & vpon the midſt of the ſayd ſpire or ſquare toppe, they put a bunch of quils or of ſlender canes a cubite long and more: & the ſayd bunch, on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacocks feathers, & round about al yͤ length therof, with the feathers of a Malards taile, & with precious ſtones alſo. Great ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads binding it ſtrongly with a certain hat or coyfe, which hath an hole in the crowne, fit for the ſpire to come through it: & vnder the foreſaid ornament they couer the haires of their heads, which they gather vp round together frõ the hinder part therof to the crowne, & ſo lay them vp in a knot or bundel within the ſaid Botta, which afterward they bind ſtrongly vnder their throtes. Hereupon when a great company of ſuch gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a far off, they ſeem to be ſouldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their launces vpright: for the ſaid Botta appeareth like an helmet with a launce ouer it. Al their women ſit on horſebacke beſtriding their horſes like men: & they bind their hoods or gownes about their waſtes with a ſkie coloured ſilke ſkarfe, & with another ſkarfe they girde it aboue their breaſts: & they bind alſo a piece of white ſilke like a mufler or maſke vnder their eyes, reaching down vnto their breaſt. Theſe gentlewomen are exceeding fat, & the leſſer their noſes be, the fairer are they eſteemed: they daube ouer their ſweet faces with greaſe too ſhamefully: and they neuer lie in bed for their trauel of childbirth.

Of the dueties inioined vnto the *Tartarian* women, and of their labours, and alſo of their mariages. *Chap.9.*

The duties of women are, to driue carts: to lay their houſes vpon carts & to take them downe again: to milke kine: to make butter & Gry-vt: to dreſſe ſkins & to ſow them, which they vſually ſowe with thread made of ſinewes, for they diuide ſinewes into ſlender threads, & then twine thẽ into one long thread. They make ſandals & ſocks & other garments. Howbeit they neuer waſh any apparel: for they ſay that God is then angry, & that dreadful thunder wil enſue, if waſhed garmẽts be hanged forth to drie: yea, they beat ſuch as waſh, & take their garments frõ them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thruſt all ſtrangers out of their houſes, & then wrapping thẽſelues in black felt, they lie hidden therein, til the thunder be ouerpaſt. They neuer waſh their diſhes or bowles: yea, when their fleſh is ſodden, they waſh the platter wherein it muſt be put, with ſcalding hot broth out of the pot, & then powre the ſaid broth into the pot againe. They make felte alſo, & couer their houſes therewith. The duties of the men are to make bowes & arrowes, ſtirrops, bridles, and ſaddles: to build houſes & carts, to keepe horſes: to milke mares: to churne Coſmos and mares milke, & to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe camels alſo & lay burthens vpon them. As for ſheepe & goates they tend and milke them, aſwell the men as the women. With ſheeps milke thicked & ſalted they dreſſe and tan their hides. When they wil waſh their hands or their heads, they fil their mouthes full of water, & ſpouting it into their hands by little and little, they ſprinckle their haire & waſh their heades therwith. As touching mariages, your Highnes is to vnderſtand, that no man can haue a wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon ſomtimes their maids are very ſtale before they be maried, for their parents alwaies keepe thẽ till they can ſel them. They keepe the firſt and ſecond degrees of conſanguinitie inuiolable, as we do: but they haue no regard of the degrees of affinity: for they wil marrie together, or by ſucceſſion, two ſiſters. Their widowes marie not at al, for this reaſon: becauſe they beleeue, that al who haue ſerued them in this life, ſhall do them ſeruice in the life to come alſo. Whereupon they are perſwaded, that euery widow after death ſhal returne vnto her own huſband. And herehence ariſeth an abominable & filthy cuſtome among them, namely that the ſonne marieth ſomtimes all his fathers wiues except his own mother: For the court or houſe of the father or mother falleth by inheritance alwaies to the yonger ſon. Wherupon he is to prouide for all his fathers wiues, becauſe they are part of his inheritance aſwel as his fathers poſſeſſions. And then if he will he vſeth them for his owne wiues: for he thinks it no iniurie or diſparagement vnto himſelfe, although they returne vnto his father after death. Therfore whẽ any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the ſaid damoſel makes him a feaſt: in the meane while ſhe fleeth vnto ſome of her kinſfolks to hide her ſelfe. Then ſaith her father vnto the bridegrome: Loe, my daughter is yours, take her whereſoeuer you can find her. Then he and his friends ſeek for her till they can find her, and hauing found her hee muſt take her by force and cary her, as it were, violently vnto his owne houſe.

Of their execution of iuſtice and iudgement: and of their deaths and burials. *Chap.10.*

Concerning their lawes or their execution of iuſtice, your Maieſty is to be aduertiſed, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himſelf to part them. Yea, the father dare not help his owne ſonne. But he that goes by the worſt muſt appeale vnto the court of his lord. And whoſoeuer els offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he muſt go preſently without all delay: and he that hath ſuffered the iniury, carieth him, as it were captiue. They puniſh no man with ſentence of death, vnles hee bee taken in the deede doing, or confeſſeth the ſame. But being accuſed by the multitude, they put him vnto extreame torture to make him confeſſe the trueth. They puniſh murther with death, and carnall copulation alſo with any other beſides his owne. By his own, I meane his wife or his maid ſeruant, for he may vſe his ſlaue as he liſteth himſelf. Heinous theft alſo or felony they puniſh with death. For a light theft, as namely for ſtealing of a ram, the party (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwiſe detected) is cruelly beaten. And if yͤ executioner laies on an 100. ſtrokes, he muſt haue an 100. ſtaues, namely for ſuch as are beaten vpon ſentẽce giuen in the court. Alſo counterfeit meſſengers, becauſe they feine themſelues to be meſſengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they puniſh with death. Sacrilegious perſons they vſe in like maner (of which kind of malefactors your Maieſty ſhall vnderſtand more fully hereafter) becauſe they eſteeme ſuch to be witches. When any man dieth, they lament & howle moſt pitifully for him: & the ſaid mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Alſo whoſoeuer is preſent at the houſe where any one growen to mans eſtate lieth dead, he muſt not enter into the court of Mangu-Can til one whole yere be expired. If it were a child deceaſed he muſt not enter into the ſaid court til the next moneth after. Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceaſed they alwaies leaue one cottage. If any of their nobles (being of the ſtock of Chingis, who was their firſt lord & father) deceaſeth, his ſepulcher is vnknowen. And alwayes about thoſe places where they interre their nobles, there is one houſe of men to keep the ſepulchers. I could not learn that they vſe to hide treaſures in the graues of their dead. The Comaniãs build a great toomb ouer their dead, & erect the image of the dead party thereupon, with his face towards the Eaſt, holding a drinking cup in his hand, before his nauel. They erect alſo vpon the monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to ſay, litle ſharpe houſes or pinacles: & in ſome places I ſaw mighty towers made of brick, in other places Pyramides made of ſtones, albeit there are no ſtones to be found thereabout. I ſaw one newly buried, in whoſe behalfe they hanged vp 16. horſe hides, vnto each quarter of the world 4, betweene certain high poſts: & they ſet beſides his graue Coſmos for him to drink, & fleſh to eat: & yet they ſayd that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of ſepulchers alſo towards the Eaſt: namely large flowres or pauemẽts made of ſtone, ſome roũd & ſome ſquare, & then 4. long ſtones pitched vpright, about the ſaid pauement towards the 4. regions of the world. When any man is ſicke, he lieth in his bed, & cauſeth a ſigne to be ſet vpon his houſe, to ſignifie that there lieth a ſicke perſon there, to the end that no man may enter into the ſayd houſe: whereupon none at all viſit any ſicke party but his ſeruant only. Moreouer, when any one is ſicke in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to ſtand round about the ſaid court, who wil not ſuffer any perſon to enter within the precincts thereof. For they feare leaſt euill ſpirits or winds ſhould come together with the parties that enter in. They eſteeme of ſoothſayers, as of their prieſts.

Of our firſt entrance among the *Tartars*, and of their ingratitude. *Chap.* 11.

AND being come amõgſt thoſe barbarous people, me thought (as I ſaid before) yͭ I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horſe back, after they had made vs a long time to awaite for them ſitting in the ſhadow, vnder their black carts. The firſt queſtion which they demanded was whether we had euer bin with them heretofore, or no? And giuing thẽ anſwere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals frõ vs. And we gaue them ſome of our biſket & wine, which we had brought with vs from the towne of Soldaia. And hauing drunke off one flagon of our wine they demanded another, ſaying, that a man goeth not into the houſe with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excuſing our ſelues that we had but a litle. Then they aſked vs, whence we came, & whither we were bound? I anſwered them with the words aboue mentioned: that we had heard concerning duke Sartach, that he was become a Chriſtian, & that vnto him our determination was to trauel, hauing your Maieſties letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquiſitiue to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I were ſent? I anſwered that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnles I my ſelfe had bin willing: & that therefore I was come according to mine own wil, & to the will of my ſuperior. I tooke diligent heed neuer to ſay that I was your Maieſties ambaſſador. Then they aſked what I had in my carts; whether it were gold or ſiluer, or rich garments to carie vnto Sartach? I anſwered that Sartach ſhould ſee what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, & that they had nothing to do to aſke ſuch queſtions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their captaine, and that he, if he thought good, ſhould cauſe me to be directed vnto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the ſame prouince one of Baatu his kinſmen called Scacati, vnto whom my lord the Emperor of Conſtantinople had written letters of requeſt, to ſuffer me to paſſe through his territory. With this anſwere of ours they were ſatiſfied, giuing vs horſes & oxen, & two men to conduct vs. Howbeit before they would allow vs the foreſayd neceſſaries for our iourney, they made vs to awayt a long while, begging our bread for their yong brats, wondering at all things which they ſawe about our ſeruants, as their kniues, gloues, purſes, & points, and deſiring to haue them. I excuſed my ſelf that we had a long way to trauel, & that we muſt in no wiſe ſo ſoon depriue our ſelues of things neceſſary, to finiſh ſo long a iourney. Then they ſaid that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force frō me: howbeit they wil beg that which they ſee very importunatly & ſhameleſly. And if a man beſtow ought vpon thē, it is but coſt loſt, for they are thankles wretches. They eſteeme thēſelues lords & think ẏ nothing ſhould be denied thē by any man. If a man giues them nought, & afterward ſtands in neede of their ſeruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their cowes milke to drink after ẏ butter was cherned out of it, being very ſower, which they cal Apram. And ſo we departed from thē. And in very deed it ſeemed to me ẏ we were eſcaped out of the hands of diuels. On the morrow we were come vnto the captain. From the time wherin we departed frō Soldaia, till we arriued at the court of Sartach, which was the ſpace of two moneths, we neuer lay in houſe or tent, but alwaies vnder the ſtarry canopy, & in the open aire, or vnder our carts. Neither yet ſaw we any village, nor any mention of building where a village had bin, but the graues of the Comanians in great abundance. The ſame euening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs ſome Coſmos. After I had drunke thereof I ſweat moſt extreamly for the noueltie and ſtrangenes, becauſe I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithſtanding me thought it was very ſauory, as indeed it was.

Of the court of *Scacatai*: and how the Chriſtians drinke no *Coſmos*. *Chap.* 12.

ON the morrowe after we met with the cartes of Scacatai laden with houſes, and me thought that a mighty citie came to meete me. I wōdered alſo at the great multitude of huge droues of oxen, & horſes, and at the flockes of ſheepe. I could ſee but a fewe men that guided all theſe matters: wherupon I inquired how many men he had vnder him, & they told me that he had not aboue 500. in all, the one halfe of which number we were come paſt, as they lay in another lodging. Then the ſeruant which was our guide told me, that I muſt preſent ſomwhat vnto Scacatay: & ſo he cauſed vs to ſtay, going himſelfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was paſt three of the clocke, and they vnladed their houſes nere vnto a certain water: And there came vnto vs his interpreter, who being aduertiſed by vs that wee were neuer there before, demanded ſome of our victuals, & we yeelded vnto his requeſt. Alſo he required of vs ſome garment for a reward, becauſe he was to interpret our ſayings vnto his maſter. Howbeit we excuſed our ſelues as well as wee could. Then he aſked vs, what we would preſent vnto his Lord? And we tooke a flagon of wine, & filled a maund with biſket, & a platter with apples & other fruits. But he was not contented therewith, becauſe we brought him not ſome rich garment. Notwithſtanding we entred ſo into his preſence with feare and baſhfulnes. He ſate vpon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife ſate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her noſe betweene the eyes, that ſhe might ſeeme to be more flat and ſaddle-noſed: for ſhe had left her ſelfe no noſe at all in that place, hauing anointed the very ſame place with a black ointment, and her eye browes alſo: which ſight ſeemed moſt vgly in our eies. Then I rehearſed vnto him the ſame wordes, which I had ſpoken in other places before. For it ſtoode vs in hand to vſe one and the ſame ſpeech in all places. For we were wel forewarned of this circumſtance by ſome which had been amongſt the Tartars, that we ſhould neuer varie in our tale. Then I beſought him, that he would vouchſafe to accept that ſmall gifte at our hands, excuſing my ſelfe that I was a Monke, and that it was againſt our profeſſion to poſſeſſe gold, or ſiluer, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any ſuch thing to giue him, howbeit he ſhould receiue ſome part of our victuals in ſtead of a bleſſing. Hereupon he cauſed our preſent to be receiued, and immediately diſtributed the ſame among his men, who were mette together for the ſame purpoſe, to drinke and make merrie. I deliuered alſo vnto him the Emperor of Conſtantinople his letters (this was eight dayes after the feaſt of Aſcenſion) who ſent them forthwith to Soldaia to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in Greeke, and he had none about him that was ſkilfull in the Greeke tongue. He aſked vs alſo whether we would drink any Coſmos, that is to ſay mares milke? (For thoſe that are Chriſtians among them, as namely the Ruſſians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keep their own law very ſtrictly, wil in no caſe drinke thereof, yea, they accompt themſelues no Chriſtians after they haue once drunke of it, & their prieſts reconcile them vnto the Church as if they had renounced the Chriſtian faith.) I gaue him anſwere, that we had as yet ſufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke failed vs, we muſt be conſtrained to drink ſuch as ſhould be giuen vnto vs. He enquired alſo what was contained in our letters, which your Maieſtie ſent vnto Sartach? I anſwered: that they were ſealed vp, and that there was nothing conteined in them, but good and friendly wordes. And he aſked what wordes wee would deliuer vnto Sartach? I anſwered: the words of Chriſtian faith. He aſked again what theſe words were? For he was very deſirous to heare thē. Then I expounded vnto him as well as I

A caueat right worthy the noting.

could, by mine interpreter, (who had no wit nor any vtterance of ſpeech) the Apoſtles creed. Which after he had heard, holding his peace, he ſhooke his head. Then hee aſſigned vnto vs two men, who ſhoulde giue attendance vpon our ſelues, vpon our horſes, and vpon our Oxen. And hee cauſed vs to ride in his companie, till the meſſenger whome hee had ſent for the inteepretation of the Emperours letters, was returned. And ſo wee traueiled in his companie till the morowe after Pentecoſt.

Howe the Alanians came vnto vs on Pentecoſt or Whitſon euen. *Chap.*13.

VPon the euen of Pentecoſt, there came vnto vs certaine Alanians, who are there called * Acias, being Chriſtians after the maner of the Grecians, vſing greeke bookes and Grecian prieſts: howbeit they are not ſchiſmatiques as the Grecians are, but without acceptiõ of perſons, they honour al Chriſtiãs. And they brought vnto vs ſodden fleſh, requeſting vs to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company being dead. Then I ſayd, becauſe it was the euen of ſo great and ſo ſolemne a feaſt day, that we would not eate any fleſh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the ſolemnitie of the ſayd feaſt, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Chriſtian religion, except only the name of Chriſt. They and many other Chriſtians, both Ruſſians, and Hungarians demanded of vs, whether they might be ſaued or no, becauſe they were conſtrained to drinke Coſmos, & to eate the dead carkaſes of ſuch things, as were ſlaine by the Saracens, and other infidels: Which euen the Greeke & Ruſſian prieſts themſelues alſo eſteeme as things ſtrangled or offered vnto idoles: becauſe they were ignorant of the times of faſting, neither could they haue obſerued them albeit they had knowen them. Then inſtructed I them aſwell as I could and ſtrengthened them in the faith. As for the fleſh which they had brought we reſerued it vntill the feaſt day. For there was nothing to be ſold among the Tartars for gold & ſiluer, but only for cloth and garments, of the which kind of marchandiſe wee had none at all. When our ſeruants offered them any coine called Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noſes, to try by the ſmell whether it were copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any foode but cowes milke onely which was very ſowre & filthy. There was one thing moſt neceſſary greatly wanting vnto vs. For the water was ſo foule and muddy by reaſon of their horſes, that it was not meete to be drink. And but for certaine biſket, which was by the goodnes of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly periſhed.

*Or, Akas.

Cloth is the chiefe marchã-diſe in Tartarie.

Of a Saracen which ſaid that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which ſeemed to be lepers. *Chap.*14.

VPon the day of Pentecoſt there came vnto vs a certain Saracen, vnto whome, as hee talked with vs, we expounded the Chriſtian faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited vnto mankind by the incarnation of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the reſurrectiou of the dead, & the iudgement to come, & that in baptiſme was a waſhing away of ſinnes) ſayd, that hee would be baptized. But when we prepared our ſelues to the baptizing of him, he ſuddenly mounted on horſebacke, ſaying thae he would goe home and conſult with his wife what were beſt to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durſt in no caſe receiue baptiſme, becauſe then he ſhould drinke no more Coſmos. For the Chriſtians of that place affirme that no true Chriſtians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the ſaid liquor he could not liue in that deſert. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowen of a certainty vnto your highnes, that they are much eſtranged from the Chriſtian faith by reaſon of that opinion which hath bin broached & confirmed among them by the Ruſſians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The ſame day Scacatay the captaine aforeſayd gaue vs one man to conduct vs to Sartach, and two other to guide vs vnto the next lodging, which was diſtant from that place fiue dayes iourney for oxen to trauell. They gaue vnto vs alſo a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, & but a little Coſmos, becauſe it is of ſo great eſtimation among them. And ſo taking our iourney directly toward the North, me thought that wee had paſſed through one of hell gates. The ſeruants which conducted vs begau to play the bold theeues with vs, ſeeing vs take ſo little heed vnto our ſelues. At length hauing loſt much by their theeuery, harme taught vs wiſdome. And then we came vnto the extremity of that prouince, which is fortified with a ditch from one ſea vnto another: without the bounds whereof their lodging was ſituate. Into the which, ſo ſoone as we had entred, al the inhabitants there ſeemed vnto vs to be infected with leproſie: for certain baſe fellowes were placed there to receiue tribute of al ſuch as tooke ſalt out of the ſalt pits aforeſaid. From that place

Salt pits.

they told vs that we muſt trauel fifteen daies iourney, before we ſhuld find any other people. With them wee dranke Coſmos, and gaue vnto them a baſket full of fruites and of biſket. And they gaue vnto vs eight oxen and one goate, to ſuſtaine vs in ſo great a iourney, and I knowe not how many bladders of milke. And ſo changing our oxen, we tooke our iourney which we finiſhed in tenne dayes, arriuing at another lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certaine ditches made in the valleys, except two ſmall riuers. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foreſaid prouince of Gaſaria, we trauailed directly Eaſtward, hauing a Sea on the South ſide of vs, and a waſte deſert on the North, which deſert, in ſome places, reacheth twenty dayes iourney in breadth; and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor ſtone therein. And it is moſt excellent paſture. Here the Comanians, which were called Capthac, were wont to feede their cattell. Howbeit by the Dutch men they are called Valani, and the prouince it ſelfe Valania. But Iſidore calleth all that tract of land ſtretching from the riuer of Tanais to the lake of Męotis, and ſo along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. And the ſame land continueth in length from Danubius vnto Tanais (which diuideth Aſia from Europe) for the ſpace of two moneths iourney, albeit a man ſhould ride poſte as faſt as the Tartars vſe to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the Comanians, called Capthac: yea and beyond Tanais, as farre as the riuer of Edil or Volga: the ſpace betweene the two which riuers is a great and long iourney to bee trauailed in ten dayes. To the North of the ſame prouince lieth Ruſſia, which is full of wood in all places, and ſtretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, euen to the riuer of Tanais: and it hath bene waſted all ouer by the Tartars, and as yet is daily waſted by them.

Ten dayes iourney.

The length of Comania.

Ruſſia.

Of our afflictions which we ſuſtained: and of the Comanians maner of buriall. *Chap.* 15.

They preferre the Saracens before the Ruſſians, becauſe they are Chriſtians, and when they are able to giue them no more golde nor ſiluer, they driue them and their children like flockes of ſheepe into the wildernes, conſtraining them to keepe their cattell there. Beyond Ruſſia lieth the countrey of Pruſſia, which the Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem haue of late wholly conquered and ſubdued. And in very deede they might eaſily winne Ruſſia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars ſhould but once know, that the great Prieſt, that is to ſay, the Pope did cauſe the enſigne of the croſſe to bee diſplaied againſt them, they would flee all into their deſert and ſolitarie places. We therefore went on towards the Eaſt, ſeeing nothing but heauen and earth, and ſometimes the ſea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the ſepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kinred altogether. So long as we were trauelling through the deſert, it went reaſonably well with vs. For I cannot ſufficiently expreſſe in wordes the irkeſome and tedious troubles which I ſuſteined, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a preſent, and our expenſes would not extend ſo farre. For we were euery day eight perſons of vs ſpending our waifaring prouiſion, for the Tartars ſeruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our ſelues were fiue in number, and the ſeruants our guides were three, two to driue our carts, and one to conduct vs vnto Sartach. The fleſh which they gaue vs was not ſufficient for vs: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we ſate vnder our carts in the coole ſhadowe, by reaſon of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did ſo importunately and ſhameleſly intrude themſelues into our companie, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to ſee whatſoeuer things we had. Hauing liſt at any time to eaſe themſelues, the filthy lozels had not the maners to withdrawe themſelues farther from vs, then a beane can bee caſt. Yea, like vile ſlouens they would lay their tailes in our preſence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were moſt tedious and loathſome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieued me to the very heart, that when I would vtter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my fooliſh interpreter would ſay: you ſhall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearſe any ſuch wordes. And true it was which he ſaide, For I perceiued afterward, when I began to haue a litle ſmattering in the language, that when I ſpake one thing, he would ſay quite another, whatſoeuer came next vnto his witleſſe tongues end. Then ſeeing the danger I might incurre in ſpeaking by ſuch an interpreter, I reſolued much rather to holde my peace, and thus we traueiled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a fewe dayes before the feaſt of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arriued at the banke of the mightie riuer Tanais which diuideth Aſia from Europa, euen as the riuer Nilus of Ægypt diſioyneth Aſia from Africa. At the ſame place where wee arriued, Baatu and Sartach did cauſe a certaine cottage

Pruſſia.

Extreme heate in Sommer.

Tanais.

The breadth of Tanais.

He is much deceiued.

About the beginning of Auguſt, the Tartars returne Southward.

tage to be built, vpon the Eaſterne banke of the riuer, for a companie of Ruſſians to dwell in, to the ende they might tranſport Ambaſſadours and merchants in ferrie-boates ouer that part of the riuer. Firſt they ferried vs ouer, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one lyter, and the other wheele into another lyter, hauing bounde both the lyters together, and ſo they rowe them ouer. In this place our guide played the foole moſt extreamely. For hee imagining that the ſaid Ruſſians, dwelling in the cottage, ſhould haue prouided vs horſes, ſent home the beaſts which we brought with vs, in another cart, ẏ they might returne vnto their owne maſters. And when we demanded to haue ſome beaſts of thē, they anſwered, that they had a priuiledge from Baatu, whereby they were bound to none other ſeruice, but only to ferry ouer goers & commers: and that they receiued great tribute of marchants in regard therof. We ſtaied therfore by the ſaid riuers ſide three daies. The firſt day they gaue vnto vs a great freſh turbut: the ſecond day they beſtowed rye bread, and a litle fleſh vpon vs, which the purueyer of the village had taken vp at euerie houſe for vs: and the third day dried fiſhes, which they haue there in great abundance. The ſaide riuer was euen as broad in that place, as the riuer of Sein is at Paris. And before we came there, we paſſed ouer many goodly waters, and full of fiſh: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them: neither do they make any reckoning of any fiſh, except it be ſo great, that they may pray vpon the fleſh therof, as vpon the fleſh of a ram. This riuer is the limite of the Eaſt part of Ruſſia, and it ſpringeth out of the fennes of Mæotis, which fennes ſtretch vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certain great ſea 700. miles about, before it falleth into the ſea called Põtus Euxinus. And al the riuers, which we paſſed ouer, ran with ful ſtream into thoſe quarters. The foreſaid riuer hath great ſtore of wood alſo growing vpon the Weſt ſide thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars aſcend no farther vnto the North: for at that ſeaſon of the yeere, about the firſt of Auguſt, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therfore there is another cottage ſomwhat lower, where paſſengers are ferried ouer in Winter time. And in this place wee were driuen to great extremitie, by reaſon that we could get neither horſes, nor oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Chriſtians, they ſent vs oxen & men; howbeit we our ſelues were faine to trauel on foote. At this time they were reaping their rye. Wheat proſpereth not wel in that ſoile. They haue the ſeed of Millium in great abundance. The Ruſſian women attire their heads like vnto our women. They imbroder their ſafegards or gowns on the outſide, from their feet vnto their knees with particoloured or grey ſtuffe. The Ruſſian men weare caps like vnto the Dutch men. Alſo they weare vpon their heads certain ſharpe, & high-crowned hats made of felt, much like vnto a ſugar loafe. Then traueiled we 3. daies together, not finding any people. And when our ſelues and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far off we ſhould find any Tartars, on the ſudden, there came two horſes running towards vs, which we tooke with great ioy, and our guide and interpreter mounted vpon their backes, to ſee, how far off they could deſcry any people. At length vpon the fourth day of our iourney, hauing found ſome inhabitants, we reioyced like ſea-faring men, which had eſcaped out of a dangerous tempeſt, and had newly recouered the hauen. Then hauing taken freſh horſes, and oxen, we paſſed on from lodging to lodging, till at the laſt, vpon the ſecond of the Kalends of Auguſt, we arriued at the habitation of Duke Sartach himſelfe.

Of the dominion of Sartach, and of his Subiects. *Chap. 16.*

The people of Moxel are Pagans.

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

The circuite of the Caſpian ſea.

The region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly countrey, hauing ſtore of riuers and woods toward the North part thereof. There be mighty huge woods which two ſorts of people do inhabite. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without law. They haue neither townes nor cities, but only cottages in ẏ woods. Their lord & a great part of themſelues were put to the ſword in high Germanie. Whereupon they highly commend the braue courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any merchant come vnto them, he muſt prouide things neceſſary for him, with whom he is firſt of all enterteined, all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another mans wife, her huſband, vnles he be an eiewitnes therof, regardeth it not: for they are not ielous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of hogs, and great ſtore of hony & waxe, and diuers ſorts of rich & coſtly ſkins, and plentie of falcons. Next vnto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines cal Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the riuer of Etilia or Volga, which is ẏ mightieſt riuer that euer I ſaw. And it iſſueth from the North part of Bulgaria the greater, & ſo trending along Southward, diſimboqueth into a certain lake cōtaining in circuit the ſpace of 4. moneths trauel, whereof I will ſpeak hereafter. The two foreſaid riuers, namely Tanais & Etilia, otherwiſe called Volga, towards the Northren regions through the which we traueiled, are not diſtāt aſunder aboue x. daies iourney, but Southward they are diuided a great ſpace one from another. For Tanais deſcẽdeth into the ſea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foreſaid ſea or lake, with the help of many other riuers which fal therinto out of Perſia. And we had to the South of vs huge high mountains, vpon the ſides whereof, towards the ſaid deſert, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Chriſtians, & wage warre againſt the Tartars. Beyond thẽ, next vnto the ſea or lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in ſubiection vnto the Tartars. Beyond theſe is Porta ferrea, or the yron gate, nowe called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous nations out of Perſia. Concerning the ſituation whereof, your maieſtie ſhall vnderſtand more about the end of this Treatiſe: for I trauailed in my returne by the very ſame place. Betweene the two foreſaid riuers, in the regions through the which we paſſed did the Comanians of olde time inhabite, before they were ouerrun by the Tartars.

Kergis or Aas.

The Saracens called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbent.

Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof. *Chap.* 17.

AND we found Sartach lying within three daies iourney of the riuer Etilia: whoſe Court ſeemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himſelfe had ſixe wiues, and his eldeſt ſonne alſo had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great houſe, & they haue ech one of them about 200. cartes. Our guide went vnto a certaine Neſtorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartachs Court. He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lordes gate. For ſo they call him, who hath the office of enterteining Ambaſſadours. In the euening Coiac commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our guide began to enquire what we would preſent him withal, & was exceedingly offended, when he ſaw that we had nothing ready to preſent. We ſtoode before him, and he ſate maieſtically, hauing muſicke and dauncing in his preſence. Then I ſpake vnto him in the wordes before recited, telling him, for what purpoſe I was come vnto his lorde, and requeſting ſo much fauour at his hands, as to bring our letters vnto the ſight of his Lord. I excuſed my ſelfe alſo, that I was a Monke, not hauing, nor receiuing, nor vſing any golde, or ſiluer, or any other precious thing, ſaue onely our bookes, and the veſtiments wherein wee ſerued God: and that this was the cauſe why I brought no preſent vnto him, nor vnto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a tranſporter of things for other men. Then hee anſwered very courteouſly, that being a Monke, and ſo doing, I did well: for ſo I ſhould obſerue my vowe: neither did himſelfe ſtand in neede of ought that we had, but rather was readie to beſtow vpon vs ſuch things as we our ſelues ſtood in neede of: and he cauſed vs to ſit downe, and to drinke of his milke. And preſently after he requeſted vs to ſay our deuotions for him: and we did ſo. He enquired alſo who was the greateſt Prince among the Franckes? And I ſaide, the Emperour, if he could inioy his owne dominions in quiet. No (quoth he) but the king of France. For he had heard of your Highnes by lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there alſo one of the Knights of the Temple, who had bene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he ſawe there. Then returned wee vnto our lodging. And on the morow we ſent him a flagon of Muſcadel wine (which had laſted very wel in ſo long a iourney) and a boxe full of biſket, which was moſt acceptable vnto him. And he kept our ſeruants with him for that euening. The next morning he commanded me to come vnto the Court, and to bring the kings letters and my veſtimentes, and bookes with me: becauſe his Lorde was deſirous to ſee them. Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and veſtiments, and another with biſket, wine, and fruites. Then he cauſed all our bookes and veſtiments to bee laide forth. And there ſtoode round about vs many Tartars, Chriſtians and Saracens on horſeback. At the ſight whereof, he demanded whether I would beſtow all thoſe things vpon his Lord or no? Which ſaying made me to tremble, and grieued me full ſore. Howbeit, diſſembling our griefe as well as we could, we ſhaped him this anſwere: Sir, our humble requeſt is, that our Lorde your maſter would vouchſafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruits, not as a preſent, becauſe it is too meane, but as a benediction, leaſt we ſhould come with an emptie hand before him. And he ſhall ſee the letters of my ſoueraigne Lord the king, and by them he ſhall vnderſtand for what cauſe we are come vnto him, and then both our ſelues, and all that we haue, ſhall ſtand to his curteſie: for our veſtiments be holy, and it is vnlawfull for any but Prieſts to touch them. Then he commaunded vs to inueſt our ſelues in the ſaide garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and wee did ſo. Then I my ſelfe putting on our moſt precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cuſhion, and the Bible which your Maieſty gaue me, and a moſt beautifull Pſalter, which the Queenes Grace beſtowed vpon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine aſſociate tooke a miſſal and a croſſe: and the clearke hauing put on his ſurpleſſe, tooke a cenſer in his hand. And ſo wee came vnto the preſence of his Lord: and they lifted vp the felt hanging before his doore, that hee might

Coiat the Neſtorian.

behold vs. Then they cauſed the clearke and the interpreter thriſe to bow the knee: but of vs they required no ſuch ſubmiſſion. And they diligently admoniſhed vs to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, we touched not the threſhold of the houſe, and requeſted vs to ſing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, ſinging Salue Regina. And within the entrance of the doore, ſtood a bench with coſmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his wiues were there aſſembled. Alſo the Moals or rich Tartars thruſting in with vs preſſed vs ſore. Then Coiat caried vnto his lord the cenſer with incenſe, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward hee caried the Pſalter vnto him, which he looked earneſtly vpon, and his wife alſo that ſate beſide him. After that he caried the Bible: then Sartach aſked if the Goſpel were contained therein? Yea (ſaid I) and all the holy ſcriptures beſides. He tooke the croſſe alſo in his hand, and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Chriſt or no? I ſaid it was. The Neſtorians & the Armenians do neuer make the figure of Chriſt vpõ their croſſes. Wherfore either they ſeem not to think wel of his paſſion, or els they are aſhamed of it. Then he cauſed them that ſtood about vs, to ſtand aſide, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterward I deliuered vnto him your Maieſties letters, with the tranſlation therof into the Arabike, & Syriake languages. For I cauſed them to be tranſlated at Acon into the character, & dialect of both the ſaide tongues. And there were certain Armenian prieſts, which had ſkil in the Turkiſh & Arabian languages. The aforeſaid knight alſo of the order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkiſh, & Arabiantongues. Then we departed forth, and put off our veſtiments, and there came vnto vs certaine Scribes together with the foreſaid Coiat, & cauſed our letters to be interpreted. Which letters being heard, he cauſed our bread, wine and fruits to be receiued. And he permitted vs alſo to carie our veſtiments and bookes vnto our owne lodging. This was done vpon the feaſt of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good conſequence.

How they were giuen in charge to goe vnto Baatu the Father of Sartach. *Chap.* 18.

The next morning betimes came vnto vs a certaine Prieſt, who was brother vnto Coiat, requeſting to haue our boxe of Chriſme, becauſe Sartach (as he ſaid) was deſirous to ſee it: and ſo we gaue it him. About euentide Coiat ſent for vs, ſaying: My lord your king wrote good words vnto my lord and maſter Sartach. Howbeit there are certaine matters of difficulty in them concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduiſe and counſell of his father. And therfore of neceſſitie you muſt depart vnto his father, leauing behind you the two carts, which you brought hither yeſterday with veſtiments and bookes, in my cuſtodie: becauſe my lorde is deſirous to take more diligent view thereof. I preſently ſuſpecting what miſchiefe might enſue by his couetouſnes, ſaid vnto him: Sir, we will not onely leaue thoſe with you, but the two other carts alſo, which we haue in our poſſeſſion, will we commit vnto your cuſtodie. You ſhall not (quoth he) leaue thoſe behinde you, but for the other two carts firſt named, we will ſatiſfie your requeſt. I ſaide that this could not conueniently be done: but needes we muſt leaue all with him. Then he aſked, whether we meant to tarie in the land? I anſwered: If you throughly vnderſtand the letters of my lorde the king, you know that we are euen ſo determined. Then he replied, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and ſo we departed from him that euening. On the morrowe after he ſent a Neſtorian Prieſt for the carts, and we cauſed all the foure carts to be deliuered. Then came the foreſaid brother of Coiat to meet vs, and ſeparated all thoſe things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court, from the reſt, namely, the bookes and veſtiments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we ſhould carie thoſe veſtiments with vs, which wee ware in the preſence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if neede ſhould require: but the ſaid Prieſt tooke them from vs by violence, ſaying: thou haſt brought them vnto Sartach, and wouldeſt thou carie them vnto Baatu? And when I would haue rendred a reaſon, he anſwered: be not too talkatiue, but goe your wayes. Then I ſawe that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no acceſſe vnto Sartach himſelfe, neither was there any other, that would doe vs iuſtice. I was afraide alſo in regard of the interpreter, leaſt he had ſpoken other things then I ſaide vnto him: for his will was good that we ſhould haue giuen away all that wee had. There was yet one comfort remaining vnto me: for when I once perceiued their couetous intent, I conueyed from among our bookes the Bible, and the ſentences, and certaine other bookes which I made ſpeciall account of. Howbeit I durſt not take away the Pſalter of my ſoueraigne Lady the Queene, becauſe it was too wel known, by reaſon of the golden pictures therein. And ſo we returned with the two other carts vnto our lodging. Then came he that was appointed to be our guide vnto the court of Baatu, willing vs to take our iourney in all poſte-haſte: vnto whom I ſaid, that I would in no caſe haue the carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto Coiat. Then Coiat commaunded, that we ſhould leaue them and our ſeruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And ſo traueling directly Eaſtward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the ſtreams whereof when I beheld, I wondered from what regions of the North ſuch huge and mighty waters ſhould deſcend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foreſaid Coiat, with many other Scribes of the court ſaid vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a Chriſtian, but a Moal. Becauſe the name of a Chriſtian ſeemeth vnto them to be the name of ſome nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeue perhaps ſome things concerning Chriſt, yet will they not bee called Chriſtians, being deſirous that their owne name, that is to ſay, Moal ſhould be exalted aboue all other names. Neither wil they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars wil be called Moal.

Howe Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reuerence vnto Chriſtians. *Chap.* 19.

AT the ſame time when the French-men tooke Antioch, a certaine man named Con Can had dominion ouer the Northren regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authority or dignitie, which ſignifieth a diuiner or ſoothſayer. All diuiners are called Can amongſt them. Whereupon their princes are called Can, becauſe that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by diuination. Wee doe reade alſo in the hiſtorie of Antiochia, that the Turkes ſent for aide againſt the French-men, vnto the kingdome of Con Can. For out of thoſe parts the whole nation of the Turkes firſt came. The ſaid Con was of the nation of Kara-Catay. Kara ſignifieth blacke, and Catay is the name of a countrey. So that Kara-Catay ſignifieth the blacke Catay. This name was giuen to make a difference betweene the foreſaid people, and the people of Catay, inhabiting Eaſtward ouer againſt ẏ Ocean ſea: concerning whom your maieſty ſhall vnderſtand more hereafter. Theſe Catayans dwelt vpon certaine Alpes, by the which I trauailed. And in a certain plaine countrey within thoſe Alpes, there inhabited a Neſtorian ſhepheard, being a mighty gouernour ouer the people called Yayman, which were Chriſtians, following the ſect of Neſtorius. After the death of Con Can, the ſaid Neſtorian exalted himſelfe to the kingdome, and they called him King Iohn, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For ſo the Neſtorians which come out of thoſe parts, vſe to doe. For they blaze abroade great rumors, and reports vpon iuſt nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Chriſtian, and the like alſo they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely becauſe theſe Tartars make more account of Chriſtians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deede, themſelues are no Chriſtians. So likewiſe there went foorth a great report concerning the ſaid king Iohn. Howbeit, when I trauailed along by his territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a fewe Neſtorians. In his paſtures or territories dwelleth Ken Can, at whoſe Court Frier Andrew was. And I my ſelfe paſſed by it at my returne. This Iohn had a brother, being a mightie man alſo, and a ſhepheard like himſelfe, called Vut, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara Catay, being diſtant from his brother Iohn, the ſpace of three weekes iourney. He was lord ouer a certain village, called Cara Carum, hauing people alſo for his ſubiects, named Crit, or Merkit, who were Chriſtians of the ſect of Neſtorius. But their Lorde abandoning the worſhip of Chriſt, followed after idoles, reteining with him Prieſts of the ſaide idoles, who all of them are worſhippers of deuils and ſorcerers. Beyond his paſtures ſome tenne or fifteene dayes iourney, were the paſtures of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly nation, without gouernour, and without Lawe, except their ſoothſayings, and their diuinations, vnto the which deteſtable ſtudies, all in thoſe partes doe apply their mindes. Neere vnto Moal were other poore people called Tartars. The foreſaid king Iohn died without iſſue male, and thereupon his brother Vut was greatly inriched, and cauſed himſelfe to be named Can: and his droues and flockes raunged euen vnto the borders of Moal. About the ſame time there was one Cyngis, a blacke ſmith among the people of Moal. This Cyngis ſtole as many cattel from Vut Can, as he could poſſibly get: inſomuch that the ſhepheards of Vut complained vnto their Lord. Then prouided he an armie, and marched vp into the countrey of Moal to ſeeke for the ſaide Cyngis. But Cyngis fledde among the Tartars, and hidde himſelfe amongeſt them. And Vut hauing taken ſome ſpoiles both from Moal, and alſo from the Tartars, returned home. Then ſpake Cyngis vnto the Tartars, and vnto the people of Moal, ſaying: Sirs, becauſe we are deſtitute of a gouernour and Captaine, you ſee howe our neighbours do oppreſſe vs. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then hauing ſecretly gathered together an armie, he brake in ſuddenly vpon Vut, and ouercame him, and Vut fledde into Cataya. At the ſame time was the daughter of Vut taken, which Cyngis maried

This hiſtory of Preſbiter Iohn in the North-eaſt, is alleadged at large by Gerardus Mercator in his generall mappe.

From whence the Turkes firſt ſprang.

An Ocean ſea.

Nayman.

Preſbiter Iohn.

The place of Ken Kan his aboade.

Vut Can, or Vut Can.

The village of Cara Carum.

Crit and Merkit.

Moal in olde time a beggerly people.

The place of the Tartars.

Cyngis.

Mangu-Can.

Mancherule.

married vnto one of his ſonnes, by whom ſhe conceiued, & brought forth the great Can, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Then Cyngis ſent ẏ Tartars before him in al places where he came: and thereupon was their name publiſhed and ſpread abroade: for in all places the people woulde crie out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are nowe, all of them in a maner, conſumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals indeuour what they can, to extinguiſh the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The countrey wherein they firſt inhabited, and where the Court of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But becauſe Tartaria is the region, about which they haue obtained their conqueſts, they eſteeme that as their royall and chiefe citie, and there for the moſt part doe they elect their great Can.

Of the Ruſſians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caſpian Sea. *Chap.*20.

Or, Berca.

Changlæ.

Frier Andrew.

NOw, as concerning Sartach, whether he beleeues in Chriſt, or no, I know not. This I am ſure of, that he will not be called a Chriſtian. Yea rather he ſeemeth vnto mee to deride and ſkoffe at Chriſtians. He lieth in the way of the Chriſtians, as namely of the Ruſſians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the leſſer, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them paſſe by him, as they are going to the Court of his father Baatu, to carie giftes: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater giftes then they, they are diſpatched ſooner. He hath about him certaine Neſtorian Prieſtes, who pray vpon their beades, and ſing their deuotions. Alſo, there is another vnder Baatu called Berta, who feedeth his cattell toward Porta ferrea, or Derbent, where lieth the paſſage of all thoſe Saracens, which come out of Perſia, and out of Turkie to goe vnto Baatu, and paſſing by, they giue rewards vnto him. And he profeſſeth himſelfe to be a Saracene, and will not permit ſwines fleſh to be eaten in his dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remoue himſelfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the Eaſt ſide of Volga: for hee was vnwilling that the Saracens meſſengers ſhould paſſe by the ſaide Berta, becauſe he ſawe it was not for his profite. For the ſpace of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a litle Coſmos. And in our iourney betweene him and his father, wee traueiled in great feare. For certaine Ruſſians, Hungarians, and Alanians being ſeruants vnto the Tartars (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) aſſemble themſelues twentie or thirtie in a companie, and ſo ſecretly in the night conueying themſelues from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomeſoeuer they finde in the night ſeaſon, they put him to death, hiding themſelues in the day time. And hauing tired their horſes, they goe in the night vnto a company of other horſes feeding in ſome paſture, and change them for newe, taking with them alſo one or two horſes beſides, to eate them when they ſtand in neede. Our guide therefore was ſore afraide, leaſt we ſhould haue met with ſuch companions. In this iourney wee had died for famine, had we not caried ſome of our biſket with vs. At length we came vnto the mighty riuer of Etilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater, then the riuer of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and iſſuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certaine lake or ſea, which of late they cal the Hircan ſea, according to the name of a certain citie in Perſia, ſtanding vpon the ſhore thereof. Howbeit Iſidore calleth it the Caſpian ſea. For it hath the Caſpian mountaines and the land of Perſia ſituate on the South ſide thereof: and the mountaines of Muſihet, that is to ſay, of the people called Aſſaſſini towards the Eaſt, which mountaines are conioyned vnto the Caſpian mountaines: but on the North ſide thereof lieth the ſame deſert, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabite. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certaine people called Changlæ. And on that ſide it receiueth the ſtreams of Etilia; which riuer increaſeth in Sommer time, like vnto the riuer Nilus in Ægypt. Vpon the Weſt part thereof, it hath the mountaines of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the mountaines of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compaſſed in on three ſides with the mountaines, but on the North ſide with plaine grounde. Frier Andrew, in his iourney traueiled round about two ſides therof, namely the South and the Eaſt ſides: and I my ſelfe about other two, that is to ſay, the North ſide in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewiſe: and the Weſt ſide in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may trauel round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which Iſidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is inuironed on all ſides with lande.

Of the court of *Baatu*: and howe we were interteined by him. *Chap.* 21.

AL the region extending from the Weſt ſhore of the foreſaid ſea, where Alexanders Iron gate, otherwiſe called the citie of Derbent, is ſituate, and from the mountaines of Alania, all along by the fennes of Mæotis, whereinto the riuer of Tanais falleth, and ſo forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called Albania. Of which countrey Iſidore reporteth, that there be dogs of ſuch an huge ſtature, and ſo fierce, that they are able in fight to match bulles, and to maſter lions. Which is true, as I vnderſtand by diuers, who tolde me, that there towardes the North Ocean they make their dogges to draw in carts like oxen, by reaſon of their bigneſſe and ſtrength. Moreouer, vpon that part of Etilia where we arriued, there is a new cottage built, wherein they haue placed Tartars and Ruſſians both together, to ferrie ouer, and tranſport meſſengers going and comming to and fro the court of Baatu. For Baatu remaineth vpon the farther ſide towards the Eaſt. Neither aſcendeth hee in Sommer time more Northward then the foreſaide place where we arriued, but was euen then deſcending to the South. From Ianuarie vntill Auguſt both he and all other Tartars aſcend by the banks of riuers towards cold and Northerly regions, and in Auguſt they begin to returne backe againe. We paſſed downe the ſtreame therefore in a barke, from the foreſaid cottage vnto his court. From the ſame place vnto the villages of Bulgaria the greater, ſtanding toward the North, it is fiue dayes iourney. I wonder what deuill caried the religion of Mahomet thither. For, from Derbent, which is vpon the extreame borders of Perſia, it is aboue 30. daies iourney to paſſe ouerthwart the deſert, and ſo to aſcend by the banke of Etilia, into the foreſaid countrey of Bulgaria. All which way there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere vnto that place where Etilia falleth into the ſea. Thoſe Bulgarians are moſt wicked Saracens, more earneſtly profeſſing the dānable religion of Mahomet, then any other nation whatſoeuer. Moreouer, when I firſt beheld the court of Baatu, I was aſtonied at the ſight thereof: for his houſes or tents ſeemed as though they had bene ſome huge and mighty citie, ſtretching out a great way in length, the people ranging vp and downe about it for the ſpace of ſome three or foure leagues. And euen as the people of Iſrael knew euery man, on which ſide of the tabernacle to pitch his tent; euen ſo euery one of them knoweth right well, towards what ſide of the court he ought to place his houſe when he takes it from off the cart. Wherupon the court is called in their language Horda, which ſignifieth, the midſt: becauſe the gouernour or chieftaine among them dwels alwaies in the middeſt of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no ſubiect or inferiour perſon placeth himſelfe, becauſe towards that region the court gates are ſet open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend thēſelues as farre as they will, according to the conueniencie of places, ſo that they place not their houſes directly oppoſite againſt the court. At our arriual we were conducted vnto a Saracen, who prouided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the court: and Baatu had cauſed a large tent to be erected, becauſe his houſe or ordinarie tent could not containe ſo many men and women as were aſſembled. Our guide admoniſhed vs not to ſpeake, till Baatu had giuen vs commandement ſo to doe, and that then we ſhould ſpeake our mindes briefly. Then Baatu demanded whether your Maieſtie had ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him or no? I anſwered, that your Maieſtie had ſent meſſengers to Ken-Can: and that you would not haue ſent meſſengers vnto him, or letters vnto Sartach, had not your Highnes bene perſwaded that they were become Chriſtians: becauſe you ſent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and curteſies ſake, in regard that you heard they were conuerted to Chriſtianitie. Then led he vs vnto his pauilion: and wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account in ſtead of the threſhold of the houſe. There we ſtoode in our habite bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and ſtrange ſpectacle in their eyes, For indeed Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini had byn there before my cōming: howbeit, becauſe he was the Popes meſſenger, he changed his habit that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the very midſt of the tent, neither required they of vs to do any reuerence by bowing our knees, as they vſe to doe of other meſſengers. Wee ſtood therefore before him for the ſpace wherein a man might haue rehearſed the Pſalme, Miſerere mei Deus: and there was great ſilence kept of all men. Baatu himſelfe ſate vpon a ſeate long and broad like vnto a bed, guilt all ouer, with three ſtaires to aſcend thereunto, and one of his ladies ſate beſide him. The men there aſſembled, ſate downe ſcattering, ſome on the right hand of the ſaide Lady, and ſome on the left. Thoſe places on the one ſide which the women filled not vp (for there were only the wiues of Baatu) were ſupplied by the men. Alſo, at the very entrance of the tent, ſtoode a bench furniſhed with coſmos, and with ſtately great cuppes of ſiluer, and golde, beeing richly ſet with precious ſtones, Baatu beheld vs earneſtly, and we him: and he ſeemed to me to reſemble in perſonage, Mon-

The North Ocean.

The North Ocean.

He deſcendeth downe the riuer Volga in a barke.

Aſtracan.

The deſcription of Baatu his court.

Horda ſignifieth the midſt.

Iohn de Plano Carpini.

ſieur Iohn de beau mont, whoſe ſoule reſteth in peace. And hee had a freſh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length he commanded vs to ſpeake. Then our guide gaue vs direction, that wee ſhould bow our knees & ſpeak. Wherupon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he ſignified that I ſhould kneele vpon both knees: and I did ſo, being loath to contend about ſuch circumſtaunces. And again he commanded me to ſpeak. Then I thinking of praier vnto God, becauſe I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wiſe: Sir, we beſeech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath giuen you theſe earthly benefites, that it would pleaſe him hereafter to make you partaker of his heauẽly bleſſings: becauſe the former without theſe are but vain and improfitable. And I added further. Be it knowen vnto you of a certainty, that you ſhal not obtain the ioyes of heauen, vnles you become a Chriſtian: for God ſaith, Whoſoeuer beleeueth & is baptized, ſhalbe ſaued: but he that beleeueth not, ſhalbe condemned. At this word he modeſtly ſmiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And my ſilly interpreter, of whom eſpecially I ſhould haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himſelf abaſhed & vtterly daſht out of countenance. Then, after ſilence made, I ſaid vnto him, I came vnto your ſonne, becauſe we heard that he was become a Chriſtian: and I brought vnto him letters on the behalfe of my ſouereigne Lord the king of France: and your ſonne ſent me hither vnto you. The cauſe of my comming therefore is beſt known vnto your ſelfe. Then he cauſed me to riſe vp. And he enquired your maieſties name, and my name, and the name of mine aſſociate and interpreter, and cauſed them all to be put down in writing. He demaunded likewiſe (becauſe he had bene informed, that you were departed out of your owne countreys with an armie) againſt whom you waged warre? I anſwered: againſt the Saracens, who had defiled the houſe of God at Ieruſalem. He aſked alſo, whether your Highnes had euer before that time ſent any meſſengers vnto him, or no? To you ſir? (ſaid I) neuer. Then cauſed he vs to ſit downe, and gaue vs of his milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, eſpecially when any man is admitted to drinke Coſmos with him in his own houſe. And as I ſate looking downe vpon the ground, he commanded me to lift vp my countenance, being deſirous as yet to take more diligent view of vs, or els perhaps for a kinde of ſuperſtitious obſeruation. For they eſteeme it a ſigne of ill lucke, or a prognoſtication of euill vnto them, when any man ſits in their preſence, holding downe his head, as if he were ſad: eſpecially when he leanes his cheeke or chinne vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediatly after came our guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our lodging, ſaide vnto me: Your maſter the King requeſteth that you may remaine in this land, which requeſt Baatu cannot ſatiſfie without the knowledge and conſent of Mangu-Can. Wherefore you, and your interpreter muſt of neceſſitie goe vnto Mangu-Can. Howbeit your aſſociate, and the other man ſhall returne vnto the court of Sartach, ſtaying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine interpreter to lament, eſteeming himſelfe but a dead man. Mine aſſociate alſo proteſted, that they ſhould ſooner chop off his head, then withdrawe him out of my companie. Moreouer I my ſelfe ſaide, that without mine aſſociate I coulde not goe: and that we ſtood in neede of two ſeruants at the leaſt, to attend vpon vs, becauſe, if one ſhould chance to fall ſicke, we could not be without another. Then returning vnto the court, he told theſe ſayings vnto Baatu. And Baatu commanded ſaying: let the two Prieſts and the interpreter goe together, but let the clearke returne vnto Sartach. And comming againe vnto vs, hee tolde vs euen ſo. And when I would haue ſpoken for the clearke to haue had him with vs, he ſaide: No more words: for Baatu hath reſolued, that ſo it ſhall be, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the court any more. Goſet the clearke had remaining of the almes money beſtowed vpon him, 26. Yperperas, and no more; 10. whereof he kept for himſelfe and for the lad, and 16. he gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted aſunder with teares: he returning vnto the court of Sartach, and our ſelues remaining ſtill in the ſame place.

The letters of the French king.

Of our iourney towards the Court of Mangu Can.

Chap.22.

They trauell fiue weekes by the banke of Etilia.

VPon Aſſumption euen our clearke arriued at the court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Neſtorian Prieſtes were adorned with our veſtments in the preſence of the ſaide Sartach. Then wee our ſelues were conducted vnto another hoſte, who was appointed to prouide vs houſeroome, victualles, and horſes. But becauſe wee had not ought to beſtowe vpon him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forwarde with Baatu, deſcending along by the banke of Etilia, for the ſpace of fiue weekes together: Sometimes mine aſſociate was ſo extremelie hungrie, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a faire or market following the court of Baatu at all times: but it was ſo farre diſtant from vs that we could not haue recourſe thereunto. For wee were conſtrained to walke on foote for want of horſes. At length certaine Hungarians (who had ſometime bene after a ſort Cleargie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet ſing many ſongs without booke, and was accompted of other Hungarians as a Prieſt, and was ſent for vnto the funerals of his deceaſed countrey men. There was another of them alſo pretily wel inſtructed in his Grammer: for hee could vnderſtand the meaning of any thing that wee ſpake, but could not anſwere vs. Theſe Hungarians were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs Coſmos to drinke, yea, and ſometimes fleſh for to eate alſo: who, when they requeſted to haue ſome bookes of vs, and I had not any to giue them (for indeede we had none but onely a Bible, and a breuiarie) it grieued mee exceedingly. And I ſaide vnto them: Bring mee ſome inke and paper, and I will write for you ſo long as we ſhall remaine here: and they did ſo. And I copied out for them Horas beatæ Virginis, and Officium defunctorum. Moreouer, vpon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied vs, ſaluting vs in Latine, and ſaying: Saluete Domini. Wondering thereat and ſaluting him againe, I demaunded of him, who had taught him that kinde of ſalutation? Hee ſaide that hee was baptized in Hungaria by our Friers, and that of them hee learned it. He ſaide moreouer, that Baatu had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that hee tolde him the eſtate of our order. Afterwarde I ſawe Baatu riding with his companie, and all his ſubiects that were houſholders or maſters of families riding with him, and (in mine eſtimation) they were not fiue hundred perſons in all. At length about the ende of Holy roode, there came a certaine rich Moal vnto vs (whoſe father was a Millenarie, which is a great office among them) ſaying: I am the man that muſt conduct you vnto Mangu-Can, and wee haue thither a iourney of foure moneths long to trauell, and there is ſuch extreame colde in thoſe parts, that ſtones and trees doe euen riue aſunder in regarde thereof. Therefore I would wiſh you throughly to aduiſe your ſelues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whome I anſwered: I hope by Gods helpe that we ſhalbe able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then he ſaide: if you cannot indure it, I wil forſake you by the way. And I anſwered him: it were not iuſt dealing for you ſo to doe: for wee goe not thither vpon anie buſineſſe of our owne, but by reaſon that we are ſent by your lord. Wherfore ſithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no wiſe to forſake vs. Then he ſaide: all ſhalbe well. Afterward he cauſed vs to ſhewe him all our garments: and whatſoeuer hee deemed to be leſſe needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind in the cuſtodie of our hoſte. On the morrow they brought vnto ech of vs a furred gowne, made all of rammes ſkinnes, with the wool ſtil vpon them, and breeches of the ſame, and bootes alſo or buſkins according to their faſhion, and ſhooes made of felt, and hoods alſo made of ſkinnes after their maner. The ſecond day after Holy rood, we began to ſet forward on our iourney, hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually Eaſtward, till the feaſt of All Saints. Throughout all that region, and beyonde alſo did the people of Changle inhabite, who were by parentage deſcended from the Romanes. Vpon the North ſide of vs, wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foreſaid Caſpian ſea.

Hungarians.

A Comanian.

A iourney of 4. moneths from Volga.

The 16. of September.

46. dayes.

Or, Kangittæ.

Of the riuer of Iagac: and of diuers regions or nations. *Chap.* 23.

Or, Iaic.

Hauing traueiled twelue dayes iourney from Etilia, wee found a mightie riuer called Iagac: which riuer iſſuing out of the North, from the land of Paſcatir, deſcẽdeth into the foreſaid ſea. The language of Paſcatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them ſhepheards, not hauing any cities. And their countrey bordereth vpon Bulgaria the greater, on the Weſt frontier thereof. From the Northeaſt part of the ſaid countrey, there is no citie at all. For Bulgaria the greater is the fartheſt countrey that way, that hath any citie therein. Out of the forenamed region of Paſcatir, proceeded the Hunnes of olde time, who afterwarde were called Hungarians. Next vnto it is Bulgaria the greater. Iſidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with ſwift horſes they trauerſed the impregnable walles and bounds of Alexander, (which, together with the rocks of Caucaſus, ſerued to reſtraine thoſe barbarous and blood-thirſtie people from inuading the regions of the South) inſomuch that they had tribute paied vnto them, as farre as Ægypt. Likewiſe they waſted all countreis euen vnto France. Whereupon they were more mightie then the Tartars as yet are. And vnto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals ioyned themſelues. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came thoſe Bulgarians. Moreouer, they which inhabit beyond Danubius, neere vnto Conſtantinople, and not farre from Paſcatir, are called Ilac, which (ſauing the prõnũciation) is al one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B) from whom alſo deſcended the people which inhabit the land of Aſſani. For they are both of thẽ called Ilac (both theſe, & the other) in yͤ languages of the Ruſſians, yͤ Polonians, & the Bohemians.

Iaic twelue dayes iourney from Volga.

Paſcatir.

The Hungarians deſcended from the Baſcirdes.

Valachians.

Deut. 32. v. 21.
Rom. 10. v. 19.

Cangle an huge plaine countrey.

The Sclauonians ſpeake all one language with the Vandals, all which banded themſelues with the Hunnes: and now for the moſt part, they vnite themſelues vnto the Tartars: whō God hath raiſed vp from the vtmoſt partes of the earth, according to that which the Lord ſaith: I will prouoke them to enuy (namely ſuch as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a fooliſh nation will I anger them. This prophecie is fulfilled, according to the literal ſenſe thereof, vpon all nations which obſerue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the land of Paſcatir, was told me by certaine Friers prædicants, which trauailed thither before euer the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were ſubdued vnto their neighbors the Bulgarians being Saracens, whereupon many of them proued Saracens alſo. Other matters concerning this people, may be known out of Chronicles. For it is manifeſt, that thoſe prouinces beyond Conſtantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, & Sclauonia, were of old time prouinces belonging to the Greekes. Alſo Hungaria was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding ouer the land of Cangle, from the feaſt of Holy roode, vntill the feaſt of All Saints: trauelling almoſt euery day (according to mine eſtimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and ſometimes farther, as we were prouided of poſte horſes: for ſome dayes we had change of horſes twiſe or thriſe in a day. Sometimes we trauailed two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were conſtrained not to ride ſo faſt. Of 20. or 30. horſes we had alwayes the worſt, becauſe wee were ſtrangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the beſt horſes before vs. They prouided mee alwaies of a ſtrong horſe, becauſe I was very corpulent & heauy: but whether he ambled a gentle paſe or no, I durſt not make any queſtion. Neither yet durſt I complaine, although he trotted full ſore. But euery man muſt be contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horſes were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were conſtrained to beate and whip on our horſes, and to lay our garments vpon other emptie horſes: yea and ſometimes two of vs to ride vpon one horſe.

Of the hunger, and thirſt, and other miſeries, which wee ſuſtained in our iourney. *Chap.* 24.

Certaine riuers.

Eight dayes iourney ſouthward.
Aſſes ſwift of foote.
High mountaines.

Of hunger and thirſt, colde and wearineſſe, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vſed to giue vs a little drinke, or ſome ſodden Millet to ſup off. In the euening they beſtowed fleſh vpon vs, as namely, a ſhoulder and breaſt of rams mutton, and euery man a meaſured quantitie of broath to drinke. When we had ſufficient of the fleſh-broath, we were maruellouſly wel refreſhed. And it ſeemed to me moſt pleaſant, and moſt nouriſhing drinke. Euery Saterday I remained faſting vntil night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was conſtrained, to my great grief and ſorow, to eat fleſh. Sometimes we were faine to eate fleſh halfe ſodden, or almoſt rawe, and all for want of fewel to ſeethe it withal: eſpecially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneis end: becauſe we could not then conueniently gather together the doung of horſes or oxē: for other fewel we found but ſeldome, except perhaps a few thornes in ſome places. Likewiſe vpon the bankes of ſome riuers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly diſdained vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct ſuch baſe fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know vs ſomewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requeſted to pray for them. Wherefore, had I caried a good interpreter with me, I ſhould haue had opportunitie to haue done much good. The foreſaid Chingis, who was the firſt great Can or Emperour of the Tartars, had foure ſonnes, of whome proceeded by naturall deſcent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great poſſeſſions: and they are daily multiplied and diſperſed ouer that huge and waſte deſert, which is, in dimenſions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto many of their habitations. And they marueiled exceedingly, that we would receiue neither gold, nor ſiluer, nor precious and coſtly garments at their hands. They inquired alſo, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of ſo laſting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that he was 500. yeeres olde. They inquired likewiſe of our countreis, whether there were abundance of ſheep, oxen, & horſes or no? Concerning the Ocean ſea, they could not cōceiue of it, becauſe it was without limits or banks. Upon the euen of ẏ feaſt of Al Saints, we forſook the way leading towards the Eaſt, (becauſe the people were now deſcended very much South) and we went on our iourney by certaine Alpes, or mountaines directly Southward, for the ſpace of 8. dayes together. In the foreſaid deſert I ſaw many aſſes (which they cal Colan) being rather like vnto mules: theſe did our guide & his companions chaſe very eagerly: howbeit, they did but loſe their labour: for the beaſtes were two ſwift for them. Upon the 7. day there appeared to the South of vs huge high mountaines, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and freſh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eight day after the feaſt of All Saints, we arriued at a certain towne of the Saracens, named Kenchat, the gouernour whereof met our guide at the townes end with ale and cups. For it is their maner at all townes and villages, ſubiect vnto them, to meet the meſſengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the ſame time of the yere, they went vpon the yce in that countrey. And before the feaſt of S. Michael, we had froſt in the deſert. I enquired the name of that prouince: but being now in a ſtrange territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very ſmal citie in the ſame prouince. And there deſcended a great riuer downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would giue it paſſage, by making diuers chanels and ſluces: neither did this riuer exonerate it ſelfe into any ſea, but was ſwallowed vp by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth: and it cauſed many fennes or lakes. Alſo I ſaw many vines, and dranke of the wine thereof.

Manured grounds.
Kenchat a village of the Saracens.
The 7. day of Nouember.
A great riuer.
Many lakes.
Vines.

How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men. *Chap.* 25.

The day following, we came vnto another cottage neere vnto the mountains. And I enquired what mountains they were, which I vnderſtood to be the mountains of Caucaſus, which are ſtretched forth, & continued on both parts to the ſea, from the Weſt vnto the Eaſt: and on the Weſt part they are conioyned vnto the foreſaid Caſpian ſea, wherinto the riuer of Volga diſchargeth his ſtreams. I enquired alſo of the city of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutchmen ſeruants vnto one Buri, of whom Frier Andrew made mention. Concerning whom alſo I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach & Baatu. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their lord & maſter Ban was put to death vpon the occaſion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile paſtures. And vpon a certain day being drunken, he ſpake on this wiſe vnto his men. Am not I of the ſtocke and kinred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or nephew vnto Baatu.) Why then doe I not paſſe and repaſſe vpon the banke of Etilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himſelfe doeth? Which ſpeeches of his were reported vnto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote vnto his ſeruants to bring their Lorde bound vnto him. And they did ſo. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had ſpoken any ſuch words? And hee confeſſed that he had. Howbeit, (becauſe it is the Tartars maner to pardon drunken men) he excuſed himſelfe that he was drunken at the ſame time. Howe durſt thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkenneſſe? And with that hee cauſed his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foreſaid Dutchmen, I could not vnderſtand ought, till I was come vnto the court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had remoued them out of the iuriſdiction of Baatu, for the ſpace of a moneths iourney from Talas Eaſtward, vnto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are ſet to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I paſſed very neere the ſaide citie in going forth, as namely, within three dayes iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did ſo: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowen ſo much. From the foreſaide cottage we went directly Eaſtward, by the mountaines aforeſaid. And from that time we trauailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places ſang and daunced before our guide, becauſe hee was the meſſenger of Baatu. For this curteſie they doe afoord eche to other: namely, the people of Mangu-Can receiuing the meſſengers of Baatu in maner aforeſaide: and ſo likewiſe the people of Baatu intertaining the meſſengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithſtanding the people of Baatu are more ſurlie and ſtoute, and ſhewe not ſo much curteſie vnto the ſubiectes of Mangu-Can, as they doe vnto them. A fewe dayes after, wee entered vpon thoſe Alpes where the Cara Catayans were woont to inhabite. And there wee found a mightie riuer: inſomuch that wee were conſtrained to imbarke our ſelues, and to ſaile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I ſaw a caſtle deſtroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled alſo. And there wee founde a certaine village, named Equius, wherein were Saracens, ſpeaking the Perſian language: howbeit they dwelt an huge diſtance from Perſia. The day following, hauing paſſed ouer the foreſaide Alpes which deſcended from the great mountains Southward, we entred into a moſt beautiful plaine, hauing high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of vs a certaine Sea or lake, which containeth fifteene dayes iourney in circuite. All the foreſayde plaine is moſt commodiouſly watered with certaine freſhets diſtilling from the ſaid mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In Sommer time wee returned by the North ſhore of the ſaide lake, and there were great mountaines on that ſide alſo. Upon the forenamed plaine there were wont to bee great ſtore of villages: but for the moſt part they were all waſted, in regarde of the fertile paſtures, that the Tartars might

A cottage.
The mou͂tains of Caucaſus are extended vnto the Eaſterne Sea.
The citie of Talas, or Chincitalas.
Frier Andrew.
The village of Bolac.
He entreth into the territories of Mangu-Can.
Certain Alpes wherein the Cara Catayans inhabited.
A mighty riuer.
Ground tilled.
Equius.
A lake of fifteene dayes iourney in compaſſe.

Cailac a great citie, and full of merchants.

Contomanni.

feede their cattel there. Wee found one great citie there named Cailac, wherein was a mart, and great ſtore of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene dayes, ſtaying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to haue accompanied our guide for the diſpatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Neſtorians likewiſe in thoſe parts vſed the very ſame kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, becauſe they were wont to be moſt ſkilfull in playing vpon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported vnto me. Here firſt did I ſee worſhippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it knowen vnto your maieſtie, that there be many ſects of them in the Eaſt countries.

How the Neſtorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are ioyned together. *Chap.26.*

The people called Iugures idolaters.

The firſt ſort of theſe idolaters are called Iugures: whoſe land bordereth vpon the foreſaid land of Organum, within the ſaid mountains Eaſtward: and in al their cities Neſtorians do inhabit together, and they are diſperſed likewiſe towards Perſia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of yͤ foreſaid city of Cailac had 3. idole-Temples: and I entred into two of them, to beholde their fooliſh ſuperſtitions. In the firſt of which I found a man hauing a croſſe painted with ink vpō his hand, wherupon I ſuppoſed him to be a Chriſtian: for he anſwered like a Chriſtian vnto al queſtions which I demanded of him. And I aſked him, Why therefore haue you not the croſſe with the image of Ieſu Chriſt therupon? And he anſwered: We haue no ſuch cuſtome. Whereupon I coniectured that they were indeede Chriſtians: but, that for lacke of inſtruction they omitted the foreſaide ceremonie. For I ſaw there behind a certaine cheſt (which was vnto them in ſteed of an altar, whereupon they ſet candles and oblations) an image hauing wings like vnto the image of Saint Michael, and other images alſo, holding their fingers, as if they would bleſſe ſome body. That euening I could not find any thing els. For the Saracens doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them ſpeake of their religion. And therfore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning ſuch ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feaſt of Paſſeouer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the ſame day, I tooke vp mine abode neere vnto another idole-Temple. For the citizens of the ſaid citie of Cailac doe curteouſly inuite, & louingly intertaine all meſſengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foreſaid idole-Temple, I found the Prieſts of the ſaid idoles there. For alwayes at the Kalends they ſet open their Temples, and the prieſts adorne themſelues, and offer vp the peoples oblations of bread and fruits. Firſt therefore I will deſcribe vnto you thoſe rites and ceremonies, which are common vnto all their idole-Temples: and then the ſuperſtitions of the foreſaid Iugures, which be, as it were, a ſect diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. They doe all of them worſhip towards the North, clapping their hands together, and proſtrating themſelues on their knees vpon yͤ earth, holding alſo their foreheads in their hands. Wherupon the Neſtorians of thoſe parts will in no caſe ioyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray, diſplaying their hands before their breaſts. They extend their Temples in length Eaſt and Weſt: and vpon the North ſide they build a chamber, in maner of a Veſtry for themſelues to goe forth into. Or ſometimes it is otherwiſe. If it be a foure ſquare Temple, in the midſt of the Temple towards the North ſide therof, they take in one chamber in that place where the quire ſhould ſtand. And within the ſaid chamber they place a cheſt long and broad like vnto a table: and behinde the ſaide cheſt towardes the South ſtands their principall idole: which I ſawe at Caracarum, and it was as bigge as the idole of Saint Chriſtopher. Alſo a certaine Neſtorian prieſt, which had bin in Catay, ſaide that in that countrey there is an idole of ſo huge a bignes, that it may be ſeen two daies iourney before a man come at it. And ſo they place other idoles round about the foreſaid principal idole, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure golde: and vpon the ſaide cheſt, which is in manner of a table, they ſet candles and oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwayes opened towards the South, contrary to the cuſtome of the Saracens. They haue alſo great belles like vnto vs. And that is the cauſe (as I thinke) why the Chriſtians of the Eaſt will in no caſe vſe great belles. Notwithſtanding they are common among the Ruſſians, and Grecians of Gaſaria.

Frier William was at Caracarum.

Of their Temples and idoles: and howe they behaue themſelues in worſhipping their falſe gods. *Chap.27.*

All their Prieſts had their heads and beards ſhauen quite ouer: and they are clad in ſaffron coloured garments: and being once ſhauen, they lead an vnmaried life from that time forward:

and they liue an hundreth or two hundreth of them together in one cloiſter or couent. Upon thoſe dayes when they enter into their temples, they place two long foormes therein: and ſo ſitting vpon the ſayd foormes like ſinging men in a quier, namely the one halfe of them directly ouer againſt the other, they haue certaine books in their hands, which ſometimes they lay downe by them vpon the foormes: and their heads are bare ſo long as they remaine in the temple. And there they reade ſoftly vnto themſelues, not vttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongſt them, at the time of their ſuperſtitious deuotions, and finding them all ſiting mute in maner aforeſayde, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto ſpeach, and yet could not by any means poſſible. They haue with them alſo whitherſoeuer they goe, a certaine ſtring with an hundreth or two hundreth nutſhels thereupon, much like to our bead-roule which we cary about with vs. And they doe alwayes vtter theſe words: *Ou mam Hactani*, God thou knoweſt: as one of them expounded it vnto me. And ſo often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce theſe words in remembrance of God. Round about their temple they doe alwayes make a faire court, like vnto a churchyard, which they enuiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof they build a great portal, wherein they ſit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the ſaid portall they pitch a long pole right vp, exalting it, if they can, aboue all the whole towne beſides. And by the ſame pole all men may knowe, that there ſtands the temple of their idoles. Theſe rites and ceremonies aforeſayd be common vnto all idolaters in thoſe parts. Going vpon a time towardes the foreſayd idole-temple, I found certain prieſts ſitting in the outward portal. And thoſe which I ſawe, ſeemed vnto me, by their ſhauen beards, as if they had bene French men. They wore certaine ornaments vpon their heads made of paper. The prieſtes of the foreſaide Iugures doe vſe ſuch attire whitherſoeuer they goe. They are alwaies in their ſaffron coloured iackets, which be very ſtraight being laced or buttened from the boſome right downe, after the French faſhion. And they haue a cloake vpon their left ſhoulder deſcending before and behind vnder their right arme, like vnto a deacon carying the houſſel-boxe in time of lent. Their letters or kind of writing the Tartars did receiue. They begin to write at the top of their paper drawing their lines right downe: and ſo they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vſe certaine papers and characters in their magical practiſes. Whereupon their temples are full of ſuch ſhort ſcroules hanged round about them. Alſo Mangu-Can hath ſent letters vnto your Maieſtie written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foreſayd hand or letter of the Iugures. They burne their dead according to the auncient cuſtome, and lay vp the aſhes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had ſit a while by the foreſaid prieſts, and entred into their temple and ſeene many of their images both great and ſmall, I demanded of them what they beleeued concerning God? And they anſwered: We beleeue that there is onely one God. And I demaunded farther: Whether do you beleue that he is a ſpirit, or ſome bodily ſubſtance? They ſaide: We beleeue that he is a ſpirite. Then ſaid I: Doe you beleeue that God euer tooke mans nature vpon him? They anſwered: Noe. And againe I ſaid: Sithence ye beleeue that he is a ſpirit, to what end doe you make ſo many bodily images to repreſent him? Sithence alſo you beleeue not that hee was made man: why doe you reſemble him rather vnto the image of a man then of any other creature? Then they anſwered ſaying: we frame not thoſe images whereby to repreſent God. But when any rich man amongſt vs, or his ſonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaſeth, hee cauſeth the image of the dead party to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replyed: you doe theſe things onely for the friendſhip and flatterie of men. Noe (ſaid they) but for their memory. Then they demanded of me, as it were in ſcoffing wiſe: Where is God? To whom I anſwered: where is your ſoule? They ſaid, in our bodies. Then ſaide I, is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithſtanding is not ſeene or perceiued? Euen ſo God is euery where and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuiſible, being vnderſtanding and wiſedome it ſelfe. Then being deſirous to haue had ſome more conference with them, by reaſon, that mine interpreter was weary, and not able to expreſſe my meaning, I was conſtrained to keepe ſilence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their ſect: namely they beleeue that there is but one God: howbeit they make images of felt, in remēbrance of their deceaſed friends, couering them with fiue moſt rich and coſtly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the cuſtody of their ſoothſayers, who are their prieſts, concerning whom I will giue your Highneſſe more at large to vnderſtand hereafter. Theſe ſoothſayers or diuiners do alwaies attend vpon the court of Mangu and of other great perſonages. As for the poorer or meaner ſorte, they haue them not, but ſuch onely as are of the ſtocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remoue or to take any iourney, the ſaid diuiners goe before them, euen as the cloudie piller went before the children of Iſrael. And they appoint ground where the tents muſt be pitched, and firſt of al they take down their

Bookes.

Paper.
So do the people of China vſe to write, drawing their lines perpēdicularly downward, & not as we doe from the right hand to the lefte.

owne houſes: & after them the whole court doth the like. Alſo vpon their feſtiual daies or kalends they take forth the foreſayd images, and place them in order round, or circle wiſe within the houſe. Then come the Moals or Tartars, and enter into the ſame houſe, bowing themſelues before the ſaid images and worſhip them. Moreouer, it is not lawfull for any ſtranger to enter into that houſe. For vpon a certaine time I my ſelfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Of diuers and ſundry nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. *Chap.* 28.

BUt the foreſayd Iugures (who liue among the Chriſtians, and the Saracens) by theit ſundry diſputations, as I ſuppoſe, haue bene brought vnto this, to beleeue, that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine cities, which afterward were brought in ſubiection vnto Chingis Can: whereupon he gaue his daughter in mariage vnto their king. Alſo the citie of Caracarum it ſelfe is in a manner within their territory: and the whole countrey of king or Presbyter Iohn, & of his brother Vut lyeth neere vnto their dominions: ſauing, that they inhabite in certaine paſtures Northward, and the ſayde Iugures betweene the mountaines towardes the South. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that the Moals receiued letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall ſcribes: & al the Neſtorians almoſt can ſkill of their letters. Next vnto them, betweens the foreſaid mountaines Eaſtward, inhabiteth the nation of Tangut, who are a moſt valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the concluſion of a league hee was ſet at libertie by them, and afterward ſubdued them. Theſe people of Tangut haue oxen of great ſtrength, with tailes like vnto horſes, and with long ſhagge haire vpon their backes and bellyes. They haue legges greater then other oxen haue, and they are exceedingly fierce. Theſe oxen drawe the great houſes of the Moals: and their hornes are ſlender, long, ſtreight, and moſt ſharpe pointed: inſomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them. A cowe will not ſuffer her ſelfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vnles they whiſtle or ſing vnto her. They haue alſo the qualities of a Buffe: for if they ſee a man clothed in red, they run vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of Teber, men which were wont to eate the carkaſes of their deceaſed parents: that for pities ſake, they might make no other ſepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left off this cuſtome, becauſe that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto al other nations. Notwithſtanding vnto this day they make fine cups of the ſkuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidſt all their iollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that ſaw it. The ſayd people of Tebet haue great plentie of golde in their land. Whoſoeuer therefore wanteth golde, diggeth till he hath found ſome quantitie, and then taking ſo much thereof as will ſerue his turne, he layeth vp the reſidue within the earth: becauſe, if he ſhould put it into his cheſt or ſtorehouſe, hee is of opinion that God would withholde from him all other gold within the earth. I ſawe ſome of thoſe people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I ſaw luſty tall men, but browne and ſwart in colour. The Iugures are of a middle ſtature like vnto our French men. Amongſt the Iugures is the originall and roote of the Turkiſh, and Comanian languages. Next vnto Tebet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whoſe meſſengers I ſaw in the Tartars court. And they had brought more then ten great cartes with them, euery one of which was drawen with ſixe oxen. They be little browne men like vnto Spaniards. Alſo they haue iackets, like vnto the vpper veſtment of a deacon, ſauing that the ſleeues are ſomewhat ſtreighter. And they haue miters vpon their heads like biſhops. But the fore part of their miter is not ſo hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it ſharpe pointed or cornered at the toppe: but there hang downe certaine ſquare flappes compacted of a kinde of ſtrawe which is made rough and rugged with extreme heat, and is ſo trimmed, that it glittereth in the ſunne beames, like vnto a glaſſe, or an helmet well burniſhed. And about their temples they haue long bands of the foreſayd matter faſtened vnto their miters, which houer in the wind, as if two long hornes grewe out of their heads. And when the winde toſſeth them vp and downe too much, they tie them ouer the midſt of their miter from one temple to another: and ſo they lie circle wiſe ouerthwart their heads. Moreouer their principal meſſenger comming vnto the Tartars court had a table of elephants tooth about him of a cubite in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very ſmoothe. And whenſoeuer hee ſpake vnto the Emperor himſelfe, or vnto any other great perſonage, hee alwayes beheld that table, as if hee had found therein thoſe things which hee ſpake: neither did he caſt his eyes to the right hand, nor to the lefte, nor vpon his face, with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his lord, he looketh no where but only vpon his table. Beyond thẽ (as I vnderſtand of a certainty) there are other

The countrey of Presbiter Iohn

Tangut.

Strange oxen.

The people of Tebet.

Abundance of golde.

The ſtature of the people of Tangut, and of the Iugures.

Langa & Solanga

The people of Solanga reſemble Spaniards

A table of elephants tooth.

people called Muc, hauing villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell vnto himſelfe. Notwithſtanding there are many flockes and droues of cattell in their countrey, & no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them ſtandeth in neede of any beaſt, hee aſcendeth vp vnto an hill, and there maketh a ſhout, and all the cattell which are within hearing of the noyſe, come flocking about him, and ſuffer themſelues to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any meſſenger or ſtranger commeth into their countrie, they ſhut him vp into an houſe, miniſtring there things neceſſary vnto him, vntill his buſineſſe he diſpatched. For if anie ſtranger ſhould trauell through that countrie, the cattell would flee away at the very ſent of him, and ſo would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great Cathaya, the inhabitants whereof (as I ſuppoſe) were of olde time, called Seres. For from them are brought moſt excellent ſtuffes of ſilke. And this people is called Seres of a certain towne in the ſame countrey. I was crediblie informed, that in the ſaid countrey, there is one towne hauing walles of ſiluer, and bulwarkes or towers of golde. There be many prouinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet ſubdued vnto the Tartars. And amongſt *

The people called Muc.

Great Cathaya.

Somewhat is wanting.

Part of the great Charter granted by king *Edward* the *firſt to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the ſixt yeere of his reigne* 1278. for their good ſeruices done vnto him by ſea: wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from *Edward* the Confeſſor, *William* the Conqueror, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the ſecond, king *Richard* the firſt, king *Iohn*, and *Henry* the third continued vnto them.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gaſcoigne, to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, Shirifs, Prouoſts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true ſubiects greeting. You ſhall knowe that for the faithfull ſeruice that our Barons of the fiue Ports hitherto to our predeceſſors kings of England, & vnto vs lately in our armie of Wales haue done, and for their good ſeruice to vs and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we haue granted & by this our Charter confirmed for vs and our heires, to the ſame our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So that they ſhall be free from all toll, and from all cuſtome; that is to ſay from all laſtage, tallage, paſſage, cariage, riuage, aſponſage, and from all wrecke, and from all their ſale, carying and recarying through all our realme and dominion, with ſocke and ſouke, toll and theme. And that they ſhall haue Infangthefe, and that they ſhall be wreckefree, laſtagefree, and louecopfree. And that they ſhall haue Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in the ordinance by vs thereof made perpetually to bee obſerued. And alſo that they are free from all ſhires and hundreds: ſo that if any perſon will plead againſt them, they ſhall not aunſwere nor pleade otherwiſe then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great grandfather: And that they ſhall haue their findelles in the ſea and in the land: And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandiſes as our freemen. And that they haue their honours in our court, and their liberties throughout all the land whereſoeuer they ſhall come. And that they ſhall be free for euer of all their lands, which in the time of Lord Henrie the king our father they poſſeſſed: that is to ſay in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of ſummonces before our Iuſtices to any maner of pleadings, iourneying in what ſhire ſoeuer their lands are. So that they ſhall not be bound to come before the Iuſtices aforeſaid, except any of the ſame Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they ſhall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to ſay, at Shepeway. And that they haue their liberties and freedomes from henceforth, as they and their predeceſſors haue had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, Edward, William the firſt, William the ſecond, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king Richard, and king Iohn our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters: as the ſame Charters which the ſame our Barons thereof haue, and which we haue ſeene, doe reaſonably teſtifie. And we forbid that no man vniuſtly trouble them nor their marchandiſe vpon our forfeyture of ten pounds. So neuertheleſſe, that when the ſame Barons ſhall fayle in doing of Iuſtice or in receiuing of Iuſtice, our Warden, and the wardens of our

The fiſhing at great Yarmouth

Henry the third

Edward the confeſſor.

57 Ships of the Cinque Portes bound to ſerue the king 15. dayes at their owne coſts.

heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time ſhall be, their Ports and liberties may enter for to doe their full Juſtice. So alſo that the ſayd Barons and their heires, do vnto vs and to our heirs kings of England by the yeare their full ſeruice of 57. ſhippes at their coſts by the ſpace of fifteene dayes at our ſomounce, or at the ſomounce of our heires. We haue granted alſo vnto them of our ſpeciall grace that they haue Outfangtheſe in their lands within the Ports aforeſayd, in the ſame maner that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, haue in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Aſſiſes, Juries, or Recogniſances by reaſon of their forreine tenure againſt their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do trauaile of our right priſe, that is to ſay, of one tunne before the maſt, and of another behind the maſte. We haue granted furthermore vnto the ſaid Barons for vs and our heires, that they for euer haue this liberty, that is to ſay, That we or our heires ſhall not haue the wardſhip or mariages of their heires by reaſon of their landes, which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforeſayde, for the which they doe their ſeruice aforeſayd: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardſhips and mariages in time paſt. But we our aforeſayd confirmation vpon the liberties and freedomes aforeſayde, and our grants following to them of our eſpeciall grace, of new we haue cauſed to be made, ſauing alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And ſauing vnto vs and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and ſurely command for vs and our heires that the aforeſaid Barons and their heires for euer haue all the aforeſaid liberties and freedomes, as the aforeſaid Charters do reaſonably teſtifie. And that of our eſpecial grace they haue outfangtheſe in their lands within the Ports aforeſaid after the maner that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles and Barons haue in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Aſſiſes, Juries, or Recogniſances by reaſon of their forreine tenure againſt their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they trauaile of our right price or cuſtome, that is to ſay of one tunne of wine before the maſte, and of another tunne behinde the maſte. And that likewiſe for euer they haue the libertie aforeſayde: that is to ſay: That wee and our heires haue not the wardſhips or mariages of their heires by reaſon of their landes which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforeſayd, for which they doe their ſeruice aforeſaid, and for which wee and our predeceſſors the wardſhips and mariages haue not had in times paſt. But our aforeſayd confirmation of their liberties and freedomes aforeſaid and other grants following to them of our eſpeciall grace of new we haue cauſed to bee made. Sauing alwayes and in all things our regall dignity. And ſauing vnto vs and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforeſayd. Theſe being witneſſes, the reuerend father Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie Church ot Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior pouincial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our vncle, Roger of the dead ſea, Roger of Clifford, Maſter Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Maſter Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of Eaſt Riding, Maſter Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steuen of Penneſter, Frances of Bonaua, Iohn of Lenetotes, Iohn of Metingham and others. Giuen by our hand at Weſtminſter the fourteenth day of June, in the ſixth yeare of our reigne.

Thomas Walſingham writeth yͭ he had once 1100. ſtrong ſhippes.

The roll of the huge fleete of *Edward* the third before Calice, *extant in the kings great wardrobe in* London, whereby the wonderfull ſtrength of *England* by ſea in thoſe dayes may appeare.

The South fleete.

Or, Motne.

The Kings	Shippes	25.	Hope	Shippes	2.
	Mariners	419.		Mariners	59.
London	Shippes	25.	New Hithe	Shippes	5.
	Mariners	662.		Mariners	49.
Aileford	Shippes	2.	Margat	Shippes	15.
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	160.
Hoo	Shippes	2.	‖ Motue	Shippes	2.
	Mariners	24.		Mariners	22.
Maydſtone	Shippes	2.	Feuerſham	Shippes	2.
	Mariners	51.		Mariners	25.

Sandwich	Ships	22.	
	Mariners	504.	
Douer	Ships	16.	
	Mariners	336.	
Wight	Ships	13.	
	Mariners	220.	
Winchelſey	Ships	21.	
	Mariners	596.	
Waymouth	Ships	15.	
	Mariners	263.	
Lyme	Ships	4.	
	Mariners	62.	
Seton	Ships	2.	
	Mariners	25.	
Sydmouth	Ships	3.	
	Mariners	62.	
Exmouth	Ships	10.	
	Mariners	193.	
Tegmouth	Ships	7.	
	Mariners	120.	
Dartmouth	Ships	31.	
	Mariners	757.	
Portſmouth	Ships	5.	
	Mariners	96.	
Plimouth	Ships	26.	
	Mariners	603.	
Loo	Ships	20.	
	Mariners	315.	
Yalme	Ships	2.	
	Mariners	47.	
‡Fowey	Ships	47.	
	Mariners	770.	‡Or, Foy.
Briſtol	Ships	22.	
	Mariners	608.	
Tenmouth	Ships	2.	
	Mariners	25.	
Haſting	Ships	5.	
	Mariners	96.	
Romney	Ships	4.	
	Mariners	65.	
Rye	Ships	9.	
	Mariners	156.	

Hithe	Ships	6.	
	Mariners	122.	
Shoreham	Ships	20.	
	Mariners	329.	
‡Soſord	Ships	5.	
	Mariners	80.	‡Or, Seford.
Newmouth	Ships	2.	
	Mariners	18.	
Hamowlhooke	Ships	7.	
	Mariners	117.	
Hoke	Ships	11.	
	Mariners	208.	
Southhâpton	Ships	21.	
	Mariners	576.	
Leymington	Ships	9.	
	Mariners	159	
Poole	Ships	4.	
	Mariners	94.	
Warham	Ships	3.	
	Mariners	59.	
Swanzey	Ships	1.	
	Mariners	29.	
Ilfercombe	Ships	6.	
	Mariners	79.	
‡Patrickeſtowe	Ships	2.	
	Mariners	27.	‡Or, Padſtow.
Polerwan	Ships	1.	
	Mariners	60.	
Wadworth	Ships	1.	
	Mariners	14.	
Kardiſe	Ships	1.	
	Mariners	51.	
Bridgwater	Ships	1.	
	Mariners	15.	
Kaermarthen	Ships	1.	
	Mariners	16.	
Cailecheſworth	Ships	1.	
	Mariners	12.	
Mulbrooke	Ships	1.	
	Mariners	12.	
Summe of the South fleete	Ships	493	
	Mariners	9630	

The North fleete.

Bamburgh	Ships	1.
	Mariners	9.
Newcaſtle	Ships	17.
	Mariners	314.

Walcrich

		Ships	Mariners
	Walerich	1.	22.
	Hertilpoole	5.	145.
	Hull	16.	466.
	Yorke	1.	9.
	Rauenſer	1.	27.
	Woodhouſe	1.	22.
Stockhith	Strokhithe	1.	10.
	Barton	3.	30.
	Swinefleete	1.	11.
	Salfleet	2.	49.
	Grimesby	11.	171.
	Waynefleet	2.	49.
	Wrangle	1.	8.
‡Or, Linne.	‡Lenne	16.	382.
	Blackney	2.	38.
	Scarborough	1.	19.
Or, Yermouth.	Yernmouth	43.	1950, or 1075.
	Donwich	6.	102.
	Orford	3.	62.
	Goford	13.	303.
	Herwich	14.	283.
	Ipſwich	12	239.
	Merſey	1.	6.
Now Brickelſey.	Brightlingſey	5.	61.
	Colcheſter	5.	90.
	Whitbanes	1.	17.
	Malden	2.	32.
	Derwen	1.	15.
	Boſton	17.	361.
	Swinhumber	1.	32.
	Barton	5.	91.
	The Summe of the North fleete	217.	4521.

	Ships	Mariners
The ſumme totall of all the Engliſh fleete	700.	14151.

Eſtrangers their ſhips and mariners.

	Ships	Mariners
Bayon	15.	439.
Spayne	7.	184.
Ireland	1.	25.
Flanders	14.	133.
Gelderland	1.	24.
The ſumme of all the Eſtrangers	38.	805.

The ſumme of expenſes as well of wages, & preſts, as for the expenſes of the kings houſes, and for other gifts and rewards, ſhippes and other things neceſſary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Calice, during the ſiege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe, from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the ſaid king, vnto the foure and twentieth day of Nouember in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hundreth xxxvii. thouſand li. ix. s. iiii. d.

A note out of Thomas Walſingham touching the huge Fleete of *eleuen hundred well furniſhed ſhips wherewith king Edward the third paſſed ouer* vnto Calais in the yeere 1359.

ANno gratiæ 1359. Iohannes Rex Franciæ ſub vmbra pacis, & doloſe obtulit Regi Angliæ Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliaſque terras quas equitauerat & vaſtarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios ſuos direxit; quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Vnde motus Rex Angliȩ, celeriter ſe & ſuos præparauit ad tranſfretandum, ducens ſecum principem Walliæ Edwardum ſuum primogenitum, ducem Henricum Lancaſtriȩ, & ferè proceres omnes, quos comitabantur vel ſequebātur pœne mille curtus, habuitque apud Sanwicum inſtructas optime vndecies centum naues, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum faſtum Franciam nauigauit, relicto domino Thoma de Wooodſtock filio ſuo iuniore admodum paruulo, Anglici regni cuſtode, ſub tutela tamen.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1359, Iohn the French king craftily, and vnder pretence of peace, offered vnto Edward the third king of England, Flanders, Picardie, Gaſcoigne, and other territories which he had ſpoyled and waſted: for the ratifying of which agreement, the foreſaid king Edward ſent his ambaſſadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainſaied them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being prouoked, ſpeedily prepared himſelfe and his forces to croſſe the ſeas, carying with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaſter and almoſt all his Nobles, with a thouſand wagons and cartes attending vpon them. And the ſaid king had at Sandwich eleuen hundred ſhips exceedingly well furniſhed: with which preparation he paſſed ouer the ſeas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie: leauing his yonger ſonne Thomas of Woodſtocke, being very tender of age, as his vicegerent in the Realme of England; albeit not without a protectour, &c.

The voyage of *Nicholas de Lynna* a Franciſcan Frier, and an excel*lent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions ſituate vnder the* North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

QVod ad deſcriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buſcoducenſis, qui quædam ex rebus geſtis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Deſcenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas inſulas miſerat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxonienſem Mathematicum in eas inſulas veniſſe, ipſiſque relictis ad vlteriora arte Magica profectū deſcripſiſſe omnia, & Aſtrolabio dimenſum eſſe in hanc ſubiectam formam ferè, vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues ſemel ingreſſæ nullo vento retroagi poſſent, nequè verò vnquam tantum ibi ventum eſſe, vt molæ frumentariȩ circumagendæ ſufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrenſis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ, ſic enim ſcribit. Non procul ab inſulis Hebridibus, Iſlandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, eſt maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex condicto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in ſecreta naturæ penetralia ſe ibi transfundentes, quaſi in Abyſſum vorantur. Si verò nauem hâc fortè tranſire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam ſtatim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis abſorbeat.

The words of Gerardus Mercator, in the foote of his general Map, vpon the deſcription of the North partes.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppoſitis mundi partibus Philoſophi deſcribunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quàm & Æolicos flatus cauſaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TOuching the deſcription of the North partes, I haue taken the ſame out of the voyage of James Cnoyen of Hartzeuan Buſke, which alleageth certaine conqueſts of Arthur king of Britaine: and the moſt part, and chiefeſt things among the reſt, he learned of a certaine prieſt in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This prieſt was deſcended from them which king Arthur had ſent to inhabite theſe Iſlands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine Engliſh Frier, a Franciſcan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into thoſe Iſlands, who leauing them, and paſſing further by his Magicall Arte, deſcribed all thoſe places that he ſawe, and tooke the height of them with his Aſtrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) haue ſet downe in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforeſaid James Cnoyen. Hee ſayd that thoſe foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with ſo great a force, that the ſhips which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in thoſe parts ſo much winde blowing, as might be ſufficient to driue a Corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrenſis (who floriſhed in the yeere 1210, vnder king John) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with theſe. videlicet:

There is a notable whirlepoole on the coaſt of Norway, called Maleſtrande, about the latitude of 68.

Not farre from theſe Iſlands (namely the Hebrides, Iſland &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the ſea, whereinto all the waues of the ſea from farre haue their courſe and recourſe, as it were without ſtoppe: which, there conueying themſelues into the ſecret receptacles of nature, are ſwallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomleſſe pit, and if it chance that any ſhippe doe paſſe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with ſuch a violence of the waues, that eftſoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole deuoureth the ſame.

The Philoſophers deſcribe foure indraughts of this Ocean ſea, in the foure oppoſite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the ſea, as the blaſts of the winde, haue their firſt originall.

A Teſtimonie of the learned Mathematician maſter *Iohn Dee, touching the foreſaid voyage of* Nicholas De Linna.

ANno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Aſtronomer, went in companie with others to the moſt Northren Iſlands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee trauailed alone, and purpoſely deſcribed all the Northerne Iſlands, with the indrawing ſeas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. vſque ad polum. Which frier for ſundry purpoſes after that did fiue times paſſe from England thither, and home againe.

Inuentio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foreſaid Franciſcan frier tooke his name) to Iſland, it is not aboue a fortnights ſailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and vſuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fiſhermen of the towne of Blacknie in the ſaid Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary ſeruice, in reſpect of their trade to Iſland.

An. 2. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of *Hereford, and laſtly king of England, by the name of Henry* the fourth, An. Dom. 1390. into Pruſſia and Lettowe, againſt the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walſingham.

An. Dom. 1390.

DOminus Henricus Comes de Derbie per idem tempus profectus eſt in le Pruys, vbi cum adjutorio mareſcalli dictæ patriæ, & cujuſdam Regis vocati Wytot deuicit exercitum Regis de Lettowe, captis quatuor ducibus, & tribus peremptis, & amplius quam trecentis, de valentioribus exercitus ſupradicti pariter interemptis. Ciuitas quoque vocatur ‖ Will, in cujus caſtellum Rex de Lettowe nomine Skirgalle confugerat, potenti virtute dicti Comitis

‖ Alias Vilna.

maximê, atque ſuorum capta eſt. Namque qui fuerunt de familia ſua primi murum aſcenderant, & vexillum ejus ſuper muros, cæteris vel torpentibus vel ignorantibus, poſuerunt. Captaque ſunt ibi vel occiſa quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn inter cæteros ibi perempto, qui aduerſarius noſtri fuit. Obſeſſumque fuit caſtrum dictæ Ciuitatis per quinque hebdomadas: Sed propter infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magiſtri de Pruys & de Lifland noluerunt diutiùs expectare. Facti ſunt Chriſtiani de gente de Lettowe octo. Et magiſter de Lifland duxit ſecum in ſuam patriam tria millia captiuorum.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ABout the ſame time L. Henry the Earle of Derbie trauailed into Pruſſia, where, with the helpe of the Marſhall of the ſame Prouince, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquiſhed the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captiuitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the ſlaughter of three, beſides more then three hundred of the principall common ſouldiers of the ſayd armie which were ſlaine. The Citie alſo which is called Wil or Vilna, into the caſtle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his ſauegard, was, by the valour of the ſayd Earle eſpecially and of his followers, ſurpriſed and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were ſlouthfull or at leaſt ignorant of their intent, ſkaling the walles, aduanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and ſlaine foure thouſand of the common ſouldiers, and amongſt others was ſlaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our profeſſed enemie. And the caſtle of the foreſaid Citie was beſieged for the ſpace of fiue weekes: but by reaſon of the infirmities and inconueniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great maſters of Pruſſia and of Lifland would not ſtay any longer. There were conuerted of the nation of Lettowe eight perſons vnto the Chriſtian faith. And the maſter of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey three thouſand captiues.

The voyage of *Thomas* of *VVoodſtocke* Duke of Glo*ceſter into* Pruſſia, *in the yeere 1391. written*

by Thomas Walſingham.

EOdem tempore dux Glouerniæ Dominus || Thomas de Woodſtock, multis mœrentibus, iter apparauit versùs le Pruys: quem non Londinenſium gemitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere poterant, quin proficiſci vellet. Nam plebs communis tàm Vrbana quàm ruſtica metuebant quòd eo abſente aliquod nouum detrimentum ſuccreſceret, quo præſente nihil tale timebant. Siquidèm in eo ſpes & ſolatium totius patriæ repoſita videbantur. Ipſe verò mòx, vt fines patriæ ſuæ tranſijt, illicò aduerſa agitatus fortuna, nunc hàc nunc illàc turbinibus procelloſis circumfertur; & in tantum deſtituitur, vt de vita etiam deſperaret. Tandem poſt Daciam, poſt Norwagiam, poſt Scoticam barbariem non ſine mortis pauore tranſcurſam, peruenit Northumbriam, & ad caſtellum ſe contulit de Tinnemutha velùt aſylum antiquitùs notum ſibi: vbi per aliquot dies recreatus, iter aſſumpſit verſus manerium ſuum de Plaſhy, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de ejus euaſione, quàm de aduentu ſuo.

|| Filius natu minimus Edwardi 3.

Reditus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

AT the ſame time the Duke of Gloceſter Lord Thomas of Woodſtock (the yongeſt ſonne of Edward the third) to the great griefe of many, tooke his iourney towards Pruſſia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could reſtraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey feared leſt in his abſence ſome newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was preſent. For in him the whole nation ſeemed to repoſe their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing ſkarce paſſed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune toſſed vp and downe with dangerous ſtormes and tempeſts, and was brought into ſuch diſtreſſe, that he deſpaired euen of his owne life. At length, hauing not without danger of death, ſailed along the coaſtes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the caſtle of Tinmouth as vnto a place of refuge knowen of olde vnto him: where, after hee had refreſhed himſelfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his iourney toward his Mannour of Plaſhy, bringing great ioy vnto the whole kingdome, aſwell in regard of his ſafetie as of his returne.

The verſes of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who *liuing in the yeere 1402. (as hee writeth himſelfe in his Epiſtle of Cupide)* ſhewed that the Engliſh Knights after the loſſe of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into Pruſſia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Chriſtian faith againſt Infidels and miſcreants, and to ſeeke honour by feats of armes.

The Engliſh Knights Prologue.

A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he firſt began
to riden out, he loued Cheualrie,
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curteſie,
full worthy was he in his lords warre:
and thereto had hee ridden no man farre,
Long trauaile.
As well in Chriſtendome as in Heathenneſſe,
and euer had honour for his worthineſſe.
Alexandria.
At Aliſandre hee was, when it was wonne:
full oft time hee had the bourd begon
abouen all nations in Pruce,
Lettowe, Ruce.
In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce,
no Chriſten man ſo oft of his degree:
In Granade at the ſiege had he bee
Algezer in Granado.
At Algezer: and ridden in Belmarye:
Lapas in Armenia. Froyſart. lib. 3. cap. 40.
At Leyes was hee, and alſo at Satalye,
when they were wonne: and in the great ſee
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.
Satalie in the mayne of Aſia neere Rhods.
At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,
Tremiſen is in Barbarie.
And foughten for our faith at Tramiſſen,
in liſtes thries, and aye ſlayne his foe:
This ilke worthie Knight had bin alſo,
‖ Or, Paliſe Froyſart lib. 3. cap. 40.
ſometime with the lord of ‖ Palathye
Turkie.
ayenſt another Heathen in Turkie.

The time when Chaucer wrote, is thus mentioned in the end of his letter of Cupide.
Written in the luſtie moneth of May
in our Palace, where many a million
of louers true haue habitation,
The yeere of grace ioyfull and iocond,
a thouſand, foure hundred and ſecond.

The original, proceedings and ſucceſſe of the Northren domeſtical and forren trades and traffiques of this Iſle of *Britain from the time of Nero the Emperour, who deceaſed in the* yeere of our Lord 70. vnder rhe Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conqueſt: and from the conqueſt, vntill this preſent time, gathered out of the moſt authenticall hiſtories and records of this nation.

A teſtimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales *of Cornelius Tacitus, proouing London to haue bene a famous Mart* Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Chriſt 70.

AT Suetonius mira conſtantia medios inter hoſtes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non inſigne, ſed copia negociatorum & cómeatu maxime celebre.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BUt Suetonius with wonderfull conſtancie paſſed through the middeſt of his enemies, vnto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a

Romane Colonie, yet was it moſt famous for multitude of Marchants and concourſe of people.

A teſtimonie out of Venerable *Beda* (which died in the yeere *of our Lord 734.) proouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffike* and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

Beda Eccleſiaſticæ hiſtoriæ Gentis Anglorum lib. 2. cap. 3.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis ſexcenteſimo quarto Auguſtinus Britanniarum Archiepiſcopus ordinauit duos Epiſcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Iuſtum: Mellitum quidem ad prædicandum prouinciæ Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tameſi fluuio dirimuntur à Cantia, & ipſi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Ciuitas eſt, ſuper ripam præfati fluminis poſita, & ipſa multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere of the incarnation of Chriſt 604. Auguſtine Archbiſhop of Britaine conſecrated two Biſhops, to wit Mellitus and Iuſtus. He appoynted Mellitus to preach to the Eaſt Saxons, which are diuided from Kent by the riuer of Thames, and border vpon the Eaſterne ſea, whoſe chiefe and Metropolitane Citie is London, ſeated vpon the banke of the aforeſayd riuer, which is alſo a Marte Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by ſea and by land.

The league betweene *Carolus Magnus* and *Offa* King of *Mercia concerning ſafe trade of the Engliſh Marchants* in all the Emperours Dominion. This *Offa* died in the yeere of our Lord *795.*

Malmsbur. de geſtis Regum Anglorum lib. 1. cap. 4.

OFfa interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum parauit: quamuis non facile quod ſuis artibus conduceret in Caroli animo inuenerit. Diſcordarunt antea, adeo vt magnis motibus vtrobique concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum commeatus prohiberentur. Eſt Epiſtola Albini huiuſce rei index, cuius partem hic apponam.

Neſcio quid de nobis venturum ſit. Aliquid enim diſſentionis diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum & Regem Offam exortum eſt: ita vt vtrinque nauigatio interdicta negociantibus ceſſet. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpoſitis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli fœdus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum ſubijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri chariſſimo Offæ Regi Merciorum ſalutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de ſalute animarum, de Catholicæ fidei ſinceritate, quam in veſtris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & ſalute animarum ſuarum beatorum Apoſtolorum limina deſiderant adire, cum pace ſine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed ſi aliqui, non religioni ſeruientes, ſed lucra ſectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis ſtatuta ſoluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato noſtro patrocinium habeant in Regno noſtro legitime. Et ſi aliquo loco iniuſta affligantur oppreſſione, reclament ad nos vel noſtros iudices, & plenam videbimus iuſtitiam fieri.

Nauigatio interdicta.

Negociatorum Anglicanorum patrocinium.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the meane ſeaſon Offa by often legacies ſolicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not eaſily finde king Charles any whit enclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. Their mindes were ſo alienated before, that, bearing hauty ſtomacks on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epiſtle of Albinus is a ſufficient teſtimony of this matter: part whereof I will here put downe.

Traffique prohibited.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of vs. For there is of late, by the inſtigation of the deuill, ſome diſcord and variance ſprung vp betweene king Charles and king Offa: inſomuch

Nauigation forbidden.

that ſailing to and fro is forbidden vnto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some ſay that we are to be ſent, for the obtaining of a peace, into thoſe partes. And againe, after a fewe lines. Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne words, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

A league betweene Carol. Mag. and K. Offa.

Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, vnto the reuerend and his moſt deare brother Offa king of the Mercians ſendeth greeting. Firſt we doe render vnto almightie God moſt humble thankes for the ſaluation of ſoules, and the ſinceritie of the Catholique faith, which we, to your great commendation, haue found ſignified in your letters. As touching thoſe pilgrimes, who for the loue of God and their owne ſoules health, are deſirous to reſort vnto the Churches of the holy Apoſtles, let them goe in peace without all diſturbance. But if any be found amongſt them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie cuſtomes at places conuenient. It is our pleaſure alſo and commandement, that your marchants ſhall haue lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any iniuſt oppreſſion, let them make their ſupplication vnto vs, or vnto our Iudges, and we will ſee iuſtice executed to the full.

Protection of the Engliſh Marchants.

An ancient teſtimonie tranſlated out of the olde Saxon lawes, *containing among other things the aduancement of Marchants for their thriſe* croſſing the wide ſeas, ſet downe by the learned Gentleman Maſter William Lambert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

IT was ſometime in Engliſh lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then were the wiſeſt of the people worſhip-worthy, euery one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and vnder-Thein. And if a churle thriued ſo, that hee had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchin, a Belhouſe, and a gate, a ſeate, and a ſeuerall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein ſo thriued, that he ſerued the king, and on his meſſage rid in his houſhold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings iourney fiue hides had, and in the kings ſeate his Lord ſerued, and thriſe with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his fortoth his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thriue ſo, that he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a Marchant ſo thriued, that he paſſed thriſe ouer the wide ſeas, of his owne craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a ſcholar ſo proſpered thorow learning that he degree had, and ſerued Chriſt, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace ſo much worthie, as thereunto belonged: vnleſſe he forfaited ſo, that he the vſe of his degree vſe ne might.

William of Malmsb. lib. 2. cap 9. de geſtis Regum Anglorum.

A teſtimonie of certaine priuiledges obtained for the Engliſh *and Daniſh Marchants of Conradus the Emperour and Iohn the Biſhop of* Rome by Canutus the King of England in his iourney to Rome, extracted out of a letter of his written vnto the Cleargie of England.

SIt vobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilum in ipſa ſolemnitate Paſcali, Romæ cum Domino Papa Ioanne, & imperatore Conrado erat, ſcilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vſque ad iſtum proximum Mare: qui omnes me & honorifice ſuſcepere, & magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis varijs & muneribus pretioſis honoratus ſum, tam in vaſis aureis & argenteis, quam in pallijs & veſtibus valde pretioſis. Locutus ſum igitur cum ipſo imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui ibi erant, de neceſſitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis concederetur lex æquior, & pax ſecurior in via Romã adeundi, & ne tot clauſuris per viam arcerentur, & propter iniuſtum teloneũ fatigarentur. Annuitque poſtulatis Imperator, & Rodulphus Rex, qui maxime ipſarum clauſurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, vt homines mei tam Mercatores, quàm alij orandi gratia viatores, abſque omni anguria clauſurarum & teloneariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant.

The ſame in Engliſh

YOu are to vnderſtand, that at the feaſt of Eaſter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope Iohn and Conradus the Emperour aſſembled at Rome, namely all the princes of the nations from mount Garganus vnto the Weſt Ocean ſea. Who all of them honourably interteined me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but eſpecially the Emperour beſtowed diuers coſtly preſents and rewards vpon mee, both in veſſels of golde and ſiluer, and alſo in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himſelfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there preſent, concerning the neceſſities of all my ſubiects both Engliſhmen and Danes; that a more fauourable law & ſecure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted vnto them, and that they might not bee hindered by ſo many ſtops & impediments in their iourney, and wearied by reaſon of iniuſt exactions. And the Emperour condeſcended vnto my requeſt, and king Rodulphus alſo, who hath greateſt authoritie ouer the foreſaid ſtops and ſtreights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my ſubiects, as well Marchants, as others who trauailed for deuotions ſake, ſhould without all hinderance and reſtraint of the foreſaid ſtops and cuſtomers, goe vnto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in ſafetie.

Garganus a mountaine of Apulia in Italie.

The flouriſhing ſtate of Marchandiſe in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburienſis, *which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K.Stephen.*

HAud longe a Roſa quaſi viginti quinque milliarijs eſt Londonia Ciuitas nobilis, opima ciuium diuitijs, conſtipata negociatorum ex omni terra, & maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in Anglia caritas victualium pro ſterili prouentu meſſium ſit, ibi neceſſaria diſtrahantur & emantur minore, quàm alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel ementium diſpendio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis finibus Tameſis fluuius famoſus, qui citra vrbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo fuſus, vltra plus 70. nomen profert.

Guliel. Malmesb. de geſtis pont. Anglorum lib. 2.

The ſame in Engliſh.

NOt farre from Rocheſter, about the diſtance of fiue and twenty miles, ſtandeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, and being frequented with the traffique of Marchants reſorting thither out of all nations, and eſpecially out of Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in England, by reaſon of the ſcarcitie of corne, things neceſſary may there be prouided and bought with leſſe gaine vnto the ſellers, and with leſſe hinderance and loſſe vnto the buyers, then in any other place of the Realme. Outlandiſh wares are conueighed into the ſame Citie by the famous riuer of Thames: which riuer ſpringing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the ſelfe ſame name. 70. miles beneath it.

Germanie.

The aforeſaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Briſtowe in his fourth booke *de geſtis pontificum Anglorum*, after this maner.

IN eadem valle eſt vicus celeberrimus Briſtow nomine, in quo eſt nauium portus ab Hibernia & Norwegia & cæteris tranſmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne ſcilicet genitalibus diuitijs tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the ſame valley ſtands the famous Towne of Briſtow, with an Hauen belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and ſafe receptacle for all ſhips directing their courſe for the ſame, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandiſh and foren countreys: namely that a region ſo fortunate and bleſſed with the riches that nature hath vouchſafed thereupon ſhould not bee deſtitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands.

Norway.

The league betweene *Henry* the ſecond and *Fredericke Barbaroſſa Emperour of* Germanie, *wherein is mention of friendly traffike be-*tweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157. recorded in the firſt Booke and ſeuenteenth Chapter of Radeuicus Canonicus Friſingenſis, being an appendix to Otto Friſingenſis.

IBidem tunc affuere etiam Henrici Regis Angliæ miſſi, varia & precioſa donaria multo lepore verborum adornata præſtantes. Inter quæ papilionem vnum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perſpeximus. Cuius ſi quantitatem requiris, non niſi machinis & inſtrumentorum genere & adminiculo leuari poterat: ſi qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipſum putem aliquando ab aliquo huiuſce apparatu ſuperatum iri. Literas quoque mellito ſermone plenas pariter direxerat, quarum hic tenor fuit. Præcordiali amico ſuo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori inuictiſſimo, Henricus Rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauenſis, ſalutem, & veræ dilectionis concordiam. Excellentiæ veſtræ quantas poſſumus referimus grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nuncijs veſtris viſitare, ſalutare literis, muneribus præuenire, & quod his charius amplectimur, pacis & amoris inuicem dignatus eſtis fœdera inchoare. Exultauimus, & quodammodo animum nobis creſcere, & in maius ſenſimus euehi dum veſtra promiſſio, in qua nobis ſpem dediſtis, in diſponendis Regni noſtri negocijs, alacriores nos reddidit, & promptiores. Exultauimus inquam, & tota mente magnificentiæ veſtræ aſſurreximus, id vobis in ſincero cordis affectu reſpondentes, quod quicquid ad honorem veſtrum ſpectare nouerimus, pro poſſe noſtro effectui mancipare parati ſumus. Regnum noſtrum, & quicquid vbique noſtræ ſubijcitur ditioni vobis exponimus & veſtrę committimus poteſtati, vt ad veſtrum nutum omnia diſponantur, & in omnibus veſtri fiat voluntas imperij. Sit igitur inter nos & populos noſtros dilectionis & pacis vnitas indiuiſa, commercia tuta: Ita tamen vt vobis, qui dignitate præminetis, imperandi cedat authoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obſequendi. Et ſicut veſtræ Serenitatis memoriam veſtrorum excitat in nobis munerum largitio, ſic vos noſtri quoque reminiſci præoptamus, mittentes quæ pulchriora penes nos erant, & vobis magis placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quo dantur accipite. De manu beati Iacobi, ſuper qua nobis ſcripſiſtis, in ore magiſtri Hereberti & Guilielmi Clerici noſtri verbũ poſuimus. Teſte Thoma Cancellario apud Northanton.

Commercia inter Germanos & Anglos.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THere were preſent alſo the ſame time, the meſſengers of Henry king of England preſenting diuers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of ſpeech. Amongſt the which we ſaw a pauilion, moſt large in quantity, & moſt excellent in quality. For if you deſire to know the quantitie therof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of inſtruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was neuer any furniture of the ſame kinde, that ſurpaſſed the ſame either in ſtuffe or workemanſhip. The ſaid king directed his letters alſo, full of ſugred ſpeeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloued friend Fiederick by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes moſt inuincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wiſheth health and concord of ſincere amitie. We doe render vnto your highnes (moſt renowmed and peereleſſe Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue ſo graciouſly vouchſafed by your meſſengers to viſite vs, in your letters to ſalute vs, with your gifts to preuent vs, and (which wee doe more highly eſteeme of then all the reſt) to beginne a league of peace and friendſhip betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner ſenſibly felt our ſelues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encreaſe, whileſt your promiſe, whereby you put vs in good comfort, did make vs more cheerefull and reſolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I ſay) & in our ſecret cogitations did humble obeiſance vnto your Maieſtie, giuing you at this time to vnderſtand frõ the ſincere & vnfained affection of our heart, that whatſoeuer we ſhal know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power moſt ready to put in practiſe. Our kingdome, and whatſoeuer is vnder our iuriſdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the ſame vnto your highneſſe, that all matters may be diſpoſed according to your direction, and that your pleaſure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our ſelues and our ſubiects, an indiuiſible vnitie of friendſhip and peace, and ſafe trade of Marchandize: yet ſo, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee aſcribed, and diligence in obeying ſhall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in remembrance of your Maieſtie, euen ſo in like maner ſending vnto your Highneſſe the moſt rare

things in our cuſtodie, and which we thought ſhould be moſt acceptable vnto you, wee doe moſt heartily wiſh that your ſelfe alſo would not altogether bee vnmindefull of vs. Haue reſpect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

Concerning the hand of S. Iames, about which you wrote vnto vs, we haue ſent you word by M. Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

A generall ſafe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by *king Iohn in the ‖ firſt yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the* Tower, Anno 1. Regis Ioannis.

‖ 1199.

IOannes Dei gratia &c. Maiori & Communitati Londinenſi ſalutem. Sciatis voluntatem eſſe noſtram, quod omnes Mercatores de quacunq; fuerint terra ſaluum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus ſuis in Angliam, Volumus etiam quod eandem habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis vnde fuerunt egreſſi. Et ideo vobis præcipimus, quod hoc faciatis denunciari in Balliua veſtra, & firmiter teneri; permittentes eos ire & redire ſine impedimento per debitas & rectas & ſolitas conſuetudines in Balliua veſtra. Teſte Galfredo filio Petri comite Eſſexiæ apud Kinefard 5. die Aprilis.

Solitæ mercatorum conſuetudines.

In eadem forma ſcribitur vicecomiti Sudſex, Maiori & communitati Ciuitatis Winton, Balliuo de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti Norffolciæ & Suffolciæ, Vicecomiti dorſet & Sommerſet, Baronibus de quinque portubus, Vicecomiti de Southampton ſire, Vicecomiti de Herteford & Eſſex, Vicecomiti Cornubiæ & Deuon.

The ſame in Engliſh

IOhn by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communaltie of London, greeting. You are to vnderſtand, that it is our pleaſure, that all Marchants of what nation ſoeuer, ſhall haue ſafe conduct to paſſe and repaſſe with their Marchandize into England. It is our will alſo, that they be vouchſafed the ſame fauour in England, which is granted vnto the Engliſh Marchants in thoſe places from whence they come. And therefore we giue you in charge, that you cauſe this to be publiſhed, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmely to be obſerued, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient cuſtomes vſed in your ſaid Bailiwicke. Witneſſe Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Eſſex at Kinefard the 5. day of April.

The ancient cuſtomes of Marchants.

The ſame forme of writing was ſent to the ſherife of Sudſex, to the Maior and communaltie of the Citie of Wincheſter, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the ſherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the ſherife of Dorſet and Sommerſet, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the ſherife of Southampton-ſhire, the ſherife of Hertford and Eſſex, the ſherife of Cornewal and Deuon.

Literæ regis Henrici tertij ad Haquinum Regem Norwegiæ *de pacis fœdere & intercurſu mercandiſandi* ‖ *Anno 1. Henrici 3.*

‖ 1216.

HEnricus Dei gratia &c. Haquino eadem gratia Regi Norwegiæ ſalutem. Immenſas nobilitati veſtræ referimus gratiarum actiones de his quæ per literas veſtras & prudentem virum Abbatem de Liſa, nobis ſignificaſtis, volentes & deſiderantes fœdus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiſcum inire, & nobiſcum confœderari. Bene autem placet & placebit nobis quod terrę noſtrę cómunes ſint, & Mercatores & homines qui ſunt de poteſtate veſtra libere & ſine impedimento terram noſtram adire poſſint, & homines & Mercatores noſtri ſimiliter terrã veſtram. Dum tamen literas veſtras patentes ſuper hoc nobis deſtinetis, & nos vobis noſtras tranſmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra veſtra quàm noſtra eant, veniant, & recedant per terras noſtras. Et ſi quid veſtræ ſederit voluntati, quod facere valeamus, id ſecurè nobis ſignificetis. Detinuimus autem adhuc Abbatem prædictum, vt de naui veſtra & rebus in ea contentis pro poſſe noſtro reſtitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de ſtatu noſtro & Regni noſtri vos certificare curabimus, & quàm citius &c. Teſte me ipſo apud Lamhithe decimo die Octobris.

Eodem modo ſcribitur S. Duci Norwegiæ ibidem & eodem die.

The letters of King *Henry* the third vnto *Haquinus* King *of* Norway *concerning a treatie of peace* and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c,

HEnry by the grace of God, &c. vnto Haquinus by the ſame grace King of Norway, ſendeth greeting. Wee render vnto your highneſſe vnſpeakeable thanks for thoſe things which by your letters, and by your diſcreete ſubiect the Abbat of Liſa, you haue ſignified vnto vs, and alſo for that you are right willing and deſirous to begin and to conclude betweene vs both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter ſhalbe well contented, that both our lands be common, to the ende that the Marchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment reſort vnto our land, and our people and Marchants may likewiſe haue recourſe vnto your territories. Prouided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you ſend vnto vs your letters patents, and wee will ſend ours alſo vnto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might ſtand you in any ſtead, you may boldly ſignifie the ſame vnto vs. Wee haue as yet deteined the foreſaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cauſe reſtitution to be made for your ſhip, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne eſtate, and of the eſtate of our kingdome ſo ſoone, &c. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Lamhith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the ſame forme and to the ſame effect was there and then ſent vnto S. Duke of Norway.

Mandatum pro Coga Regis Norwegiæ Anno 13. *Henrici 3.*

MAndatum eſt omnibus Balliuis portuum in quos ventura eſt Coga de Norwegia, in qua venerint in Angliam milites Regis Norwegiæ & Mercatores Saxoniæ, quod cum prædictam Cogam in portus ſuos venire contigerit, ſaluò permittant ipſam Cogam in portubus ſuis morari, quamdiu neceſſe habuerit, & libere ſine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint. Teſte Rege.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Mandate for the King of *Norway* his Ship *called the Cog.*

WEe will and commaund all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his ſouldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) ſhall touch, that, when the foreſaid Cog ſhall chance to arriue at any of their Hauens, they doe permit the ſaid Cog ſafely to remaine in their ſaid Hauens ſo long as neede ſhall require, and without impediment alſo freely to depart thence, whenſoeuer the gouernours of the ſayd ſhip ſhall thinke it expedient. Witneſſe the King.

Carta pro Mercatoribus de Colonia anno 20. Henrici 3. *Confirmata per Regem Edwardum primum* 8. Iulij Anno Regni 18. prout extat in rotulo cartarum de Anno 18. Regis Edwardi primi.

‖ Antiqua conſuetudo Gildhallæ Colonienſium Londini.

REx Archiepiſcopis &c. ſalutem. Sciatis nos quietos clamaſſe pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris dilectos noſtros, Ciues de Colonia, & mercandiſam ſuam de illis duobus ſolidis, ‖ quos ſolebant dare de Gildhalla ſua London, & de omnibus

alijs conſuetudinibus & demandis, quæ pertinent ad nos in London, & per totam terram noſtram; & quod liberè poſſunt ire ad ferias, per totam terram noſtram & emere & vendere in villa London & alibi, ſalua libertate Ciuitatis noſtræ London. Quare volumus & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, quod prædicti ciues de Colonia prænominatas libertates & liberas conſuetudines habeant per totam terram noſtram Angliæ ſicut prædictum eſt. His teſtibus, venerabili patre Waltero Caerleolenſi Epiſcopo, Willielmo de Ferarijs, Gilberto Baſſet, Waltero de Bello campo, Hugone Diſſpenſer, Waltero Mareſcallo, Galfrido Diſpenſer, Bartholomæo Pech, Bartholomæo de Saukeuill, & alijs. Data per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Ciciſtrenſis Epiſcopi, Cancellarij noſtri apud Dauintre Octauo die Nouembris, Anno Regni noſtri viceſimo.

The ſame in Engliſh

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants of *Colen in the twentieth yeere of* Henry *the third, confirmed* by King *Edward* the firſt, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King *Edward* the firſt.

The King vnto Archbiſhops &c. greeting. Be it knowen vnto you, that wee haue quite claimed, and for vs and our heires releaſed our welbeloued the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of thoſe two ſhillings which they were wont to pay out of their Gildhall at London, and from all other cuſtomes and demaunds, which perteine vnto vs, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions: and that they may ſafely reſort vnto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and ſell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmely command for vs and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enioy the liberties and free priuiledges aboue-mentioned, throughout our whole kingdome of England as is aforeſaid. Witneſſes, the reuerend father Walter Biſhop of Carlil, William de Ferarijs, Gilbert Baſſet, Walter de Beau-champ, Hugh Diſſpenſer, Walter Mareſcal, Geofrie Diſſpenſſer, Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukeuill and others. Giuen by the hand of the reuerend father Ralph Biſhop of Chicheſter and our Chauncellour at Dauintre, the eight day of Nouember, in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

The ancient cuſtome of the Coloners Gildhall in London.

Carta Lubecenſibus ad ſeptennium conceſſa.

Anno 41. Henrici 3.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauiæ, omnibus Balliuis ſuis ſalutem. Sciatis nos ad inſtantiam dilecti & fidelis fratris noſtri Ricardi Comitis Cornubiæ in Regem Romanorum electi, ſuſcepiſſe in protectionem & defenſionem noſtram & ſaluum & ſecurum conductum noſtrum Burgenſes de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus & mercandiſis quas in Regnum noſtrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis conceſſimus, quod de omnibus rebus & mercandiſis ſuis nihil capiatur ad opus noſtrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorundem; ſed libere vendant & negocientur inde in Regno prædicto, prout ſibi viderint expedire. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dictis Burgenſibus vel eorum nuncijs in veniendo in terram noſtram cum rebus & mercandiſis ſuis, ibidem morando, & inde recedendo, nullum inſeratis, aut ab alijs inferri permittatis impedimentum aut grauamen. Nec eos contra quietantiam prædictam vexetis, aut ab alijs vexari permittatis. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes per ſeptennium durantes: Dum tamen ijdem Burgenſes interim bene & fideliter ſe habuerint erga præfatum electum fratrem noſtrum. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſterium vndecimo die Maij Anno Regni noſtri quadrageſimo primo. Hæc litera duplicata eſt, pro Burgenſibus & mercatoribus Dacis, Brunſwig, & Lubek.

Ricardus Comes Cornubiæ Rex Romanorum.

Carta conditionalis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The charter of Lubek granted for ſeuen yeeres, obtained *in the one and fortieth yeere of Henry the third.*

HEnry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailifs ſendeth greeting. Know ye that at the inſtant requeſt of our welbeloued and truſty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we haue receiued vnder our protection and defence, and vnder our ſafe and ſecure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into our kingdome. We haue alſo granted vnto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing ſhal be ſeized vnto the vſe of our ſelues, or of any other without their owne conſent, but that they may freely ſell and exerciſe traffike therewith, according as they ſhall thinke expedient. And therefore we ſtraightly command you, that neither your ſelues do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or moleſtation vnto the ſaid Burgers or vnto their meſſengers, either at their comming into our land, with their goods and marchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that yee neither moleſt them your ſelues, nor yet ſuffer them by others to be moleſted, contrary to the aforeſaid Charter. In teſtimonie whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents, during the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres next following.

Prouided, that the ſayd Burghers doe in the meane time behaue themſelues well and faithfully towards our foreſaid elected brother. Witneſſe our ſelues at Weſtminſter the eleuenth day of March, in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne.

This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunſwig, and of Lubecke.

Carta pro Mercatoribus Alemanniæ, qui habent domum *in London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur* Anno 44. *Henrici tertij*, & Anno primo & 29. *Edwardi primi* renouata & confirmata.

AD inſtantiam Sereniſſimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis chariſſimi fratris noſtri concedimus mercatoribus Alemanniæ, illis videlicet qui habent domum in Ciuitate noſtra London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur, quod eos vniuerſos manutenebimus per totum Regnũ noſtrum in omnibus ijſdem libertatibus & liberis conſuetudinibus, quibus ipſi noſtris & ‖ progenitorum noſtrorum temporibus vſi ſunt & gauiſi. Ipſoſque extra huiuſmodi libertates & liberas conſuetudines non trahemus, nec trahi aliquatenus permittemus. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes.

‖Nota antiquitatem.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A charter for the Marchants of *Almaine*, who haue an houſe *at* London *commonly called* ‡ *the Guild hall of the* Dutch, graunted in the 44. yeere of *Henry* the third, renued and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of *Edward* the firſt.

‡The Stilliard.

AT the inſtant requeſt of the moſt gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our moſt deare brother, wee doe graunt vnto the Marchants of Alemain (namely vnto thoſe that haue an houſe in our citie of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Merchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and euery of them, in all thoſe liberties and free cuſtomes, which both in our times, and in the times of our progenitors, they haue vſed and enioyed. Neither will we inforce them beyond theſe liberties and free cuſtomes, nor in any wiſe permit them to be inforced. In witneſſe whereof, wee haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents.

Note the antiquitie.

Mandatum

Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus *alienigenis.*

MErcatores extranei vendant mereimonia ſua in ciuitate London &c. infra quadraginta dies poſt ingreſſum ſuum, anno 3. Edwardi primi.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A mandate of king *Edward* the firſt concerning outlandiſh marchants.

WE will and command that outlandiſh marchants doe ſel their wares in the citie of London &c. within forty dayes of their arriuall.

The great Charter granted vnto forreine marchants by king *Edward* the firſt, in the 31 yeare of his reigne commonly called *Carta mercatoria, Anno Domini* 1303.

EDwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iuſtitiarijs, Vicecomitibus, præpoſitis, miniſtris, & omnibus balliuis & fidelibus ſuis ſalutem. Circa bonum ſtatum omnium mercatorum ſubſcriptorum regnorum, terrarum, & prouinciarum, videlicet Alemanniæ, Franciæ, Hiſpaniæ, Portugalliæ, Nauarræ, Lombardiæ, Thuſciæ, Prouinciȩ, Cataloniæ, ducatus noſtri Aquitaniæ, Tholoſaniȩ, Caturluni, Flandriæ, Brabantiȩ, & omnium aliarum terrarum & locorum extraneorum, quocunq; nomine cenſeantur, venientium in regnum noſtrum Angliȩ & ibidem conuerſantium nos pręcipua cura ſollicitat, qualiter ſub noſtro dominio tranquillitatis & plenæ ſecuritatis immunitas eiſdem mercatoribus futuris temporibus præparetur. Vt itaque vota ipſorum reddantur ad noſtra & regni noſtri ſeruitia promptiora, ipſorum petitionibus fauorabiliter annuentes, & pro ſtatu eorundem plenius aſſecurando, in forma quȩ ſequitur ordinantes, pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum ſubſcripta dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

1. Inprimis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum & terrarum ſaluè & ſecure ſub tuitione & protectioue noſtra in dictum regnum noſtrum Angliæ, & vbique infra poteſtatem noſtram alibi veniant cum mercandiſis ſuis quibuſcunque, de muragio, pontagio & pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & poteſtatem noſtram in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis mercatorijs poſſunt mercari duntaxat in groſſo tam cum indigenis ſeu incolis eiuſdem regni & poteſtatis noſtræ prædictæ, quàm cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel priuatis. Ita tamen quod merces, quæ vulgariter mercerię vocantur, ac ſpecies, minutatim vendi poſſint, prout antea fieri conſueuit. Et quod omnes prædicti mercatores mercandiſas ſuas, quas ipſos ad prædictum regnum & poteſtatem noſtram adducere, ſeu infra idem regnum & poteſtatem noſtram emere, vel aliàs acquirere contigerit, poſſint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictam, quàm extra ducere vel portare facere, præterquam ad terras manifeſtorum & notoriorum hoſtium regni noſtri, ſoluendo conſuetudines quas debebunt: vinis duntaxat exceptis, quæ de eodem regno ſeu poteſtate noſtra, poſtquam infra idem regnum ſeu poteſtatem noſtram ducta fuerint, ſine voluntate & licentia ſpeciali non liceat eis educere quoquo modo.

Exceptio contra notorios regni hoſtes.

2. Item quod prædicti mercatores in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis prædictis pro voluntate ſua hoſpitari valeant, & morari cum bonis ſuis ad gratiam ipſorum, quorum ſunt hoſpitia ſiue domus.

3. Item quod quilibet contractus per ipſos mercatores cum quibuſcunque perſonis vndecunque fuerint ſuper quocunque genere mercandiſæ initus, firmus ſit & ſtabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu poſſit recedere, vel reſilire, poſtquam denarius Dei inter principales perſonas cōtrahentes datus fuerit & receptus. Et ſi forſan ſuper cōtractu eiuſmodi contentio oriatur, fiat inde probatio aut inquiſitio ſecundū vſus & conſuetudines feriarū & villarū,

vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit & iniri.

4. Item promittimus præfatis mercatoribus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam priſam vel arreſtationem, ſeu dilationem occaſione priſæ de cætero de mercimonijs, mercandiſis ſeu alijs bonis ſuis per nos vel alium ſeu alios pro aliqua neceſſitate vel caſu contra voluntatem ipſorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, niſi ſtatim ſoluto precio pro quo ipſi mercatores alijs eiuſmodi mercimonia vendere poſſint, vel eis aliter ſatiſfacto, ita quod reputent ſe contentos: Et quod ſuper mercimonia, mercandiſas, ſeu bona ipſorum per nos vel miniſtros noſtros nulla appreciatio aut eſtimatio imponetur.

Lex mercatoria.

5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui & miniſtri feriarum, ciuitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iuſtitiam faciant de die in diem ſine dilatione ſecundum legem mercatoriam, de vniuerſis & ſingulis quæ per eandem legem poterunt terminari. Et ſi forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuorum vel miniſtrorum prædictorum, vnde ijdem mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis incommoda ſuſtinuerint vel ſuſtineant, licet mercator verſus partem in principali recuperauerit damna ſua, nihilominus balliuus vel miniſter alius verſus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem iſtam concedimus in fauorem mercatorum prædictorum pro eorum iuſtitia maturanda.

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, ſaluo caſu criminis pro quo infligenda eſt pœna mortis, vbi mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitauerit, cuiuſcunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nundinis, ciuitatibus, ſiue Burgis, vbi fuerit ſufficiens copia mercatorum prædictarum terrarum, & inquiſitio fieri debeat, ſit medietas inquiſitionis de eiſdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi placitum illud eſſe contigerit. Et ſi de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inueniatur ſufficiens, ponentur in inquiſitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & reſidij ſint de alijs bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & ſtatuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria & feria regni noſtri prædicti & alibi infra poteſtatem noſtram pondus noſtrum in certo loco ponatur, & ante ponderationem ſtatera in præſentia emptoris & venditoris vacua videatur, & quod brachia ſint equalia: & ex tunc ponderator ponderet in æquali. Et cum ſtateram poſuerit in æquali ſtatim amoueat manus ſuas, ita quod remaneat in æquali: quodque per totum regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ſit vnum pondus & vna menſura: & ſigno ſtandardi noſtri ſignentur: Et quod quilibet poſſit habere ſtateram vnius quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & anteceſſores noſtros conceſſam illud non fuerit, ſiue contra villarum & feriarum conſuetudinem hactenus obſeruatam.

8. Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & diſcretus Londini reſidens aſſignetur iuſtitiarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant ſpecialiter placitare, & debita ſua recuperare celeriter, ſi Vicecomites & Maiores eis non facerent de die in diem celeris iuſtitiæ complementum: Et inde fiat Commiſſio extra Cartam præſentem conceſſa mercatoribus antedictis: ſcilicet de his quæ ſunt inter mercatores & mercatores ſecundum legem mercatoriam deducenda.

Lex mercatoria, quæ

9. Item ordinamus & ſtatuimus, & ordinationem illam ſtatutumque pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum volumus firmiter obſeruari, quod pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel hæredes noſtri de cætero concedemus, præfati mercatores ſupradictas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro prædictis autem libertatibus & liberis conſuetudinibus obtinendis, & priſis noſtris remittendis ijdem ſupradicti mercatores vniuerſi & ſinguli pro ſe & omnibus alijs de partibus ſuis nobis concorditer & vnanimiter conceſſerunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adducent vel adduci facient infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram, & vnde marinarijs fretum ſoluere tenebuntur, ſoluent nobis & hæredibus noſtris nomine Cuſtumæ duos ſolidos vltra antiquas cuſtumas debitas & in denarijs ſolui conſuetas nobis, aut alias infra quadraginta dies, poſtquam extra naues ad terram poſita fuerint dicta vina. Item de quolibet ſacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij nomine ipſorum ement & è regno educẽt, aut emi & educi facient, ſoluent quadraginta denarios de incremẽto vltra cuſtumam antiquam dimidię marcę, quæ prius fuerat perſoluta. Et pro laſta coriorum extra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram vehendorum dimidiam marcam ſupra id quod ex antiqua cuſtuma ante ſoluebatur. Et ſimiliter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ducendis quadraginta denarios vltra certum illud, quod de

Antiquæ Cuſtumæ.

antiqua custuma fuerat prius datum. Item duos ſolidos de quolibet ſcarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno alio ſine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet æris quintalla.

Cumque de præfatis mercatoribus nonnulli eorum alias exercere ſoleant mercandiſas, vt de Auerio ponderis, & de alijs rebus ſubtilibus, ſicut de pannis Tarſenſibus, de ſerico, & cindallis, de ſeta & alijs diuerſis mercibus, & de equis etiam & alijs animalibus, blado & alijs rebus & mercandiſis multimodis, quę ad certam cuſtumam facile poni non poterunt, ijdem mercatores conceſſerunt dare nobis & hęredibus noſtris de qualiber libra argenti eſtimationis ſeu valoris rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi, quocunque nomine cenſeantur, tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandiſarum ipſarum in regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictam infra viginti dies poſtquam huiuſmodi res & mercandiſæ in regnum & poteſtatem noſtram adductæ & etiam ibidem exoneratæ ſeu venditæ fuerint. Et ſimiliter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in eductione quarumcunque rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi emptarum in regno & poteſtate noſtris prædictis vltra cuſtumas nobis aut alijs ante datas. Et ſuper valore & eſtimatione rerum & mercandiſarum huiuſmodi de quibus tres denarij de qualibet libra argenti ſicut prædicitur ſunt ſoluendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut ſocijs ſuis oſtendere poterunt: Et ſi literas non habeant ſtetur in hac parte prædictorum mercatorum, ſi pręſentes fuerint, vel valetorum ſuorum in eorundem mercatorum abſentia, iuramentis. 10.

Liceat inſuper ſocijs de ſocietate prędictorum mercatorum infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram prædictas, lanas vendere alijs ſuis ſocijs, & ſimiliter emere ab ijſdem abſque cuſtuma ſoluenda. Ita tamen quod dictæ lanę ad tales manus non deueniant, quod de cuſtuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et præterea eſt ſciendum, quod poſtquam ſupradicti mercatores ſemel in vno loco infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram cuſtumam nobis conceſſam ſuperius pro mercandiſis ſuis in forma ſoluerint ſupradicta, & ſuum habeant inde warantum, ſiue huiuſmodi mercandiſæ infra regnum & poteſtatem noſtram remaneant, ſiue exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, quæ de regno & poteſtate noſtris prædictis ſine voluntate & licentia noſtra ſicut prædictũ eſt, nullatenus educantur:) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac hæredibus noſtris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, priſa, vel præſtatio, aut aliquod onus ſuper perſonas mercatorũ prędictorum, mercandiſas ſeu bona eorundem aliquatenus imponatur contra formam expreſſam ſuperius & conceſſam. His teſtibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo totius Angliæ primate, Waltero Couentriæ & Lichfildię epiſcopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolnienſe, Humfredo de Bohum comite Herfordienſe & Eſſexię & Conſtabulo magno Anglię, Adomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Leſpenſor, Waltero de Bello campo, ſeneſcallo hoſpitij noſtri, Roberto de Burijs, & alijs. Datum per manum noſtrã apud Windeſore, primo die Februarij, anno regni noſtri xxxj. 11.

The aforeſaid generall Charter in Engliſh.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, Vicounts, gouernours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people ſendeth greeting. Wee haue ſpeciall care for the good eſtate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countreis following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Nauarre, Lombardie, Florence, Prouence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholoſa, Caturlune, Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine countreis and places by what name ſoeuer they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the ſayd marchants may liue in quiet and full ſecuritie vnder our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts deſires may bee more readily inclined to our ſeruice and the ſeruice of our kingdome, wee fauourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller aſſuring of their eſtate, haue thought good to graunt to the ſayd marchants for vs and our heires for euer theſe priuiledges vnder written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

Firſt, that all marchants of the ſayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where elſe into our dominion with their marchandiſes whatſoeuer ſafely and ſecurely vnder our defence and protection without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the ſayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great as well with the naturall ſubiects and inhabitantes of our aforeſayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, ſtraungers, or priuate perſons. Yet ſo, that marchandiſes which are commonly called mercerie wares, 1.

An exception for traficking with yͤ known enemies of the kingdome.

and ſpices, may be ſold by the ſmall, as heretofore hath bin accuſtomed. And that all the aforeſaid marchants may cary or cauſe to be caried whither they will, aſwell within our realme or dominion, as out of the ſame; ſauing vnto the countreis of the manifeſt and knowne enemies of our kingdome, thoſe marchandiſes which they ſhall bring into our foreſayd realme and dominion, or buy, or otherwiſe purchaſe in our ſayd realme and dominion, paying ſuch cuſtomes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it ſhall not be any wayes lawfull for them to cary out of our ſayd realme and dominion without our ſpeciall fauour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

2. Item that the aforeſayd marchants may at their pleaſure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforeſaid, with the good liking of thoſe which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that euery bargaine made by the ſaid marchants with any maner of perſons, of what places ſoeuer they be, for any kind of marchãdiſe whatſoeuer, ſhalbe firme & ſtable, ſo that none of both the marchants ſhall ſhrinke or giue backe from that bargaine, after that the earneſt penie be once giuen and taken betweene the principall bargayners. And if peraduenture any ſtrife ariſe about the ſame bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof ſhall be made according to the vſes and cuſtomes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the ſaid bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promiſe the aforeſaid marchants granting for euer for vs and our heires, that from hence foorth we will not in any wiſe make nor cauſe to be made any ſtay or arreſt, or any delay by reaſon of arreſt of their wares, marchandiſes or other goods, by our ſelues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident againſt the will of the ſayd marchants, without preſent payment of ſuch a price as the marchants would haue ſold thoſe marchandiſes for to other men, or without making of them other ſatiſfaction, ſo that they ſhall hold themſelues well contented: and that no price or valuation ſhalbe ſet vpon their wares, marchandiſes, & goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

Where is this law now become?

5. Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes ſhall doe ſpeedie iuſtice from day to day without delay according to the lawe of Marchants to the aforeſayd marchants when they ſhall complaine before them, touching all and ſinguler cauſes, which may be determined by the ſame law. And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforeſayd, whereby the ſayd marchants or any of them haue ſuſtained, or do ſuſtaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recouer his loſſes againſt the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer ſhall be puniſhed to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this puniſhment in fauour of the aforeſayd marchants in regard of the haſtening of their iuſtice.

6. Item, that in al maner of pleas, ſauing in caſe where puniſhmẽt of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is impleaded, or ſueth another, of what condition ſoeuer hee bee which is ſued, whether ſtranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where ſufficient numbers of marchants of the foreſayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Iurie be of the ſayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place where the ſuite ſhall fall out to bee: and if ſufficient number of marchants of the ſayd countries cannot bee found, thoſe which ſhall be found fit in that place ſhall be put vpon the iurie, and the reſt ſhall be choſen of good and fit men of the places where ſuch ſuit ſhall chance to be.

7. Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in euery market towne and fayre of our realme aforeſayd and elſewhere within our dominion our weight ſhall bee ſet in ſome certiane place; and that before the weighing the balance ſhall bee ſeene emptie in the preſence of the buyer and of the ſeller, and that the ſkales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath ſet the balances euen, let him ſtraightway remooue his hands, ſo that the balance may remayne euen: And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weight and one meaſure, and that they be marked with the marke of our ſtandard. And that euery man may haue a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and vnder, where the ſame hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by vs and our predeceſſors, or contrary to the cuſtome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene obſerued.

8. Item we will and we grant that ſome certaine faythfull and diſcreete man reſident in London be appointed to doe Iuſtice to the aforeſayd marchants, before whome they may haue their ſutes decided, and may ſpeedilie recouer their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior ſhould not from day to day giue them ſpeedy iuſtice. And hereof let a Commiſſion be made: which we grant vnto the aforeſaid marchants beſides this preſent Charter: to wit of ſuch things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

9. Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and ſtatute ſhall firmely bee obſerued for euer for vs and our heires, that the aforeſayd marchants ſhal not looſe the aforeſaid li-

berties nor any of them, for any libertie whatſoeuer, which wee or our heires hereafter ſhall grant. And for the obtayning of the aforeſayd liberties and free cuſtomes, and for remiſſion of our arreſting of their goods, the aforeſayd marchants all and euery of them for themſelues and all other of their parties with one accorde and one conſent haue granted vnto vs, that of euery tunne of wine, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they ſhall bee bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, beſides the olde cuſtomes which are due and were woont to bee payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a cuſtome two ſhillings in money, either out of hande, or elſe within fortie dayes after the ſayd wines ſhall bee brought on land out of the ſhippes. Item for euery ſacke of wooll, which the ſayd marchants or others in their name ſhall buy and carie out of the realme, or cauſe to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence aboue the old cuſtome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a laſt of hides to bee caryed out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde cuſtome. And likewiſe for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee tranſported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, aboue that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde cuſtome: Alſo two ſhillings vpon euery ſcarlate and euery cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelue pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine. Item twelue pence vpon euerie quintall of copper.

And whereas ſundrie of the aforeſayd marchants are woont to exerciſe other marchandiſes, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as ſarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and ſilke, and diuers other marchandiſes, and to ſell horſes and other beaſtes, corne, and ſundrie other things and marchandiſes, which cannot eaſily bee reduced vnto a certaine cuſtome: the ſayd marchants haue granted to giue vnto vs, and to our heires of euery pound of ſiluer of the eſtemation and value of theſe kinde of goods and marchandiſes, by what name ſoeuer they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of theſe goods into our realme and dominion aforeſaid, within twentie dayes after theſe goods and marchandiſes ſhall be brought into our realme and dominion, and ſhall be there vnladen and ſolde. And likewiſe three pence vpon euery pound of ſiluer in the carying out of any ſuch goods and marchandiſes which are bought in our realme and dominion aforeſayd aboue the cuſtomes beforetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and eſtimation of theſe goods and marchandiſes, whereof three pence of euery pound of ſiluer, as is aforeſayd, is to be payd, credite ſhalbe giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to ſhewe from their maſters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this behalfe, we will ſtand to the othe of the foreſayd marchants if they bee preſent, or in their abſence to the othes of their ſeruants.

Moreouer, it ſhall be lawfull for ſuch as be of the company of the aforeſayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforeſayd, to ſell woolles to other of their company, and likewiſe to buy of them without paying of cuſtome. Yet ſo, that the ſaid wools come not to ſuch hands, that wee be defrauded of the cuſtome due vnto vs. And furthermore it is to be vnderſtood, that after that the aforeſaid marchants haue once payed in one place within our realme and dominion, the cuſtome aboue granted vnto vs in forme aforeſayd for their marchandiſes, & haue their warrant therof, whether theſe marchandiſes remayne within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in no wiſe ſhalbe caried forth of our realme and dominion aforeſayd, without our fauour & licence as is aforeſayd) we wil and we grant for vs and our heires, that no execution, attachment, or loane, or any other burthen be layd vpon the perſons of the aforeſayd marchants, vpon their marchandiſes or goods in any caſe, contrary to the forme before mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witneſſes of theſe preſents are theſe, Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter biſhop of Couētrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Eſſex, high Conſtable of England, Adomare of Valentia, Geofrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenſer, Walter Beauchampe Seneſchall of our houſe, Robert of Bures, and others. Giuen by our owne hand at Windeſore the firſt day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

De mercatoribus Angliæ in Norwegia areſtatis, & *eorum mercimonijs dearreſtandis literæ* Edwardi *ſecundi* anno ſexto regni ſui, Haquino regi Norwegię.

MAgnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegię illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo Edwardus eadē Dei gratia rex Anglię, Dom. Hibernię, & dux Aquitanię ſalutē cū dilectione ſincera. Miramur nō modicū & in intimis conturbamur de grauaminibus

Villa de Tonneſbergh.

& oppreſſionibus quæ ſubditis noſtris infra regnum veſtrum cauſa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus ſolito abſque cauſa rationabili, ſicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper ſiquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynfleete, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum ſocij mercatores noſtri nobis conquerendo monſtrarunt, quod cum ipſi quoſdam homines & ſeruientes ſuos cum tribus nauibus ſuis ad partes regni veſtri, ad negotiandum ibidem tranſmiſiſſent: & naues illæ in portu villæ veſtræ de Tonneſbergh halece & alijs bonis diuerſis vſque ad magnam ſummam oneratæ fuiſſent: Et licet nautis nauiũ prædictarum hominibuſque & ſeruientibus prædictis à regno veſtro liberè cum nauibus & bonis prædictis ad partes Angliȩ redeundi veſtras fieri feceritis de cõductu, poſtmodum tamen antequã naues illæ propter venti contrarietatẽ portum prædictum exire potuerunt, quidam balliui veſtri naues prædictas cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc exiſtentibus in eiſdem, occaſione mortis cuiuſdam militis nuper balliui veſtri in Vikia per malefactores & piratas, dum naues prædictæ in portu ſupradicto ſicut præmittitur remanſerunt ſupra mare vt dicitur interfecti, de mandato veſtro vt dicebant arreſtarunt, & diu ſub areſto huiuſmodi detinebant, quouſque videlicet homines & marinarij prædicti de quadraginta libris ſterlingorũ certo die ſtatuto ad opus veſtrum pro qualibet naui prȩdictarum ſoluendis inuiti & coacti ſecuritatem inueniſſent: Et ſimiliter de eiſdem nauibus cum hominibus prædictis infra portum prædictum citra feſtũ natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ proximo futuro ad ſtandum tunc ibidem de perſonis & nauibus ſuis veſtrȩ gratiȩ ſeu voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obſides vlterius liberaſſent: quod ipſis valde graue cenſetur, & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem & ȩquitatem, omnemq; iuſtitiam fore dinoſcitur, atque legem, quòd delinquentium culpȩ ſeu demerita in perſonis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conſcij vel participes, ſeu de huiuſmodi delinquentium ſocietate non fuerunt, aliqualiter vlciſcantur, veſtram amicitiam affectuoſe requirimus & rogamus, quatenus præmiſſa diligenti meditatione zelo iuſtitiæ ponderantes, obſides prȩdictos iubere velitis ab hoſtagiamento huiuſmodi liberari, dictamq; ſecuritatem relaxari penitus & reſolui. Scientes pro certo, quod ſi malefactores prȩdicti, qui dictum militem veſtrum, vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum ſeu poteſtatem noſtram poterunt inueniri, de ipſis iuſtitiam & iudicium ſecundum legem & conſuetudinem eiuſdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim poſſumus his diebus æquanimiter tolerare, quod naues prȩdictȩ ſeu aliæ de regno noſtro, quæ ſemper promptȩ ad noſtrum ſeruitium eſſe debent, extra idem regnum ad partes remotas ſe diuertant ſine noſtra licentia ſpeciali. Quid autem ad hanc noſtram inſtantiam faciendum decreueritis in prȩmiſſis, nobis ſi placeat reſcribatis per prȩſentium portatorem. Datæ apud Windeſore decimo ſexto die Aprilis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The letters of *Edward* the ſecond vnto *Haquinus* king of *Norway*, concerning the Engliſh marchants arreſted in *Norway*, and their goods to be freed from arreſt.

The towne of Tonesbergh.

TO the mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his moſt deare friend, Edward by the ſame grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, greeting and ſincere loue. We maruell not a little, and are much diſquieted in our cogitations, conſidering the greeuances and oppreſſions, which (as wee haue beene informed by pitifull complaints) are at this preſent, more then in times paſt, without any reaſonable cauſe inflicted vpon our ſubiects, which doe vſually reſort vnto your kingdome for traffiques ſake. For of late one William the ſonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the ſonne of Alan of the ſame towne, and Guido the ſonne of Mathew, and their aſſociates our marchants, in complayning wiſe declared vnto vs: that hauing ſent certaine of their factors and ſeruants, with three ſhippes into your dominions, there to exerciſe traffique, and the ſayd ſhips being laden in the hauen of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities, to a great value: and alſo the ſaid mariners, men, and ſeruants of the foreſayd ſhippes, being licenced by vertue of the ſafe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome vnto the parts of England with their ſhips and goods aforeſayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your hauen by reaſon of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes vpon occaſion of the ſlaughter of a knight being himſelfe alſo of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactors and Pirates vpon the ſea, whileſt the ſayd ſhippes remained in the hauen aforeſayd, did at your commandement (as they ſay) arreſt, and for a long ſeaſon alſo

deteined vnder that arreſt, the foreſaid ſhips, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely vntill ſuch time, as the men and mariners aforeſaide (beeing driuen perforce, and conſtrained thereunto) ſhould lay in ſufficient ſecuritie for the payment of fortie pounds ſterling, vpon a certain day appointed, vnto your vſe, for euery of the foreſaide ſhips: and alſo vntill they had moreouer deliuered three pledges, for the bringing of the ſaide ſhips and men backe againe into the foreſaid hauen, before the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn the Baptiſt next enſuing, then and there to ſtand vnto your fauour and curteſie, as touching the ſaid perſons, and thoſe ſhips of theirs: which dealing, the parties themſelues take very grieuouſly, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a ſtrange and vnwonted courſe. And becauſe it is moſt vndoubtedly contrary to all reaſon, equitie, iuſtice, and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders ſhould in any ſort be puniſhed in ſuch perſons, or in their goods, as neither haue bene acceſſory nor partakers in the crime, nor haue had any ſociety with the ſaide offenders: we doe heartily intreat and requeſt your Highnes, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of iuſtice, you would of your loue and friendſhip, command the foreſaid pledges to be ſet at libertie, and the ſaid ſecuritie vtterly to bee releaſed and acquited. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foreſaide malefactors, who (as it is reported) ſlewe your Knight aforeſaide, ſhall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we wil cauſe iuſtice and iudgement to bee executed vpon them, according to the Lawe and cuſtome of our ſayde Realme. For we cannot in theſe times conueniently and well indure, that the ſhips aforeſaide, or any other ſhips of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readineſſe for our ſeruice) ſhould without ſpeciall licence, depart out of our ſaide kingdome, vnto forreine dominions. Nowe, what you ſhall think good at this our requeſt to performe in the premiſſes, may it pleaſe you by the bearer of theſe preſents to returne an anſwere vnto vs. Geuen at Windſore the 16. of April.

Another Letter of *Edward* the ſecond, to *Haquinus* King of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine Engliſh *Marchants.*

MAgnifico Principi Dom. Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, ſalutem cum dilectione ſincera. Querelam dilectorum Mercatorum noſtrorum Thomæ de Swyn de Waynflecte, & Simonis filij Alani de eadem recepimus, continentem, Quod cùm ipſi nuper quoſdam ſeruientes ſuos infrà regnum veſtrum pro ſuis ibidem exercendis mercimonijs tranſmiſiſſent, Theſaurarius veſter bona & mercimonia prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis ad valenciam quadraginta librarum, quæ ſeruientes prædicti in villa de Northberne in ſua cuſtodia habuerunt, die Sancti Michaelis vltimò præterita fecit abſque cauſa ratibnabili areſtari, & ea adhuc taliter areſtata detinet iniuſtè, in ipſorum Thomæ & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifeſtam. Et quia eiſdem mercatoribus noſtris ſubuenire volumus, quatenus ſuadente iuſtitia poterimus in hac parte, veſtram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis, vel ipſorum atturnatorum ſuper reſtitutione bonorum & mercimoniorum prædictorum impendere velitis eiſdem celeris iuſtitiæ complementum: Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis iuſtitiæ ſuper areſtatione prædicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus noſtris prædictis de alio remedio prouidere. Nobis autem quid ad hanc noſtram inſtantiam duxeritis faciendum, reſcribere velitis per preſentium portitorem. Datæ vt ſuprà.

Northbernæ villa.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TO the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his moſt deare friend Edward by the ſame grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and ſincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbelo-Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the ſonne of Alanus of the ſame towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the ſaide parties ſent certaine of their ſeruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treaſurer vpon the feaſt of S. Michael laſt paſt, without any iuſt or reaſonable occaſion, cauſed the goods and merchandiſe of the foreſaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their ſaid ſeruants had vnder their cuſtodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arreſted, and as yet alſo iniuriouſly deteineth the ſame vnder the ſame arreſt, to the great damage and impoueriſhing of the ſayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our deſire is to ſuccour theſe our matchants ſo far foorth as we can, Iuſtice requiring no leſſe in this behalfe,

we

wee doe right earneſtly requeſt you, that hauing hearde the complaint and ſupplication of the foreſayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Atturneyes, you woulde of your loue and friendſhip, vouchſafe them ſpeedie adminiſtration of Iuſtice, about the reſtitution of their goods and marchandiſe aforeſaide: leaſt that for want of the exhibiting of Iuſtice about the foreſaid arreſt, we be conſtrained to prouide ſome other remedie for our marchants aforeſaid. Our requeſt is, that you would by the bearer of theſe preſents, returne an anſwere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our inſtant motion. Giuen as aboue.

A third letter of King *Edward* the ſecond, to Haquinus *King of* Norway *in the behalfe* of certaine Engliſh Marchants.

(⁂)

MAgnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegiæ illuſtri, amico ſuo chariſſimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, ſalutem cum dilectione ſincera. Pro mercatoribus noſtris Lennæ, & partium vicinarum, quos Balliuus & Officiarij veſtri ciuitatis veſtræ Bergen dudum ceperunt, & ſtricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi vt iam intelleximus, propter alimentorum ſubtractionem & duritiam, ac aſperitatem carceris perierunt, vt ipſorum & bonorum ſuorum deliberationem præcipere curaretis, veſtræ ſerenitati Regiæ noſtras nuper tranſmiſimus literas ſpeciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere noſtris mercatoribus ſicut prius, nobis per literas veſtras quas audiuimus & intelleximus diligenter, inter cætera reſcripſiſtis, quod quidam mercatores de regno veſtro de iniurijs, violentijs & arreſtationibus, quibus in regno noſtro his diebus ſunt, vt aſſerunt, contra iuſtitiam aggrauati, multipliciter conqueruntur, adijciendo in veſtris literis memoratis, quod quidam iniquitatis filij in villa Lennæ, ad piſcandum vt dicebant halecia venientes, quendam militem Balliuum veſtrum, in Vikia vnà cum decem alijs ſubditis veſtris, in veſtris & regni veſtri negotijs exiſtentibus crudeliter occiderunt. Super quibus mens noſtra grauatur quàmplurimum & turbatur, præſertim quum nunquam noſtræ fuerit voluntatis, quod iniuriæ, violentiæ, ſeu arreſtationes aliquæ mercatoribus, vel alijs de regno veſtro per aliquos de regno & poteſtate noſtris fierent indebitè vel iniuſtè: nec adhuc intelligere poſſumus, quod mercatoribus veſtris per aliquem vel aliquos de ſubditis noſtris huc vſque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod ſi nobis per inquiſitiones legitimas conſtare poterit huiuſmodi grauamina ſubditis veſtris infra regnum noſtrum illata fuiſſe, nos ſufficientes emendas, & ſatisfactiones debitas ſuper illis, celeríſque iuſtitiæ complementum fieri faciemus. Et inſuper ſi malefactores prædicti, qui præfatum militem, & alios ſecum exiſtentes, vt præmittitur, occiderunt, de regno, ſeu poteſtate noſtra ſint, vel infrà idem regnum vel poteſtatem poterunt inueniri, de ipſis iudicium & iuſtitiam fieri præcipiemus, ſecundùm Leges & conſuetudines regni noſtri. Et quia inter nos & vos, noſtróſque & veſtros ſubditos hinc inde foueri deſideramus mutuam concordiam & amorem; ita quod mercatores noſtri & veſtri mercandiſas ſuas in noſtris & veſtris regnis & dominijs liberè, & abſque impedimento valeant exercere, prout temporibus progenitorum noſtrorum fieri conſueuit, & ex dictarum literarum veſtrarum ſerie collegimus euidenter vos promptos eſſe ſimiliter, & paratos ad omnia & ſingula, quæ pro vobis & veſtris ſubditis ſuper diſcordijs, contentionibus, aut grauaminibus inter noſtros & veſtros ſubditos qualitercunque ſuſcitatis pro bono pacis & iuſtitiæ fuerint æquanimiter facienda: Nos conſimilia pro nobis & noſtris, quantum ad nos & ad ipſos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoſcitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi vtriuſque regnorum noſtrorum, quatenus ius & ratio dictitauerint, promittimus nos facturos: Veſtram amicitiam requirentes obnixius & rogantes, quatenus mercatores noſtros prædictos, qui adhuc ſuperſtites relinquuntur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta felonia committi dicebatur, interclusos tenebat cuſtodia carceralis, iubere velitis noſtri contemplatione, zelóque iuſtitiæ ab huiuſmodi cuſtodia liberari, bona ab ipſis capta eis prout iuſtum fuerit reſtitui faciendo. Et vt deliberatio mercatorum noſtrorum prædictorum, & bonorum ſuorum eò facilius concedatur, placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alij mercatores noſtri de Lenne, quibuſdam mercatoribus de regno veſtro occaſione eiuſdem grauaminis ipſis mercatoribus veſtris, ad ſectam Tidemanni Lippe infrà

Antiquitas commercij inter Angliam & Norwegiam.

regnum noſtrum, vt dicebatur, illati, centum libras ſterlingorum perſoluerunt, ſicut in quodam ſcripto indentato inter Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quoſdam alios mercatores veſtros ex parte vna, & præfatum Galfridum, & quoſdam alios de regno noſtro ſimiliter ex altera confecto, vidimus contineri. Si qui verò de ſubditis veſtris de aliquibus ſubditis noſtris, de aliqua iniuria ipſis facta querelas in curia noſtra deponere voluerint, & proſequi cum effectu, ipſorum ſubditorum veſtrorum petitiones admitti, & eis ſuper querelis huiuſmodi plenam & celerem iuſtitiā fieri faciemus. Ita quod ijdem ſubditi veſtri exinde reputare debebunt meritò ſe contentos. Et interim de exceſſibus & grauaminibus ſubditis veſtris infrà regnum noſtrum qualitercunque illatis inquiri faciemus cum diligentia veritatem. Veſtræ igitur voluntatis beneplacitum in pręmiſſis nobis reſcribere velitis per pręſentium portitorem. Datæ apud Weſtminſter tertio die Aprilis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TO the mightie Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his moſt deare friend Edward by the ſame grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and ſincere loue. We ſent of late vnto your royall maieſtie our ſpecial letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coaſt adioyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to cloſe priſon, many of whome, as we vnderſtand, are, for want of due nouriſhment, and by reaſon of the extremitie & loathſomneſſe of the priſon, quite periſhed) that you would cauſe them and their goods to bee releaſed. Howbeit, you reteining as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we haue diligently heard, and throughly vnderſtood, haue, amongſt other matters, returned this anſwere vnto vs: that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make ſundrie complaints of iniuries, violences and arreſts, whereby they haue lately (as themſelues auouch) contrary to iuſtice bene aggrieued and oppreſſed in our dominions: adding moreouer in your ſayde letters, that certaine ſonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they ſaide, to fiſh for herrings, cruelly murthered a certaine Knight, who was in times paſt your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your ſubiects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In conſideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and aboue meaſure grieued and troubled, eſpecially ſithence it was neuer any part of our intent, that any iniuries, violences, or arreſts ſhould vniuſtly be inflicted vpon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet haue any intelligence, that any ſuch hard meaſure hath bene offered vnto any of your marchants, by any one or moe of our ſubiects: giuing you for a certaintie to vnderſtand, that if vpon lawfull inquiſition we ſhalbe aduertiſed of any ſuch grieuances, which haue bene offered vnto your ſubiects within our realme, we will cauſe ſpeedie iuſtice to be adminiſtred, and ſufficient recompence, and due ſatiſfaction to be made in regarde thereof. And moreouer, if the ſaide malefactors, which, as it is aforeſaid, ſlewe the forenamed Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining vnto our kingdome and dominion, or may at any time be found within our ſaide kingdome or dominion, we will command iuſtice and iudgement to be executed vpon them, according to the lawes and cuſtomes of our realme. And forasmuch as our deſire is, that mutuall concord and amitie ſhould be mainteined and cheriſhed betweene your and our ſubiects on both parts: ſo that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exerciſe their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accuſtomed: Whereas alſo we euidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like ſort readie and willing to put all things in practiſe, which are by you and your ſubiects (for the taking away of diſcords, contentions, and moleſtations howſoeuer occaſioned, and ſprung vp betweene your and our ſubiects) louingly to be performed: we alſo doe promiſe for our ſelues, and our ſubiects, ſo much as in vs and them lieth, for his ſake who is knowen to be the author of peace, and for the benefite & tranquilitie of both our Realmes (as iuſtice and reaſon ſhall moue vs) to doe the like. Deſiring and earneſtly requeſting at your hands, that of your loue and friendſhip, hauing regard of vs, and conſideration of iuſtice, you would command that our foreſaide marchants, who as yet remaine aliue, and who alſo at the time of the ſaide felonie committed, were ſhut vp in cloſe priſon, be deliuered out of the ſaide thraldome, cauſing their goods which haue bene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iuſtice, reſtored to them again. And that the deliuerie of our foreſaide marchants and goods, may be the more eaſily yeelded vnto, may it pleaſe you with diligent obſeruation to conſider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, vpon occaſion of the greiuances offered vnto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the ſuite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnto the ſame your marchants an hundreth pound ſterling: euen as in a certain Indenture made

The antiquitie of traffique betweene England and Norway.

betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and ſome other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foreſaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee ſawe conteined. Moreouer, if any of your ſubiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to proſecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our ſubiects, or of any iniury done vnto them, we will cauſe the petitions of thoſe your ſubiects to be admitted, and alſo full and ſpeedie iuſtice to be adminiſtred, vpon any ſuch like complaints of theirs. Inſomuch, that thoſe your ſubiects ſhal thinke themſelues right well and ſufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane ſpace we will cauſe diligent inquiſition of the trueth to be made, of all exceſſes and grieuances howſoeuer offered vnto your ſubiects within our dominions. May it pleaſe you therfore, by the bearer of theſe preſents, to returne an anſwere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe in the premiſſes. Giuen at Weſtminſter, the third day of April.

De Stapula tenenda in certo loco ordinatio, Anno 13. *Edwardi ſecundi.*

REx collectoribus cuſtumæ lanarum & pellium lanutarum in portu London ſalutem. Cùm nos viceſimo die Maij anno regni noſtri ſexto attendentes damna & grauamina, quæ mercatoribus de regno noſtro diuerſimodè euenerunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & poteſtatem noſtram ementes, & ſe cum eiſdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diuerſa loca infrà terras Brabantiæ, Flandriæ, & de Artoys eorum libito voluntatis tranſtulerint: & volentes etiam huiuſmodi damnis & grauaminibus quatenus bono modo poſſemus prouidere, de conſilio noſtro ordinauerimus, quod mercatores indigenæ & alienigenæ lanas & pelles huiuſmodi infrà regnum & poteſtatem prædictam ementes, & ad terras prædictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas & pelles ad certam ſtapulam infrà aliquam earundem terrarum, per Maiorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno noſtro ordinandam aſſignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint mutandum, & non ad alia loca in terris illis ducant, ſeu duci faciant vllo modo: & inter cætera conceſſerimus mercatoribus de regno noſtro ſupradicto pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, quòd ipſi Maior & conſilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibuſcunque mercatoribus indigenis ſeu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas pecuniæ ſummas pro delictis illis imponant, & quod illæ huiuſmodi ſummæ de bonis & mercimonijs mercatorum ſic delinquentium, vbicunque ea infrà regnum & poteſtatem prędictam inueniri contigerit, per miniſtros noſtros ad opus noſtrum leuentur: prout in Charta noſtra inde confecta plenius continetur: quam quidem Chartam per ſingulos comitatus regni noſtri ſuper coſteras maris fecimus publicari, & firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigenę ſeu alienigenæ contra tenorem Chartę prędictę ſub pœnis contentis in eadem venerint vllo modo: Ac poſtmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quàmplures mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ, lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & poteſtatem prædictas ementes, & ſe cum eiſdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quàm ad Stapulam iuxta conceſſionem noſtram prędictam per Maiorem & cõmunitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno noſtro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam & aſſignatam tranſtulerint in noſtri contemptum, & contra Chartam ordinationis, publicationis & inhibitionis prædictarum aſſignauerimus quoſdam fideles noſtros in diuerſis partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis & pellibus lanutis ad dictas terras alibi quàm ad Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emendæ inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus noſtrum leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quaſi omnes mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ huiuſmodi mercimonia in dicto regno noſtro exercentes ſunt culpabiles de præmiſſis: & quod plures inde indictati, ac alij timentes inde indictari, lanas ſuas ac pelles lanutas ſub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, & extra regnum noſtrum tranſmitti quibuſdam alienigenis, ſic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forſitan non reuerſuris, vt ſic foriſfacturas prædictas effugiant, & nos de emenda ad nos ſic pertinente illudant: quæ ſi permitterentur ſic tranſire in noſtri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiuſmodi fraudibus obuiare, & noſtris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus præcauere, vobis præcipimus firmiter iniungentes, quod à ſingulis mercatoribus lanas ſeu pelles lanutas per portum prædictum ad partes exteras ducere volentibus corporale ſacramentum ad ſancta Dei Euangelia recipiatis, quod ipſi lanas ſeu pelles lanutas ſub nomine ipſius, cuius propriæ ſunt, & non alterius aduocabunt. & tunc recepta ab illo cuius lanæ & pelles huiuſmodi erunt, vel nomine ſuo ſufficiente ſecuritate pro qua reſpondere volueritis, de reſpondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per ipſum ductis ſeu miſſis ad aliquam dictarum

Maior & Communitas ſtapulæ.

Charta anno regni ſexto confecta.

ctarum terrarum Flandriæ & Brabantiæ, & de Artoys contra formam Chartæ, proclamationis, & inhibitionis ſupradictarum, ſi ipſum ſuper hoc conuinci contingat, lanas & pelles illas lanutas extra portum prædictum, recepta prius custuma debita de eiſdem, ad partes exteras tranſire permittatis. Teſte Rege apud Doueram decimo octauo die Iunij, per ipſum Regem & Conſilium.

Et poſtmodum per breue de priuato ſigillo eodem modo mandatum eſt collectoribus cuſtumæ prædictæ in portubus ſubſcriptis: Videlicet,

In portu villæ Southhampton.
In portu villæ Weymouth.
In portu villæ Sancti Botolphi.
In portu villæ de Kingtone ſuper Hull.
In portu villæ de nouo Caſtro.
In portu villæ de magna Iernemutha.
In portu villæ de Lenne.
In portu villæ de Gypwico.

The ſame in Engliſh.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

The King vnto his Collectors of cuſtome, for wooll and woollen fels, in his port of London, greeting. Whereas we vpon the 20. of May, in the ſixt yeere of our reigne, conſidering the damages and grieuances that haue diuerſly happened vnto the marchants of our realme, vpon occaſion that the marchants both of our owne, & of other countreis, buying vp wooll and woollen fels within our kingdome and dominions, haue, for the better ſale thereof, at their pleaſure conueyed thẽſelues, and traſported the ſaid wooll & fels into ſundry places within the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys: and being deſirous alſo, to our power, to prouide a remedie againſt ſuch damages and inconueniences, haue ordained by our counſel, that all marchants, both homeborne and aliens, buying vp ſuch wools and fels, within our kingdome and dominion aforeſaid, and being deſirous to tranſport them into the foreſaid prouinces, there to bee ſolde, may carrie the ſaide wools and fels, or cauſe them to be caried to ſome certaine Staple, within any of the ſaide Prouinces, by the Maior and Communaltie of the ſaid marchants of our realme, to be appointed and aſſigned, and when they ſhall thinke it expedient, to be changed and remoued, and not vnto any other place within the ſaide Prouinces whatſoeuer: and whereas alſo, amongſt other things, we haue granted vnto the marchants of our foreſaid realme, for vs and our heires, that the Maior and Councel of the ſaide marchants for the time being, may impoſe vpon all marchants, home-borne or aliens whatſoeuer, that ſhall tranſgreſſe the foreſaid ordination, and ſhall thereof lawfully be conuicted, certaine ſummes of money to be paid for their offences, and that ſuch ſummes muſt by our miniſters and officers, to our vſe, be leuied out of the goods and wares of the marchants ſo offending, whereſoeuer they ſhall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions aforeſaid, as in our Charter made for the ſame purpoſe, it is more plainly expreſſed, (which Charter we haue cauſed to be publiſhed vpon the Sea-coaſts, throughout all the countreys of our realme, and a ſtrong prohibition to be proclaimed, that no marchants, neither home-borne, nor ſtrangers, may in any wiſe tranſgreſſe the tenour of the foreſaide Charter, vnder the penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing giuen vs to vnderſtand, that diuers marchants both home-borne, and aliens, bought vp ſuch woolles and woollen felles within our ſaide Realme and dominions, and conueyed themſelues with the ſaide wools and felles for the ſale thereof, vnto other places within the foreſaide Prouinces, beſides the ſaide Staple, which was, according to our graunt aforeſaide, appointed and ordained by the Maior and communaltie of the ſaid marchants of our Realme, in ſome one of thoſe Prouinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter of the ordination, publication, and inhibition aforeſaide, wee aſſigned certaine of our faithfull ſubiects, in diuers parts of our Realme, to make inquiſition for ſuch wools and woollen felles, as were conueyed vnto any other place of the ſaide Prouinces, then vnto the Staple, ſo that by theſe meanes, the penalties due vnto vs might bee leuied vnto our vſe: and hauing intelligence alſo, that in a maner all marchants both home-borne, and ſtrangers bartering ſuch wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the premiſſes, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to bee indicted, doe cauſe their wools and woollen felles to bee auouched vnder the names of perſons

A Charter made in the ſixt yeere of his reigne.

ſons not culpable, and to be ſent ouer vnto certaine ſtrangers being alſo culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more into our realme, that they may ſo eſcape the foreſaid forfeitures, and defraud vs of the penaltie, appertaining of right vnto vs, (which abuſes, if they were ſuffered ſo to goe vnpuniſhed woulde redound vnto our extreame hinderance:) and beeing likewiſe deſirous to withſtand ſuch deceitefull dealing, and ſo farre forth as wee can, to preuent our owne loſſes, we firmely command, and ſtreightly charge you, that you doe receiue of euery particular marchant, deſirous to conuey any wools, or woollen fels out of the foreſaid port, into any forrein dominions, a corporal oath vpon Gods holy Euangeliſts: that they ſhall auouch all thoſe wools and woollen fels vnder his name vnto whom they doe properly belong, & vnder the name of none other: and then taking ſufficient ſecurity from the owner of thoſe wools and fels, or in his name, in regard whereof you wil vndertake to warrantize, and make good vnto vs thoſe penalties and forfaitures which ſhal vnto vs appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fels conueied or ſent by any of the foreſaid merchants vnto any of the ſaid prouinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Artoys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and inhibition aboue mentioned (if they ſhal chance to be conuinced hereof) that firſt, our due cuſtome being receiued, you doe permit the ſaid wools and woollen fels to paſſe out of the foreſaid port into forrein countries. Witnes the king at Douer the 18. day of Iune. By the king himſelfe and his Councell.

And afterwarde by a Writte vnder the Kings priuie Seale there was a like commandement giuen vnto the Collectors of the cuſtome aforeſayde in the portes vnderwritten.

That is to ſay:

In the port of the Towne of
Weymouth.
Southhampton.
Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boſton.
Kingtone vpon Hull.
Newcaſtle.
Iernemouth magna, or Yermouth.
Lenne.
Gypwick or Ipſwich.

A Catalogue of the great Maſters of the Order of the Dutch knights, commonly called the Hoſpitalaries of Ieruſalem: *and what great exploites euery of the ſaide Maſters hath atchieued,* either in conquering the land of *Pruſſia*, or in taming and ſubduing the Infidels, or els in keeping them vnder their obedience and ſubiection, taken out of Munſter.

The order of the Dutch knights had their firſt original at Ieruſalem in the yere of our Lorde 1190. within the Hoſpitall of the bleſſed Virgine: and the firſt Maſter of the ſaide order was called Henrie of Walpot, vnder whome many good things, and much wealth and riches were throughout all Germanie and Italie procured vnto the order: and the ſaide Hoſpitall was remoued from Ieruſalem vnto Ptolemais, otherwiſe called Acon, and the foreſaid Order grew and mightily increaſed, whereof I will hereafter diſcourſe more at large in my Treatiſe of Syria. Henrie of Walpot deceaſed in the yeere of Chriſt 1200. The 2. Maſter was Otto of Kerpen, and he continued Maſter of the Order for the ſpace of ſixe yeeres. The 3. was Hermannus Bart a godly and deuout perſon, who deceaſed in the yeere 1210. being interred at Acon, as his predeceſſors were. The 4. was Hermannus de Saltza, who thirtie yeeres together gouerned the ſaide Order, and managed the firſt expedition of warre againſt the infidels of Pruſſia, and ordained another Maſter alſo in Pruſſia to bee his Deputie in the ſame region. In the yeere 1239. the knights of the ſword, who traueiled into Liuonia to conuert the inhabitants thereof vnto Chriſt, ſeeing they were not of ſufficient force to performe that enterpriſe, and that their enemies increaſed on all ſides, they vnited themſelues vnto the famous Order of the Dutch knights in Pruſſia, that their worthie attempt might bee defended and promoted by the aide and aſſiſtance of the ſaide Duch knights. At the very ſame time the enſigne of the croſſe was exalted throughout all Germanie againſt the Pruſſians, and a great armie of ſouldiers was gathered together, the Burgraue of Meidenburg being generall of the armie, who combining themſelues vnto the Dutch knights, ioyned battell with the Infidels, and ſlew about fiue hundred Gentiles, who beforetime had made horrible inuaſions and in-roades into the dominions of Chriſtians, waſting all with fire and ſword, but eſpecially the land of Colm, and Lubonia, which were the Prouin-

Enſiferi fratres.

The firſt war moued againſt the Pruſſian infidels, anno dom. 1239.

ces of Conradus Duke of Maſſouia. Nowe, the foreſaide knights hauing made ſo huge a ſlaughter, built the caſtle of Reden, betweene Pomerania and the land of Colm, and ſo by degrees they gotte footing in the lande, and daylie erected more caſtles, as namely, Crutzburg, Wiſſenburg, Reſil, Bartenſtein, Brunsburg, and Heilsburg, and furniſhed them all with garriſons. The fift Maſter of the Order was Conradus Landgrauius, the brother of Lodouick, which was huſband vnto Ladie Elizabeth. This Conradus, by his fathers inheritance, gaue great riches and poſſeſſions vnto the Order, and cauſed Ladie Elizabeth to be interred at Marpurg, within the religious houſe of his ſaide Order. Under the gouernment of this Maſter, Acon in the lande of Paleſtina was ſubdued vnto the Saracens. Moreouer, in the yeere 1254. there was another great armie of Souldiers prepared againſt Pruſsia, by the Princes of Germanie. For Octacer, aliâs Odoacer king of Bohemia, Otto Marques of Brandeburg, the Duke of Auſtria, the Marques of Morauia, the Biſhops of Colen and of Olmutz came marching on with great ſtrength of their Nobles and common ſouldiers, and inuading the lande of Pruſsia in the Winter ſeaſon, they conſtrained the inhabitants thereof to receiue the Chriſtian faith, and to become obedient vnto the knights. After which exploite, by the aduiſe and aſſiſtance of king Odoacer, there was a caſtle built vpon a certaine hill of Samogitia, which immediately after grewe to be a great citie, being at this day the ſeate of the Prince of Pruſsia: and it was called by Odoacer Kunigsberg, that is to ſay, Kings Mount, or Mount royall, being finiſhed in the yeere 1255. Out of this fort the knights did bridle and reſtraine the furie of the Infidels on all ſides, and compelled them to obedience. The ſixt Maſter was called Boppo ab Oſterna, vnder whom the citie of Kunigsberg was built. At the very ſame inſtant the knights beeing occupied about the warre of Curland, the Pruſsians conſpiring together, and abandoning the Chriſtian faith, in furious maner armed themſelues againſt ẏ Chriſtians, defaced and burnt down Churches, ſlew Prieſts, and to the vtmoſt of their abilitie, baniſhed all faithfull people. The report of which miſdemeanour being publiſhed throughout all Germanie, an huge armie was leuied and ſent for the defence and ſuccour of the knights, which marching into the land of Natan, made many ſlaughters, & through the inconſtancie of fortune ſometimes woonne, and ſometimes loſt the victorie. Alſo the Infidels beſieged theſe three caſtles, namely, Barſtenſtein, Crutzberg and Kunigsberg, and brought extreame famine vpon the Chriſtians contained within the ſaide fortes. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262. the Earle of Iuliers, with other Princes and great chiualrie came downe, and giuing charge vpon the Pruſſians, put three thouſand of them to the edge of the ſworde. Afterward the Pruſſians banding themſelues together, were determined to ſpoile the caſtle of Kunigſberg, but their confederacie being diſcloſed, they had the repulſe. And when the knightes had preuailed againſt them, they laide in pledges, and yet for all that were not afraid to breake their fidelitie. For vpon a certaine time, after they had giuen diuers pledges, they ſlewe two noble knights of the Order, and ſo by that meanes incenſed the principall of the ſaide order, inſomuch that they cauſed two paire of gallous to be ſet vp beſides the caſtle, & thirtie of the Pruſſians pledges to be hanged therupon. Which ſeueritie ſo vexed and prouoked the Pruſsians, that in reuenge of the ſaid iniury, they renewed bloody and cruel warres, ſlew many Chriſtians, yea, and put 40. knights with the maſter of the Order, and the Marſhal, vnto the edge of the ſword. There was at the ſame inſtant in Pomerania a Duke called Suandepolcus, profeſſing the Chriſtian faith, but being ioyned in league with the Pruſsians, he indeuoured for many yeeres, not onely to expell the knights, but all Chriſtians whatſoeuer out of the lande of Pruſsia, in which warre the foreſaide knights of the Order ſuffered many abuſes. For they loſt almoſt all their caſtles, and a great number of themſelues alſo were ſlaine. This Suandepolcus put in practiſe many lewde attempts againſt religion. For albeit he was baptized, he did more miſchiefe then the very Infidels themſelues, vntill ſuch time as the knights being aſſiſted by the Princes of Germanie, brought the ſaide Duke and the Pruſsians alſo into ſuch ſtraights, that (maugre their heads) they were conſtrained to ſue for peace. Afterward Swandepolcus lying at the point of death, admoniſhed his ſonnes that they ſhould not doe any iniurie vnto the knights of the order, affirming that himſelfe neuer proſpered ſo long as he vrged warre againſt them. Howbeit his ſonnes for a certaine time obſerued not their fathers counſel, vntill at length one of them named Warteſlaus, was created one of the Order, and the other called Samborus beſtowed by legacie his goods and poſſeſſions vpon the ſaide Order, receiuing maintenance and exhibition from the ſaide Order, during the terme of his life. It fortuned alſo vnder the gouernment of the foreſayde Maſter Boppo, that one Syr Martine a Golin beeing accompanied with another knight, went into the countrey to ſee howe the Pruſsians were imployed. And meeting with three Pruſsians, they ſlew two, and the thirde they reſerued to guide them the directeſt way. But this guide betrayed them into their enemies handes. Which when they perceiued, they ſlewe the Traytour. Then

The Pruſsians abandon Chriſtianitie.

fiue Pruſſian horſemen came riding and tooke them, deliuering them bounde to the cuſtodie of two. And the other three purſued the horſes of the two, which broke looſe in the time of the fraye. And they tarying ſomewhat long, the other two woulde haue beheaded the two Knightes in the meane ſeaſon.

A memorable ſtratageme.

And as one of them was ſtriking with his drawen ſworde, at the necke of Sir Martine, hee ſaide vnto them: Sirs, you doe vnwiſely in that you take not off my garment before it bee defiled with blood. They therefore looſing the cordes wherewith hee was bounde, to take off his garment, ſet his armes more at libertie. Which Syr Martine well perceiuing reached his keeper ſuch a boxe, that his ſworde fell to the grounde. Which hee with all ſpeede taking vp, ſlewe both the keepers and vnbounde his fellowe Knight. Moreouer, ſeeing the other three Pruſſians comming furiouſly vpon them, with ſtoute couragious hearts they made towarde the ſaide Pruſſians, and ſlew them, and ſo eſcaped the danger of death. The ſeuenth great Maſter was Hanno de Sangerſhuſen, who deceaſed in the yeere one thouſand two hundreth ſeuentie fiue. The eight was Hartmannus ab Heldringen who deceaſed in the yeere 1282. The ninth was Burckardus a Schuuenden beeing afterwarde made knight of the order of Saint Iohns. The tenth was Conradus a Feuchtuuang: vnder this man the Citie of Acon in Paleſtina was ſacked by the Soldan, and manie people were ſlayne. The Templars which were therein returned home out of Fraunce, where they had great reuenewes. The Knightes of Saint Iohn, who alſo had an Hoſpitall at Acon, changed their place, and went into the Iſle of Cyprus, and from thence departing vnto Rhodes, they ſubdued that Iſlande vnto themſelues. Nowe the Dutch Knights abounded with wealth and poſſeſſions throughout all Germanie, beeing Lordes of a good part of Pruſſia, Liuonia, and Curland, whoſe chiefe houſe was then at Marpurg, till ſuch time as it was remooued vnto Marieburg, a Towne of Pruſia. The eleuenth great Maſter was Godfrey Earle of Hohenloe. Vnder this man the knights ſuſtained a great ouerthrowe in Liuonia: but hauing ſtrengthned their armie, they ſlewe neere vnto Rye foure thouſande of their enemies.

4000.

The twelfth Maſter was Sifridus a Feuchtuuang. Vnder this man, the principall houſe of the Order was tranſlated from Martpurg to Marieburg, which in the beginning was eſtabliſhed at Acon, and from thence was remooued vnto Venice, and from Venice vnto Martpurg. This Sifridus deceaſed in the yeere 1341. The thirteenth Maſter was called Charles Beffart of Triers. This man built a fort vpon the riuer of Mimmel, and it was named Chriſtmimmel. The fourteenth was Warnerus ab Orſele, whome a certaine knight of the Order ſlewe with his ſworde. The 15. was Ludolphus Duke of Brunſwick, who built the Towne of Ylgenburg, and deceaſed 1352. The ſixteenth was Theodoricus Earle of Aldenborg, and hee built the Towne of Bartenſtein. The ſeuenteenth was Ludolphus ſirnamed King. The eighteenth was Henrie a Tuſimer. The nineteenth Winricus a Knoppenrodt. In this mans time the knights took the king of the Lithuanians named Kinſtut captiue, and kept him priſoner in Marieburg halfe a yeere, but by the helpe of a ſeruaunt, hauing broken out of the Caſtle, hee eſcaped away by night. But fearing that hee was layde waite for in all places, hee left his horſe, and went on foote through vnknowen pathes. In the day time hee hidde himſelfe in ſecrete places, and in the night hee continued his iourney vntill hee came vnto Maſſouia. But all the Knightes ioye was turned into ſorrowe, after they had loſt ſo great an enemie.

This man ſent an ambaſſage to Richard the ſecond.

The twentieth grand Maſter was Conradus Zolner of Rotenſtein. The one and twentieth Conradus Walenrod. The two and twentieth Conradus a Iungingen, who deceaſed in the yeere one thouſand foure hundreth and ſeuen. The three and twentieth Vlricus a Iungingen. This man dyed in battell in the yeere one thouſand foure hundreth and tenne: which battell was fought againſt Vladiſlaus Father of Caſimire. Both partes had leuied mightie and huge forces: vnto the Polonians the Lithuanians and the Tartars had ioyned themſelues, ouer whome one Vitoldus was captaine: the Dutch Knights had taken vp Souldiers out of all Germanie. And when eache armie had encamped themſelues one within twentie furlongs of another, (hoping for victorie and impatient of delay) the great Maſter of the Pruſians ſent an Herault to denounce warre vnto the King, and immediately (alarme beeing giuen) it is reported that there were in both armies fourtie thouſand horſemen in a readineſſe. Vladiſlaus commaunded the Lithuanians and the Tartars to giue the firſt onſette, and placed the Polonians in the rerewarde of the battell: on the contrarie ſide, the Pruſſians regarded leaſt of all to reſerue any ſtrong troupes behinde, which might reſcue ſuch as were wearie, and renewe the fight, if neede ſhoulde require, but ſet forwarde the flower and chiualrie of all his Souldiers in the verie forefront of the battell. The charge beeing giuen certaine vnarmed

Tartars & Lithuanians were ſlaine handſmooth: howbeit the multitude preſſed on, neither durſt the fearefull Polonians turne their backes, and ſo a cruell battell was fought vpon the heapes of dead carkaſes. The combate continued a long time, terrible ſlaughters were committed, and the Lithuanians and Tartars were ſlaine like ſheepe. But when newe and freſh enemies continually iſſued foorth, the Dutch knights being wearied, began to fight more faintly. Which Vladiſlaus no ſooner perceiued, but in all haſte hee ſends forwarde his mightie and well armed bande of Polonians, who ſuddenly breaking in renewed the ſkirmiſh. The Dutch were not able to withſtand the furie of the freſh troupes (great oddes there is betweene the wearied Souldier and him that comes in a freſh) inſomuch that the knights with their people were conſtrained to flee. The maſter of the Order ſeeing his ſouldiers giue way vnto the enemie, gathered a companie together, and withſtoode him in the face, howbeit himſelfe was ſlaine for his labour, the flight of his people proued greater and more diſhonourable, neither did the Dutch ceaſe to flee, ſo long as the Polonian continued the chaſe. There fell on the Knights partie manie thouſands of men, and the Polonians gotte not the victorie without great ſpoile and damage. This battell was foughten in regard of the bounds of regions in the yeere 1410. All Pruſſia following the happie ſucceſſe of the Polonian king (except Marieburg onely) yeelded themſelues vnto him being Conquerour. Howbeit the Emperour Sigiſmund taking vp the quarell, peace was ordained betweene the knights and Polonia, and a league concluded, certaine ſummes of money alſo were paide vnto the Polonian, Pruſſia was reſtored vnto the knights, neither was the ſaide order diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of their lands vntill the time of Friderick. The 24. Maſter was Henrie Earle of Placn. This man being depoſed by the Chapter, was 7. yeres holden priſoner at Dantzik. The 25. Maſter was Michael Kuchenmeiſter, that is, maſter of the Cookes of Sternberg. The 26. was Paulus a Ruſſdorff. The 27. Conradus ab Ellerichſhauſen. This man, after diuers and ſundry conflicts betweene the Dutch knights, and the king of Polonia, concluded a perpetuall league with the ſaide king. Howbeit the citizens of Dantzig ſecretely going about to obteyne their freedome, that the foreſaide Order might haue no dominion ouer them, made ſute vnto the Polonian king to be their Protector. This Conradus died in the yeere 1450. The 28. was Lewis ab Ellerichſhauſen. Vnder this man there aroſe a dangerous ſedition in Pruſſia betweene the chiefe cities and the knights of the Order. The citizens demanded libertie, complaining that they were oppreſſed with diuers moleſtations. Whereupon they priuily made ſute vnto Caſimir then king of Polonia. The Maſter of the Order ſeeing what would come to paſſe began to expoſtulate with the king, that he kept not the peace which had bene concluded betweene them to laſt for euer. Alſo Frederick the Emperour commaunded the Pruſſians to returne vnto the obedience of the knights, who by the dint of their ſwordes had releaſed that prouince out of the hands of Infidels, and had bought it with the ſhedding of much blood. Notwithſtanding the popular ſort perſiſting ſtil in their ſtubborne determination, proceeded at length to open warre. The cities adhearing vnto the king vſurped diuers Caſtles belonging to the Maſter, tooke certain Commanders and knights, yea, and ſome they ſlewe alſo. Fiftie and fiue townes conſpired together in that rebellion: but thinking their eſtate and ſtrength not ſure enough againſt their own gouernors without forrein aide, they choſe king Caſimir to be their lord. Heereupon the Polonian king marched into Pruſſia with a great armie, taking poſſeſſion of ſuch cities as yeelded themſelues vnto him, and proceeding forward againſt Marieburg, beſieged the caſtle and the towne. In the meane ſeaſon the Maſter hauing hired an armie of Germane ſouldiers, ſuddenly ſurpriſed the king at vnawares in his tents, and ſlewe about 300. Polonians, tooke priſoners 136. noblemen, ſpoiled their tents, tooke away their horſes, victuals, and armour, inſomuch that the king himſelfe hardly eſcaped vpon one horſe. Theſe things came to paſſe in the yeere 1455. The Maſter hauing thus obtained the victorie, ſent his armie into the countrey, and recouered the caſtles and cities which he had loſt, to the nūber of 80. putting many of his enemies alſo vnto the ſword. Moreouer, he recouered Kunigsberg being one of the foure principall cities, which are by name Thorne, Elburg, Kunigsberg, and Gdanum, that is to ſay, Dantzig. And when the warre was longer protracted then the Maſter could well beare, and a whole yeres wages was vnpaid vnto his captains, thoſe captaines which were in the gariſon of Marieburg conſpired againſt the Maſter, and for a great ſumme of money betrayed the caſtle of Marieburg vnto the king. Which practiſe beeing knowen, the Maſter fled to Kunigsberg, and newe warre was begunne, and great ſpoile and deſolation was wrought on both ſides: vntill at length, after compoſition made, the king retayned Pomerella, and all the caſtles and townes therein, together with Marieburg and Elburg: and the maſter inioyed Sama.tia, Kunigsberg, &c. This compoſition was concluded in the yeere 1466. The 29. Maſter was Henrie Reuſſ, firſt being deputie, and afterwarde Maſter of Pruſsia. The 30. was Henrie a Richtenberg, who deceaſed in the yeere 1477. The 31. called

The great maſter ouercommeth the king of Polonia.

The king by treaſon ouerthroweth the Maſter.

Martine Truchſes died in the yeere 1489. The 32. John a Tieflen died in the yeere 1500. The 33. being Duke of Saxonie, and marques of Miſn, deceaſed in the yeere 1510. This man began to call in queſtion, whether the foreſaid compoſition concluded betweene the king of Polonia, and the Order, were to bee obſerued or no: eſpecially ſithence it conteined certaine articles againſt equitie and reaſon. Wherupon he appealed vnto the Biſhop of Rome, vnto the Emperor, vnto the princes and electors of Germany, and preuailed with them ſo farre forth, that there was a day of hearing appointed at Poſna in Polonia. And the Legates of both parts meeting heard complaints and excuſes, & diſpatched no other buſineſſe. In the meane time Prince Frederick deceaſed in the tenth yeere of his gouernment. The 34. Maſter was Albertus marques of Brandenburg, whom the King of Polonia did ſo grieuouſly moleſt with war, and oppreſſed all Pruſſia with ſuch extreme rigour, that the Prince of the countrey was conſtrained to make a league of foure yeeres with him, and to yeeld vnto ſuch conditions, as turned to the vtter ouerthrowe of the whole Order. And amongſt other conditions are theſe which follow. Sithence that the originall of all diſcorde betweene Polonia and the order doeth from hence ariſe, for that hitherto in Pruſſia, no lawfull heyre and ſucceſſor hath borne rule and authority, but diuers and ſundry haue had the gouernment therof, by whoſe meanes the nations haue bene prouoked one againſt another, much Chriſtian blood hath bin ſhed, the lands and inhabitants grieuouſly ſpoiled, and many widowes and Orphans made: the Popes, Emperors, and Princes being often ſollicited for the eſtabliſhing of that perpetual league, which Caſimir hath heretofore concluded &c. Sithence alſo that the truce which hath bene agreed vpon of both parties is in ſhort time to be expired, and that it is to bee feared, that bloody warres will then be renewed, and that all things will proue worſe and worſe, vnleſſe ſome lawfull compoſition be made, and ſome good and wholeſome deuiſe be put in practiſe, as well for the benefit of the King and of his poſteritie, as for the commoditie of the whole common weale of Pruſſia, eſpecially conſidering that Albertus the Marques refuſeth not to ſubmitte himſelfe to the Councell of the King, &c.

The Oration or ſpeech of the Ambaſſadours ſent from *Conradus* de *Zolner* Maſter generall of the land of *Pruſſia,* vnto *Richard* the ſecond, King of England, *and France, &c.*

The meſſengers which are ſent from the Maſter generall of the land of *Pruſſia,* doe propound and declare the affaires and negotiations vnderwritten.

The ancient aſſiſtance of the kings of England againſt infidels.

Whereas it is apparant, that diuers and ſundrie times heeretofore, your famous progenitours and predeceſſours the kings of England haue alwaies bene gratious promoters and ſpeciall friends vnto the generall Maſters of the land of Pruſſia, and of the whole order: whereas alſo they haue vouchſafed, by their Barons, Knights, and other their nobles of the kingdome of England, vnto the Maſters and order aforeſaide, ſundry and manifolde fauourable aſſiſtances in the conqueſt of the Infidels (in whoſe ſteppes your excellent Maieſtie inſiſting, haue, in theſe your dayes ſhewed your ſelfe in like ſort right graciouſly affected vnto the Maſter generall which nowe is, and vnto his famous Predeceſſour) in due conſideration of the premiſſes, and in regard alſo of diuers other affaires, which are at this preſent to be propounded vnto your Highnes, the foreſaid Maſter general which now is hath cauſed vs his meſſengers to be ſent with letters of credence vnto your Maieſtie: humbly praying, and earneſtly beſeeching your roial clemency, that in times to come, the ſaid Maſter general, his ſucceſſors, & our whole Order may of your bounty moſt graciouſly obtaine the ſame fauour, beneuolēce, and ſtedfaſt amity & friendſhip, which hath bin continued from the times of your foreſaid predeceſſors: in regard wherof we do offer the ſaid Maſter of ours, and our whole company, vnto your highnes, as your perpetual and deuote friends. Notwithſtanding (moſt ſoueraigne Prince) certaine other things we haue to propound vnto your Grace, in the name & behalfe of our ſaide Maſter and Order, by way of complaint, namely, that at certaine times paſt, and eſpecially within the ſpace of x. yeres laſt expired, his ſubiects and marchants haue ſuſtained ſundry damages and ablations of their goods, by diuers ſubiects and inhabitants of your realme of England, and that very often, both by ſea and land: the which, for the behalf, and by the appointment of the Maſter general aforeſaid, & of his predeceſſor, are put downe in regiſters, and recorded in the writings of his cities in the land of Pruſſia. Of which parties dammified, ſome haue obtained letters frō the Maſter general

that

Edward the 3.

that now is, & alſo from his predeceſſor, vnto your renowmed grandfather K. Edward of famous memory, and ſundry times vnto your highnes alſo, to haue reſtitution made for their goods taken from them: whereby they haue nothing at al preuailed, but heaping loſſe vpon loſſe haue miſſpent their time & their charges: both becauſe they were not permitted to propound & exhibit their complaints & letters before your maieſty, and alſo for diuers other impediments. Certain of them alſo conſidering how others of their countriemen had laboured in vain, & fearing the like ſucceſſe, haue troubled the Maſter general very often with grieuous and ſundry complaints, crauing & humbly beſeeching at his hands, that he would vouchſafe graciouſly to prouide for thē as his faithful & loial ſubiects, as touching the reſtitution of their loſſes: eſpecially ſeeing ẏ ſo much wealth of the Engliſh marchants was euery yeere to be found in Pruſſia, as being arreſted, they might obtaine ſome reaſonable ſatiſfaction for their loſſes. Which thing the Maſter general aforeſaid & his predeceſſor alſo haue deferred vnto this preſent (albeit to ẏ great loſſe of their ſubiects) therby hauing meere & principal reſpect vnto thoſe ſpecial curteſies and fauours which your excellent Maieſty & your worthy progenitors haue right graciouſly vouchſafed vpon our Maſters and Order: neither yet for the iniuries aforeſaid, was there euer any maner of offence, or moleſtation offered vnto any of your ſubiects noble or ignoble whatſoeuer. Moreouer, in the name & behalfe of our foreſaid Ma. general we do propound vnto your excellency by way of cōplaint, that in the yere laſt paſt, 6. dayes after ẏ feaſt of the Aſcenſion, certain perſons of your realm of England, with their ſhips & captains comming vnto the port of Flanders, named Swen, & finding there, amongſt ſundry other, 6. ſhips of Pruſſia reſident, which had there arriued wᵗ diuers goods & marchandiſes: and being informed that they were of Pruſſia, & their friends, they cauſed them & their ſhips to remain next vnto their owne ſhips, protesting vnto them, that they ſhould in no ſort be moleſted or dammified by thēſelues or by any other of their company, & that they would faithfully defend them, as if they were their own people, frō ẏ hands of their aduerſaries: & for their farther ſecurity & truſt, they deliuered ſome of their own men & their ſtanderds into our mens ſhips: howbeit a while after being ſtirred vp, & bent far otherwiſe, they took out of ẏ foreſaid ſhips al kind of armors, wherwith they were to gard & defēd themſelues frō pirats, & they deteined the maſters of thoſe ſhips, not ſuffring them to return vnto their own ſhips & cōpanies, one alſo of ẏ ſaid ſhips (hauing taken al the goods out of her) they cōſumed with fire. And within 3. daies after they came with one accord vnto ẏ abouenamed ſhips, and tooke away from them all goods and marchandiſes which they could find, and all the armour and weapons of the ſaid ſhips, the cheſtes alſo of the marchants, of the ſhip-maſters, & of other perſons they brake opē, taking out money, iewels, garments, & diuers other commodities: and ſo they inflicted vpō them irrecouerable loſſes and vnkind grieuances. And departing out of the foreſaid hauen, they caried 2. of the Pruſſian ſhip-maſters with thē, as their captiues vnto an hauen of England called Sandwich. Who, being afterward releaſed, were compelled to ſweare, that they ſhould not declare ẏ iniuries offred vnto them, either before your roiall maieſty, or your hon. Councell, or your chācelor: neither were they permitted to come on ſhore. And being offred ſuch hard meaſure, when they made pitiful mones & complaints vnto your foreſaide ſubiects, amongſt other matters they ſpake on this wiſe vnto them: Do you complain of iniuries & loſſes offered vnto you? Loe, in your own cōtrey of Pruſſia there are Engliſh marchants, & goods ſufficient, go your waies home therfore, & recouer your loſſes, taking two for one: and in this maner they were left, & ſo departed. Afterward returning vnto ẏ land of Pruſſia, they & their friends repaired vnto the Maſt. general, iointly and wᵗ one conſent making their complaint vnto him of the loſſes which had bin inflicted vpon thē by your ſubiects. And proſtrating thēſelues at his feet, they all and euery of them made their humble ſutes, ẏ he would haue compaſſion on them, as vpon his poore ſubiects, regarding thēſelues, their wiues, & children, and pitying their diſtres, and penury, and that he would graciouſly procure ſome redreſſe for them. And when he offred his letters vnto them, wiſhing them to proſecute their cauſe before your highnes, they anſwered that they were no way able to defray the expenſes, and that others, who were in like ſort dammified, had laboured that way altogether in vain & to no purpoſe: beſeeching him again and again, that he would by another kind of means, namely by arreſting of your marchants and their goods, procure thē reſtitution of their loſſes. At length the Maſter general being moued by ſo many and ſo great complaints, and by the moleſtation of his ſubiects, cauſed (albeit full ſore againſt his will) a certaine portion of Engliſh marchants goods to be laid hold on, and to be arreſted, in his cities of Elburg & Dantzik, and to be beſtowed in ſure places, vntil ſuch time as he might conueniently by his meſſengers propound and exhibit all and ſingular the premiſſes vnto your highnes. And foraſmuch as the foreſaid Maſter general and our Order do know no iuſt occaſion, wherby they haue deſerued your maieſties indignation, but are firmely and moſt vndoubtedly perſwaded, to finde all curteſie, fauour, and friendſhip at your Highneſſe, according to your wonted clemencie: the ſaid Maſter generall therefore maketh

The arreſting of the Engliſh goods and marchants.

no doubt,that al the aboue written damages & moleſtations,being in ſuch ſort,againſt God and iuſtice,offred vnto his ſubiects by yours,be altogether vnknown vnto your magnificence,& committed againſt your mind:wherfore preſently vpon the foreſaid arreſt of your marchants goods, he diſpatched his meſſengers vnto your roial maieſty. Wherof one deceaſed by the way,namely in the territory of Holland:& the other remained ſick in thoſe parts for a long ſeaſon:& ſo that ambaſſage took none effect. Wherfore the ſaid maſter general was deſirous to ſend vs now yͤ ſecond time alſo vnto your Highnes. We do make our humble ſute therfore, in the name & behalf of our Maſter and Order aforeſaid,vnto your kingly ſupremacy,that,hauing God and iuſtice before your eies,and alſo the dutifull and obſequious demeanor of the ſaid maſter, and order towards you, you would vouchſafe to extend your gracious clemency,for the redreſſe of the premiſſes:wherby the foreſaid loſſes may be reſtored and repaied vnto our ſubiects. All which notwithſtanding, that it would pleaſe you of your wiſedome & prouidence to procure ſo abſolute a remedy, by meanes whereof,in time to come, ſuch dealings and inconueniences may be auoided on both parts,& finally that your marchants may quietly be poſſeſſed of their goods arreſted in Pruſſia,and our marchants may be admitted vnto the poſſeſſion of their commodities attached in England,to conuert & apply them vnto ſuch vſes, as to themſelues ſhal ſeem moſt conuenient. Howbeit(moſt gracious prince and lord) we are to ſollicite your Highneſſe, not onely about the articles to be propounded concerning the loſſes aforeſaide,but more principally, for certain ſiniſter reports and ſuperſtitious ſlanders,whet with certaine of your ſubiects,not ſeeking for peace,haue falſly informed your maieſty,& your moſt honorable & diſcreete Cõcel:affirming that at the time of yͤ aforeſaid arreſt your marchants were barbarouſly intreated, that they were caſt into lothſom priſons,drenched in myre and water vp to yͤ neck,reſtrained from al conference and company of men,and alſo that their meat was thrown vnto them,as a bone to a dog, with many other enormities,which they haue moſt ſlanderouſly deuiſed concerning the maſter general aforeſaid,and his people, and haue publiſhed them in theſe dominions: vpon the occaſion of which falſhoods certain marchants of our parts,and of other regions of Alemain(who,of your ſpecial beneuolence,were indued with certaine priuileges and fauours in your citie of London,and in other places) were, as malefactors, apprehended and caried to priſon,vntil ſuch time as the trueth was more apparant. Whereupon,the foreſaide maſter generall propoundeth his humble ſute vnto your maieſtie,that ſuch enemies of trueth and concord,your Maieſty woulde vouchſafe in ſuch ſort to chaſtiſe, that they may be an example vnto others preſuming to doe the like.

Moreouer,(high and mighty Prince and lord)it was reported vnto our Maſter general,that his former Legats required of your maieſty ſafe conduct freely to come into your highneſſe Realme. Which when hee heard,he was exceedingly offended therat,ſithence vndoubtedly they did not this at his commaundement or direction. We therefore humbly beſeech your Grace, as touching this ouerſight, to holde the Maſter generall excuſed,becauſe there is no need of ſafeconduct,betweens ſo ſpeciall friends.

Furthermore,ſundry damages and complaints of the foreſaid general Maſter,and his ſubiects are briefly exhibited, and put downe in the billes following. Alſo, all and ſingular damnified perſons, beſides other proofes,were compelled to verifie their loſſes by their formall othes, taken vpon the holy Bible.

Laſtly, we doe make our humble ſuite and petition vnto the prouidence and diſcretion of your Highnes,and of your honorable Councell, that concerning the premiſſes , and all other matters propounded, or to be propounded vnto your Maieſty,we may obtaine a ſpeedy anſwere, and an effectuall end. For it would redound vnto our great charges and loſſe to make any long delayes.

An agreement made by the Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Pruſsia*, confirmed by king *Richard* the ſecond.

RIchard by the grace of God, king of England,and France, and lorde of Ireland, To all, vnto whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come,greeting. We haue ſeene and conſidered the compoſition,ordination,concord,and treatie,betweene our welbeloued clearke, maſter Nicholas Stocket, licentiat in bothlawes,Walter Sibel,and Thomas Graa,citizens of our cities of London & York, our meſſengers and ambaſſadors on the one part: and the honourable and religious perſonages, Conradus de Walrode, great commander,Sifridus Walpode de Baſſenheim, chiefe hoſpitalary commander in Elburg, and Vlricus Hachenberg Treaſurer, the meſſengers and ambaſſadors of the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothenſtein, maſter generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hoſpital of Saint Mary at Ieruſalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed vpon in theſe words. In the name of the ſupreame and indiuiſible Trinitie, the Father,the Sonne,and the holy Ghoſt, Amen. Foraſmuch as the author of peace will haue peacemakers

makers to be the ſons of bleſſednes, and the execrable enemie of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Chriſtians: therefore for the perpetuall memorie of the thing, be it knowen vnto all men who ſhall ſee or heare the tenour of theſe preſents: that there being matter of diſſenſion and diſcord bred betweene the moſt renowmed prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his ſubiects on the one part: and the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothinſtein, Maſter generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hoſpitall of S. Marie at Ieruſalem, and his land of Pruſſia, and his ſubiects alſo, on the other part: the foreſaid lord and generall maſter, vpon mature counſell and deliberation had, ſent his honourable ambaſſadours towards England vnto the forenamed moſt ſoueraigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint vnto him of violence and iniuries offered (as it is ſayd) by the Engliſh vnto the Pruſſians: in conſideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arreſted in the land of Pruſſia. Whoſe complaint the foreſayd moſt gracious prince did courteouſly and friendly admit, receiue, and accept, and after many ſpeeches vttered in this treaty, louingly diſmiſſed them vnto their owne countrey againe, promiſing by his letters vnto the foreſayd reuerend Maſter generall, that hee would diſpatch his ambaſſadours vnto the land of Pruſſia. Whereupon, in the yeere 1388. he ſent the hono: and reuerend perſonages 1388. Maſter Nicholas Stocker licentiate of both lawes, Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with ſufficient authority and full commandement, to handle, diſcuſſe, and finally to determine the foreſaid buſines, and with letters of credence vnto the right reuerend lord and maſter generall aforeſayd. Which ambaſſadours, together with Iohn Beuis of London their informer, and the letters aforeſaid, and their ambaſſage, the ſaid right reuerend lord and Maſter generall, at his caſtle of Marienburgh, the 28. of Iuly, in the yeare aforeſaid, reuerently and honourably receiued and enterteined: and in his minde eſteemed them worthy to treate and decide the cauſes aforeſayd: and ſo vnto the ſayd ambaſſadouurs he ioyned in commiſſion on his behalfe, three of his owne counſellers, namely the honourable and religious perſonages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de Baſſenheim chiefe hoſpitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus Hachenberger treaſurer, being all of the order aforeſaid. Which ambaſſadors ſo entreating about the premiſſes, and ſundry conferences and conſultations hauing paſſed betweene them, friendly and with one conſent, concluded an agreement and concord in manner following: That is to ſay:

1. Firſt, that all arreſtments, repriſals, and impignorations of whatſoeuer goods and marchandiſes in England and Pruſſia, made before the date of theſe preſents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and releaſed, without all fraud and diſſimulation: inſomuch that the damages, charges and expenſes occaſioned on both parts by reaſon of the foreſayd goods arreſted, are in no caſe hereafter to be required or chalenged by any man: but the demaunds of any man whatſoeuer propounded in this regard, are and ought to be altogether fruſtrate and voide, and all actions which may or ſhall be commenced by occaſion of the ſayd goods arreſted, are to be extinct and of none effect.

2. Moreouer, it is ſecondly concluded and agreed, that all and ſinguler Pruſſians pretending themſelues to be iniuried by the Engliſh at the Porte of Swen, or elſewhere, howſoeuer, and whenſoeuer, before the date of theſe preſents, hauing receiued the letters of the foreſaide right reuerende lord and Maſter generall, and of the cities of their abode, are to repayre towards England, vnto the ſayd hon: embaſſadours, who are to aſſiſt them, and to propound and exhibite their complaintes, vnto the forenamed lord and king. The moſt gracious prince is bounde to doe his indeuor, that the parties damnified may haue reſtitution of their goods made vnto them, or at leaſt complete iuſtice and iudgement without delay. Alſo in like maner all Engliſh men affirming themſelues to haue bene endamaged by Pruſſians, whereſoeuer, howſoeuer, and whenſoeuer, are to haue recourſe vnto the often forenamed right reuerend lorde the Maſter generall, with the letters of their king and of the cities of their aboad, propounding their complaints and cauſes vnto him. Who likewiſe is bound to doe his indeuour that the ſayd loſſes and damages may be reſtored, or at the leaſt that ſpeedie iudgement may be, without all delayes, executed. This caueat being premiſed in each clauſe, that it may and ſhall be freely granted and permitted vnto euery man that will ciuilly make his ſuite and complaint, to doe it either by himſelfe, or by his procurator or procurators.

3. Alſo thirdly it is agreed, that whoſoeuer of Pruſſia is determined criminally to propound his criminal complaints in England: namely that his brother or kinſeman hath beene ſlaine, wounded, or maimed, by Engliſh men, the ſame partie is to repayre vnto the citie of London in England, and vnto the ſayd ambaſſadors, bringing with him the letters of the ſayd right reuerend lord the maſter generall, and of the cities of their abode: which ambaſſadors are to haue free and full authority, according to the complaints of the men of Pruſſia, and the anſwers of the Engliſh men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliation or honeſt recompence betweene ſuch parties: which reconci-

liation the ſayd parties reconciled are bound vndoubtedly & without delay to obſerue. But if there be any Engliſh man found, who ſhall raſhly contradict or contemne the compoſition of the foreſayd ambaſſadors: then the ſayd ambaſſadours are to bring the forenamed Pruſſian plaintifes before the preſence of the kings Maieſtie: and alſo to make ſupplication on the behalfe of ſuch plaintifes, that complete iuſtice and iudgment may without delayes bee adminiſtred, according as thoſe ſuites are commenced. Moreouer whatſoeuer Engliſh man, againſt whom anie one of Pruſſia would enter his action, ſhall abſent himſelfe at the terme, the ſayd ambaſſadours are to ſummon and aſcite the foreſayd Engliſh man to appeare at the terme next inſuing, that the plaintifes of Pruſſia may in no wiſe ſeeme to depart or to returne home, without iudgement or the aſſiſtance of lawe. Nowe if the ſayd Engliſh man being ſummoned ſhall be found ſtubborne or diſobedient, the forenamed ambaſſadours are to make their appeale and ſupplication in manner aforeſayd. And in like ſorte in all reſpects ſhall the Engliſh plaintifes be dealt withall in Pruſſia, namely in the citie of Dantzik, where the deputies of the ſayd citie and of the citie of Elburg ſhal take vnto themſelues two other head boroughs, one of Dantzik, and the other of Elburg: which foure commiſſioners are to haue in al reſpects, the very like authoritie of deciding, diſcuſſing, and determining all criminall complaints propounded criminally, by Engliſh men againſt any Pruſſian or Pruſſians, by friendly reconciliation, or honeſt recompenſe, if it be poſſible. But if it cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Pruſian ſhall not yeeld obedience vnto any ſuch order or compoſition, but ſhalbe found to contradict and to contemne the ſame: from thenceforth the ſaid foure deputies and headboroughs are to make their appeale and ſupplication vnto the Maſter generall of the land aforeſayd, that vnto the ſayd Engliſh plaintifes ſpeedy iudgement and complete iuſtice may be adminiſtred. But if it ſhall ſo fall out that any of the principall offenders ſhall deceaſe, or already are deceaſed in either of the ſayd countries, that then it ſhall bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to proſecute his right againſt the goods or heires of the party deceaſed. Alſo, for the executing of the premiſſes the termes vnder written are appointed: namely the firſt, from the Sunday whereupon Quaſi modo geniti is to be ſung next enſuing, vntill the ſeuenth day following: The ſecond vpon the feaſt of the holy Trinitie next to come, and for ſeuen dayes following: The third vpon the eight day after Saint John Baptiſt next to come, & for ſeuen daies following: The fourth, laſt, and peremptory terme ſhall be vpon the feaſt of S. Michael next to come, and vpon ſeuen dayes next following. And from thenceforth all cauſes which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether voide and extinct. And if peraduenture any one of the foreſayd ambaſſadours, ſhall in the meane ſeaſon dye, then the other two ſhall haue authoritie to chuſe a third vnto them. And if after the date of theſe preſents any cauſe great or ſmall doth ariſe or ſpring foorth, it muſt bee decided in England and in Pruſsia, as it hath beene accuſtomed in times paſt and from ancient times.

An ancient cuſtome.

4. The priuiledges of the Engliſh marchāts in Pruſſia.

4. Alſo, it is farther concluded and agreed vpon, that all lawfull marchants of England whoſoeuer ſhall haue free licence and authority, with all kindes of ſhippes, goods, and marchandiſes, to reſorte vnto euery port of the land of Pruſsia, and alſo to tranſport all ſuch goods and marchandiſes vp farther vnto any other place in the ſayde land of Pruſsia, and there with all kindes of perſons freely to bargaine and make ſale, as heretofore it hath from auncient times bene accuſtomed. Which priuiledge is granted in all things and by all circumſtances vnto the Pruſsians in England. And if after the date of theſe preſents, betweene the ſayd kingdome of England, and land of Pruſsia any diſſenſion or diſcorde (which God forefend) ſhould ariſe: then the foreſayd ſouereigne prince and king of England, and the ſayd right reuerend lord the Maſter generall are mutually by their letters and meſſengers to giue certificate and intimation one vnto another, concerning the matter and cauſe of ſuch diſſenſion and diſcord: which intimation, on the behalfe of the foreſaid ſouereigne prince & king of England, ſhall be deliuered in the forenamed caſtle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the ſayd right reuerend lord the Maſter generall, ſuch intimation ſhall be giuen in the citie of London aforeſayd, vnto the Maior of the ſaid city: that then ſuch a denuntiation or intimation being made, the marchants of England and the ſubiects of the land of Pruſsia may, within the ſpace of one yeere next following, freely and ſafely returne home with al their goods & marchandiſes: if at the leaſt, in the mean while, ſome compoſition, & friendly league betweene the two forſayd countreis be not in ſome ſorte concluded. And that all the premiſſes may more firmely and faithfully be put in due practiſe and execution on both partes, for the ſtrong and inuiolable keeping of peace and tranquillity: and alſo for the full confirmation and ſtrengthening of all the ſayde premiſſes, the three foreſayd honourable and religious perſonages being by the ſaid right reuerẽd lord the Maſter general appointed as cõmiſſioners to deale in the aboue written ordination and compoſition, haue cauſed their ſeales vnto theſe preſents to be

put: and the ſayd ordination alſo, and letter in the ſame tenour word for word, and in all points euen as it is inſerted into theſe preſents, they haue mutually receiued frō the abouenamed three ambaſſadours of the right ſoueraigne king of England vnder their ſeales. Giuen at the caſtle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforeſayd, vpon the twentieth day of the moneth of Auguſt. And we therefore doe accept, approue, ratifie, and by the tenour of theſe preſents doe confirme, the compoſition, ordination, concorde, and treaty aforeſayd. In teſtimony whereof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelues a Weſtminſter the 22. of October, in the thirteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the king and his counſell.

Lincolne.

The letters of *Conradus de Iungingen*, Maſter generall of *Pruſſia*, written vnto *Richard* the ſecond, king of *England*, in the yeere 1398, for the renouncing of a league and compoſition concluded betweene *England* and *Pruſſia*, in regard of manifold iniuries offered vnto the Pruſſians.

Our humble commendations, with our earneſt prayers vnto God for your Maieſtie, premiſed. Moſt renowmed prince and mighty lord, it is not (we hope) out of your Maieſties remembrance, how our famous predeceſſour going immediately before vs ſent certaine letters of his vnto your highneſſe, effectually contayning ſundry complaints of grieuances, iniuries and loſſes, wherewith the marchants of his lande and Order being woont in times paſt to viſite your kingdome with their goods and marchandiſes, haue bene contrary to their liberties and priuiledges annoyed with manifold iniuries and wrongs. Eſpecially ſithens they haue beene moleſted in your realme, being contrary to the friendly compoſition made and celebrated by the hono: perſonages, maſter Nicholas Stocket, Thomas Graa and Walter Sibil, in the yeare 1388, with the aſſiſtance of their coarbiters on our part, and contrary to God and all iuſtice, oppreſſed with manifold damages, loſſes, and grieuances: as in certaine articles exhibited vnto our predeceſſors aforeſayd it doeth more manifeſtly appeare. In conſideration whereof being vehemently moued by the damnified parties, he humbly beſought your highneſſe by his meſſengers and letters, for complement and execution of iuſtice. About the which affayres your Maieſtie returned your letters of anſwere vnto our ſayd predeceſſor, ſignifying that the ſayd buſineſſe of articles concerned al the communalty of your realme, and that your highneſſe purpoſed, after conſultation had in your parliament, to ſend a more deliberate anſwere concerning the premiſſes, vnto our predeceſſour aforeſayd. Howbeit he being by death tranſlated out of this preſent world, and our ſelues by the prouidence of God ſucceeding in his roome, and alſo long time expecting an effectuall anſwere from your highneſſe, are not yet informed as we looked for: albeit the complaints of iniuries and loſſes offered vnto our ſubiects doe continually increaſe. But from henceforth to prouide a remedie and a caueat for the time to come, the ſayd complaynt doeth vpon great reaſons mooue and inuite me. Sithens therefore in regard of the ſayd compoſition, neither you nor your ſubiects may be iudged in the empire: and ſithens plaine reaſon requireth that the one be not inriched by the others loſſe: as vndoubtedly our ſubiects ſhould ſuſtaine great damage by the compoſition aforeſayd, by vertue whereof your ſubiects doe enioy all commodities in our lande, and contrariwiſe our ſubiects in your realme haue ſuffered, & as yet ſundrie wayes do ſuffer manifold diſcommodities, loſſes and iniuries. Wherefore (moſt ſoueraigne prince and mighty lord) being reaſonably mooued vpon the cauſes aforeſayd, we doe, by the aduiſe of our counſellers, reuoke and repeale the ſayd compoſition concluded as is aboue written, together with the effect thereof, purely and ſimply renouncing the ſame by theſe preſents: refuſing hereafter to haue either our ſelues or our ſubiects in any reſpect to ſtand bound by the vertue of the ſayd compoſition: but from henceforth, and for the times heretofore alſo, bee it altogether voide and of none effect.

Prouided notwithſtanding, that from the time of the notice of this denunciation giuen vnto the hono: Maior of your citie of London, for the ſpace of a yeare next enſuing, it ſhall be lawfull for all marchants of your kingdome whatſoeuer, with their goods and marchandiſes to returne home, according to the forme in the foreſayd compoſition expreſſed: conditionaly that our ſubiects may euen ſo in all reſpects be permitted to depart, with the ſafety of their goods and liues out of your dominions: this preſent renuntiation, reuocation, and retractation of the order and compoſition aforeſayd, notwithſtanding. Howbeit in any other affayres whatſoeuer, deuoutly to ſubmit our ſelues vnto your highneſſe pleaſure and command, both our ſelues, and our whole order are right willing and deſirous: and alſo to benefite and promote your ſubiects we wil indeuour to the vtmoſt of our ability. Giuen in our caſtle of Marienburg in the yeare of our Lord 1398, and vpon the 22. day of February.

Frater *Conradus de Iungingen*, maſter generall of the Order of
the Dutch knights of S. *Maries* hoſpital at *Ieruſalem*.

A briefe relation of *VVilliam Eſturmy*, and *Iohn Kington* concerning their ambaſſages into *Pruſsia*, and the *Hanſ-townes*.

1403. INprimis, that in the moueth of Iuly, and in the yeare of our Lord 1403, and the fift yeare of the reigne of our ſouereigne Lord the king that nowe is, there came into England the ambaſſadours of the mighty lord Fr: Conradus de Iungingen, being then Maſter general of Pruſsia, with his letters directed vnto our foreſayd ſoueraigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompenſe for certaine iniuries vniuſtly offered by Engliſh men vnto the ſubiects of the ſayd Maſter generall, written in 20. articles, which amounted vnto the ſumme of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c.

Item, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our Lord aboue written, and in the fift yere of the reigne of our ſoueraigne lord the king, between the reuerend father in God, Henrie then biſhop of Lincolne lord chancelor, and William lord de Roos high treaſurer of England, on the one party and the ſayd ambaſſadours on the other party, it was (according to their petition) amongſt other things ordayned: namely that the liege people of our ſoueraigne lord the king ſhould freely be permitted, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter then next after enſuing to remaine in the land of Pruſſia, and from thence with their goods & marchandiſes to returne vnto their own home: and alſo, that the ſubiects of the ſayd Maſter generall in the kingdome of England ſhould haue licence and liberty to doe the like. Prouided alwayes, that after the time aboue limitted, neither the Engliſh marchants in the land of Pruſſia, nor the Pruſſian marchāts in the realme of England ſhould vſe any traffique of marchandiſe at all, vnleſſe in the meane ſpace it were otherwiſe agreed and concluded by the ſayd king and the ſayd Maſter general.

Item, immediately after our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king ſent his letters by Iohn Browne marchant of Lin vnto the foreſayd Maſter generall, for to haue mutuall conuerſation and intercourſe of dealing to continue ſome certain ſpace, betweene the marchants of England and of Pruſſia: promiſing in the ſame letters, that he would in the meane ſeaſon ſend vnto the foreſayd Maſter his ambaſſadors to intreat about the pretended iniuries aforeſaid: which letters the foreſayd Maſter, for diuers cauſes, refuſed to yeelde vnto, as in his letters ſent vnto our lord the king, bearing date the 16. day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare of our lord 1404. more plainely appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the Maſter aforeſaid, which are next aboue mentioned, our ſayd king, according to his promiſe, ſent William Eſturmy knight, M. Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London, from his court of parliament holden at Couentrie, very ſlightly informed, as his ambaſſadours into Pruſſia.

Item, before the arriuall of the ſayd ambaſſadours in Pruſſia, all intercourſe of traffique betweene the Engliſh and the Pruſſians, in the realme of England, and in the land of Pruſſia was altogether reſtrained and prohibited: and in the ſame land it was ordayned and put in practiſe, that in whatſoeuer porte of the land of Pruſſia any Engliſh marchant had arriued with his goods, he was not permitted to conueigh the ſayd goods, out of that porte, vnto any other place of the land of Pruſſia, either by water, or by lande, vnder the payne of the forfeiting of the ſame: but was enioyned to ſell them in the very ſame porte, vnto the Pruſſians onely and to none other, to the great preiudice of our Engliſh marchants.

1405. Item, that after the arriuall of the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadours in the land of Pruſſia, it was ordayned, that from the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our lord 1405, all Engliſh marchants whatſoeuer ſhould haue free liberty to arriue with all kindes of their marchandiſe in whatſoeuer port of the land of Pruſsia, and to make ſale of them in the ſaid land, as hath heretofore from auncient times bene accuſtomed. Alſo ſundry other commodious priuiledges vnto the realme of England were then ordayned and eſtabliſhed: as in the indentures made for this purpoſe it doth more manifeſtly appeare.

Item, the ſaid Engliſh ambaſſadours being arriued in the land of Pruſsia, demanded of the ſaid Maſter generall, a reformation and amends, for the damages and iniuries offered by the Pruſsians vnto the liege people of our ſoueraigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which loſſes amounted vnto the ſumme of 4535. nobles.

Item, the ſaid Maſter generall, beſides the articles exhibited vnto our ſoueraigne lord the king (as it is aboue mentioned) deliuered vnto the ſayd ambaſſadours diuers other articles of certaine iniuries offered (as he ſayth) vniuſtly by Engliſh men, vnto his ſubiects, which amounted vnto the ſumme of 5100.nobles.

Item, it was afterward concluded,that vpon the firſt of May next then inſuing,namely in the yeere of our Lord 1406,or within the ſpace of one yeare immediatly following there ſhould bee made a conuenient, iuſt,and reaſonable ſatiſfaction, for all moleſtations vniuſtly offered on both partes, as well on the behalfe of our ſoueraigne lord the king,as of the foreſayd Maſter general. Which ſatiſfaction not being performed,the Pruſſians with their goods & marchandiſes, within three moneths after the end of the ſayd yere next following,were without moleſtation or impediment,enioined to depart out of the realme of England with their ſhips and goods, and the Engliſh men likewiſe,out of the territories and dominions of the ſaid Maſter general, & both of them, without any further admonition,to abſtaine & ſeparate themſelues,from both the countreis aforeſayd. For the performance of which premiſſes, the ambaſſadors on both parts being ſufficiently inſtructed,were appointed to meete the firſt day of May,at the towne of Dordract in Holland. 1406.

Item, that the ſayd William Eſturmy and Iohn Kington in their returne homewards from Pruſſia towards England paſſed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in ſuch ſort with the Burgomaſters of them,that there were ſent meſſengers and agents,in the behalfe of the common ſociety of the Hans marchants, vnto the towne of Dordract, to conferre with the ambaſſadors of England, about the redreſſing of iniuries attempted on both parts: where diuers agreements were ſet downe betweene the ſayd ambaſſadors,and meſſengers,as in the indentures made for the ſame purpoſe it doth more manifeſtly appeare.

Item,that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordract, vpon the firſt of May, was by the letters of the foreſayd ambaſſadors,proroged vnto the firſt of Auguſt then next enſuing, and afterward by vertue of the kings letters vnto the firſt day of March next following: and there was another day of prorogation alſo.

Item,that after the prorogations aforeſayd, the ambaſſadors of England,and the meſſengers & commiſſioners of Pruſſia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland,the 28. day of Auguſt, in the yere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty between thẽ concerning the ſumme 25934. nobles and an halfe, demanded on the behalfe of the ſayd Maſter generall for amends and recompenſe in conſideration of wrongs offered vnto himſelfe and vnto his ſubiects of Pruſſia,as is aforeſayd. Alſo the ſayd Maſter and his Pruſſians, beſides the ſumme not yet declared in the articles, which is very ſmall,are to reſt contented and ſatiſfied with the ſumme of 8957. nobles, in lieu of al the damages aforeſaid: no times of paiment being then aſſigned or limited,but afterward to be reaſonably limited and aſſigned,by our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king. Inſomuch,that our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king is to write his ful intention & determination concerning this matter,in his letters to be deliuered the 16. day of March,vnto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans reſiding at Bruges. Otherwiſe,that from thenceforth all league of friendſhip ſhall bee diſſolued betweene the realme of England and the land of Pruſſia.

Alſo it is farther to be noted,that in the appointment of the ſumme next before written to be diſburſed out of England,this condition was added in writing,namely,that if by lawful teſtimonies it may ſufficiently and effectually be prooued, concerning the chiefe articles aboue written, or any part of them, that ſatiſfaction was made vnto any of thoſe parties, to whom it was due: or that the goods,of and for the which complaint was made on the the behalfe of Pruſſia, in the ſayd articles, did or doe pertayne vnto others, or that any other iuſt, true, or reaſonable cauſe may lawfully be proued & alledged, why the foreſaid ſums or any of them ought not to be payed: that thẽ in the ſummes contained in the articles abouementioned,ſo much only muſt be cut off,or ſtopped, as ſhalbe found,either to haue bene payd already,or to appertaine vnto others, or by any true,iuſt, and reaſonable cauſe alleaged,not to be due. Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the ſumme due vnto the Pruſſians,that not our lord the king,but others (which will in time be nominated)are, by all equity and iuſtice,to be compelled to make ſatiſfaction.

Alſo,at the day and place aboue mentioned it was appointed and agreed vpon,that our lord the king and his liege ſubiects,for the ſaid 4535.nobles demanded of the Engliſh in conſideration of recompenſe to be made for iniuries offered vnto the Pruſſians, are to diſcharge & pay the ſumme of 764.nobles, which are not as yet diſburſed: but they haue reſerued a petition to them, vnto whom the ſayd ſumme is due,or if they pleaſe, there ſhalbe made ſatiſfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item,that in the laſt aſſembly of the ſayd ambaſſadors of England and meſſengers of Pruſia, holden at Hage,made as is aforeſayd,for the behalfe of England,there were exhibited anew certaine articles of iniuries againſt the Pruſſians. The value of which loſſes amounted vnto the ſumme of 1825.nobles and three ſhillings.

Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Pruſſians the ſumme of 1355.nobles, eight ſhillings and ſixe pence.

Item, foraſmuch as diuers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Pruſſia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and alſo at the laſt conuention holden at Hage, were ſo obſcure, that in regard of their obſcurity, there could no reſolute anſwere bee made vnto them: and other of the ſayd articles exhibited, for want of ſufficient proofes, could not clearely be determined vpon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obſcure articles giuen vp by any of the foreſayd parties whatſoeuer, ought before the end of Eaſter then next enſuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being: and other articles euidently exhibited, but not ſufficiently proued, to be proued, vnder paine of perpetuall excluſion. Which being done accordingly, complete iuſtice ſhall be adminiſtred on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleuenth article, for the behalfe of the Pruſſians, firſt exhibited, which conteined loſſes amounting vnto the ſumme of 2445.nobles: as touching the firſt article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Pruſſia, conteining loſſes which amoũted to the ſumme of 900.nobles: after many things alleadged on both parts, relation thereof ſhall be made in the audience of the king and of the Maſter generall: ſo that they ſhall ſet downe, ordaine, and determine ſuch an ende and concluſion of thoſe matters, as ſhall ſeeme moſt expedient vnto them.

Now concerning the *Liuonians* who are ſubiect vnto the great Maſter of *Pruſsia*.

Theſe ſhips were taken by the Engliſh ã 20. of Iuly 1404.

INprimis, that the Maſter of Pruſsia demaunded of the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadours, at their being in Pruſsia, on the behalfe of them of Liuonia, who are the ſayd Maſter his liege people, to haue reſtitution of their loſſes, vniuſtly (as he ſayth) offered vnto them by the Engliſh, namely, for the robbing and rifling of three ſhips. The value of which ſhips and of the goods contained in them, according to the computation of the Liuonian marchants, doeth amount vnto the ſumme of 8037.pound, 12.ſhillings 7.pence.

Howbeit afterward the trueth being inquired by the ſayd ambaſſadors of England, the loſſe of the Liuonians exceedeth not the ſumme of 7498.pound, 13.ſhillings, 10.pence halfepeny farthing.

Item, foraſmuch as in the ſayd ſhips, on the behalfe of the ſayd Maſter, and of certaine cities of the Hans, there are alleadged aboue 250.men very barbarouſly to be drowned, of whome ſome were noble, and others honourable perſonages, and the reſt common marchants & mariners, there was demaunded, in the firſt dyet or conuention holden at Dordract, a recompenſe at the handes of the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadors: albeit this complaint was exhibited in the very latter end of al the negotiations, in forme of a ſcedule, the tenor whereof is in writing at this preſent, & beginneth in maner following: Cum vita hominum &c. Howbeit in the laſt conuention holden at Hage, as is aforeſaid, it was concluded betweene the ambaſſadours of England, and the meſſengers and commiſſioners of the land of Pruſsia, and of the cities of the Hans; that our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king, ſhould, of his great pietie, vouchſafe effectually to deuiſe ſome conuenient and wholeſome remedie for the ſoules of ſuch perſons as were drowned.

Item, that our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king will ſignifie in writing his full purpoſe & intention as touching this matter, vnto the aldermen of the Hans marchants reſiding at Bruges, vpon the ſixteenth day of March next following. Otherwiſe, that from henceforth all amity and friendſhip, betweene the realme of England and the land of Pruſsia ſhall be diſſolued.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that a great part of the ſayd goods, for the which they of Liuonia doe demaund reſtitution, namely waxe and furres, redounded vnto the vſe and commoditie of our ſoueraigne lord the king. And alſo our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king gaue commandement by his letters, that ſome of the ſayd goods ſhould be deliuered vnto others. And a great part of them is as yet reſerued in the towne of Newcaſtle. One Benteld alſo hath the beſt of the ſayd three ſhips in poſſeſſion. Alſo it is reported and thought to be true, that certaine Furriers of London, which will be detected in the end, haue had a great part of the ſayd goods, namely of the Furres.

Now as concerning the cities of the *Hans*.

Hamburgh.

INprimis the Hamburgers exhibited nine articles, wherein they demaunded reſtitution for certaine damages offered, as they ſayd, by the Engliſh men, the value of which loſſes amounted vnto the ſumme of 9117.nobles, 20.pence. For the which, after due examination, there was promiſed reſtitution to the ſumme of 416.nobles, 5.ſhillings. Beſides the two articles propounded against thẽ of Scardeburg, the ſumme wherof was 231. pounds, 15.s. 8.d. cõcerning the which there was ſentence giuen in England by the cõmiſſioners of our lord the king, the execution wherof was promiſed vnto the ſaid Hamburgers by the ambaſſadors of England: leaue and licence being reſerued vnto the ſayd Hamburgers, of declaring or explaning certaine obſcure articles by them exhibited, which declaration was to be made at the feaſt of Eaſter then next to come, or within one yeare next enſuing the ſaid feaſt, vnto the chancelor of England for the time being, and of prooving the ſayd articles and others alſo, which haue not as yet ſufficiently bene proued. Which being done they are to haue full complement and execution of iuſtice.

Alſo by the Hamburgers there are demaunded 445. nobles from certaine of the inhabitants of Linne in England. Which ſumme, if it ſhalbe prooued to be due vnto any Engliſh men, the Hamburgers are to reſt contented with thoſe goods, which they haue already in their poſſeſſions.

Breme.

Item, they of Breme propounded ſixe articles, wherein the ſumme conteined amounteth vnto 4414. nobles. And there was no ſatiſfaction promiſed vnto them. But the ſame libertie and licence was reſerued vnto them, in like maner as before vnto the Hamburgers.

Straleſſund.

Item, they of Straleſſund propounded 23. articles, wherof the ſumme amounted vnto 7415. nobles, 20.d. for the which there was promiſed ſatiſfaction of 253. nobles, 3.q. Alſo here is a caueat to be obſerued: that they of Straleſſund had of Engliſh mens goods a great ſumme particularly to be declared, which will peraduenture ſuffice for a recompenſe. And ſome of their articles are concerning iniuries offered before 20, 22, 23, 24. yeres paſt. Alſo their articles are ſo obſcure that they will neuer, or very hardly be able to declare or proue them. Howbeit there is reſerued the very ſame liberty vnto them, that was before vnto the Hamburgers.

Lubec.

Item, they of Lubec propounded 23. articles, the ſumme whereof extended vnto 8690. nobles and an halfe: whereupon it was agreed, that they ſhould haue paied vnto them 550. nobles. There was reſerued the ſame libertie vnto them, which was vnto the men of Straleſſund.

Gripeſwold.

Item, they of Gripeſwold exhibited 5. articles, the ſumme whereof amounted vnto 2092. nobles and an halfe. For the which there was promiſed ſatiſfaction of 153. nobles and an half. And the ſaid men of Gripeſwold haue of the goods of Engliſh men in poſſeſſion, to the value of 22015. nobles, 18.s, as it is reported by them of Linne. And the ſame libertie is reſerued vnto them that was vnto the Hamburgers.

Campen.

Item, they of Campen propounded ten articles, the ſumme whereof extended vnto 1405. nobles. There is no ſatiſfaction promiſed vnto them: but the ſame liberty is reſerued vnto them, which was vnto the other aboue mentioned.

Item, the ambaſſadors of England demanded of the citizens of Roſtok & Wiſmer, for damages & iniuries by them committed againſt the ſubiects of the foreſayd ſoueraigne king 32407. nobles, 2.s. 10.d. And albeit euery of the foreſayd cities ſent one of their burgomaſters vnto the towne of Hage in Holland, to treat with the Engliſh ambaſſadours, it was in the end found out, that they had not any authority of negotiating or concluding ought at al. And therfore they made their faithfull promiſes, that euery of the ſaid cities ſhould ſend vnto our ſoueraigne Lord the king one or two procurator or procurators ſufficiently inſtructed to treat & conclude with our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king about the damages and iniuries aforeſaid at the feaſt of the natiuitie of Saint Iohn the Baptiſt.

Compoſitions and ordinances concluded between the meſſengers of *Frater Conradus de Iungingen* maſter generall of *Pruſsia*: and the chancelor and treaſurer of the realme of *England* 1403.

IN the yere of our Lord 1403, vpon the feaſt of S. Michael the Archangel, the right hono: Henrie biſhop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treaſurer of England, & the ambaſſadors of Pruſsia, Iohn Godek of Dantzik, & Henry Monek of Elbing, maſters of the ſame cities haue at Weſtminſter treated in maner of compoſition about the articles vnderwritten: between the moſt ſoueraigne lord the king of England, and the right reuerend & honorable Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of Pruſſia, as concerning the iniuries offered vnto the people of Pruſsia and Liuonia vpon the ſea by the Engliſh.

Firſt, that all ſhips with their appurtenances, & the commodities of the mariners, according vnto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the Engliſh, which are actually vndiuided & whole, are incontinently & with al ſpeed to bee reſtored. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the ſaid defect is to be accounted, & with other loſſes of goods to be reſtored, at the terme of the reſtitution to be made and deliuered.

Item, that all ſhips, damages, and goods (as they are conteined in our bill of accuſation) which are not now immediately reſtored, are to be reſtored and payd in the land of Pruſſia, between this and the terme appointed, with full execution and complement of iuſtice.

Item, concerning the perſons throwen ouer boord or ſlaine in the ſea: it ſhall remayne to bee determined at the will and pleaſure of the moſt mighty prince the king of England, and of the right reuerend the Maſter of Pruſſia.

Item, betwene this and the terme appointed for the reſtoring of the goods taken away, & vntill there be due payment & reſtitution of the ſaid goods performed, the marchants of England and of Pruſſia are in no wiſe to exerciſe any traffique of marchandiſe at all in the foreſaid lands.

1403. Memorandum, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord 1403. and in the fift yere of the reigne of the moſt mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of England and France &c. betweene the reuerend father Henrie biſhop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treaſurer of England, both of them counſellers vnto the ſayd ſoueraigne king on the one party, and the right worſhipfull Iohn Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, ſent as meſſengers by the right reuerend and religious perſonage, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was, at the requeſt and inſtancie of the ſayd meſſengers, appoynted, and mutually agreed vpon, that all the liege people and ſubiects of the ſayd ſoueraigne lord and king ſhall haue free licence and liberty vntill the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, ſafely to trauel vnto the land of Pruſſia aforeſayd, there to remaine, and thence, with their ſhips, marchandiſes, & other their goods whatſoeuer, to returne vnto their owne home: which on the other ſide, all the ſubiects of the ſayd Maſter general may, within the terme prefixed, likewiſe doe, in the foreſaid realme of England. Prouided alwaies, that after the time aboue limited, neither the ſayd marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Pruſſia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exerciſe any traffique at al: vnles it be otherwiſe ordained by ſome compoſition, betweene the foreſaid king of England, & the ſaid Maſter general in the meane time concluded. In witneſſe whereof, one part of this preſent Indenture is to remaine in the cuſtodie of the foreſaid meſſengers. Giuen in the Chapter-houſe of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere aboue written.

The letters of the chancelor and treaſurer of *England*, vnto *Frater Conradus de Iungingen*, maſter generall of *Pruſſia* 1403.

Right reuerend and mighty lord, your honorable meſſengers Iohn Godeke, and Henry Moneke, the bearers hereof comming of late before the preſence of our moſt ſouereigne lord the king of England and of France, and being welcomed by our ſaid lord with a chearefull and fauourable countenance, they preſented certaine letters on your behalfe vnto the kings Maieſtie, with that reuerence which beſeemed them: expounding vnto his highnes, ſundry piracies & moleſtations offered of late vpon the ſea, by his liege people & ſubiects vnto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which hitherto (by Gods grace) haue bene maintained and continued on both parts. In conſideration of which piracies and moleſtations, your meſſengers demanded full reſtitution and recompenſe to be made, either vnto the damnified parties, or vnto their procurators. We therefore at that time, eſpecially being in the preſence of our ſoueraigne (who with his puiſſant army tooke his progreſſe towards the remote part of Wales being ſubiect vnto his dominion, to ſee iuſtice executed vpon his people of thoſe parts, who very raſhly haue preſumed to rebell againſt him their ſouereigne, contrary to their allegeance) right well perceiued that it was his higneſſe intention, that euery one ſhould haue due iuſtice faithfully adminiſtred vnto him, eſpecially your ſubiects, and that with all fauour, whom he hath alwayes in times paſt right graciouſly intreated, as if they had bene his owne liege ſubiects and natiue countrey men, whome alſo hee purpoſeth hereafter friendly to protect: inſomuch that betweene him and his ſubiects on the one party, and betweene you and yours on the other party, great abundance and perfection of mutuall amity may increaſe. And therefore we offered vnto your foreſayd meſſengers, after they had particularly declared vnto vs ſuch piracies and wrongs, to ſende the kings letters vnto them of whom complaint was made, firmely inioyning them, vnder grieuous penalties, that without delay they reſtore or cauſe to bee reſtored vnto the parties damnified, or vnto their procuratours, all ſhips, marchandiſes, wares, and goods, by them taken or violently ſtolne from your ſubiects. And that your ſaid meſſengers may partly attaine their deſire, we haue commaunded certaine ‡ſhips, marchandiſes, wares, and goods, found in certaine hauens, to be deliuered vnto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are perhaps periſhed or wanting by infortunate diſſipation or deſtruction, and for the which the ſaid meſſengers of yours demand ſatiſfaction to be made vnto them within a certain time by vs limited: may it pleaſe your honor to vnderſtand, that

‡ Namely the ſhip of Edgard Scof at Calcis. The ſhip of Tidman Dordewant and Tidman Warowen, at Orwel and Zepiſwich.

that in the abſence of our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king, being as yet farre diſtant from vs, wee can in no wiſe limit or ſet downe any ſuch terme of time. Notwithſtanding, at the proſperous returne of our ſoueraigne, we are determined to commune with him about this matter. Of whoſe anſwere ſo ſoone as we be certified, we purpoſe to ſignifie his intention vnto you by our letters. Sithens alſo (right reuerend and mighty lord) your ſayd meſſengers are contented, for the preſent, to accept of our offer aforeſayde, as indeede by all reaſon they ought thereat to reſt content, eſpecially whereas by this meanes they ſhall the more ſpeedily attaine vnto the effect of their purpoſes (to the ſhorte and wiſhed execution and performance of which offer, we will, by Gods helpe, endeuour, to the vtmoſt of our ability) may it be your will and pleaſure, that as in the kingdome of England, your marchants and ſubiects are courteouſly intreated: euen ſo the marchants and liege people of our ſoueraigne lord the king and of his kingdomes peaceably frequenting your parts, either in regard of traffique or of any other iuſt occaſion, may there in like manner friendly bee vſed, and with your marchants and ſubiects ſuffered to communicate, and to haue intercourſe of traffique, inioying the commodities of the ancient league. By this alſo the feruent zeale and affection which you beare vnto the royall crowne of England ſhall vndoubtedly appeare: albeit betweene the famous houſes of England and of Pruſsia, the bandes of vnfained loue and friendſhip haue bin ſucceſsiuely confirmed and kept inuiolable in times paſt. And thus (right reuerend and mighty lord) wiſhing vnto you increaſe of honour and proſperity, wee take our leaues. Written at London the fift of October, in the yeare of our lord 1403.

Note well. 1403.

By the chancelor, the treaſurer, and other lords of the hono: counſell of the king of *England* and *France*, being perſonally preſent at *London*.

The letters of king *Henry* the 4. vnto *Conradus de Jungingen* the maſter general of *Pruſſia*, for mutual conuerſation and intercourſe of traffique to continue between the marchants of *England* and of *Pruſſia*, for a certaine terme of time.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England & France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty perſonage of ſacred religion, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our moſt deare and welbeloued friend, greeting, and continuall increaſe of our auncient and ſincere amity. By the grieuous complaynts of our liege ſubiects concerning traffique, as it were circularwiſe too & fro both our dominions, we haue often bene aduertiſed that in regard of diuers iniuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in marchandiſe were woont peaceably to vſe mutual conuerſation together, whereupon very many commodities are knowen to haue proceeded) haue, by occaſion of pirates, rouing vp and downe the ſea, ſometimes heretofore ſuſtayned: both the ſayd marchants of our & of your dominions do abſtaine themſelues frõ their wonted mutual cõuerſation & traffique, as they haue likewiſe carefully abſtained at ſometimes heretofore, and eſpecially from that time, wherein at the inſtant requeſt of your meſſengers, being of late before our preſence, the free acceſſe of our marchants vnto your territories and dominions, & of your marchants vnto our realmes hath bene forbidden. Sithens therefore (our moſt deare friend) ſuch iniuries (if any) as haue bene attempted againſt your ſubiects, were neuer committed by our will and conſent, as we thinke that your ſelfe on the other ſide haue done the like: ſithens alſo, ſo much as in vs lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full iuſtice with fauour vnto any of your people being deſirous to make complaint, ſo that accordingly iuſtice may equally be done vnto our marchants by you & your ſubiects, which marchants haue in like ſort bene iniuried, wiſhing with all our heart, that the ancient friendſhip & loue, which hath continued a long time between our realme and your territories and dominions, may perſeuere in time to come, and that ſweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Chriſtians, may according to the good pleaſure of the author of peace, be nouriſhed & mayntained: we do moſt heartily require the ſayd friendſhip, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf conſent & ordain (euen as, if you ſhall ſo do, we for our part wil conſent likewiſe) that from this preſent vntil the feaſt of Eaſter next inſuing (al moleſtatiõs & iniuries which may be offred ceaſing on both parts) our ſubiects by your territories & dominions, & your ſubiects by our realms may peaceably & ſecurely trauel, & that according to their wonted maner, they may friendly cõuerſe & exerciſe mutual traffick together: becauſe we are determined to ſend vnto you & your counſel in the mean time ſome of our ambaſſadors, friendly to intreat about the foreſaid pretẽded iniuries, ſo far forth as they ſhal cõcerne our ſubiects. At whoſe arival we ſtand in good hope

The auncient friendſhip betweene England and Pruſsia.

that by the due adminiſtration of iuſtice on both parts, ſuch order (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſhalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquillity may be eſtabliſhed between vs in times to come. Alſo our deſire is in particular, that our marchants & liege ſubiects may haue more free paſſage granted them vnto the parts of Sconia, for the prouiding of herrings and of other fiſhes there, that they may there remayne, and from thence alſo may more ſecurely returne vnto their owne home: and we beſeech you in conſideration of our owne ſelues, that you would haue our marchants and liege ſubiects eſpecially recommended vnto you, ſafely protecting them (if need ſhall require) vnder the ſhadow of your defence: euen as you would haue vs to deale in the like caſe with your own ſubiects. Moreouer, whatſoeuer you ſhall thinke good to put in practiſe in this behalfe, may it pleaſe you of your friendſhip, by our faythfull ſubiect Iohn Browne the bearer hereof to giue vs to vnderſtand. In the ſonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall proſperity and felicity according to your owne hearts deſire. Giuen vnder our priuie ſeale, at our palace of Weſtminſter, the fift day of Iune, and in the fift yere of our reigne.

Poſtſcriptum.

Right reuerend and our moſt deare friend: albeit our welbeloued Arnold de Daſſele the procurator of your foreſaid meſſengers, being deſirous at this time to make his final returne vnto your parts, by reaſon of the affayres, for which he hath remained in our realme of England, cannot as yet obtaine his wiſhed expedition: notwithſtanding you of your ſincere affection ought not to maruel or any whit to be grieued thereat: becauſe troubles of wars ariſing, which in ſome ſort concerned our ſelues, and eſpecially in regard of the continuall aſſaults of the French men & Britons againſt vs and our kingdome, for the offence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege ſubiects (eſpecially they, of whom your ſubiects damnified haue made their complaints) haue armed themſelues to combate vpon the ſea: we could not grant vnto the foreſayd Arnold ſuch and ſo ſpeedy an expedition, as he earneſtly deſired to haue. Unto the which Arnold your procurator we haue offered in as ſhort time as may be, to adminiſter complete iuſtice with fauour, to yͤ end that for this cauſe he might diſpoſe himſelfe to remaine in our realme of England: & yet notwithſtanding wee would do the very ſame euen in the abſence of the ſayd procurator. Giuen as aboue.

To the moſt renowmed prince and mighty Lord, *Henrie* king of *England* &c. our gracious Lord.

Our humble recommendations, with our moſt inſtant and continuall prayers for you being graciouſly by your Maieſtie taken in good part &c. Moſt ſoueraigne king, mighty prince, gratious lord, and vnto vs moſt vnfaynedly beloued, we receiued of late your gracious letters by your Maieſties liege ſubiect Iohn Brown, the contents wherof ſeemed to be theſe following: firſt that of long time heretofore, there haue bene between the marchants of your realm & of our lands, not only quiet & peaceable acceſſe one vnto another, but alſo mutual participation, & common traffique of their wares, being right cōmodious & auaileable for them both: howbeit, that now the foreſaid profitable conuerſation, by reaſon of certain notorious robberies, committed vpon the ſea by pyrates againſt both parts, & the wonted acceſſe alſo of your ſubiects vnto our dominions, were altogether forbidden. Moreouer, you call to remembrance the ancient amity & friendſhip betweene both our lands, with the inualuable commodity of ſweet amiable peace, which are by al faithful Chriſtians, to the vtmoſt of their endeuour to be imbraced. Wherupon you of your exceeding clemency, do offer your Maieſties ful conſent, that the foreſaid prohibition being releaſed vntil the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, the ſaid marchants of your dominions may in our territories, and our marchants likewiſe may in your realms (al moleſtations ceaſing) exerciſe their woonted traffique: eſpecially ſithens in the mean ſeaſon your royall wiſdome hath determined to direct vnto vs your hono: ambaſſadors in friendly ſort to treat and parle with vs as touching the pretended iniuries, ſo far forth as they may concerne your ſubiects. Adding moreouer in particular that when your people ſhall repayre vnto the parts of Sconia to fiſh for herrings, hauing conſideration & regard vnto your maieſtie, we would haue them eſpecially recommended vnto our protection &c. Moſt ſoueraigne lord & king, & gracious prince, wee doe with vnfained and hearty affection embrace the oracles of your maieſties moſt courteous & acceptable offer: wherein you haue vſed moſt diligent & effectuall perſwaſions, that cōplement of iuſtice ſhould be done vnto the parties iniuried, & that peace & friendſhip ſhould take place, making no doubt of your own royall perſon, nor of our ſelues or of any appertayning vnto vs, but that our inclinations and deſires in this regarde are all one and the ſame: neither would we lightly tranſgreſſe the limits of your perſwaſions without ſome iuſt, weighty, &

reaſonable cauſe,foraſmuch as the matters perſwaded are in very deede moſt happy preſeruatiues of a common weale, yea & of nature it ſelfe. Moreouer whereas your highnes hath farther requeſted vs,that the prohibition of your ſubiects acceſſe vnto our dominions might, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing,be releaſed: we anſwere (vnder correction of your maieſties more deliberate counſell)that it is farre more expedient for both parts to haue the ſayd prohibition continued then releaſed,vntil ſuch time as ſatiſfaction be performed on both ſides vnto the parties endamaged,not in words only,but actually & really in deeds,or by ſome courſe of law or friendly compoſition. For there is no equall nor indifferent kinde of conſort or trade between the impoueriſhed party and him that is inriched, betweene the partie which hath obtayned iuſtice and him that hath obtayned none between the offender and the party offended: becauſe they are not mooued with like affections. For the remēbrance of iniuries eaſily ſtirreth vp inconſiderate motions of anger. Alſo,ſuch a kind of temperature or permixtion,as it were,by way of contrariety breedeth more bitternes then ſweetnes,more hate then loue: whereupon more grieuous complaints aſwel vnto your highnes as vnto our ſelues, might be occaſioned. The lord knoweth,that euen now we are too much wearied and diſquieted with the importunate and inſtant complaints of our ſubiects, inſomuch that wee cannot at this preſent by any conuenient meanes releaſe or diſſolue the ſayd prohibition, before wee be ſufficiently informed by your maieſties ambaſſadors, of the ſatiſfaction of our endamaged ſubiects. Furthermore,whereas your maieſties requeſt, concerning your ſubiects that ſhal come vnto the parts of Sconia,is that we would defend them vnder our protection: be it knowen vnto your highnes,that for diuers conſiderations vs reaſonably mouing,being prouoked by the queene of Denmarke and her people,being alſo vrged thereunto full ſore againſt our wils, for the repelling and auoiding of iniuries,we haue ſent forth our armie againſt them. Howbeit for a certaine time a truce is concluded on both parts, ſo that our people are actually returned home. Farre be it from vs alſo,that our ſubiects being occupied in warres, ſhould in any ſort willingly moleſt or reproch any ſtrangers, of what landes or nations ſoeuer, not being our profeſſed enemies. For this ſhould be to oppreſſe the innocent in ſtead of the guilty, to condemne the iuſt for the vniuſt: then which nothing can be more cruel, nor a reuenge of greater impietie. In very deede (moſt gracious prince and lorde) we are moued with right hearty ſympathy and compaſſion for any inconuenience which might happen in your regiment: wiſhing from the bottome of our hearts, that all affayres may right proſperouſly and happily ſucceede, about the royall perſon and regiment of your moſt excellent Maieſtie, and that continually. The like whereof wee hope from you: moſt humbly commending our ſelues,and our whole Order vnto your highnes. Giuen at our caſtle of Marienburgh,the 16.day the moneth of Iuly,in the yere of our Lord 1404.

Margaret queen of Denmarke.

An agreement made betweene king *Henry* the fourth and *Conradus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of the land of *Pruſsia*.

This Indenture made between Sir William Eſturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke,and William Brampton citizen of London the ambaſſadors,commiſſioners,& meſſengers of the moſt mighty prince and lord, our ſoueraigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lorde of Ireland,for the repayring,reformation, and amends of whatſoeuer damages, grieuances,exceſſes, violences, and iniuries in any ſort vniuſtly attempted, done,or offered,by our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king and his liege people and ſubiects, vnto the great and mighty lord Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, or his ſubiects: and for the requiring,demanding,and receiuing of ſuch like reparations,reformations & amends, by the foreſayd lord the Maſter generall,for the behalfe of himſelfe or any of his ſubiects whatſoeuer, from & in the name of our ſoueraign lord the king & his ſubiects,vnto the ſayd Maſter general,into his land of Pruſsia, by our ſoueraigne lord the king,& appointed as ambaſſadors on the one party: And betweene the hono: Lords and religious perſonages Conradus de Lichtenſtein great commander,Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hoſpitalary & commāder in Elbing,& Arnold de Hacken treaſurer, the procurators & commiſſioners of the great & mighty lord the Maſter general,being in like & equal ſort and in all reſpects,as the ambaſſadours of England are,authorized on the contrary ſide by the authoritie and power of the ſayd Maſter general on the other part,witneſſeth: That diuers treaties & conferences being holden between the ſaid ambaſſadors, meſſengers,& procurators or cōmiſſioners of & concerning the reparations, reformations & amends of certaine damages,grieuances, exceſſes, violences & iniuries offered and attempted, aſwel by the Pruſſians againſt the Engliſh as by the Engliſh againſt the Pruſſians, and of other actes vniuſtly committed on both parts: in concluſion, after the ſayd treatiſe, the foreſayd ambaſſadours, procurators and commiſſioners by vertue of the authority committed vnto them appoynted, and with one conſent agreed vnto the articles vnder written.

Inprimis, that for the conſideration of mutuall loue and woonted friendſhip, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and alſo that the articles vnderwritten may more proſperouſly be brought vnto a wiſhed effect, between our ſaid ſoueraign lord the king & his liege people & ſubiects, & the ſubiects, people, & inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foreſayd lord the Maſter generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of England whatſoeuer, ſhall haue free licence and libertie to arriue with their ſhippes, goods and marchandiſes whatſoeuer, at any Porte of the land of Pruſsia, and alſo the ſayd goods and marchandiſes farther vnto any place of the ſayd land of Pruſsia to tranſport, and there with any perſon or perſons freely to contract and bargaine, euen as heretofore, and from auncient times it hath bene accuſtomed. Which liberty in all reſpects is granted vnto the Pruſſians in England.

1403.

Item it is farther agreed betweene the ſayd ambaſſadours, procurators, and commiſſioners, that whereas of late, namely in the yeare of our lord 1403, the ſayd Maſter general by his diſcreet ſubiects Iohn Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambaſſadors & meſſengers, for this purpoſe hath cauſed certain articles, (namely 20. in number) containing in them matters of damages, moleſtations, violences, and iniuries committed and offered againſt the ſaid Maſter generall & his ſubiects, by our ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king his ſubiects & liege people, to be exhibited, giuen vp and deliuered vnto our lord the king aforeſaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the ſayd 20. articles, by the aforeſaid ambaſſadors, commiſſioners, and procurators, as in the acts & pleas had and made before the ſayd ambaſſadors, commiſſioners and procurators, and in the records made and written of and about the examination of ſuch articles, it is more at large contayned (vnto the which the ſayd ambaſſadors, commiſſioners, and meſſengers doe here in this place referre themſelues) of the which articles alſo ſome are receiued by the commiſſioners aforeſayd, and others are proroged vnto a certaine time vnder written, euen as in the foreſayd regiſters it is more fully contayned and put downe in writing.

As touching certaine other articles alſo exhibited a newe vnto the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadors, in the land of Pruſsia being 16 in number (whereof one is admitted, & the reſt are proroged vntil a terme vnderwritten) the ſame courſe is to be taken and obſerued, which was before appoynted and agreed vpon, about the articles deliuered and exhibited vnto our foreſayd ſouraigne lorde the king, as is aforeſayd.

Moreouer, as touching the articles exhibited by the Engliſh ambaſſadours in the name and behalfe of their ſayd ſoueraigne lord the king of England, vnto the procuratours and commiſſioners of the foreſayd lord the Maſter generall (of the which ſome are declared already, and the declaration of the reſt is proroged vntill a certayne terme vndernamed, euen as in the regiſters made of and vpon the examination of the ſayd articles, it is more manifeſtly prouided) the ſame courſe is to be taken, which muſt be obſerued about the articles of the ſayd lord the Maſter generall, exhibited, as well vnto the foreſayd ſoueraigne prince in England, as vnto his ambaſſadors in the land of Pruſsia, euen as about the ſayd articles it is before concluded.

The cõplaints of the Liuonians

And whereas on the behalfe of the citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp, and of other townes in the land of Liuonia, many and great complaints haue bene by way of articles exhibited and deliuered vnto the ſayd Engliſh ambaſſadours in the land of Pruſsia, which for diuers cauſes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed vpon betweene the ambaſſadours, and the commiſſioners aforeſayd, that the ſaide citizens and marchants may in the towne of Dordract in Holland, vpon the firſt day of the moneth of May next enſuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and prorogation of all other articles not fully declared in the partes of Pruſsia, ſhall be put in vre) by themſelues or their lawfull procurators, make their appearance, for the obtayning of a conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation of all iniuries attempted againſt them, then, or at ſome other times within one whole yere next following, and not afterward, being effectually ſet downe and limited, at the place aforeſaid, by the conſent of the ambaſſadours and commiſſioners of either parte, all lawfull impediments ceaſing.

Prouided alwayes, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandiſes, whereof the ſaid citizens and marchants of Liuonia, in their articles receiued by the ſayde Engliſh ambaſſadours, as is aforeſayd, doe make mention, ſhall be iuſtly eſteemed, prized, and approoued, not by any of England, or of Pruſsia, or of Liuonia, but by ſome other indifferent marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants, which ſuch like marchandiſe would haue amounted vnto, if, at the time when they were taken, they had bene to be ſolde at the town of Bruges in Flanders.

Foraſmuch alſo, as diuers and ſundry Pruſsians (who exhibited manifolde Articles of complaints, being receiued by the ſaid Engliſh Ambaſſadours, at their abode in Pruſsia) made not their perſonall appearance, before the ſaide Engliſh Ambaſſadours, in the lande of Pruſsia aforeſaide: The prorogation aboue-mentioned was made vnto the firſt day of the moneth of May: and alſo it was agreed vpon by the ſaide Ambaſſadours, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, that the ſaide parties which had not appeared before ſhall haue libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, vpon the firſt of May aforeſaide, at the towne of Dordract, either by themſelues or by their Procurators, and alſo to bring with them the letters teſtimonial, and patents, ſealed with the ſeale of the ſaide Lord the Maſter generall, (he hauing firſt of all receiued ſound and ſufficient information from the cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of the damages and grieuances any way vniuſtly inflicted vpon them or any of them by the Engliſh) to the end that they may there by articles conueniently declare and proue, before the Ambaſſadours, Procurators, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners of both partes, the rate and value of their ſaide goods: and that in ſo doing they may obtaine conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reſtitution, for all acts vniuſtly attempted againſt them, then, or at ſome other times effectually to bee ſet downe and limited at the foreſaid place by the conſent of the Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners of both parts, euen as it was aboue promiſed vnto the marchants of Liuonia.

But if they of Pruſsia laſt aboue-mentioned, ſhall not vpon the firſt of May, and at the place appointed, for ſome cauſe, make their appearance, that then it ſhalbe lawfull for them, at any time within one whole yeere next following, to repaire vnto the lord Chancelor of England, at the citie of London, and to inſinuate and declare vnto him their complaints before exhibited vnto the ſaide Engliſh Ambaſſadours in the land of Pruſsia, or which complaints ſhould haue bene deliuered at the foreſaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finiſhed and diſpatched: and alſo by articles as is aforeſaide, to declare and proue the true worth and eſtimation of all damages and grieuances any wayes vniuſtly offered by the Engliſh vnto them or any of them: to the ende that they may (as it is aboue mentioned) effectually receiue, and alſo ſpeedily and eaſily obtaine conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation and ſatiſfaction, for al acts vniuſtly attempted againſt them, which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finiſhed.

Moreouer, it is appointed and agreed vpon betweene the foreſaide Ambaſſadours and Commiſſioners: that the forenamed ſoueraign Lord & the ſaid lord the Maſter general are to ſend and ſet forward their Ambaſſadours, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners, vpon the firſt of May vnto the place appointed, to treate, parle, agree, and conclude about thoſe affaires, which ſhal then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermore, betweene the often mentioned Ambaſſadours, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, it is enacted and concluded: that vnto all and ſingular lawfull ſtatutes, ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the ſaide lorde the Maſter generall, in his land of Pruſsia, or by his Proconſuls and Conſuls, and his gouernours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Pruſsia, vnto the obſeruation whereof, aſwell the ſubiectes of the ſaid Maſter general, as forreners and ſtrangers, are tyed and bound: vnto the very ſame ſtatutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, al Engliſh marchants whatſoeuer reſorting vnto the land of Pruſſia, muſt be firmely bounden and ſubiect. Note well.

Alſo it is ordained, that whatſoeuer ſale-clothes are already tranſported, or at any time hereafter to bee tranſported out of England into Pruſsia by the Engliſh marchants, and ſhall there be offered to bee ſolde, whether they be whole cloathes or halfe cloathes, they muſt containe both their endes.

Laſtly, that the matters aboue-mentioned fall not ſhort and voyde of their wiſhed effect; the treaty and conference about all and ſingular damages and grieuances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there muſt be, by the vertue of theſe preſents, performed, a reformation and amendment) muſt be continued and proroged vntill the firſt of May next enſuing: as by theſe preſents they are continued and proroged with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of Dordract aforeſaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane ſpace, as occaſion ſhall ſerue, by both parties to be limited and aſſigned, or elſe within oue yeere after the ſaid firſt day of the moneth of May next enſiring bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, ſhall haue performed vnto them a conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation on both partes. Prouided alwayes, if within the terme of the ſaide yeere, ſome conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation bee not performed vnto the parties iniuried, and endamaged, which are generally aboue mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foreſaid yere ſhall expired, the Pruſſians ſhall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the ſaide Soueraigne Lorde the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which they ſhal haue gotten or bought, within the ſpace of the foreſaide three moneths: and that the Engliſh men alſo are likewiſe in all reſpects beunden to auoid and (no lawfull impediment hindering them) to withdrawe themſelues and to depart out of the territories and dominions of the ſaide Maſter generall, without all moleſtation, perturbation, and impediment whatſoeuer, none other intimation or admonition being neceſſarie in this regard.

Howbeit leaſt that by the robberies and piracies of ſome inſolent and peruerſe people, matter ſhould be miniſtred vnto the ſaid lord the Maſter generall, of ſwaruing from the faithfull obſeruation of the foreſaide agreements, or (which God forbid) any occaſion bee giuen him of not obſeruing them: it is alſo decreed by the often aboue mentioned Ambaſſadours and meſſengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the ſaide lorde Maſter generall his ſubiectes whatſoeuer ſhall be from henceforth vniuſtly taken vpon the Sea, by any Engliſh Pirates, and ſhalbe caried into the realme of England, and there receiued, that the Gouernours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatſoeuer names they be called) at the which portes and places ſuch marchandiſes and goods ſhall chaunce to arriue, beeing onely informed of the ſaide goods and marchandiſes, by ſole report, or (other proofes wanting) by probable ſuſpition are bound to arreſt and to keep them in ſafe cuſtodie, fauourably to be reſtored vnto the owners thereof, whenſoeuer they ſhall be lawfully demaunded: which if they ſhall omit or deny to performe, from thenceforth the ſaide gouernours and keepers are bound to make vnto the parties endamaged, a recompenſe of their loſſes.

And for fault of iuſtice to be executed, by the ſaid gouernours and keepers, our ſoueraign lord the king aboue named, after he ſhall conueniently be requeſted by the parties damnified, is bound within three moneths next enſuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted) to make correſpondent, iuſt, and reaſonable ſatiſfaction, vnto the ſaide parties endamaged. Otherwiſe, that it ſhal be right lawfull for the ſaide lorde the Maſter generall, to arreſt, and after the arreſt to keepe in ſafe cuſtodie the goods of the Engliſh marchants being in the land of Pruſsia, to the condigne ſatiſfaction of ſuch iniuries, as haue bene offered vnto his ſubiects, vntill his ſaid ſubiects be iuſtly and reaſonably contented.

Likewiſe alſo in all reſpects, the ſame iuſtice is to be done vnto the Engliſh by the ſaid Lord the Maſter generall and his ſubiects in Pruſſia, euen as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the aboue written clauſe, beginning, Cæterum ne per &c. In Engliſh. Howbeit leaſt that &c. for the ſaid Maſter general, and his ſubiects by the foreſaide ambaſſadors of England, and the commiſſioners of the ſaid lord the Maſter generall, that in like caſes iuſtice ought to be adminiſtred on the behalfe of himſelfe, and of his ſubiects in the realme of England.

And that all and ſingular the couenants aboue written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concerne, firmly and inuiolably be obſerued; the forenamed ambaſſadors, meſſengers, and commiſſioners, all and euery of them, for the full credite, probation, and teſtimonie of all the premiſſes, haue vnto theſe preſent Indentures, made for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed euerie one of their ſeales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the cuſtodie of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and the other part in the hands of the commiſſioners of Pruſſia. Giuen at the caſtle of Marienburgh in Pruſſia, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. vpon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

An agreement made betweene King *Henrie* the fourth and the common ſocietie of the Marchants of the Hans.

This Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clearke, procurators, meſſengers, and commiſſioners ſufficiently deputed and authorized by the moſt mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, & France, and lord of Ireland, for the performation of yͤ things vnderwritten, on the one part: & the hon. perſonages M. Henry Vredeland, M. Riman Salum chief notaries, Thederic Kneſuolt ſecretary, M. Simõ Clouеſten chief notary, and Iohn Zotebotter citizen, being ſufficiently made and ordained procurators and meſſengers, on the behalfe of the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Gripeſwold, for the demanding & obtaining ſeuerally, of due reformation, and recompenſe at the hands of our ſaide ſoueraigne lord the king, and of his meſſengers and commiſſioners aforeſayde, for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and manſlaughters, any wayes vniuſtly done, and offred ſeuerally by the liege people and ſubiects of our ſoueraigne lord the king, vnto the common ſocietie of the marchants of the Hans, and vnto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the cities aforeſaide whatſoeuer on the other part, Witneſſeth: That betweene all and euery of the ſaide Procurators, meſſengers, and Commiſſioners, by vertue of the authoritie committed vnto them, it hath bene and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege marchants and ſubiects of our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king, and the marchants of the common ſocietie of the Dutch Hans aforeſaide, from henceforth for one whole yeere and ſeuen moneths immediately next enſuing and following, ſhalbe permitted and licenced friendly, freely, and ſecurely, to exerciſe mutual traffike, and like marchants to buy & ſell together, one of, and vnto another, euen as in times paſt, namely, in the yeere 1400. and before that time alſo, they haue bin accuſtomed to exerciſe mutuall traffike and marchandiſe, and to buy and ſell. 1400.

Alſo the ſaide William and Iohn agreed and conſented, that they themſelues, or ſome other perhaps to be appointed in this behalfe by their ſaide lord the king in their ſtead, ſhall vpon the firſt day of the moneth of May next to come, with the continuation of the dayes following, at the towne of Dordract in Holland, or vpon any other terme or termes, then perhaps to bee limited, competently ſatiſfie, and performe conuenient recompence vnto the ſaide common ſocietie, citizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities aforeſaide, and alſo of other cities, townes, and villages of the Hans, of and for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and drownings, or manſlaughters done and committed, as they alleage, againſt them, deliuered and exhibited in written articles, vnto the aboue named William and Iohn, or els heereafter to bee deliuered and exhibited, either by the ſame procurators or by ſome others, which ſhall perhaps be authorized in their ſtead, or by the meſſengers procurators and commiſſioners of other cities, townes, and places of the Hans, in equall and like maner and forme, euen as at the ſaide terme limited, or then perhaps to be prorogued, there is appointed by the ſaid William and Iohn, reparation, reformation, and recompence vnto the inhabitants of Pruſſia, and Liuonia, for the iniuries, damages, and grieuances vniuſtly done and committed againſt them by the liege people and ſubiects of the ſaide ſoueraigne lord the king, in the preſence of the mightie lord the Maſter general of Pruſſia, in his land of Pruſſia, as in certain letters indented, bearing date in the caſtle of Marieonburgh in Pruſſia the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord 1405. and being made and written about the reparation, reformation, and recompence of ſuch like iniuries &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be vnderſtood as if it were inſerted) it is more manifeſtly contained.

It was furthermore promiſed by the ſaid William and Iohn, that they ſhould not inforce nor compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common ſociety of the Hans, or of the aboue named cities, or of any other cities of the Hans aforeſaid (hauing receiued ſufficient information of their dwelling and place of abode) to more difficult or diſtrict proofes of their Articles of complaints alreadie exhibited, and in the foreſaide termes to come, to bee exhibited, then vnto the inhabitants of the lands of Pruſſia and Liuonia, according to the forme of the Indentures aboue mentioned.

Moreouer the ſaide William and Iohn doe promiſe, that ſo ſoone as they ſhall come into the kingdome of England, and before the preſence of their king, they ſhall prouide, that all and ſingular the priuiledges graunted vnto the marchants of the ſaide Hans by the renowmed kings of England, and confirmed by the ſaid Soueraigne lord the king that now is, muſt, according to al their contents, be inuiolably obſerued by the ſaid ſoueraigne king and his ſubiects: and alſo, that from henceforth nothing is vniuſtly to be attempted, vpon any occaſion, pretenſe, or colour, by the ſaide Soueraigne Prince, and the inhabitants of the realme of England, to the preiudice of the ſayde priuiledges. They ſhall prouide alſo, that all things heretofore attempted and practiſed againſt the ſaide priuiledges, ſhall, by reaſonable amendement and iuſt reformation, vtterly be aboliſhed.

But if after the date of theſe preſents (which God forfend) within the ſpace of the ſaid one yere and ſeuen moneths preſcribed any damages, iniuries or grieuances, in ſhips, goods, or perſons, ſhould, either by the Engliſh and the inhabitants of England be vniuſtly inflicted vpon the cities, and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforeſaid, or by any marchants or others of the cities or townes of the ſaide Hans, either vnto the Engliſh, or vnto any of the inhabitants of that Realme, vpon any fained pretenſe whatſoeuer, all and ſingular the foreſaid meſſengers, commiſſioners, ambaſſadours, and procurators haue promiſed, that all ſuch damages, iniuries and moleſtations ſo inflicted by them who ſhall offer and commit them, muſt bee reformed and amended, after the very ſame forme and manner, that in the like caſe reformation, reparation and amends of iniuries, damages, and moleſtations committed by the Engliſh againſt them of

Pruſſia is to be performed, according vnto a certaine clauſe contained in the letters aboue mentioned, which beginneth: Cęterum ne per &c. In Engliſh: Howbeit leaſt that &c. continuing vnto that clauſe: Et vt præſcripta omnia &c. In Engliſh: And that all the couenants aboue written &c.

It was alſo concluded betweene the foreſaide meſſengers, commiſſioners, and procurators, and with one generall conſent agreed vpon, that if from the firſt day of the moneth of May next to come, within one whole yeere following, ſome conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable reformation be not performed vnto the parties iniuried and dammified generally aboue mentioned, in regard of their damages, moleſtations, and iniuries: then, within three moneths after the ſaide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities aforeſaid are bound, without any moleſtation, perturbation, and impediment whatſoeuer (none other intimation or admonition being neceſſarie in this behalfe) to auoyde (and if no lawfull impediment ſhall hinder them) to abſtaine and depart from the Realmes and dominions of the ſaid Soueraigne king of England, with their marchandize and other goods bought or gotten within the ſpace of the ſaide three moneths: and alſo the Engliſh likewiſe in all reſpects ſhall auoide, abſtaine, and depart from the territories and dominions of the Hans cities aforeſaide.

Alſo it was promiſed by the ſaide William and Iohn, that at the terme appointed, namely vpon the firſt of May next following, or at ſome other terme or termes then limited or to bee limited, there muſt be made a due recompenſe, and a proportionall ſatiſfaction, for all thoſe perſons of the land of Pruſsia, Liuonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of the Hans, who haue vniuſtly bene drowned, and ſlaine by the Engliſh: and that according to the tenour of a certain ſchedule written concerning a recompenſe to be had in regarde of the ſaide perſons drowned and ſlaine, and preſented vnto them by Albertus Rode conſul of the citie of Thoren, and by the forenamed procurators and meſſengers of the cities aforeſaid, they muſt faithfully and effectually, to the vtmoſt of their abilitie indeuour, for the obtaining of the ſaide recompenſe and amends. In witneſſe whereof (theſe letters of Indenture remaining in the poſſeſſion of the ſaide William and Iohn the meſſengers, procurators, & commiſſioners of England aforeſaid, and left in their cuſtodie, by the aboue named procurators and meſſengers Henrie Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and Iohn Sotebotter, of their certaine knowledge and aſſurance) and for the full confirmation and teſtimonie of al the premiſſes, the foreſaid procurators and meſſengers haue put to their ſeales. Giuen in the towne of Dordract the 15. day of December in the yere of our Lord 1405.

William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this behalfe ſufficiently authorized and deputed as Ambaſſadours, procurators, meſſengers and commiſſioners, by our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king, namely in regard of the moleſtations, iniuries and damages vniuſtly done and committed againſt the liege people and ſubiectes of the foreſaide moſt excellent Prince and lord, Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England & France, and Lord of Ireland, by the communalties of the cities of Wiſmer and Roſtok vnderwritten, their common counſel being aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe, & authorized alſo, and as well cloſely as expreſly maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common ſociety of the marchants of the Dutch Hans) doe, in this preſent diet at the towne of Hage ſituate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed for the very ſame occaſion, demaund of you Syr Iohn de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer deputies for the cities of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and ſufficiently ordeined by authority requiſite in this behalfe, to be the procurators and meſſengers of the ſaid cities, that conuenient, iuſt, and reaſonable ſatiſfaction and recompenſe may certainely and effectually be done vnto the iniuried and endamaged parties, who are ſpecified in the articles vnder written.

Newcaſtle.

An Engliſh ſhip of 200. tunnes.

Imprimis, that about the feaſt of Eaſter, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. Henry van Pomeren, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Hawfoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wiſmer and of Roſtok, being of the ſocietie of the Hans, tooke, by maine force, a ſhip of Newcaſtle vpon Tine, called Godezere ſailing vpon the Sea towards Pruſsia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging vnto Roger de Thorneton, Robert Gabiford, Iohn Paulin, and Thomas de Cheſter: which ſhip, together with the furniture thereof amounteth vnto the value of foure hundred pounds: alſo the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the ſummes of money contained in the ſaid ſhip amounted vnto the value of 200. marks of Engliſh money: moreouer they vniuſtly ſlew Iohn Patanſon and Iohn Ruſſell in the ſurpriſing of the ſhippe and goods aforeſaide, and there they impriſoned the ſayde parties taken, and, to their vtter vndoing, detayned them in priſon for the ſpace of three whole yeeres.

Hull.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine perſons of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one Richard Horuſe of Hull of diuers goods and marchandizes in a ſhip called the Shipper Berline of Pruſsia, beeing then valued at 160. nobles.

Hull.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1395. Hans van Wethemonkule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strorbeker, by force of armes, and by the aſsiſtance of the men of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway, wickedly and vniuſtly take from Iohn Tutteburie, fiue pieces of waxe, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a laſt of oſmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred ſeuentie ſixe nobles.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1396. one Iohn van Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainouſly and vniuſtly tooke a ſhippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie wollen broad clothes, and a thouſand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. one Iohn van Derlowe, Wilmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Euerade Pilgrimſon, and diuers others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway villainouſly and vniuſtly take a ſhippe of Iohn Wiſedome of Hull called the Trinitie, with diuers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, waxe, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. one Clays Scheld, and others aboue written of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with certaine others of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and vniuſtly took from one William Pound marchant of Hull, two cakes of waxe, to the value of 18. poundes, out of the ſhip called the Hawkin Derlin of Dantzik.

Yorke.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. one Goddekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and diuers others of Wiſmer and Roſtok, and of the Hans, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke out of a ſhip of Elbing (the maſter whereof was called Henry Puys) of the goods and marchandizes of Henrie Wyman, Iohn Topcliffe, and Henry Lakenſwither of Yorke, namely in werke, waxe, oſmunds, and bowſtaues, to the value of 1060. nobles.

Yorke.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, their confederats, wickedly and vniuſtly took out of a ſhip of Holland (the maſter whereof was called Hinkenſman) 140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight nobles) from Thomas Theſter of Yorke, and a cheſt, with armour, ſiluer and golde of the foreſaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds.

London.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1393. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok,, and others their complices of the Hans, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth, greene cloth, meale and fiſhes, to the value of 133. li. 6. s.

London.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. about the feaſt of S. Michael, one Nicholas Femeer of Wiſmer marchant of the Hans, with the aſsiſtance of other his complices of the Hans aforeſaide, wickedly and vniuſtly tooke from one Richard Morley citizen of London fiue laſts of herrings, beſides 32. pounds, in the ſea called Northſound.

Colcheſter.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the moneth of September, one Godekin Wiſle, and Gerard Sleyre of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and vniuſtly took out of a ſhip of Pruſsia (wherof the maſter was named Rorebek) from Iohn Seburgh marchant of Colcheſter two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of an 100. markes: from Stephan Fliſpe, and Iohn Plumer marchants of the ſame town two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from Robert Wight marchant of the ſame towne, two packes of woollen cloth to the value of an 100. marks: from William Munde marchant of the ſame town, two fardels of woollen cloth, worth 40. li. & from Iohn Dawe, and Thomas Cornwaile marchants of the ſame towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth 200. marks. Moreouer they tooke and impriſoned certaine Engliſh men, which were in the ſaid ſhip, namely William Fubborne ſeruant vnto Iohn Diere, Thomas Merſh ſeruant vnto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ranſome 20. nobles of Engliſh money, William Munde marchant of the towne aforeſaide, which William, by reaſon of the extremity of that impriſonment, loſt the ſight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foreſaide Towne, which Thomas paide for his raunſome twentie nobles.

Yermouth.

Norwich.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, vpon the coaſtes of Denmarke and Norway, beneath Scawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and Iohn Walters marchants of Yermouth: and Robert Caumbrigge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich, in a certaine ſhippe of Elbing in Pruſsia (whereof one Clays Goldeſmith was maſter) with diuers woollen clothes of the ſaide Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald, to the value of one thouſande marks Engliſh, and carried the perſons and goods aforeſaide, away with them: and the ſaid Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald they impriſoned at Courtbuttreſſow, and there detained them, vntill they paide an hundred markes for their redemption.

Yermouth.

Longſound in Norway.

Item in the yeere of our Lorde 1401. ſome of the inhabitants of Wiſmer and of Roſtok wickedly tooke at Longſound in Norway, a certaine ſhippe of Weſt-Stowe in Zeland (the Maſter whereof was one Gerard Dediſſen) laden with diuerſe goods and marchandiſes of Iohn Hughſon of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of ſheepe, with butter, maſts, ſparres, boordes, queſtingſtones and wildewerke, to the value of an hundred marks, and do as yet detaine the ſaid things in their poſſeſſion, ſome of the Hans being their aſſiſtants in the premiſſes.

Yermouth.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402. certaine of the Hans, of Roſtok, and of Wiſmer, tooke vpon the coaſt of England, neere vnto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the maſter) laden with bay ſalt, to the quantitie of 130. wayes, and with a thouſand canuaſſe clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the ſaide goods in their poſſeſſion, the ſaid Hugh being endamaged, by the loſſe of his ſhip, and of his goods aforeſaid 800. nobles and the foreſaid Maſter and the mariners looſing, in regard of their wages, canuas, and armour, 200. nobles.

Yermouth.

Selaw in Norway.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1405. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer wickedly and vniuſtly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ſhip of Yarmouth (the owner whereof was William Oxney and the maſter Thomas Smith) laden with ſalt, cloth, and ſalmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detaine the ſaid ſhip and goods in their poſſeſſion, ſome of the Hans their confederates ayding and aſſiſting them at the ſame time.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans tooke vpon the ſea a certain ſhip of one Iohn Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (whereof Laurence Tuk of Cley was maſter) and conueighed the ſaid ſhip vnto Mauſtrond in Norway, and the ſaide Maſter and mariners they robbed of diuers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and ſalt fiſhes being in the ſame ſhip, to the value of 500. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully tooke vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of one William Bets of Cley called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was maſter) and conueyed the ſhip it ſelf vnto Mawſtrond in Norway, and there robbed the maſter and his partners of diuers commodities, namely of artillerie, furniture, and ſalt fiſhes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the ſaid maſters mates they maliciouſly drowned.

Cley.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the forenamed Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully took vpon the ſea a certain ſhip of Nicholas Steyhard and Iohn Letis of Cley called the Nicholas, (whereof Iohn Preſt was maſter) and conueyed the ſaid ſhip vnto Mawſtrond, and there robbed the ſaid maſter and his companie of diuers commodities, namely of furniture and ſalt fiſhes, being in the ſaid ſhip, to the value of 320. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt aforeſaid, the ſaid Godekins and Stertebeker, & their companions of the Hans vniuſtly took vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Iſabel (whereof William Noie was maſter) and conueyed it vnto Mawſtrond, and there robbed the ſaid maſter and his company of diuers commodities, as namely of furniture, and ſalt fiſhes, being in the ſaid ſhip, to the value of 406. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere next aboue mentioned, vpon the Saterday, about the foreſaid feaſt, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans vnlawfully took vpō the ſea, a certain ſhip of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helena, wherein Robert Alwey was maſter, & alſo wickedly and vniuſtly drowned in the bottom of the ſea diuers commodities, as namely ſalt fiſhes, together with the ſhip it ſelfe.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the feaſt of S. Michael the archangel, the foreſaid Godekin & Stertebeker, with other their cōfederats of the Hans, took at Langſound in Norway a certain crayer of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was maſter) & the foreſaid crayer they wickedly and vniuſtly caried away, being worth 280. nobles.

Wiueton.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and others of the Hans vniuſtly tooke a certain ſhip of Simon Durham, called the Dogger-ſhip, and the Peter of Wiueton, laden with ſalt fiſhes (whereof Iohn Auſten was maſter) vpon the coaſt of Denmarke. And they caried away the ſaide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foreſaid ſalt fiſhes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreouer, the maſter, and 25. mariners in the ſame ſhip they maliciouſly ſlewe, and a certaine ladde of the ſaide

Dogger they caried with them vnto Wilmer.

Wiueton.

Item, in the foreſaid yeere, and about the feaſt aforeſaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, with other their complices, vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea a certaine ſhip of Thomas Lyderpole, and Iohn Coote of Wiueton: and the maſter and mariners which were in the ſaide ſhippe, they villanouſly ſlue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godſonne, nephew, and ſeruant of the foreſaid Simon Durham. Which ſhip, with the goods and furniture that were therein was worth 410. nobles.

Wiueton.

Item, in the very ſame yeere, about the feaſt aforeſaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker & other their complices wickedly ſpoiled a certaine ſhip of the foreſaid Simon Durham called the Dogger, wherein Geruaſe Cat was maſter, lying at an anker, while the companie were occupied about fiſhing, and likewiſe vniuſtly tooke away with them the ſalt fiſhes, and furniture of the ſaid ſhip. Moreouer, the maſter and his company that were in the ſaid Dogger they beate and wounded, ſo that they vtterly loſt their fiſhing for that yeere, the maſter and his ſaid companie being endamaged thereby, to the ſumme of 200. nobles.

Wiueton.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1396. the foreſaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their complices vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea a certain craper, called the Buſſ of Zeland, which one Iohn Ligate marchant, and ſeruant vnto the forenamed Simon Durham had laden in Pruſſia, on the behalfe of the ſaid Simon, to ſaile for England, and ſpoiled the ſaid craier, and alſo tooke and caried away with them the goods and marchandiſes of the ſaid Simon, being in the foreſaid ſhip, to the value of 66. pounds.

Wiueton.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with certaine others of the Hans, tooke a crayer of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Buſſhip, which Alan Barret the ſeruant and factor of the foreſaid Simon Durham had laden with maſtes, ſparres, and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the ſaid Simon, and vniuſtly tooke from thence the goods of the ſaid Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and caried the ſame away.

Lenne.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine malefactors of Wiſmer and others of the Hans vniuſtly tooke vpon the ſea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the foreſaid Simon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain craper of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and bound for Dantzik in Pruſſia.

Lenne.

Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe auouch, verifie, & affirme, that about the feaſt of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. ſundry malefactors and robbers of Wiſmer & Roſtok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ſhips, arriued at the towne of Norbern in Norway, and tooke the ſaid town by ſtrong aſſault, and alſo wickedly and vniuſtly took al the marchants of Lenne there reſiding with their goods & cattels, and burnt their houſes and manſions in the ſame place, and put their perſons vnto great ranſoms: euen as by the letters of ſafeconduct deliuered vnto the ſaid marchants it may more euidently appeare, to the great damage and impoueriſhment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Inprimis they burnt there 21. houſes belonging vnto the ſaid marchants, to the value of 440. nobles. Item, they tooke from Edmund Belyetere, Thomas Hunt, Iohn Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 1815. pounds.

21. houſes of Engliſh marchants burnt at Norbern in Norway.

Concerning this ſurpriſe *Albertus Krantzius* in the ſixt book of his hiſtory of *Norway*, and the 8. Chapter writeth in maner following.

The Vitalians.

IN the meane while Norway enioyed peace vnder the gouernment of a woman: vntil Albertus king of Suecia, who had now ſeuen yeeres continued in captiuity vnder Queen Margaret, was to be ſet at liberty. Which, when the common ſouldiers of Roſtok & Wiſmer, called the Vitalians perceiued, (who, whileſt their king was holden captiue, in the right of the forenamed cities, for the behalfe of their lord the king being prince of Mekleburg by birth, vndertooke and waged warre al the time of his captiuitie) banding their forces together, they reſolued, at their own coſts & charges, but in the right of the ſaid cities, to ſaile into the 3. kingdoms, and to take ſuch ſpoiles as they could lay hold on. Theſe common ſouldiers therfore, ſeeing an end of their tyrannical and violent dealing to approch, ſailed into Norway, vnto the towne of Norbern, being a mart town for al the marchants of Germanie: who tranſporting fiſhes from thence, doe bring thither marchandiſes of all kinds, eſpecially corne, vnto the ſcarcitie wherof, vnleſſe it be brought out of other countreys, that kingdome (as we haue ſaid) is very much ſubiect. Departing out of their ſhips and going on ſhore, they ſet vpon the towne, and by fire and ſword they eaſily compelled the inhabitants dwelling in weake wooden houſes, to giue place. Thus theſe Vitalians entring and ſurpriſing the towne conueyed ſuch ſpoiles vnto their ſhips as them pleaſed, and hauing laden their ſhips with thoſe booties, they returned home frolike vnto the ports of their own cities. Without all reſpect, they robbed and rifled the goods, aſwel of the Germanes, as of the Noruagians: and like lewde companions, waſting and making hauock of all things, prooued themſelues neuer the wealthier. For it is not the guiſe of ſuch good fellowes to ſtore vp or to preſerue ought. The citizens, at the firſt, ſeemed to be inriched: howbeit afterward, (no man miſdoubting any ſuch calamitie) goods ill gotten were worſe ſpent. Thus farre Krantzius.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining, the foreſaide marchants auouch, verifie, and affirme, that vpon the 14. day after the feaſt of S. George, in the yeere of our Lord next aboue written, as 4. ſhips of Lenne, laden with cloth, wine, and other marchandiſes, were ſailing vpon the maine ſea, with all the goods and wares conteined in them, for Pruſſia, ſundry malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, being in diuers ſhips, came vpon them, and by force of armes and ſtrong hand tooke the ſaid ſhips, with the goods and marchandiſes contained in them: and ſome of the people which were in the ſaide foure ſhips, they ſlew, ſome they ſpoyled, and others they put vnto extreame ranſomes. And carying away with them thoſe foure ſhips with the commodities and marchandiſe therin, they parted ſtakes therwith, as them liſted, to the great impoueriſhment & loſſe of the ſaid marchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Sileſden, Tho. Waterden, Ioh. Brandon, Ioh. Weſenhã, & other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 3623. li. 5. s. 11. d.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining the foreſaid marchants doe affirme, that one Henry Lambolt and other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke vpon the maine ſea betweene Norway and Scaw, one crayer laden with oſmunds, and with diuers other marchandiſes, perteining vnto Iohn Brandon of Lenne, to the ſumme and value of 443. li. 4. s. 2. d. Moreouer, they tooke from Iohn Lakingay 4. laſts and an halfe of oſmunds, to the value of 220. lib. 10. s.

Lenne. Item, the foreſaid marchants complaine, that certain malefactors of Wiſmer, with other their complices of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke from Thomas Ploket of Lenne, out of a certaine ſhip ſailing vpon the maine ſea towards Sconeland (whereof Iames Snycop was maſter) cloth and other marchandiſe, to the ſumme and value of 13. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Lenne. Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine ſaying, that certaine malefactors of Wiſmer, with others of the Hans ſociety, in the yere of our Lord 1397. wickedly and vniuſtly took out of a certaine ſhip of Dantzik (whereof Laurence van Ruſſe was maſter) from Ralph Bedingam of Lenne, one fardel of cloth worth 52. li. 7. s. 6. d. Alſo, for the ranſome of his ſeruant, 8. li. 6. s. 8. d. Item, they tooke from Thomas Earle diuers goods, to the value of 24. pounds.

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Note the ſecret treaſons of the Hans. Vnto all and ſingular the articles aboue-written, the ambaſſadors of England aforeſaid do further adde, that the doers and authors of the damages, iniuries, and robberies ſet down in the articles aboue written, (of whom ſome are named in particular, and others in general) performed and committed all thoſe outrages, being hired thereunto at the expenſes and charges of the common ſocieties of the cities aforeſaid. And that the inhabitants of euery houſhold in the foreſaide cities (ech man according to his ability) wittingly & purpoſely ſet foorth one, two, or more men, for the very ſame expedition, wherein all and ſingular the foreſaid treſpaſſes were committed.

The foreſaid Engliſh ambaſſadors doe exhibite the articles aboue-written vnto the procurators of the cities of Wiſmer and Roſtok aforeſaid: leaue and libertie being alwayes reſerued vnto the ſaid ambaſſadors, to enlarge, or to diminiſh, or to expound all, or euery, or any of the ſaid Articles whatſoeuer, ſo often as it ſhall ſeeme expedient vnto them.

Theſe be the grieuances and offences, whereat the marchants of the *Hans* of *Almaine*, comming vnto, and reſiding in the Realme of England, doe finde themſelues aggrieued, contrarie to the Articles and *priuileges of the Charter graunted vnto them by the worthy Progenitors of the king of England that now is, and alſo by the ſaide ſoueraigne Lord the King, ratified, and confirmed.*

IMprimis, whereas the foreſaide marchants haue a priuilege graunted vnto them by Charter, that they may, in cities, boroughs, and in other towns and villages throughout the whole realme of England, exercise traffique in groſſe, as wel with the natural inhabitants of the kingdome, as with ſtrangers, and priuate perſons: of late, thoſe that are free denizens in the cities, boroughs, and villages within the foreſaid kingdome, do hinder and reſtrain all others that be ſtrangers, foreners, and aliens, that they neither can, nor dare buy and ſel with the marchants of the Hans aforeſaid, to their great hinderance and loſſe.

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Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged not to vndergoe any other burthens or impoſitions, but onely to pay certaine cuſtoms, as it doeth by their charter manifeſtly appeare. Notwithſtanding at yͤ ſame time when Simon de Moreden was maior of London, the foreſaid marchants were conſtrained, in the ward of Doue-gate at London, to pay fifteenths, tallages, and other ſubſidies contrary to the liberties of their charter. Whereupon the ſaide marchants proſecuted the matter before the Councel of our ſoueraign lord the king, inſomuch that they were releaſed from paying afterward any ſuch tallages, fifteenths, and ſubſidies. Which marchants, a while after, of their owne accord and free will, gaue vnto the gild-hall of London an hundreth markes ſterling, conditionally, that they of the citie aforeſaide ſhould not at any time after exact or demaund of the ſaid marchants, or of their ſucceſſors, any tallages, fifteenths, or ſubſidies, contrary to the tenor of their charter, as by records in the foreſaid gild-hall, it doth more plainly appeare. Howbeit of late the officers of our lord the king, in the foreſaid ward of Doue-gate, conſtrained the marchants aforeſaid to pay tallages, fifteenths, & other ſubſidies. And becauſe the ſaide marchants murmured and refuſed to pay any ſuch contributions, alleaging their priuileges, the foreſaid officers arreſted the goods of thoſe ſaid marchants (which are as yet detained vpon the arreſt) notwithſtanding that they were releaſed before the councel of our ſoueraigne lord the king, & alſo that they gaue vnto the ſaid gild-hall one hundreth marks to be releaſed, as it is aforeſaid. And alſo the foreſaid marchants were conſtrained to pay 12. d. in the pound, and of late 6. d. and other ſubſidies, more then their ancient cuſtomes, to the great damage of thoſe marchants.

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The ancient cuſtomes of wools.

Pence for the towne of Cales.

Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged by their charter, that concerning the quantity of their marchandize brought into the realme of England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3. d. for the worth of euery pound of ſiluer) credit is to be giuen vnto them for the letters of their maſters and of their companies, if they were able to ſhew them. And if ſo be they had no letters in this behalfe to ſhew, that then credite ſhould bee giuen vnto themſelues, and that their othe, or the othe of their atturney ſhould be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of their marchandize ſo brought in, & that thereupon they ſhould be bound to pay cuſtoms, namely the cuſtomes of 3. d. iuſtly for that cauſe to be paid. But nowe the cuſtomers of our ſoueraigne lorde the king put their goods to an higher rate then they ought or were woont to be: and heereupon they compell them to pay cuſtome for their goods, at their pleaſure, ſcanning about their fraight and expenſes particularly diſburſed in regard of the ſaid goods and marchandize, to the great hinderance of the ſaid marchants, and againſt the tenor of their charter.

Item, the foreſaid marchants by way of pitiful complaint do alleage, that whereas the worthy progenitors of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the ſaide great charter, graunted libertie vnto them to pay the cuſtomes of certain clothes, namely of ſkarlet, and cloth died in grayne,

The great charter of marchants.

A ſpeciall Charter.

The cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome.

and of other clothes of aſſiſe, which were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, euen as by their foreſaid Charter it doeth more plainly appeare: and whereas our ſoueraigne lord the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the ſaide charter, and being willing that they ſhoulde haue more eſpeciall fauour ſhewed vnto them) granted vnto them by their Charter, that the ſaid marchants ſhould be exempted and freed from all cuſtome and impoſition of ſmall clothes, as in pieces and in narrow clothes which were not of aſſiſe; and in ſuch other clothes of like qualitie: yet of late the Cuſtomers of our Lorde the King that nowe is, not allowing their ſaide ſpeciall Charter ſo graunted vnto the marchants aforeſaid, do compel them to pay for ſtraight clothes and for pieces of clothes which are not of aſſiſe, (together with other demands particularly & ſeuerally made) as great cuſtome as if the clothes were full out of aſſiſe. Moreouer alſo of late, the cuſtomers of the ſmal or pety cuſtome & of the ſubſidie doe demand of them cuſtome for kerſey-clothes equal vnto the cuſtome of thoſe clothes, that be of ful aſſiſe, whereas the foreſaid marchants were not wont to pay for thoſe kerſeys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of ech pound of ſiluer, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to the great hinderance of the foreſaid parties, and againſt the manifeſt graunt of our ſoueraigne Lord the king, as it appeareth in the ſaid ſpeciall Charter.

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Item, the ſaid marchants alleage, that they are priuileged by their Charter, if they pay cuſtome and ſubſidy for their goods in the behalfe of our lord the king, at any port of England where thoſe goods haue arriued, and afterward would tranſport the ſaide goods or any part of them vnto any other port within the realme aforeſaid: that then they ſhould be quite releaſed from paying of any other cuſtome for the ſame goods, if they bring a warrant that they haue paide the ſaide cuſtome, as is aforeſaide. Of late it fortuned, that a certaine man of their ſocietie named Nicholas Croſſehaire, being a marchant of the lande of Pruſſia, immediatly after the concord was concluded betwene the Engliſh and the Pruſſians, brought vnto the towne of Sandwich a ſhippe laden with bow-ſtaues and other marchandize, and there well and truely paide the cuſtome of our lord the king, for all his wares: and ſelling there part of the ſame goods, he afterward tranſported parcel thereof in a ſmall barke vnto London, there to be ſolde, and caried a warrant alſo with him, that he had at Sandwich paid the cuſtome due vnto our lord the king: & yet (the ſaid warrant notwithſtanding) the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome & ſubſidy of London came & demanded cuſtome of him at another time cõtrary to reaſon, & againſt the tenor of their charter: and the ſaid Nicholas offred pledges vnto them, yea, euen ready money downe into their hands, vntil the queſtion were diſcuſſed and determined, whether he ſhould pay new cuſtome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the ſaid Nicholas brought a brief from our lord the king, to get himſelfe diſcharged from paying the ſaid cuſtome: and for all that, the foreſaid cuſtomers would not as yet haue regard vnto him, but kept the ſaid goods within ſhipboord, vpõ the riuer of Thames, for the ſpace of 15. dayes, vntil he had paid another cuſtom, to the great loſſe of the ſaid Nicholas, for that which he ſold firſt at Sandwich to be deliuered at London for ſeuen nobles, he could not afterward haue for it aboue foure nobles, and yet ſo was it ſolde, by reaſon of the harme which his wares had taken by lying ſo long vpon the water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.

Itẽ, the ſaid marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertſon bought at Briſtow certain clothes, & laded the ſame in a ſhip, to be tranſported for Pruſſia, for the which he truely paide at Briſtow, the cuſtoms & ſubſidies due vnto our ſoueraign lord the king: which ſhip with the foreſaid goods arriuing at London: the cuſtomers of the pety-cuſtome and of the ſubſidie there would not permit the ſaid ſhip with the goods to paſſe vnto the parts aforeſaid, vntil the ſaid Peter had paid another cuſtome for the ſame goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithſtanding) to his great hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

The cuſtomers of the ſubſidie.

Itẽ, pitifully complaining the foreſaid marchants alleage, that wheras euery marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to haue a ſchedule wherein his name was written, for a ſpecification & certificat of the quantity of his goods in the ſaid ſchedule to be found at the arriual of the ſhip, without paying therfore ought at all, of late the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome do compel thẽ to pay for ech mans name written a peny, at yͤ arriual of their goods out of euery ſhip wherin the ſaid goods are found, what commodities & marchandize ſoeuer they be: whenas notwithſtanding, if there be a cheſt or any other ſmal matter, there ſhould not therfore be any cuſtome due vnto our lord the king, nor any receiued vnto his Maieſties vſe. In like maner do the cuſtomers of the ſubſidy deale. Wheras alſo the foreſaid marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conueyance & tranſportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were written therein) more then 4. d. of late the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtom do compel them to pay for euery name contained in the ſame cocket, 4. d. and in like ſort do the cuſtomers of the ſaide ſubſidy deale. Which contribution in a yere extendeth it ſelf vnto a great ſumme, to the vnknowen preiudice of our lord

the

they robbed and rifled the goods, aſwel of the Germanes, as of the Noruagians: and like lewde companions, waſting and making hauock of all things, prooued themſelues neuer the wealthier. For it is not the guiſe of ſuch good fellowes to ſtore vp or to preſerue ought. The citizens, at the firſt, ſeemed to be inriched: howbeit afterward, (no man miſdoubting any ſuch calamitie) goods ill gotten were worſe ſpent. Thus farre Krantzius.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining, the foreſaide marchants auouch, verifie, and affirme, that vpon the 14. day after the feaſt of S. George, in the yeere of our Lord next aboue written, as 4. ſhips of Lenne, laden with cloth, wine, and other marchandiſes, were ſailing vpon the maine ſea, with all the goods and wares conteined in them, for Pruſſia, ſundry malefactors of Wiſmer and Roſtok, with others of the Hans, being in diuers ſhips, came vpon them, and by force of armes and ſtrong hand tooke the ſaid ſhips, with the goods and marchandiſes contained in them: and ſome of the people which were in the ſaide foure ſhips, they ſlew, ſome they ſpoyled, and others they put vnto extreame ranſomes. And carying away with them thoſe foure ſhips with the commodities and marchandiſe therin, they parted ſtakes therwith, as them liſted, to the great impouerishment & loſſe of the ſaid marchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Sileſden, Tho. Waterden, Ioh. Brandon, Ioh. Weſenhã, & other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 3623. li. 5. s. 11. d.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining the foreſaid marchants doe affirme, that one Henry Lambolt and other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke vpon the maine ſea betweene Norway and Scaw, one crayer laden with oſmunds, and with diuers other marchandiſes, perteining vnto Iohn Brandon of Lenne, to the ſumme and value of 443. li. 4. s. 2. d. Moreouer, they tooke from Iohn Lakingay 4. laſts and an halfe of oſmunds, to the value of 220. lib. 10. s.

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Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged as touching cuſtoms of wols by thē bought within the realm of England, yͭ they are not bound to pay, ouer & beſides their ancient cuſtoms, but onely xl.d. more then the homeborn marchants of England were wont to pay. But now yͤ foreſaid marchants are compelled to pay for euery ſack of wool (beſides yͤ ancient cuſtom & the 40.d. aforeſaid) a certain impoſitiō called Pence for the town of Cales, namely for euery ſack of wool 19.d. more then the marchants of England doe pay, to their great loſſe, & againſt the liberty of their charter.

Pence for the towne of Cales.

Item, the foreſaid marchants are priuileged by their charter, that concerning the quantity of their marchandize brought into the realme of England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3.d. for the worth of euery pound of ſiluer) credit is to be giuen vnto them for the letters of their maſters and of their companies, if they were able to ſhew them. And if ſo be they had no letters in this behalfe to ſhew, that then credite ſhould bee giuen vnto themſelues, and that their othe, or the othe of their atturney ſhould be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of their marchandize ſo brought in, & that thereupon they ſhould be bound to pay cuſtoms, namely the cuſtomes of 3.d. iuſtly for that cauſe to be paid. But nowe the cuſtomers of our ſoueraigne lorde the king put their goods to an higher rate then they ought or were woont to be: and heereupon they compell them to pay cuſtome for their goods, at their pleaſure, ſcanning about their fraight and expenſes particularly diſburſed in regard of the ſaid goods and marchandize, to the great hinderance of the ſaid marchants, and againſt the tenor of their charter.

The great charter of marchants.

Item, the foreſaid marchants by way of pitiful complaint do alleage, that whereas the worthy progenitors of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the ſaide great charter, graunted libertie vnto them to pay the cuſtomes of certain clothes, namely of ſkarlet, and cloth died in grayne, and of other clothes of aſſiſe, which were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, euen as by their foreſaid Charter it doeth more plainly appeare: and whereas our ſoueraigne lord the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the ſaide charter, and being willing that they ſhoulde haue more eſpeciall fauour ſhewed vnto them) granted vnto them by their Charter, that the ſaid marchants ſhould be exempted and freed from all cuſtome and impoſition of ſmall clothes, as in pieces and in narrow clothes which were not of aſſiſe; and in ſuch other clothes of like qualitie: yet of late the Cuſtomers of our Lorde the King that nowe is, not allowing their ſaide ſpeciall Charter ſo graunted vnto the marchants aforeſaid, do compel them to pay for ſtraight clothes and for pieces of clothes which are not of aſſiſe, (together with other demands particularly & ſeuerally made) as great cuſtome as if the clothes were full out of aſſiſe. Moreouer alſo of late, the cuſtomers of the ſmal or pety cuſtome & of the ſubſidie doe demand of them cuſtome for kerſey-clothes equal vnto the cuſtome of thoſe clothes, that be of ful aſſiſe, whereas the foreſaid marchants were not wont to pay for thoſe kerſeys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of ech pound of ſiluer, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to the great hinderance of the foreſaid parties, and againſt the manifeſt graunt of our ſoueraigne Lord the king, as it appeareth in the ſaid ſpeciall Charter.

A ſpeciall Charter.

The cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome.

Item, the ſaid marchants alleage, that they are priuileged by their Charter, if they pay cuſtome and ſubſidy for their goods in the behalfe of our lord the king, at any port of England where thoſe goods haue arriued, and afterward would tranſport the ſaide goods or any part of them vnto any other port within the realme aforeſaid: that then they ſhould be quite releaſed from paying of any other cuſtome for the ſame goods, if they bring a warrant that they haue paide the ſaide cuſtome, as is aforeſaide. Of late it fortuned, that a certaine man of their ſocietie named Nicholas Croſſchaire, being a marchant of the lande of Pruſſia, immediatly after the concord was concluded betwene the Engliſh and the Pruſſians, brought vnto the towne of Sandwich a ſhippe laden with bow-ſtaues and other marchandize, and there well and truely paide the cuſtome of our lord the king, for all his wares: and ſelling there part of the ſame goods, he afterward tranſported parcel thereof in a ſmall barke vnto London, there to be ſolde, and caried a warrant alſo with him, that he had at Sandwich paid the cuſtome due vnto our lord the king: & yet (the ſaid warrant notwithſtanding) the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome & ſubſidy of London came & demanded cuſtome of him at another time cõtrary to reaſon, & againſt the tenor of their charter: and the ſaid Nicholas offred pledges vnto them, yea, euen ready money downe into their hands, vntil the queſtion were diſcuſſed and determined, whether he ſhould pay new cuſtome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the ſaid Nicholas brought a brief from our lord the king, to get himſelfe diſcharged from paying the ſaid cuſtome: and for all that, the foreſaid cuſtomers would not as yet haue regard vnto him, but kept the ſaid goods within ſhipboord, vpõ the riuer of Thames, for the ſpace of 15. dayes, vntil he had paid another cuſtom, to the great loſſe of the ſaid Nicholas, for that which he ſold firſt at Sandwich to be deliuered at London for ſeuen nobles, he could not afterward haue for it aboue foure nobles, and yet ſo was it ſolde, by reaſon of the harme which his wares had taken by lying ſo long vpon the water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.

1405

Itẽ, the ſaid marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertſon bought at Briſtow certain clothes, & laded the ſame in a ſhip, to be tranſported for Pruſſia, for the which he truely paide at Briſtow, the cuſtoms & ſubſidies due vnto our ſoueraign lord the king: which ſhip with the foreſaid goods arriuing at London: the cuſtomers of the pety-cuſtome and of the ſubſidie there would not permit the ſaid ſhip with the goods to paſſe vnto the parts aforeſaid, vntil the ſaid Peter had paid another cuſtome for the ſame goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithſtanding) to his great hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Itẽ, pitifully complaining the foreſaid marchants alleage, that wheras euery marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to haue a ſchedule wherein his name was written, for a ſpecification & certificat of the quantity of his goods in the ſaid ſchedule to be found at the arriual of the ſhip, without paying therfore ought at all, of late the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtome do compel thẽ to pay for ech mans name written a peny, at ẏ arriual of their goods out of euery ſhip wherin the ſaid goods are found, what commodities & marchandize ſoeuer they be: whenas notwithſtanding, if there be a cheſt or any other ſmal matter, there ſhould not therfore be any cuſtome due vnto our lord the king, nor any receiued vnto his Maieſties vſe. In like maner do the cuſtomers of the ſubſidy deale. Wheras alſo the foreſaid marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conueyance & tranſportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were written therein) more then 4. d. of late the cuſtomers of the pety cuſtom do compel them to pay for euery name contained in the ſame cocket, 4. d. and in like ſort do the cuſtomers of the ſaide ſubſidy deale. Which contribution in a yere extendeth it ſelf vnto a great ſumme, to the vnknowen preiudice of our lord the

The cuſtomers of the ſubſidie.

the king, more then any man could ſuppoſe, (for the cuſtomers enioy their fees and commodities from his Maieſtie that they may doe him faithfull ſeruice) and likewiſe to the great damage of the ſaid marchants.

Itẽ, pitifully complaining the ſaid marchants do alleage that they are conſtrained to pay for ſubſidy, ſometime 12.d. and ſomtime 6.d. in the pound, contrary to the tenor of their charter: and yet notwithſtanding when their marchandize commeth to the wharf, the cuſtomers prolong & delay the time 3. or 4. weeks before they wil take cuſtome for their goods, in the which ſpace other marchants ſel their goods, the cuſtomers not regarding whether the goods aforeſaid take wet or no; to the great damage aſwel of our lord the king, as of the ſaid marchants: becauſe, if they had quicke diſpatch, they might pay cuſtome vnto his Maieſtie oftner then they doe.

Item, the ſaid marchants doe farther alleage, that the cuſtomers of the petie cuſtome, and of the ſubſidie in the port of London haue appointed among themſelues certaine men to ſeale vp the goods of the ſaide marchants, ſo ſoon as they are arriued at the port of ſafetie, vntil the ſaid goods be cuſtomed. By meanes of the which ſealing, the foreſaide parties doe compell the marchants aboue-named, (vpon an vſe and cuſtome whereof themſelues haue bene the authors) to paye a certaine ſumme of money, to the great hinderance of the ſayde marchants, and contrarie to iuſtice and to their charter. Moreouer, the ſaide cuſtomers haue ordained betweene themſelues, that the ſaide marchants ſhall put or make vp no cloth into fardels, to tranſport out of the realme, vnleſſe certaine men appointed by them for the ſame purpoſe bee there preſent, to ſee what maner of clothes they bee, vnder paine of the forfeiture of the ſaide goods. Alſo of late, when the ſayde marchants would haue made vp ſuch fardels, the foreſayde parties aſſigned to be ouerſeers refuſed to come, vnleſſe they might haue for their comming ſome certaine ſumme of money, delaying and procraſtinating from day to day, ſo long as themſelues liſted, to the great loſſe and vndoing of the foreſaide marchants, and contrarie to their liberties: becauſe the foreſaide cuſtomers are bound by their office to doe this, without any contribution therefore to bee paide vnto them by the ſaide marchants: for that they doe enioy from our ſoueraigne Lorde the King their fees and commodities, to the ende that they may ſerue him and euery marchant iuſtly and faithfully, without any contribution by them to be impoſed anewe vpon the ſayde marchants, of cuſtome.

Item, the ſaid marchants doe alleage, that the cuſtomers & bailifs of the town of Southhampton do compel them to pay for euery laſt of herrings, pitch, & ſope aſhes brought thither by thẽ 2.s. more then the kings cuſtome: and for ech hundreth of bowſtaues & boords called Waghenſcot, 2.d. for euery hundreth of boords called Richolt, 4.d. & for al other marchandize brought by the foreſaid marchants vnto the ſame towne: which contributions they neuer paid at any time heeretofore, being greatly to their hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, the foreſaid marchants do alleage, that one of their company, called Albert Redewiſh of Pruſſia, bringing diuers goods & marchandizes vnto Newcaſtle vpon Tine, & there paying the vſual cuſtom of 3.d. in the pound for al his wares, the bailifs of the ſaide towne, againſt all reaſon, exacted 7. pound ſterling at his hands more then the cuſtome: whereupon the foreſaide marchant got a briefe from the kings maieſty, for the recouery of the ſaid 7.li. according to equity & reaſon: howbeit, that at the comming of the ſaid briefe the foreſaid bailifes would do nothing on his behalfe, but would haue ſlaine their foreſaid aſſociate, contrary to their charter and priuiledges.

William Eſturmy knight, & Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne, being by yͤ moſt mighty prince & lord, L. Henry by Gods grace K. of England & France & lord of Ireland, ſufficiently deputed and appointed to parle, treate, & agree wͭ the common ſociety of yͤ marchants of the Hans of Dutchland or Almain, concerning & about the redreſſing & reformation of vniuſt attẽpts happening between our ſaid ſoueraign L. the king his liege people & ſubiects on the one part, & between the cõmon ſociety aforeſaid, the cities, towns, & particular perſons therof on the other part: do (for the behalf of our ſaid ſouraign L. the king, with a mind & intention to haue al & ſingular yͤ things vnderwritten to come to the knowledge of the ſaid common ſociety) intimate, declare, & make known vnto you (hono. ſirs) Henr. Weſthoff citizen & deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Ioh. van Berk citizen of Colen, Mainard Buxtehude citizen, & deputy of the city of Hamburgh, M. Simõ Clawſten clerk, ſir Iohn de Aa knight deputie of the citie of Roſtok, Herman Meyer deputy of the citie of Wiſmar, being, as the procurators, meſſengers, & commiſſioners of the foreſaid cities, aſſembled together at the town of Hage in Holland, with yͤ forenamed Will. & Iohn in regard of the foreſaid redres & reformation: that, euen as our ſaid ſoueraign L. the king his meaning is not to diſturb or hinder ſuch priuiledges as haue bin heretofore granted & vouchſafed vnto the cõmon ſociety of the marchãts aforeſaid, by the renoumed kings of England, & the worthy progenitors of our L. the K. that now is, & by himſelf alſo vnder a certain form confirmed: euen ſo he is determined (without yͤ preiudice of forren lawes) vpon iuſt, mature and ſober deliberation, by his royall authoritie to withſtand ſuch priuiledges, as by reaſon of the abuſe thereof, haue bene infinitely preiudiciall vnto himſelfe and his ſubiects.

Inprimis the ſaid amballadours doe affirme as afore, that whereas all and euery the Marchants of the ſaid company, as often as they would, were, both in the Realme of England, and in other territories & dominions ſubiect vnto our ſoueraigne lord the king, admitted and ſuffered (according to the tenor of the forenamed priuiledges granted vnto them) freely, friendly and ſecurely to traffique and conuerſe with any of his Maieſties liege people and ſubiects whatſoeuer, or with other people of whatſoeuer nation liuing in the realme of England, or in the dominions aforeſaid: the ſaid common ſociety of marchants by their publike & deliberate common counſel did appoint & ordain, yͭ no ſociety in any cities, townes, or places, neither yet any particular man of any ſuch ſociety (there being no lawfull or reaſonable cauſe why) ſhoulde in any wiſe admit any marchants of the realm of England reſorting vnto their cities or other places for marchandiſe, to enioy intercourſe of traffike: but that the ſaide Engliſh marchants ſhould bee altogether excluded from all traffike and mutuall conuerſation among them, by denouncing and inflicting grieuous penalties of money as well vpon cities as other places, and vpon particular marchants alſo of the foreſaid ſocietie practiſing the contrary.

Item, that immediatly after, the foreſaid parties enacting and ordaining publiſhed their ſayde ſtatute and ordinance, in all kingdomes, prouinces, partes, cities, and townes, wherin any marchants of the ſaid ſocietie were conuerſant.

Item, that after that publication, the ſtatute and ordinance aforeſaid by euery of the marchants of the forenamed ſociety were inuiolably obſerued.

Item, that the ſaid ſtatute and ordinance hath bene ſo rigorouſly put in execution, that whereas immediatly after certaine Engliſh marchants with their ſhips, mariners, and marchandize beeing in a certaine part of one of the principall cities of the foreſaide ſocietie, vtterly deſtitute of meate, drinke, and money, publikely offred to ſell their wollen clothes of England, onely to prouide themſelues of neceſſary victuals: yet the marchants of the ſaide citie, ſtoutely perſiſting in their ſtatute and ordinance aforeſaid, ſtraightly prohibited the buying of ſuch clothes, vnchriſtianly denying meate and drinke vnto the ſaid Engliſh marchants.

Item, the foreſaid ſociety decreed and ordained, that no marchant of the ſaide company ſhould in any place or countrey whatſoeuer, buy any woollen clothes of the realme or dominion of England (albeit offered by others and not by Engliſh men) or, hauing bought any, ſhould, after the terme prefixed, ſel them, impoſing grieuous pecuniary mulcts, beſides the forfeiture of the clothes ſo bought or ſold, vpon them that would attempt the contrary.

Item, that after the ſaid ſtatute and ordinance, the foreſaide ſocietie decreed, that all marchants of the ſaid companie, hauing among their wares and marchandiſe any woollen clothes made in England, ſhould either ſell the ſaide clothes, or within a ſhort ſpace then limited ſhould, vnder penaltie of forfeiting the ſaid clothes, vtterly renounce the vſe and commoditie thereof: Notwithſtãding a grieuous penaltie of money being impoſed vpon the violaters of the ſame ſtatute.

The Hans ſocietie determineth the ouerthrow of Engliſh marchãts.

Item, that the ſtatutes and ordinances aforeſaid might with more ſpeed and celerity be put in execution, the ſaid authors and publiſhers thereof imagining, according to their deſire, that by this meanes an vtter extirpation and ouerthrow of Engliſh marchants might, yea & of neceſſity muſt enſue: vpon their ſerious & long premeditated deliberation, ſtraitely commanded & inioyned, vnder pain of loſing the benefit of all priuileges, whereſoeuer, or by the princes of what lands, or the Magiſtrates of what Cities or townes ſoeuer vouchſafed vnto the ſaid common ſocietie, that not only the aldermen of that ſociety in al places throughout the realme of England, but alſo al other marchants of the ſaid company, after the maner of marchants conuerſing in the ſaide Realme, ſhould, without exception of perſons, vtterly abſtein from all intercourſe of traffike with the marchants of the realme aforeſaid: yea, and that they ſhoulde depart out of the ſaid kingdome within a very ſhort ſpace limited. For the diſpatching of al which premiſſes without delay, it was according to their commandement effectually prouided.

Statutes againſt yͤ Engliſh marchants in Norway and in Suedland.

Item, that the ſociety aforeſaid hath approued diuers very vnreaſonable ſtatutes & ordinances, made & publiſhed by the marchants of the ſame ſociety reſiding in the kingdoms of Norway and Swedland, to the great preiudice of the kingdome of England, and the marchants thereof: and as yet both couertly and expreſly do approue the ſame, vniuſtly putting them in daily execution.

Item, wheras in the priuileges & indulgences granted by yͤ renoumed princes ſomtimes kings of Englãd, yͤ worthy progenitors of our ſoueraign lord the king yͭ now is, vnto the ſocieey aforeſaid, it is prouided, yͭ the ſaid marchants ſhal not auow any man which is not of their company, nor ſhal not colour his goods and marchandize vnder their company: whereas alſo in the confirmation of the ſayd priuileges made by our ſoueraigne lord that nowe is, it is manifeſtly prouided, that the marchants of the Hans towns, vnder the colour of their priuiledges in England, ſhall not vpon paine of the perpetuall fruſtration and reuocation of the foreſayd priuiledges, receiue any ſtranger of any other towne in their liberties, by whom the kings cuſtome may in any ſort be withholden or diminiſhed: & yet the contrary vnto al theſe prouiſoes hath bin euery yere, for theſe 20. yeres or thereabout notoriouſly practiſed and committed, as well ioyntly by the generall counſell, and toleration of the foreſayd ſociety, as alſo ſeuerally by the aduiſe and permiſſion of diuers particular cities of the foreſayd Hans company to the great diminution of his maieſties cuſtome, the eſtimation whereof the foreſayd ambaſſadors are not able at this preſent fully to declare. But that all occaſions of the laſt aboue mentioned diminution may bee preuented for the time to come, the ſayd ambaſſadors doe demand to haue from the foreſayd ſocietie a declaration in writing, what and what maner of territories, cities, townes, villages or companies they be, for which the ſayd ſociety challengeth and pretendeth, that they ought to enioy the priuiledges granted vnto their marchants, as is aboue mentioned.

How many & which be the Hans townes.

Moreouer, it is required by the foreſaid ambaſſadors, if the ſocietie aforeſayd hath not decreed nor ordayned the things aboue written, that the names of the cities and places decreeing and ordaining ſuch ſtatutes & ordinances, may by the ſayd common ſociety either now or at ſome other times and places conuenient for the ſame purpoſe, be expreſſed and ſet downe in writing.

A letter of *Henry* the fourth king of *England* &c. vnto *Frater Conradus de Iungingen* the maſter generall of *Pruſſia*.

HEnrie &c. to the moſt noble and mighty perſonage of ſacred religion Fr: Conradus de Iungingen Maſter general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie, our moſt deare friend, greeting, and continual perfection of amity.

When as your meſſengers and ambaſſadors were of late perſonally preſent in Holland, and there expected the arriual of our ambaſſadors vntill the firſt day of the moneth of Nouember laſt expired, that there might bee by way of friendly conference a remedie prouided in regard of certaine iniuries pretended to be offered, by both our ſubiects one againſt another, for the publique commoditie of both parts, we were determined to haue ſent vnto Dordract, at the foreſaid daye, our welbeloued and faithfull knight William Sturmy, and our welbeloued clerke Iohn Kington, vpon our ambaſſage-affayres: hauing as yet in our deſires, for a peaceable ending of the matter, (which, our foreſayd ambaſſadors, by reaſon of the ſhortnes of time, or the finding out of ſome other remedie and happy concluſion of all and ſingular the foreſaid attempts concerning the principall buſines, could by no meanes at that inſtant attaine vnto) that vpon ſome other more conuenient day (to the end your ambaſſadors might not returne home altogether fruſtrate of their expectation) there might be, after the wonted friendly maner, a conferēce & agreement with your foreſayd ambaſſadors, euen as by other letters of ours directed vnto your ſayd ambaſſadors the ſecond day of the moneth of Nouember aforeſayd wee haue deliuered our mind vnto them. But it fortuned not long before the departure of your ambaſſadors into their owne countrey, that no ſufficient ſhipping could be found wherein our ſayd ambaſſadors might haue ſecure and ſafe paſſage vnto Dordract, or Middleburgh, neither was it thought that they ſhould get any paſſage at all, till the ſhips at Middleborough were returned into our kingdome, by the force whereof they might be the more ſtrongly wafted ouer. And ſo by reaſon of the departure of your ambaſſadours, all matters remaine in ſuſpenſe till ſuch time as the ſayd ambaſſadors ſhall againe meete with ours to adde perfection vnto the buſines as yet imperfect. Wherefore (our friend vnfainedly beloued) deſiring from the bottome of our heart that the integritie of loue, which hath from auncient times taken place betweene our & your ſubiects, may in time to come alſo be kept inuiolable, we haue thought good once again to ſend one of our foreſaid ambaſſadors, namely William Eſturmy knight to Dordract, giuing him charge thither to make haſte, and there to ſtay, till ſome of your meſſengers, at your commandement doe in time conuenient repayre vnto that place, there (by Gods aſſiſtance) to bring the matter vnto an happy concluſion. May it pleaſe you therefore of your vnfayned friendſhip, without all inconuenience of delay, to returne, not vnto vs, but vnto our forenamed knight an anſwere in writing, what your will and determination is. Neither let it ſeeme ſtrange vnto you, that we haue not at this preſent ſent our forenamed Iohn Kington clerke together with the ſayd William: for the cauſe of his abode with vs is, that he may in the meane ſeaſon employ his care and diligence about thoſe matters which muſt be preparatiues for the finall concluſion of the foreſayd buſines. Honorable ſir, and moſt deare friend, we doe moſt heartily wiſh increaſe of proſperity and ioy vnto your perſon. Giuen in our palace of Weſtminſter the 14. day of Feb. in the yeare of our Lord 1407. 1407.

To the right noble and valiant knight Sir *VVilliam Sturmy* ſent at this preſent by the moſt ſouereigne King of *England* &c. as his ambaſſadour vnto *Dordract*, his moſt ſincere friend.

HOnorable ſir, our moſt entier friend, wee receiued the royall letters of the moſt mighty prince and lord, our lord the king of England and France and lord of Ireland, ſent vnto vs vnder the date of the 14. day of February (which we receiued at our caſtle of Marienburgh the 11. of April) containing, amongſt other matters, that his Maieſties purpoſe was once againe to ſende one of his ambaſſadors, namely your ſelfe our very ſincere friend vnto Dordract, giuing you in charge that you would make haſte thither & there ſtay, vntill ſome of our ſubiects might at our commandemẽt, in conuenient time repaire vnto the ſame place, there (by Gods aſſiſtance) to bring our matters vnto a happy concluſion. And then he requeſted that wee ſhould without delay write our determination vnto you, as the concluſion of the ſaid letter importeth. Howbeit (our moſt deare friend) the treaties & conferences about the redreſſe or reformation of vniuſt attempts committed by the ſubiects of our ſayd lord the king & our ſubiects, one againſt another, are both on our behalfe, and on the behalfe of the common ſocietie of the Hans marchants, hitherto had, made, and continued common. And ſo our commiſſioners vpon our full and abſolute commandement, ſhal, for the managing of theſe and of other affaires of the foreſaid ſocietie, many waies vrgent and difficult, vpon the feaſt of our Lords Aſcenſion next to come, meet with the ſaid ſocietie at Lubec, there to giue notice what they haue determined to conclude in this preſent buſines & in others for their owne behalfe. For we wil giue our ambaſſadours which are there to appeare, ſtreightly in charge that according to the kings requeſt aforeſayde they doe without delay procure an anſwere to be written vnto your honour concerning the determination of the foreſayd ſocietie. Giuen at the place and vpon the day aboue named, in the yeare of our Lord 1407.

Fr. Wernherus de Tettingen, commander in *Elbing*, general vice-maſter and lieutenant in the roome of the Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. *Marie* &c. of late deceaſed.

The letters of *Henry* the 4. king of *England* &c. vnto *Vlricus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of *Pruſſia*, 1408. wherein he doth ratifie and accept the laſt agreement made at *Hage* in *Holland*.

HEnry &c. vnto the honourable and religious perſonage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Maſter generall of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our moſt deare friend, greeting and dayly increaſe of our accuſtomed amity and friendſhip. We doe by theſe preſents giue your honour to vnderſtand, that our faithfull & welbeloued William Eſturmy knight, and Maſter Iohn Kington clerke, our ambaſſadors and meſſengers ſent of late on our behalfe, vnto the preſence of your predeceſſour for the redreſſing of certaine grieuances and damages being contrary to iuſtice offered againſt vs and our liege ſubiects by the people & ſubiects of your predeceſſors, & againſt them alſo by our ſubiects as it is aforeſayd, in friendly maner to be procured, of late returning out of the parts of Alemain made relation vnto vs and to our counſell, that hauing conferred with your forenamed predeceſſour about the foreſayd affayres, the particulars following were at length concluded: namely firſt of all, that at a certaine day and place they ſhould meete in Holland with his ambaſſadors and meſſengers, to hold a friendly conference betweene them about the redreſſing and reformation of the grieuances and damages aforeſayd: and that they ſhould by the equall waight of diligent examination ponder, & in the balance of iuſtice diſcuſſe & define al & ſingular the foreſaid grieuances & damages inflicted on both parts. Howbeit at length after ſundry prorogations then made & continued on this behalfe, our ambaſſadors & meſſengers aforeſaid vpon the 28. of Auguſt laſt paſt, aſſembling themſelues for our part at the towne of Hage in Holland, the hon. & diſcreete perſonages Arnold Heket burgomaſter of the towne of Dantzik, & Iohn Crolowe, for the behalf of your ſubiects of Pruſſia, and Tidman de Meule, & Iohn Epenſcheid for the behalfe of Liuonia, being aſſembled as meſſengers and commiſſioners about the redreſſe and reformation aforeſayd, did then and there demaund in certaine articles, of our ambaſſadours and meſſengers abouenamed 25034. nobles & half a noble, for the grieuances & damages offered (as it was thẽ ſaid) to your ſubiects of Pruſſia, and 24082. nobles, 12. s. 8. d. in recompenſe of the damages offered vnto thoſe

A meting at Hage the 28. of Auguſt 1407.

your ſubiects of Liuonia. And when the ſubſtance of thoſe articles about the grieuances & loſſes aforeſayd was by the ſayd ambaſſadours and meſſengers throughly examined and diſcuſſed, by their generall conſent it was finally agreed, that your ſubiects, in conſideration of all and ſingular the foreſayd grieuances and damages offered vnto them by our people, ſhould within three yeares after the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing, at three equall payments receiue from vs, namely they of Pruſia, 8957. nobles, and they of Liuonia 22496. nobles, ſixe pence, halfe peny, farthing, and no more, ſo that we our ſelues thought good to condeſcend thereunto. Howbeit, foraſmuch as certaine other articles of your ſubiects of Pruſia, and alſo certaine articles in the behalfe of our ſubiects containing grieuous complaints in them, being propounded before the ambaſſadors & meſſengers aforeſaid, for the attaining of reformation in regard of the damages & grieuances offered on both parts, could not as thẽ, for the great obſcurity of diuers of the ſayd articles, and alſo for want of ſufficiẽt proofe at the laſt meeting appointed and held by the foreſayd ambaſſadors at the towne of Hage in Holland, ſufficiently to be examined, diſcuſſed, and defined, it was agreed vpon by the ambaſſadors and meſſengers of both partes, that from the 15. day of October then laſt expired vnto the feaſt of Eaſter now next enſuing, and from thenceforth within one whole yere immediatly following, the plaintifes of both parts ſhould throughly declare before our chancelour of England for the time being, the foreſayd obſcurities cõcerning the ſubſtance of their articles, and that they ſhould, for the obtaining of execution, and complement of iuſtice at our ſayd chancelours hands, peremptorily miniſter neceſſary probations, vnder paine of perpetuall excluſion from the petition of thoſe things which are contayned in the articles aboue mentioned.

Prouided alwayes, that if at the laſt it ſhall be by lawfull proofes made manifeſt concerning the ſummes aboue written or any part or parcell thereof, that due ſatiſfaction hath beene made to him or them vnto whom it was due, or that thoſe goods of and for the which complaint hath bene made on the behalfe of your ſubiects haue pertained or doe appertaine vnto others, or any other iuſt, true, and reaſonable cauſe may lawfully bee alleaged, why the payment of all the foreſayd ſummes or any of them ought not to be performed: that then ſo much only is to be cut off or deducted from the ſayd ſummes as ſhall be found to be already payd or to pertaine vnto others, or elſe vpon ſome true, iuſt, and reaſonable cauſe (as is aforeſayd) not to be due. We therefore conſidering that the ſayd friendly conference, and the finall agreemeut enſuing thereupon are agreeable vnto reaſon and equitie, doe, for our part ratifie and willingly accept the very ſame conference and agreement. And foraſmuch as it hath bene alwayes our deſire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the integritie of loue, which hath of olde time bene obſerued betweene our and your ſubiects, may in times to come perpetually remaine inuiolable, and that your and our people may hereafter, not onely for the good of our common weale but alſo for the commodity and peace of both parts, according to their woonted maner, aſſemble themſelues and enioy the faithfull and mutuall conuerſation one of another: we will cauſe in our citie of London, with the ſumme of 8957. nobles ſatiſfaction to bee made vnto the Pruſſians, and with the ſumme of 22496. nobles, ſixe pence, halfe peny, farthing, recompenſe to be performed vnto the Liuonians, in regard of the damages and iniuries (which in very deede proceeded not of our conſent) by our ſubiects offered vnto them, as it is aforeſayd, and within three yeares after the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing the ſayd ſummes of money to bee payed at three payments, and by three equall portions. Conditionally that vnto our ſubiects which be endamaged correſpondent ſatiſfaction be likewiſe on your part within the terme of the foreſayd three yeeres performed, with paying the ſummes of 766. nobles and of 4535. nobles, demaunded on our behalfe, and alſo with the payment of ſuch ſummes as within one yeere immediately enſuing the feaſt of Eaſter aforeſayd, ſhalbe found by ſufficient delarations and proofes to be made on the behalfe of our ſubiects (as is aforeſayd) to be due. Euen as we in like maner will make ſatiſfaction vnto your ſubiects within our citie aforeſayd. Now as touching the requeſt of your ambaſſadors and of the Liuonians, whereby we were required to procure ſome holeſome remedy for the ſoules of certaine drowned perſons, as conſcience and religion ſeemeth to chalenge (in regard of whom we are moued with compaſſion, and do for their ſakes heartily condole their miſhaps) you are (our entier friend) of a certaintie to vnderſtand, that after we ſhall be by your letters aduertized of the number, ſtate, and condition of the ſayd parties drowned, we will cauſe ſuffrages of prayers and diuers other holeſome remedies profitable for the ſoules of the deceaſed and acceptable to God and men, religiouſly to be ordained and prouided: vpon condition, that for the ſoules of our drowned countrey men there be the like remedie prouided by you. The almighty grant vnto your ſelfe and vnto your whole Order, that you may proſperouſly triumph ouer the enemies of Chriſt his croſſe. Giuen vnder our priuie ſeale at our palace of Weſtminſter the 26. of March, in the yere of our Lord 1408. and in the ninth yere of our reigne.

The letters of *Fr: Vlricus* Maſter of *Pruſsia* directed *vnto the king of* England, *ſignifying that he is contented with* the agreements concluded by his meſſengers at *Hage.*

To the moſt renowmed prince and mighty lord L *Henrie* king of *England* and *France*, and lord of *Ireland*, our moſt gracious lord.

VNto your highnes pleaſure at all aſſaies humbly recommending my voluntarie ſeruice &c. Moſt renowmed king, mighty prince, and gracious lord, we receiued of late with great reuerence as it becommeth vs, by our welbeloued Arnold de Daſſel the bearer of of theſe preſents, your Maieſties letters of late directed vnto vs, making mention amongſt other matters of certaine appointments firſt made and concluded between the noble and worthy perſonages William Eſturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambaſſadours and meſſengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtenſten great cõmander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hoſpitalary & commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treaſurer, being the procuratours and commiſſioners of Fra. Conradus de Iungingen our laſt predeceſſour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redreſſing, reformation, and amendement of vniuſt attempts committed on both ſides, at our caſtle of Marienburgh, and alſo very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the moneth Auguſt in the yeare immediately paſt, betweene your foreſayde ambaſſadours William Eſturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clerke, for your part, and our truſty and welbeloued commiſſioners and procurators, namely Arnold Hecht burgomaſter of our citie of Dantzik, and Iohn Crolow citizen of the ſame citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowlege in this behalfe, our ſayd commiſſioners made relation vnto vs and vnto our whole counſell, that aſſociating vnto themſelues our meſſengers of Liuonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and Iohn Epenſheid, together with your foreſaid ambaſſadours and meſſengers, they there finally appoynted and concluded, of and about the aboue mentioned ſummes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforeſayd. With this ſpeciall prouiſo, that in like manner ſatiſfaction be made in all points, both vnto other of our damnified ſubiects of Pruſſia, namely ſuch whoſe goods or the true value thereof haue bene finally adiudged by the iudges or profeſſors of our lawes, and vnto ſuch who hauing brought their articles of complaints vnto the audience of the moſt dread and mighty prince and lorde, our lord Rupertus king of the Romans alwayes moſt ſoueraigne, were in concluſion to haue the eſtimations of their goods to be adiudged by the ſentence of the ſayd lord, with the aduiſe of two of his counſellers, and alſo vnto other of our ſubiects who haue brought in ſufficient proofe of damages vniuſtly inflicted vpon them by your ſubiects, ouer and beſides the premiſſes. So that in like maner ſatiſfaction be made vnto the common ſocietie of the Hans marchants: and by the arbitrament ſet downe in the conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was aboue prouided and enacted on their behalfe, namely if they will reſt contented with our ſubiects in the courſes and meanes then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere vnto them in this behalfe. Afterward our meſſengers aforeſayd, both they of Pruſſia and of Liuonia demanded conuenient, iuſt, and ſpeedy ſatiſfaction, with the payment of all and ſingular the ſummes aboue mentioned, due vnto both parts (ſo farre foorth as equity and reaſon would yeeld vnto, for the recompenſe of the parties iniuried and endamaged on both ſides) to be made within one whole yere accompting from the feaſt of Eaſter now laſt expired vnto the very ſame feaſt next to come in the yere immediatly following, & that in three ſeueral termes of payment, by three portions of the ſaid ſummes equally to be diuided, at the towne of Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in maner and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and ſtoode vpon: namely that reformation, reparation, and amendement of all vniuſt attempts committed on both parts ought to bee performed within one yere. Howbeit contrariwiſe your ambaſſadors aforeſayd decreed that the ſayd ſatiſfaction ſhould be performed vnto the parties iniuried of both parts within three yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt. And when your ambaſſadours were not contented with the maner of ſatiſfaction ſet downe by our men, nor our commiſſioners were willing in any ſort to conſent vnto that courſe which was thought conuenient by your ambaſſadors, the honorable meſſengers of the ſea-townes of the Hans being there at that time preſent, made a motion that the foreſayd ſatiſfaction might be performed within two yeeres and an halfe, accompting from the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, often before mentioned: yet vnder

Here relation is had vnto yͤ king of the Romans.

a certaine proteſtation, namely if both parties ſhould agree vnto that forme of ſatiſfaction, and if they ſhould thinke good finally and concluſiuely to yeeld their conſent vnto it. Which kind of ſatiſfaction alſo conceiued by the meſſengers, your ſayd ambaſſadours without giuing notice thereof vnto your royall Maieſtie, refuſed finally to approue; being rather deſirous to make a true & faithfull report of the ſayd forme of ſatiſfaction laſt aboue mentioned vnto your kingly highneſſe, and that in ſuch ſorte, that (as they hoped) effectuall ſatiſfaction and payment of all and ſinguler the ſummes due and to bee due on both partes ſhould more conueniently and ſpeedily bee performed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that more ſpeedy and conuenient appointments of termes, for the ſayd ſatiſfaction friendly on both parts to be performed in, would haue proceeded from your bountifull and gracious clemencie. And in very deede (moſt mighty prince) albeit it was neuer the meaning of our foreſayd predeceſſor, ſo far foorth as theſe affayres concerned him, to protract and delay the execution of the ſayd buſines ſo many and ſuch long diſtances of time, and that for diuers reſpects, both becauſe reſtitution vnto the parties robbed conſiſted herein, and alſo becauſe the ſayd reſtitutions and ſatiſfactions are to be made vnto poore people, widowes, orphanes, and other miſerable creatures, diuerſly and miſerably ſlaine and oppreſſed: notwithſtanding we being moued with hearty & feruent zeale and ſpeciall affection vnto your royall crowne of England, and hauing due regard and conſideration of your moſt excellent Maieſtie, vpon the aduiſe of our honourable brethren our counſellers, doe thankfully receiue, & by the tenour of theſe preſents totally ratifie and approue ſuch ſatiſfactions of the foreſayd ſummes howſoeuer due vnto our ſubiects both Pruſſians and Liuonians, in friendly ſorte to be performed at ſuch times and ſeaſons limited and prefixed by your highnes as are expreſſed in your maieſties letters, and alſo of other ſummes which within one yeare immediately enſuing after the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, by ſufficient proofes to be made on their part before your chancelour at your citie of London ſhall be found due vnto them. Conditionally that without inconuenience of delay and impediment they be performed as they ought to be, according to the premiſſes. In like maner alſo we our ſelues within the termes of payment aboue mentioned will procure ſatiſfaction to be without fayle perfourmed vnto your ſubiects endamaged, with the ſumme of 766. nobles, being in regard of their loſſes, of the which they haue giuen vp ſufficient informations, due vnto them; and with other like ſummes alſo which are by ſufficient proofes, within the yeare aforeſayd, and in maner and forme preſcribed to be exhibited before our treaſurer at our citie of Dantzik. The almighty vouchſafe proſperouſly and long time to preſerue your maieſties royal perſon. Giuen at our caſtle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1408.

Septem. 27. 1408.

Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen maſter generall of the order of the
Dutch knights of S. *Maries* hoſpital of *Ieruſalem*.

The letters of king *Henry* the 4. ſent vnto *Fr. Vlricus* maſter general of *Pruſsia*, wherein he doth abſolutely approue the foreſaid conference holden at *Hage*, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene *England* and *Pruſſia*.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, vnto the noble & mighty perſonage of ſacred religion Vlricus de Iungingen maſter generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, our entirely beloued friend, greeting and increaſe of vnfained friendſhip. After diuers conferentes had in ſundry places beyond the ſeas, betweene the ambaſſadours and meſſengers of your late predeceſſor and of your ſelfe alſo, on the one parte, and betweene our eſpeciall ambaſſadors and meſſengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, & reſtitutions in certaine maner & forme to be performed vnto our ſubiects of both parts, in regard of manifold iniuries practiſed againſt them both, and after that, in the laſt conference holden by the ambaſſadours of vs both at the towne of Hage in Holland, there was a motion made concerning a certaine forme of ſatiſfaction, by way of finall concluſion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambaſſadours condeſcended vnto, becauſe they durſt not proceede vnto the ſame concluſion without our priuitie, relation thereof at length being by them made before vs and our counſel: we returned vnto your honour an anſwere in writing by our letters vnder our priuie ſeale, of our full purpoſe and intention (vnto the which letters we doe at this preſent referre our ſelues, as if they were here againe expreſly written) what we thought good to haue done in this behalfe: ſo that we alſo might by your friendly letters be certaynly informed of your will and expreſſe conſent, being likewiſe conformable vnto your foreſayd intention. Nowe whereas ſince that time we haue of late receiued the certaintie of the matter by your letters written vnto vs from your caſtle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September laſt paſt, contayning in effect amongſt other matters, that you being mooued with a feruent zeale and ſpeciall affection (as you write) vnto the royall crowne of our realme, and hauing due regard and conſideration of our royall maieſtie, vpon the aduiſe of your honourable brethren your counſellers, doe with a thankfull mind accept, and by the tenour of the ſaid letters of yours totally approue the concord of a certaine ſatiſfaction to be performed with the payment of certaine ſummes of money howſoeuer due vnto your ſubiects as well of Pruſſia as of Liuonia, expreſſed in our former letters, within the termes prefixed by our conſent and limited in our ſaid letters, aud alſo of other ſummes which within one whole yeare immediatly following the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, by ſufficient proofes on their part to bee made before our chauncelour at our citie of London, ſhall be found due vnto them: conditionally, that without inconuenience of delay and impediments, the premiſſes be performed as they ought to be. And that your ſelfe alſo will without fayle, vpon the termes appoynted for the ſaid payments, procure ſatiſfaction to be made accordingly vnto our endamaged ſubiects with the ſummes due vnto them by reaſon of their loſſes, whereof they haue ſufficient information. Wherefore in regard of thoſe your friendly letters, and your courteous auſwere returned by them vnto vs, as is aforeſaid, wee doe yeelde vnto you right vnfained thanks. But becauſe it will vndoubtedly be moſt acceptable and pleaſing both vnto vs and vnto our people, and vnto you and your ſubiects, that the zeale and feruencie of loue which hath from auncient times growen and increaſed betweene our progenitours for them and their ſubiects, and your predeceſſors and their ſubiects, and which by the inſolencie of of certayne lewde perſons, without any conſent of the principall lords, hath often bene violated betweene vs and you and mutually betweene the ſubiects of vs both, may be put in perpetuall vre and obtaine full ſtrength in time to come, ſithens hereupon (by Gods aſſiſtance) it is to be hoped, that vnſpeakeable commodity and quiet will redound vnto both parts: may it ſeeme good vnto your diſcretion, as it ſeemeth expedient vnto vs, that ſome meſſengers of yours ſufficiently authoriſed to parle, agree, and conclude with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and confirmation of friendſhip, may with all conuenient ſpeede be ſent vnto our preſence. At whoſe arriuall, not onely in this buſines ſo profitable and behoouefull, but alſo in certaine other affaires concerning the former treaties and concluſions, they may, yea and of neceſſitie muſt greatly auayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloued friend) euen as vpon confidence of the premiſſes we haue thought good to grant vnto the marchants and ſubiects of our realme full authority to reſort vnto your dominions, ſo we doe in like maner graunt vnto your marchants and ſubiects free licence and liberty with their marchandiſes and goods ſecurely to come into our realmes and dominions, there to ſtay, and at their pleaſures thence to returne home. Moreouer, if Arnold Daſſel, who laſt of all preſented your foreſayd letters vnto vs, ſhal thinke good in the meane ſeaſon to make his abode here in our dominions (as in very deede it is expedient) he may both by ſerious conſideration and deliberate conſulting with our commiſſioners more conueniently and proſperouſly finde out wayes and meanes, for the more ſpeedy expedition of all the premiſſes. Fare ye well in Chriſt. Giuen vnder our priuie ſeale at our palace of Weſtminſter, the ſeuenth of March, in the yere of our lord 1408, according to the computation of the Church of England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

A motion for a perpetuall league.

A new concord concluded between king *Henry* the 4. and *Vlricus de Iungingen* Maſter generall of *Pruſſia*, in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

By this indenture or letters indented be it euidently knowen (for the perpetual memory of the matter) vnto all faithfull Chriſtians, that the noble & honourable perſonages Richard Merlowe Maior and citizen of London, Maſter Iohn Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman of the ſame citie, the commiſſioners of the moſt ſoueraigne prince and lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford burgomaſter of Elbing, and Iohn Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik, the procurators, commiſſioners, deputies and meſſengers of the right noble and religious perſonage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Maſter general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hoſpital of Ieruſalem, hauing in the names of the ſayd king and Maſter by vertue of the power on both parts committed vnto them, ſufficient authority, haue appointed and with one conſent agreed vpon all and ſingular the things vnderwritten.

Inprimis

Imprimis for the conſeruation of mutuall loue and wonted amitie, and for the tranquilitie of ſweete amiable peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and ſingular the liege people & ſubiects of the Realme of England and the Marchants of the territories & dominions of the ſaid Realme and all other perſons of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer, ſhall and may ſafely and ſecurely, as well by land as by water enter into the parts of Pruſſia, and there mutually conuerſe, and freely after the maner of Marchants exerciſe traffique aſwell with the Pruſſians as with others, of what nation or qualitie ſoeuer, there alſo make their abode, and thence vnto their owne homes and dwelling places returne, and depart vnto any place whither and ſo often as they ſhall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize, and wares whatſoeuer; faithfully paying in the meane time all rights & cuſtomes due in regard of their ſaid wares and marchandize. Reſerued alwaies vnto the ſaid Maſter and his ſucceſſours all right and remedie ordained, granted, and vouchſafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention ſhall be made in the articles following. 1

Item it is ordained, that all and ſingular the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall and of his order, of what ſtate and condition ſoeuer, ſhall and may, as well by water as by land enter into the kingdome of England and into the territories and dominions thereof, and there mutually conuerſe, and freely after the maner of Marchants exerciſe traffique as well with all Engliſh people as with others of what nation or qualitie ſoeuer, and there alſo make their abode; and thence returne vnto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to depart whither they will and as oft as they ſhall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize and wares whatſoeuer: truely paying in the meane time all rights and cuſtomes due in regard of their ſaid wares and Marchandize. Reſerued alwayes vnto the ſaid ſoueraigne king, his heires and ſucceſſours, all rights and remedies ordained and graunted vnto them in certaine obligations, by the commiſſioners and procurators of the ſaid Maſter generall aboue-named, and in the name of the ſaid Maſter generall. 2

Item it is with one conſent agreed vpon, promiſed, and graunted that for all and ſingular damages, grieuances, and robberies howſoeuer done and committed before the date of theſe preſents againſt the foreſaid ſoueraigne Prince and his ſubiects whatſoeuer, and all others which at the time of the grieuances, damages, and robberies aforeſaid, were, or at this preſent are the ſaid ſoueraigne king his ſubiects; there are due to be payed vnto the ſaid king or his ſucceſſours by the ſaid Maſter generall or his ſucceſſours, in full ſatiſfaction and recompence of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aboue-written, certaine ſummes of Engliſh money: euen as in the letters obligatorie made by the ſaid Maſter generall his procurators, and meſſengers aboue-named in this behalfe, and ſealed with their ſeales, and deliuered vnto the forenamed procurators and commiſſioners of our ſaid Lord the king it is expreſſed more at large. 3

Item it is couenanted, graunted, and promiſed, that no ſubiect of the ſaid Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſours, by reaſon or occaſion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforeſaid, ſhall, by the ſaid ſoueraigne king or his ſucceſſours, or by their authoritie or commandement, or by any other perſon whatſoeuer who in regard of the foreſaid loſſes, grieuances and robberies hath bene moleſted and damnified, or at the procurement or inſtant ſuite of any, be attached, arreſted, impriſoned, or detained; nor that the goods of the ſaid Maſter generall, or of his ſucceſſors, or of any of them, ſhalbe laid hold on, arreſted, or detained. 4

Item it is couenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and ſubiects of the ſayde Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſors ſhall, contrary to the forme of the concord and graunt next aboue-written, chance to be moleſted or endamaged: that then the foreſaid ſoueraigne Lord the King and his ſucceſſors the kings of England are bound to make full ſatiſfaction for all ſuch loſſes as the ſubiects of the ſaid Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſours or any of them ſhall for that cauſe haue vniuſtly ſuſtained, vnto the parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foreſaid ſoueraigne Prince, or his ſucceſſours in the Realme of England, being conueniently requeſted by the letters of the ſaid Maſter generall or of his ſucceſſours, ſhall refuſe to doe, that then after the terme of ſixe moneths immediatly following the ſaid deniall or refuſall, it ſhalbe right lawfull for the Maſter generall that now is and for any of his ſucceſſors in time to come (hauing firſt made conuenient proofe that the foreſaid requeſt was by him or them exhibited) to arreſt ſo many goods of the foreſaid king his ſubiects found in the land of Pruſſia, as may ſuffice for the reaſonable ſatiſfaction and recompenſe of any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer vniuſtly moleſted in this behalfe; and alſo to detaine the ſaid goods vnder arreſtes, vntill condigne ſatiſfaction and amends be made vnto the party or parties moleſted. 5

Item by the commiſſioners and procuratours often aboue-named it is couenanted, promiſed, and graunted, that for all and ſingular the damages, moleſtations, and robberies by the foreſayde 6 ſoueraigne king his liege people & ſubiects howſoeuer before the date of theſe preſents committed and offred againſt the ſaid Maſter general or againſt any of his ſubiects whether Pruſſians or Liuonians, and againſt all others who at the time of the damages, grieuances & robberies aforeſaid were, or at this preſent are the ſubiects of the Maſter generall aforeſaid (except notwithſtanding certaine damages & grieuances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof alſo ſome prouiſoes ſhalbe had in the articles following, which damages were before yͤ date of theſe preſents by yͤ ſaid ſoueraigne king his liege people and ſubiects inflicted vpon certaine ſubiects of the foreſaid general Maſter, eſpecially them of Pruſſia which hereafter ſhalbe named) there are certaine ſummes of money due to be payed vnto the ſaid Maſter generall or vnto his ſucceſſors by the ſaid ſoueraigne Prince or his ſucceſſours for the full ſatiſfaction of the foreſaid damages, moleſtations and robberies inflicted vpon the Pruſſians and Liuonians, and the others aboue mentioned, euen as in the leters obligatorie of the ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king made in this behalfe, being giuen and deliuered vnto the ſaid Maſter generall his procuratours and meſſengers, it is declared more at large.

7 Item, it is couenanted, graunted and promiſed, that none of the liege people or ſubiects of the foreſaid ſoueraigne prince or of his heires ſhall, by reaſon or occaſion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforeſaid, by the ſayd Maſter generall or his ſucceſſours or by their authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in reſpect of the ſaid damages, grieuances and robberies aboue mentioned, hath beene moleſted or damnified, or by any of their procurements or inſtant ſuites, ſhalbe attached, arreſted, impriſoned or detained; nor that any goods of the ſubiects of the ſaid ſoueraigne king or his heires or any of them, ſhall bee attached, arreſted, or detained. Reſerued alwayes vnto the forenamed Maſter generall and his ſubiects all right and remedie any way requiſite or competent vnto them by meanes of the obligations aforeſaid.

8 Item it is couenanted and agreed that if any of the liege people or ſubiects of the ſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires and ſucceſſours ſhall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next aboue-written) chaunce to bee moleſted or endamaged; that then the ſaide Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours, for all loſſes and hinderances which the liege people and ſubiects the foreſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires or ſucceſſours, ſhall by that meanes haue vniuſtly ſuſtained, are bound to make full ſatiſfaction vnto the partie endamaged. Which if the Maſter generall aforeſaid or his ſucceſſours being conueniently requeſted by the letters of the ſayde ſoueraigne prince or of his heires, ſhall refuſe to doe; that then, after the ſpace of ſixe monethes next enſuing the time of the foreſayde requeſt, it may bee right lawfull for the forenamed ſoueraigne prince that nowe is, or that then for that time ſhall be (conuenient proofe being firſt brought, that the foreſayd requeſt had conueniently beene exhibited) to arreſt ſo many goods of the ſayde Maſter generall his ſubiects founde in the Realme of England, as may ſuffice for the reaſonable ſatiſfaction and amends of any perſon or perſons vniuſtly moleſted in this behalfe; and alſo to detaine the ſayde goods vnder ſafe cuſtodie, vntill condigne ſatiſfaction and amends be made vnto the partie or parties aggrieued.

9 Item it is couenanted, that beſides the ſummes due vnto the ſayde Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours in the behalfe of his ſubiects both of Pruſſia and of Liuonia (whereof mention is made in the former Articles) there are due to bee payed vnto the ſayde Maſter generall and his ſucceſſours, for ſundry other damages, grieuances, and robberies againſt himſelfe and diuers other of his ſubiects of Pruſsia, namely Matthewe Ludekenſſon, Arnold Aſſhen, Henri Culeman, Iohn Vnkeltop, Iohn Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerſtene of Elbing, done and committed by the ſayde ſoueraigne king his liege people and ſubiects vnder-written, euen before the date of theſe preſents, for the full ſatiſfaction of the ſayde damages, grieuances and robberies, certaine ſummes of nobles hereafter following. Namely Inprimis by Tutburie, and Teny of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due vnto yͤ foreſaid Matthew Ludekinſon. Item by Nicholas Scot of Caleis the ſonne of Tutbury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due vnto the foreſayd Arnold de Aſchen. Item by the inhabitants of Scardeburgh, Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one Iohn Iolly of Blakeney for their captaine) 156. nobles, which are due vnto Henrie Culeman aforeſayd. Item by the inhabitants of Bayon (Whoſe Capitaine was one Pideuille) 125. nobles which are due vnto the ſaid Iohn Vnkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of Plymmouth and Dertmouth (whoſe Captaines were Henry Pay, and William Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due vnto the foreſayde Iohn Halewater, in reſpect of his goods by them violently taken away. Item 334. nobles to be payed by the ſelfe ſame parties, being due vnto the ſayde Iohn Halewater by reaſon that they detained his ſhip from him three monethes and more, which ſhip was of the burthen of three hundreth tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foreſayde time fiue and fourtie ſeruants maintained at the expenſes of the ſayde Iohn Halewater. Item that Sir

A ſhip of the burthen of 300. Tonnes.

William de Ethingham knight, who was Vice-admirall for the ſea, muſt bee ſummoned to alleage a reaſonable cauſe (for that the ſayd Sir William with his ſeruants expelled the ſaid Iohn Halewater out of his ſhip for the ſpace of fifteene dayes together, and tooke of the goods and victuals of the ſaid Iohn to the ſumme of 114. nobles) why he ought not to pay the ſaid ſumme of 114. nobles vnto Iohn Halewater aforeſaid: which if hee ſhall not bee willing nor able to alleage before the firſt of April next enſuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee muſt be compelled to pay vnto the foreſaid Iohn the ſaid 114 nobles. Item by the inhabitants of Caleis (whoſe captaines were Michael Scot, Biſhop, and William Horneby) 1900. nobles, which are due vnto the foreſayde Eggard Scoff, becauſe the ſaide ſoueraigne king hath giuen them in charge by the ſaid Michael Scot and the reſt concerning the payment of the ſumme aforeſaid. Item by Iohn Bilis neere vnto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due vnto Nicholas Wolmerſten of Elbing. Which ſummes of nobles muſt by the kings authoritie bee leuied at the hands of his ſubiects aboue-mentioned, betweene the time that nowe is and the feaſt of the Purification of the bleſſed virgine which ſhall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee deliuered and payed vnto the ſayd Maſter generall or his lawfull procurator, or vnto his ſucceſſours or their lawfull procuratours, at the Citie of London, vpon the feaſt aforeſaid.

Item it is couenanted that beſides the ſummes ſpecified in the foreſayde letters obligatorie made in the behalfe of the ſaid ſoueraigne prince, there are due to be paied vnto one Iohn Marion of Werſingham lately deceaſed being in his life-time the liege ſubiect of the foreſaid ſoueraigne prince 200. nobles of Engliſh money in regard of certaine iniuries and robberies done and committed before the date of theſe preſents againſt the foreſayde Iohn, by one Eghard Scoff ſubiect vnto the ſaid Maſter generall, for the full ſatiſfaction of the ſaide damages and robberies to bee made vnto the ſaid deceaſed Iohn, his wife, children, heires or executors by the ſaid Egghard, his heires, or by the adminiſtrators of his goods at the time and place aboue-mentioned.

Item it is couenanted, confirmed, and promiſed, that for all the iniuries and robberies done and 10 committed againſt one Iohn Dordewant of Elbing, being in his life time ſubiect vnto the ſayd Maſter generall, by the liege people and ſubiects of the ſaid ſoueraigne king the inhabitants of Scardeburgh before the date of theſe preſents; for the full recompenſe of all ſuch iniuries and robberies, there muſt bee payed vnto one Iohn Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of Engliſh money, vpon the feaſt of Eaſter next following in the Citie of London by them of Scardeburgh being guiltie and culpable in this behalfe; who are by definitiue ſentence condemned vnto the ſaid Iohn in the ſumme of 800. nobles by reaſon of the iniuries and robberies aforeſaid. Except the lawfull expenſes in this behalfe layed out: they are alſo taxed in due time for the iſſue. And therefore the foreſayde condemned parties (whoſe names are in the ſentence againſt them pronounced in this behalfe, more expreſly contained) muſt in the meane ſeaſon by the kings authoritie be compelled and conſtrained really and actually to obey the foreſaid ſentence, namely by deliuering and paying vnto Iohn Gruk the ſumme of 800. nobles at the time and place aboue mentioned, with reaſonable expences, wherein alſo the ſaid parties ſtand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reſerued.

Item it is couenanted and granted, that the heires of Lord Henrie de Percy the yonger after they ſhall come vnto lawfull age, and ſhall haue attained vnto the poſſeſſions and goods of their inheritance, muſt be compelled by the kings authoritie (iuſtice going before) to make ſatifaction vnto the great procurator of Marienburgh with the ſumme of 838. nobles in lieu of certaine corne and graine which the foreſaid Lord Henrie, in the yeere 1403, bought and receiued of the ſaid great procuratour, for the vſe of the caſtle of Zutberwik. In teſtimonie and confirmation of all the which premiſſes, the ſaid Tedericus, Lefardus, and Iohn Crolow, of their certaine knowledges haue put their ſeales vnto theſe preſent letters indented, in the preſence of the aboue-named Richard Merlow, Iohn Kington, and William Askam, commiſſioners for the behalfe of England. Giuen at the Citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

‖ 1404.

Carta Henrici quarti Anno ‖ quinto regni ſui conceſſa mercatoribus *Angliæ in partibus Pruſsiæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Swethiæ, & Ger*maniæ, de gubernatore inter ipſos ibidem conſtituendo.

HEnricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ omnibus, ad quos præſentes literæ peruenerint, ſalutem. Sciatis quod cum, vt accepimus, ob defectum boni & ſani regiminis & gubernationis, diuerſa damna, diſſenſiones, grauamina, & anguſtiæ inter mercatores Regni noſtri Angliæ, in partibus Pruciæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Hanſæ, & Swethiæ commorantes, ſæpius ante hæc tempora mota fuiſſent & perpetrata, ac maiora exinde, quod abſit, futuris temporibus veriſimiliter euenire formidantur, niſi pro meliori gubernatione inter eoſdem mercatores mutuò habenda manus noſtras adiutrices apponamus: Nos damnis & periculis in hac parte imminentibus præcauere, & eoſdem Mercatores & alios de dicto regno noſtro ad partes prædictas venturos iuſte & fideliter regi & pertractari intime deſiderantes, volumus & tenore præſentium concedimus eiſdem mercatoribus, quod ipſi quoties & quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honeſto, vbi ſibi placuerit, ſe congregare & vnire, & certas perſonas ſufficientes & idoneas in gubernatores ſuos in eiſdem pattibus inter ſe ad eorum libitum eligere & obtinere valeant libere & impune: Dantes vlterius & concedentes huiuſmodi gubernatoribus per prædictos Mercatores ſic eligendis, quantum in nobis eſt, poteſtatem & authoritatem ſpeciales, omnes & ſingulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes prædictas de cætero venientes & declinantes per ſe vel ſufficientes loca ſua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum cuilibet in ſuis cauſis & querelis quibuſcunque inter eos in partibus prædictis motis vel mouendis plenam & celerem iuſticiam faciendi & quaſcunque quæſtiones, contentiones, diſcordias, & debatas inter ipſos mercatores Anglicos partium prædictarum motas ſeu mouendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, redigendi, ſedandi, & pacificandi, & quaſcunque tranſgreſſiones, damna, meſpriſiones, exceſſus, violencias, & iniurias mercatoribus partium prædictarum per prædictos mercatores Anglicos factas ſeu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, reſtaurandi, & emendandi, conſimileſque reſtitutiones, reparationes, reſtaurationes & emendationes de ipſis mercatoribus partium prædictarum ſeu deputatis ſuis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi aſſenſu mercatorum Anglicorum prædictorum ſtatuta, ordinationes, & conſuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione ſtatus eorundem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire, faciendi & ſtabiliendi, & omnes & ſingulos mercatores Anglicos præfatis gubernatoribus ſic eligendis vel eorum loca tenentibus ſeu eorum alicui, aut alicui ſtatutorum, ordinationum, & conſuetudinum prædictarum contrarios, rebelles, vel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti ſui in hac parte rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes inſuper omnia iuſta & rationabilia ſtatuta, ordinationes & conſuetudines per dictos gubernatores ſic eligendos in forma prædicta facienda & ſtabilienda, nec non omnes iuſtas & rationabiles ordinationes per ‖ nuper gubernatores prædictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi aſſenſu eorundem mercatorum pro huiuſmodi gubernatione ſua in partibus prædictis iuxta priuilegia & authoritates ſibi per magiſtrum Pruciæ ſeu alios dominos partium prædictarum conceſſa, factas & ſtabilitas, ſeu per prædictos gubernatores nunc vt præmittitur eligendos iuxta priuilegia prædicta, ſeu alia priuilegia eiſdem mercatoribus Anglicis per prædictos magiſtrum & dominos in poſterum concedenda, facienda & ſtabilienda, rata, firma & accepta haberi, & pro ratis, firmis, & acceptis ibidem firmiter & inuiolabiliter obſeruari. Damus autem vniuerſis & ſingulis mercatoribus Anglicis prædictis tenore præſentium firmiter in mandatis, quod eiſdem gubernatoribus ſic eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis ac alijs gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus intendentes ſint, conſulentes, obedientes & auxiliantes, prout decet. Data in palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterij ſub magni ſigilli noſtri teſtimonio ſexto die Iunij Anno regni noſtri quinto.

‖ Nota.

A Charter of King *Henry* the fourth graunted in the fift yeere *of his reigne to the Engliſh Marchants reſident in the partes of Pruſsia,* Denmarke, Norway, Sweden and Germanie for the chuſing of Gouernours among themſelues.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland: to all to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, ſendeth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good and diſcreete rule and gouernement, ſundry damages, ſtrifes, oppreſſions, and wrongs oftentimes heretofore haue bene moued and committed among the Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Pruſsia, Denmarke, Norway, the Hans ſteeds, and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, vnleſſe we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better gouernement to be maintained among the ſaid Marchants: wee heartily deſiring to preuent the perrils and dangers which are like to fall out in this caſe, and that the ſayde Marchants and others which ſhall trauaile out of our ſaid Realme into the partes aforeſaid may iuſtly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of theſe preſents to the ſaid Marchants, that they may freely and without danger aſſemble and meete together as often and whenſoeuer they pleaſe in ſome conuenient and honeſt place where they ſhall thinke good, and that they may chooſe among themſelues certaine ſufficient and fit perſons for their gouernours in thoſe parts at their good liking. And furthermore we giue and graunt to the ſaid Gouernours which are in ſuch ſort to be choſen by the aforeſaid Marchants, as much as in vs lieth, ſpeciall power and authoritie to rule and gouerne all and ſingular the Engliſh Marchants which hereafter ſhall come or repayre to the parts aforeſaid by themſelues or their ſufficient Deputies, and to miniſter vnto them and euery of them in their cauſes and quarels whatſoeuer, which are ſprung vp or ſhall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforeſaid full and ſpeedie iuſtice, and to reforme all maner of queſtions, contentious diſcords, and debates moued or to be moued betweene the Engliſh Marchants remayning in thoſe parts, and to ſeeke reformation, to redreſſe, appeaſe, and compound the ſame. And further to redreſſe, reſtore, repayre and ſatiſfie all tranſgreſſions, damages, miſpriſions, outrages, violences, and iniuries done or to be done by the aforeſaid Engliſh Marchants againſt the Marchants of thoſe parts: And to require, demaund and receiue the like reſtitutions, reparations, ſatiſfactions and amends of the Marchants of thoſe parts or of their deputies. And by the common conſent of the aforeſaid Engliſh Marchants to make and eſtabliſh ſtatutes, ordinances, and cuſtomes, as ſhall ſeeme expedient in that behalfe for the better gouernement of the ſtate of the ſaid Engliſh Marchants: and to puniſh with reaſon according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and ſingular the Engliſh Marchants which ſhall withſtand, reſiſt or diſobey the aforeſaid gouernours ſo to be choſen or their deputies, or any of them; or any of the aforeſaid ſtatutes, ordinances, or cuſtomes. Moreouer we doe ratifie, confirme, and approoue, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoued, wee command firmely and inuiolably there to be obſerued all iuſt, and reaſonable ſtatutes, ordinances, and cuſtomes which ſhalbe made and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid gouernors, ſo to be choſen, in forme aforeſaid, and alſo all iuſt and reaſonable ordinances made & eſtabliſhed by the late gouernours of the aforeſaid Engliſh Marchants with the common conſent of the ſayd Marchants for this their gouernement in the parts aforeſayd, according to the priuileges and authorities now granted vnto them by the Maſter of Pruſsia, or other Lords of the partes aforeſayd, or which ſhall be made and eſtabliſhed by the aforeſayd gouernours now as is mentioned to be choſen according to the aforeſaid priuileges heretofore graunted, or other priuileges hereafter to bee granted to the ſayde Engliſh Marchants by the aforeſayde Maſter and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of theſe preſents wee ſtraitely commaund all and ſingular the aforeſaid Engliſh Marchants, that they attend, aduiſe, obey and aſſiſt, as it becommeth them, the ſayde gouernours ſo to bee choſen, and their deputies in all and ſingular the premiſſes, and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and gouernement. Giuen in our Palace at Weſtminſter vnder the teſtimonie of our great Seale the ſixt day of Iune in the fift yeere of our reigne.

A note touching the mighty ſhips of *King Henry* the fift, *mentioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the Sea, taken out of a Chronicle* in the Trinitie Church of Wincheſter.

EOdem Anno quo victoria potitus eſt videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni ſui Anno tertio, poſt bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis Nauibus recuperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Angliæ miſit fratrem ſuum Iohannem Ducem Bedfordiæ & Andegauiæ

degauiæ, qui pugnauit cum eis & vicit, & Naues cepit, & quaſdam ſubmerſit: cæteri fugerunt cum Hiſpanis nauibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratiæ 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum deuicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege compoſuerunt, & propter eorum naues fecit Rex fieri naues quales non erant in mundo. De his ſic conductis a Francis ita metricè ſcribitur.

Naues maximæ Henrici quinti.

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus aruo
Gallos, Hiſpanos, Ianos, deuicit, & Vrget,
Vaſtat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Nauali bello bis deuicti quoque Iani.

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of *Henry* the *ſixt, for the trade to Norwey, Sweueland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.*

ITem becauſe that the kings moſt deare Uncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway & Sweueland, as the ſame our ſoueraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath vnderſtood, conſidering the manifold & great loſſes, perils, hurts and damage which haue late happened aſwell to him and his, as to other forraines and ſtrangers, and alſo friends and ſpeciall ſubiects of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king of his Realme of England, by yͤ going in, entring & paſſage of ſuch forrain & ſtrange perſons into his realme of Norwey & other dominions, ſtreits, territories, iuriſdictions & places ſubdued and ſubiect to him, ſpecially into his Iles of Fynmarke, and elſwhere, aſwell in their perſons as their things and goods: for eſchuing of ſuch loſſes, perils, hurts & damages, and that ſuch like (which God forbid) ſhould not hereafter happen: our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and ſtatuted, that all and ſingular ſtrangers, aſwell Engliſhmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his Realme of Norwey and other dominions, ſtreits, territories, iuriſdictions, Iles & places aforeſaid with their ſhips, to the intent to get or haue fiſh or any other Marchandiſes, or goods, ſhall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the ſaid king of Denmarke hath ſpecially ordained and ſtabliſhed his ſtaple for the concourſes of ſtrangers and ſpecially of Engliſhmen, to the exerciſe of ſuch Marchandiſes: granting to the ſaid Engliſhmen that they ſhall there inioy in and by all things the ſame fauour, priuileges and prerogatiues which they of the Hans did enioy. Therefore our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, affinitie and amities to be firmely obſerued, which betwixt his ſaid Uncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, ſtreites, territories, iuriſdictions and their ſaid places, and the ſame our ſoueraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, ſubiects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued, nor nothing by our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done whereby ſuch amities by reaſon of any diſſenſions, enemities or diſcords might be broken: by the aduiſe of the Lords ſpirituall & temporall & of the cõmons of his ſaid Realme of England, aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor ſubiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie preſume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, ſtraits, territories, iuriſdictions & places of the ſaid king of Denmarke againſt yͤ ordinance, prohibition & interdictiõ of yͤ ſame his Uncle aboue remembred, & in contempt of the ſame, vpõ paine of forfeiture of all their moueable goods & impriſonment of their perſons at the kings will.

Another branch of a ſtatute made in the tenth yeere of the *reigne of Henry the ſixt concerning the ſtate of the Engliſh Marchants in the* dominions of the king of Denmarke.

ITem becauſe that our ſoueraigne Lord the king at the grieuous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed, that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impoueriſhed, vndone, & in point to be deſtroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our ſoueraigne Lord, becauſe that they do daily take of his ſaid faithful ſubiects their goods, ſo that they haue taken of marchants of York and Kingſton vpon Hul goods & marchandiſes to the valour of v.M.li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of yͤ Realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx.M.li. wherof they haue no remedie of the ſaid king of Denmarke, nor of none other, foraſmuch as none of them cõmeth within the Realme of England, nor nothing haue in the ſame Realme of England, & that yͤ goods be taken out of the ſame Realme: The king willing to prouide remedy for his ſaid liege people, hath ordeined & eſtabliſhed, that if yͤ goods of any of yͤ ſaid his lieges be or ſhalbe taken by the ſaid king of Denmarke or any of his ſaid lieges, the keeper of the priuie ſeale for yͤ time being, ſhall haue power to make to yͤ partie grieued letters of requeſt vnder the priuie ſeale, wͭout any other purſuite to be made to any for reſtitution to be had of yͤ goods ſo taken & to be taken. And if reſtitution be not made by ſuch letters, the king our ſoueraigne lord by the aduiſe of his counſel ſhal prouide to the partie grieued his couenable remedy, according as ẏ caſe requireth.

Here beginneth the Prologue of the proceſſe of the Libel of *Engliſh policie, exhorting all England to keepe the ſea, and namely the narrowe* ſea: ſhewing what profite commeth thereof, and alſo what worſhip and ſaluation to *England*, and to all Engliſh-men.

Incipit liber de cuſtodia Maris præſertim arcti inter Doueram & Caliſiam.

The true proceſſe of Engliſh policie
Of vtterward to keepe this regne in
Of our England, that no man may deny,
Ner ſay of ſooth but it is one of the beſt,
Is this, that who ſeeth South, North, Eaſt and Weſt,
Cheriſh Marchandiſe, keepe the admiraltie;
That we bee Maſters of the narrowe ſee.

Sigiſmond died 1438. He was here 1416. Videns imperator Sigiſmundus duas villas inter cæteras Anglię ſcilicet Caliſiam & Douercam, ponens ſuos duos digitos ſuper duos ſuos oculos, ait regi: Frater, cuſtodite iſtas duas villas ſicut duos veſtros oculos.

For Sigiſmond the great Emperour,
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land
With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour,
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mightie land which had take in hand
To werre in France, and make mortalitie,
And euer well kept round about the ſee.

And to the king thus hee ſayd: My brother,
(When hee perceiued two Townes Caleis and Douer)
Of all your Townes to chuſe of one and other,
To keepe the ſea and ſoone to come ouer
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:
Keepe theſe two Townes ſure, and your Maieſtee
As your tweyne eyne: ſo keepe the narrowe ſee.

For if this ſea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere paſſe without danger and woe?
Who may eſcape, who may miſchiefe differre?
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe?
For needs hem muſt take trewes euery foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, truſt to mee,
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow ſee.

The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18. Quatuor conſiderantur in moneta autea Anglica, quæ dicitur Nobile: ſcilicet Rex, Nauis, gladius, & Mare: Quæ deſignant poteſtatem Anglicorum ſuper Mare. In quorum opprobtium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenſes & alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de veſtro Nobile nauem & imponite ouem. Intendentes, quod ſicut quondam á tempore Edwardi tertij Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus ſunt vecordes, victi, & ad bellandum & Mare obſeruandum velut oues.

Therefore I caſt mee by a little writing
To ſhewe at eye this concluſion,
For conſcience and for mine acquiting
Againſt God and ageyne abuſion,
And cowardiſe, and to our enemies confuſion.
For foure things our Noble ſheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the ſee.

Where ben our ſhips, where ben our ſwerds become?
Our enemies bed for the ſhip ſet a ſheepe.
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.
Who dare well ſay that lordſhip ſhould take keepe?
I will aſſay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke. if wee will euer thee,
For very ſhame to keepe about the ſee.

Shall any Prince, what ſo be his name,
Which hath Nobles moch leche ours,
Bee Lord of ſee: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop vs, take vs, and ſo make fade the flowers
Of Engliſh ſtate, and diſteyne our honours?
For cowardiſe alas it ſhould ſo bee.
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the ſee.

Of the commodities of *Spaine* and of *Flanders.* *The firſt Chapter.*

Figges, Raiſins, Wine Baſtard, Dates, Lycoras, Ciuil Oyle, Graynes, White Paſtel Sope, Ware, Iron, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell, Saffron, Quickeſiluer.

KNowe well all men that profits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandie, who ſo will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raiſins, wine Baſtard, and Datis,
And Licoris, Siuill oyle, and graine,
White Paſtill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell alſo:
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyn:
Saffron, Quickeſiluer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders ſhipped full craftily,
Unto Bruges as to her ſtaple fayre:
The Hauen of Scluſe hir Hauen for her repayre
Wich is cleped Swyn tho ſhippes giding:
Where many veſſels and fayre are abiding.
But theſe Marchandes with their ſhippes great,
And ſuch chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes muſt nede take on hand
By the coaſts to paſſe of our England,
Betwixt Douer and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els ſuch matter bring about:

And when theſe ſayd Marchants diſcharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the ſee,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike, fine cloth of all colours,
Much Fuſtian, and alſo Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,

Flemiſh cloth made of Engliſh Wooll.

The great ſubſtance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our Engliſh woll.

Then may it not ſinke in mannis brayne,
But that it muſt this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our coſtes paſſe:
Hee that ſayd nay in witte was like an aſſe.
Wee ſhould haue peace with the grounds tweyne
Thus if this ſee were kept, I dare well ſayne.

The neceſſarie coniunction of Spaine and Flanders.

For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And nether may well liue without other:
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,
Without our Engliſh commodities:

Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England
Suſteineth the Commons Flemings I vnderſtand.
Then if England would her wolle reſtraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede muſt with vs haue peace,
Or els ſhee is deſtroyed without lees.
Alſo if Flanders thus deſtroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer ythee:
For deſtroyed it is, and as in cheeſſe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeſſe,
But if it be coſted and menged well
Amongſt the Engliſh wolle the greter delle.
For Spaniſh wooll in Flaunders draped is,
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:

And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
That longeth to Spaine: who ſo will eſpie,
It is of little value, truſt vnto mee,
With Engliſh wooll but if it menged bee.
Thus if the ſea be kept, than herken hether,
If theſe two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleete of Flanders paſſe nought
That in the narrowe ſee it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the fumoſe wine,
Ner into Bytonuſe Bay for ſalt ſo fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders alſo?
As who ſayd, nought, the thrift is agoe.
For the little land of Flanders is
But a ſtaple to other lands ywis:
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and ſeede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe or loth,
But a little Mader and Flemiſh Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in ſubſtance
Liuen her commons, this is her gouernance,
Without wich they may not liue at eaſe.
Thus muſt hem ſterue, or with vs muſt haue peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal.

The ſecond Chapter.

The Marchandy alſo of Portugal
By diuers lands turne into ſale.
Portugalers with vs haue trouth in hand:
Whoſe Marchandy commeth much into England.
They ben our friends, with their commodities,
And wee Engliſh paſſen into their countrees.
Her land hath wine, Oſey, Ware, and Graine, — Wine, Oſey, Ware, Graine, Figs, Reiſens, Hony, Corde-weyne, Dates, Salt, Hides.
Figges, Reyſins, Hony and Cordoweyne:
Dates, and Salt, Hides, and ſuch Marchandy:
And if they would to Flanders paſſe for by,
They ſhould not bee ſuffred ones ner twyes,
For ſupporting of our cruell enemies,
That is to ſay Flemings with her gyle:
For changeable they are in little while. — Note well.
Then I conclude by reaſons many moe,
If we ſuffred neither friend nor foe,
What ſo enemies, and ſo ſupporting
Paſſe for by vs in time of werring,
Seth our friends will not ben in cauſe
Of our hindring, if reſon lede this clauſe:
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to vs ſought,
And other lands ſhould ſeeke peace, dout nought:
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
To all nations of Chriſtianitie.

The commodities of pety Britaine, with her Rouers on the ſea.

The third Chapter.

Furthermore to write I am faine
Somewhat ſpeaking of the little Britayne.
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,

Salt, and wine, creſt cloth and canuas.
And the land of Flaunders ſickerly
Is the ſtaple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not paſſe away
But by the coaſt of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who ſo trueth louis,

The Britons great Rouers and Theeues.

Are the greateſt rouers and the greateſt theeuis,
That haue bene in the ſea many one yeere:
That our Marchants haue bought full dere.
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,
On this ſide ſee, theſe falſe pelours
Called of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:
Wich to their Duke none obeyſance will bere:
With ſuch colours wee haue bee hindred ſore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they haue bene in diuers coaſts many
Of our England, more then rehearſe can I:
In Norfolke coaſtes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and ſlaine by many a rowte:
And they haue alſo ranſomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of boſt haue run her ſowne:
Wich hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and ſhame:
They that the ſea ſhould keepe are much to blame.
For Britayne is of eaſie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A ſtorie of Edward the third his ordinance *for Britayne.*

Hiſtoria oſtendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra deprædatores marinos Britanniæ minoris, ad debellandum eos & ſubiugandum Britannos minores.

HEre bring I in a ſtorie to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke vnto mee well written in a ſcrowe:
That I haue commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone.
But when noble King Edward the third
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner geloſie
To his Marchants and loued them hartily.
He feld the weyes to rule well the ſee,
Whereby Marchants might haue proſperitee.
That for Harflew Houndflew did he maken;
And great werre that time were vndertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At laſt to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Vpon the wich made with conuencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went foorth boldly:
But ſoone anon our Marchants were ytake,
And wee ſpedde neuer the better for truce ſake.
They loſt her good, her nauy and ſpending:
But their complaint came vnto the king.
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he ſent,
And complained that ſuch harme was hent;
By conuention and peace made ſo refuſed:
Wich Duke ſent againe, and him excuſed,
Rehearſing that the mount of Saincte Michael,

And Sainct Malo would neuer a dell
Be ſubiect vnto his gouernance,
Nor be vnder his obeyſance:
And ſo they did withouten him that deede.
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte ſet a iudgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long aduiſe
To fortifie anon he did deuiſe
Of Engliſh Townes three, that is to ſay,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gaue hem helpe and notable puiſance
With inſiſtence ſet them in gouernance
Vpon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Thoſe good ſea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke priſoners, and made them for to lowte.
And eſte the Duke, an enſample wiſe,
Wrote to the king as he firſt did deuiſe,
Him excuſing: But our men wood
With great power paſſed ouer the floode
And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,
And had ny deſtroyed free and bond.
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three
Should haue loſt all his natiue Countrie,
He vndertooke by ſuretie true not falſe,
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als,
And other parties of the litle Brytaine,
Which to obey, as ſayd was, were not fayne.
The Duke hymſelfe for all did vndertake:
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:
So that in all the life time of the king,
Marchants had peace withouten werring:

Statutum Regis Edwardi tertij pro Lombardis.

He made a ſtatute for Lombards in this land,
That they ſhould in noe wiſe take on hande
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and diſchardge
But fortie dayes, no more time had they large.
This good king by witte of ſuch appreiſſe
Kept his Marchants and the ſea from miſchiefe.

Of the commodities of *Scotland* and draping *of her wolles in* Flanders. *The fourth Chapiter.*

MOreouer of Scotland the commodities
Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleeſe.
And all theſe muſt paſſe by vs away
Into Flanders by England, ſooth to ſay.
And all her woolle was draped for to ſell
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell:
Which my Lord of Gloceſter with ire
For her falſhed ſet vpon a fire.
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
Could neuer drape her wooll for any thing,
But if they had Engliſh wooll withall.
Our goodly wooll which is ſo generall
Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
And other coſtes, this ſentence is not falſe:
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it vpon you,

Anno Domini 1436. Hen.6.14.

I haue this learned ye wot well where and howe:
Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flaunders ſekerly.
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Haberdaſhers Ware,
And halfe her ſhippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in ſubſtance:
Thus moſt rude ware are in her cheueſance.
So they may not forbeare this Flemiſh land.
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,
Wee ſhould right ſoone haue peace for all her boſts,
For they muſt needes paſſe by our Engliſh coſts.

Of the commodities of *Pruce*, and *High Dutch men*, and *Eaſterlings*. The fifth Chapitle.

NOwe goe foorth to the commodities,
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
For two maner people haue ſuch vſe,
That is to ſay, High Duch men of Pruſe,
And Eſterlings, which might not be forborne,
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.
For they bring in the ſubſtance of the Beere,
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.
Yee haue heard that two Flemings togider
Will vndertake or they goe any whither,
Or they riſe once to drinke a Ferkin full,
Of good Beerekin: ſo ſore they hall and pull,
Vnder the board they piſſen as they ſit:
This commeth of couenant of a worthie wit.
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
When they fled home, and when they leyſure lacked
To holde their ſiege, they went like as a Doe:
Well was that Fleming that might truſſe, and goe.
For feare they turned backe and hyed faſt,
My Lord of Glo'ceſter made hem ſo agaſt
With his comming, and ſought hem in her land,
And brent and ſlowe as he had take on hand:
So that our enemies durſt not bide, nor ſtere,
They fled to mewe, they durſt no more appeare,
Rebuked ſore for euer ſo ſhamefully,
Vnto her vtter euerlaſting villanie.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruſe ybrought
Into Flanders, as loued and farre yſought;
Oſmond, Copper, Bow-ſtaues, Steele, and Wexe,
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe:
And Colleyne threed, Fuſtian and Canuas,
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.
But the Flemings among theſe things dere,
In common louen beſt Bakon and Beere.
Alſo Pruſe men maken her aduenture
Of Plate of ſiluer of wedges good and ſure
In great plentie which they bring and bye,
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:
Which is increaſe full great vnto their land,
And they bene laden, I vnderſtand,

Pitch, Tarre, Board, Flexe, Collein threed, Fuſtian, Canuas, Cardes, Bokeram, Siluer-plate, Wedges of Siluer and Mettall.

With wollen cloth all maner of colours
By dyers crafted full diuers, that ben ours.
And they aduenture full greatly vnto the Bay,
For ſalt that is needefull withouten nay.
Thus if they would not our friends bee,
We might lightly ſtoppe hem in the ſee:
They ſhould not paſſe our ſtreemes withouten leue,
It would not be, but if we ſhould hem greue.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. *Chap. 6.*

The Genuois comen in ſundry wiſes
Into this land with diuers marchandiſes
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, ſilke, and pepper blacke
They bring with them, and of ſcrood great plentee,
Woll Oyle, Woad aſhen, by veſſel in the ſee, Oil, Woad.
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I weinne,
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they aduenture, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with ſuch things as they bye,
That is their chefe ſtaple ſekerly:
And if they would be our full enemies,
They ſhould not paſſe our ſtremes with marchandiſe.

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their Gallees. *Chap. 7.*

The great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All ſpicery and of groſſers ware:
With ſweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and Iapes, and marmuſets tayled,
Nifles and trifles that little haue auayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that we bye.
For much of this chaffare that is waſtable
Might be forborne for dere and deceiuable.
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are ſuch commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practiſe both yfound:
That all humors might be voyded ſure,
Which that we gleder with our Engliſh cure:
That we ſhould haue no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al ſo ſpeedefull,
That growen here, as thoſe things ſayd.
Let of this matter no man be diſmayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the ſea.
And yef they ſhould except be any thing
It were but ſugre, truſt to my ſaying:
He that truſteth not to my ſaying and ſentence,
Let him better ſearch experience.
In this matter I will not ferther preaſe,
Who ſo not beleeueth, let him leaue and ceaſe.

Thus theſe galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence our beſt chaffare:
Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I ſayd before,
Out of this lond worſt might be forbore,
For ech other land of neceſſitie
Haue great neede to buy ſome of them three:
And we receiue of hem into this coſte
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loſte.
And would Ieſus, that our Lordis wold
Conſider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that haue experience,
That might the yong exhorte to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to vs, vnto our great grieuance;
Of ſuch lands, and of ſuch nations:
As experte men know by probations,
By writings as diſcouered our counſailes;
And falſe colour alwaies, the countertailes
Of our enimies; that doth vs hindering
Vnto our goods, our Relme, and to the king:
As wiſe men haue ſhewed well at eye;
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example of deceite.

ALſo they bere the gold out of this land,
And ſucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waſpe ſouketh honie fro the bee,
So miniſheth our commoditee.
Now wol ye here how they in Cotteſwold
Were wont to borrow or they ſhold be ſold
Her woll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in likemanere:
And in her galies ſhip this marchandie:
Then ſoone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then vtterne there the chaffare by the peiſe,
And lightly als there they make her reiſe.
And when the goods beene at Venice ſold,
Then to carie her change they this money haue,
They will it profer, their ſubtiltie to ſaue,
To Engliſh marchants to yeue it out by eſchange
To be payed againe they make not ſtrange,
At the receiuing and ſight of a letter,
Here in England, ſeeming for the better,
by foure pence leſſe in the noble round:
That is twelue pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol haue of payment
A full moneth, than muſt him needes aſſent
To eight pence loſſe, that is ſhillings twaine
In the Engliſh pound; as eft ſoone againe,
For two moneths twelue pence muſt he pay.
In the Engliſh pound what is that to ſay,
But ſhillings three: So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when Engliſh marchants haue content
This eſchange in England of aſſent,
That theſe ſayd Venecians haue in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold ſoone
Ouer the ſee into Flanders againe:
And thus they liue in Flanders, ſooth to ſaine,
And in London with ſuch cheuiſance,
That men call vſury, to our loſſe and hinderance.

Another

Another example of deceite.

NOw leſten well how they made vs a valeys
When they borrowed at the town of Caleis
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
For yere and yere they ſhould make payment.
And ſometime als two yere and two yeare.
Or, loue.
This was fayre ‖ loue: but yet will ye heare,
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
And ſell it faſt for ready money in hand.
For fifty pounds of money of loſſe they wold not wond
In a thouſand pound, and liue thereby
Till the day of payment eaſily,
Come againe in exchange: making
Full like vſury, as men make vndertaking.
Than whan this payment of a thouſand pound
Was well content, they ſhould haue chaffare ſound
If they wold fro the Staple full,
Receiue againe three thouſand pound in woll.
In Cotteſwold alſo they ride about,
And all England, and buy withouten doubte
What them liſt with freedome and franchiſe,
More then we Engliſh may gitten many wiſe.
But would God that without lenger delayes
Theſe galees were vnfraught in fortie dayes,
And in fortie dayes charged againe,
And that they might be put to certaine
To goe to oſte, as we there with hem doe.
It were expedient that they did right ſoe,
As we doe there. If the king would it:
Ah what worſhip wold fall to Engliſh wit:
What profite alſo to our marchandie
Which wold of nede be cheriſhed hertlie:
Note diligẽtly
For I would witte, why now our nauie fayleth,
When manie a foe vs at our doore aſſayleth.
Now in theſe dayes, that if there come a nede,
A woful complaint of lacke of nauie if need come.
What nauie ſhould we haue it is to drede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time paſt, full worthy warriours:
Which when they had their marchants deſtroyed,
A ſtorie of deſtruction of Denmarke for deſtruction of their marchants.
To pouerty they fell, thus were they noyed:
And ſo they ſtand at miſchiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cheriſhed to her ſpeede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.
If they be rich, then in proſperitee
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,
And in worſhip. Now thinke I on the ſonne
The prayſe of Richard of Whitingdon marchant.
Of marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;
That load ſterre, and chiefe choſen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet laſteth dayly in worthines:
That pen and paper may not me ſuffice
Him to deſcribe: ſo high he was of price

Aboue marchants, that ſet him one of the beſt:
I can no more, but God haue him in reſt.

Now the principal matter.

What reaſon is it that we ſhould goe to oſte
In their countries, & in this Engliſh coſte
They ſhould not ſo: but haue more liberty
Then we our ſelues now alſo motte I thee.
I would to gifts men ſhould take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to ſpeede.
For this we ſee well euery day at eye,
Gifts and feſts ſtopen our policie.
Now ſee that fooles ben either they or wee:
But euer we haue the worſe in this countree.
Therefore let hem vnto oſte go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them vnto oſte, and yee ſhall ſee
Moch auantage, and moch profite ariſe,
Moch more then I can write in any wiſe.

Of our charge and diſcharge at her marts.

Conceiue wel here, that Engliſhmen at martes
be diſcharged, for all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine haſtily
In the ſame dayes fourteene acharged eft.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they ſhould forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it ſhould no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene
With Engliſh cloth full good and fayre to ſeene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdaſher ware, and with groſſerie:
To which marts, that Engliſh men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:
Engliſh, and French, Lombards, Iennoyes,
Catalones, theder they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Iriſhmen there abides,
With great plenty bringing of ſale hides.
And I here ſay that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common vſe then done all other nations:
This haue I heard of marchants relations:
And if the Engliſh ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they bye more, and fro purſe put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.
Kept then the ſee, ſhippes ſhould not bring ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thider ſtretch:
And ſo thoſe marts wold full euill thee,
If we manly kept about the ſee.

Of the commodities of *Brabant* and *Zeland* and *Henauld* and marchandy carried by land to the martes. Cap. 8.

Yet marchandy of Brabant and Zeland
Mader, Woad The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand

To

Garlicke, Onions, ſaltfiſh.

To dyen with, Garlike and Onions,
And ſaltfiſhe als for huſband and commons.
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our felles,
And wolles our, that Engliſhmen hem ſelles.
And the chaffare that Engliſhmen doe byen
In the marts, that noe man may denien,
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by ſee,
But al by land, by carts, and from France,
Bourgoyne, Colein, Cameret in ſubſtance,
Therefore at marts if there be a reſtraint,
Men ſeyne plainely that liſt no fables paynt,
If Engliſhmen be withdrawen away,
Is great rebuke and loſſe to her affray:
As though we ſent into the land of France
Ten thouſand people, men of good puiſſance,
To werre vnto her hindring multifarie,
So ben our Engliſh marchants neceſſarie.
If it be thus aſſay, and we ſhall witten
Of men experte, by whom I haue this written.
For ſayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,
As all the goods that come in ſhippes thider,
Which Engliſhmen bye moſt and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, ſhame to ſay,
But Engliſhmen thider dreſſe her way.

What our marchants bye in that coſte more then all other.

A concluſion of this depending of keeping of the ſea.

Than I conclude, if neuer ſo much by land
Were by carres brought vnto their hand,
If well the ſea were kept in gouernance
They ſhould by ſea haue no deliuerance.
Wee ſhould hem ſtop, and we ſhould hem deſtroy,
As priſoners we ſhould hem bring to annoy.
And ſo we ſhould of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
If they were not ſuffered for to paſſe
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glaſſe
And alſo brittle, not thought neuer abiding;
But when grace ſhineth ſoone are we ſliding;
We will it not receiue in any wiſe:
That maken luſt, enuie, and couetiſe:
Expone me this; and yee ſhall ſooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then ſhuld worſhip vnto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Maieſtie:
Liche as the ſeale the greateſt of this land
On the one ſide hath, as I vnderſtand,
A prince riding with his ſwerd ydraw,
In the other ſide ſitting, ſoth it is in ſaw,
Betokening good rule and puniſhing
In very deede of England by the king.
And it is ſo, God bleſſed mought he bee.
So in likewiſe I would were on the ſee
By the Noble, that ſwerde ſhould haue power,
And the ſhips on the ſea about vs here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Iuie
Shewe a tauerne wineleſſe, alſo thriue I;

If men were wiſe, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Shuld bere no ſtate in ſea by werring.

Of Haukin lions.

Then Hankin lyons ſhuld not be ſo bold
To ſtoppe wine, and ſhippes for to hold
Unto our ſhame. He had be beten thence.
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to ſhend the old Engliſh fames;
And the profits of England, and their names:
Why is this power called of couetiſe;
With falſe colours caſt beforn our eyes:
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons ſuccours,
To purge the ſea vnto our great auayle,
And winne hem goods, and haue vp the ſayle,
And on our enimies their liues to impart,
So that they might their priſes well departe,
As reſon wold, iuſtice and equitie;

Lombards are cauſe enough to hurt this land, although there were none other cauſe.

To make this land haue lordſhip of the ſea.
Then ſhall Lombards and other fained friends
Make her chalenges by colour falſe offends,
And ſay their chaffare in the ſhippes is,
And chalenge al. Looke if this be amiſſe.

Falſe colouring of goods by Lombards.

For thus may al that men haue bought to ſore,
Ben ſoone excuſed, and ſaued by falſe colour.
Beware yee men that bere the great in hand

Alas for bribes & gift of good, feaſts & other means, that ſtoppen our policie.

This is the very ſtate of our time.

That they deſtroy the policie of this land,
By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And ſilke, and other: ſay yee not this ſoth is:
But if we had very experience
That they take meede with priuie violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleaſance,
Whereby ſtopped ſhould be good gouernance:
And if it were as yee ſay to mee,
Than wold I ſay, alas cupiditie,
That they that haue her liues put in drede,
Shalbe ſoone out of winning, all for meed,
And loſe her coſtes, and brought to pouerty,
That they ſhall neuer haue luſt to goe to ſea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance against colour of maintainers and excuſers of folkes goods.

It is a maruelous thing that ſo great a ſicknes and hurt of yͤ land may haue no remedie of ſo many as take hẽſelues wiſe men of gouernance.

For this colour that muſt be ſayd alofte
And be declared of the great full ofte,
That our ſeamen wol by many wiſe
Spoile our friends in ſteede of our enimies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counſayle that may not fayle, I trowe,
That friends ſhould from enimies be knowe,
Our enimies taken and our friends ſpared:
The remedy of hem muſt be declared.
Thus may the ſea be kept in no ſell,
For if ought be ſpoken, wot yee well,
We haue the ſtrokes, and enemies haue the winning:
But mayntainers are parteners of the ſinning.
We liue in luſt and bide in couetiſe:
This is our rule to maintaine marchandiſe,
And policie that wee haue on the ſea.
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Of

Of the commodities of Ireland, and policie and keeping thereof, and conquering of wild Iriſh: with *an incident of Wales.* Chap. 9.

I Caſt to ſpeake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will entitle,
Hides, and fiſh, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Iriſh wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,
And marterns goode ben her marchandie,
* Or, hunting.
Hertes Hides, and other of * Venerie.
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Iriſh hare,
Of ſheepe, lambe, and Foxe, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the ſea,
Becauſe the King cleped is Rex Angliæ,
And is Dominus alſo Hyberniæ,
Old poſſeſſed by Progenitours:
The Iriſh men haue cauſe like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie ſhould hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the ſea:
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good aſſayes,
At Waterford, and coſtes many one.
And as men ſayne in England be there none
Better hauens, ſhips in to ride,
No more ſure for enemies to abide.
Why ſpeake I thus ſo much of Ireland?
For all ſo much as I can vnderſtand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who luſt to knowe,
So large, ſo good, and ſo commodious,
That to declare is ſtrange and maruailous.
Mynes of ſiluer and gold in Ireland.
For of ſiluer and golde there is the oore,
Among the wilde Iriſh though they be poore.
For they are rude and can thereon no ſkilll:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Iriſh might we finde the cure,
As in London ſaith a Iuellere,
Which brought from thence golde oore to vs here,
Whereof was fyned mettal good and clene,
As they touch, no better could be ſeene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will anſwere at laſt iudgement,
That for ſlought and for racheſhede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not loſt.
For it is a boteraſſe and a poſt,
Vnder England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due vnto the king.
But I haue pittie in good faith of this thing
That I ſhall ſay with auiſement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be ſhent:
It muſt awey, it wol bee loſt from vs,
But if thou helpe, thou Ieſu gracious,
And giue vs grace al ſlought to leue beſide.

For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatiſe I caſte to write
Made al onely for that ſoile and ſite,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Iriſh wirlinge
Should be choſen for to bee their kinge,
After her conqueſte for our laſt puiſſance,
And hinder vs by other lands alliance.
Wiſe men ſeyn, wich felin not, ne douten,
That wild Iriſh ſo much of ground haue gotten
There vpon vs, as likeneſſe may be
Like as England to ſheeris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Iriſh haue wonne on vs vnable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a litle corner,
To all Ireland in true compariſon.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee loſt, as Chriſt Ieſu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,

This is now to be greatly feared.

For aliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
And ſo haue enemies enuiron round about.
I beſeech God, that ſome prayers deuout
Mutt let the ſaid apparance probable
Thus diſpoſed without feyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I ſee
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee.
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men ſay, in all Chriſtendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, ſo good, ſo plenteous, ſo riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.
Then mee ſemeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande: and it were piteous
To vs to leſe this high name Dominus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Shuld haue the ground obeyſant wilde and tame.
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground ſubiect to the Lord.
And that it is poſſible to bee ſubiect,
Unto the king wel ſhal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of ſpake.
I trowe reſon al this wol vndertake.
And I knowe wel howe it ſtante,
Alas fortune beginneth ſo to ſcant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is gouernance.
For ſo miniſheth parties of our puiſſance,
In that land that wee leſe euery yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.

This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this matter, that he would vndertake it, in pain of loſſe of al his liuelihood. But this proffer could not be admitted. Ergo malè.

I herd a man ſpeake to mee full late.
Which was a lord of full great eſtate;
Than expenſe of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puiſſance
This ſaid ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet becauſe England might not forbere
Theſe ſaid expenſes gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred vp here,

Might winne Ireland to a finall conqueſte,
In one ſole yeere to ſet vs all at reſte.
And how ſoone wolde this be paied ageyne:
Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:
I wol declare, who ſo luſte to looke,
I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
But couetiſe, and ſingularitie
Of owne profite, enuie, crueltie,
Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euery day,
And muſters made that ſhame is to ſay:
Our money ſpent al to litle auaile,
And our enimies ſo greatly doone preuaile,
That what harme may fall and ouerthwerte
I may vnneth write more for ſore of herte.

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales.

BEware of Wales, Chriſt Ieſu muſt vs keepe,
That it make not our childers childe to weepe,
Ne vs alſo, ſo if it goe his way,
By vnwarenes: ſeth that many a day
Men haue bee ferde of her rebellion,
By great tokens and oſtentation:
Seche the meanes with a diſcrete auiſe,
And helpe that they rudely not ariſe
For to rebell, that Chriſt it forbede.
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee haue neede,
Vnfainingly, vnfeyning and vnfeynt,
That conſcience for ſlought you not atteynt:
Kepe well that grounde, for harme that may ben vſed,
Or afore God muſte yee ben accuſed.

Of the commodious Stockfiſh of Iſland, and keeping of the Sea, namely the Narrow ſea, with *an incident of the keeping of Caleis.* Chap. 10.

The trade of Briſtow to Iſland.

OF Iſland to write is litle nede,
Saue of Stock-fiſh: Yet forſooth in deed
Out of Briſtowe, and coſtes many one,
Men haue practiſed by nedle and by ſtone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelue yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old
Of Scarborough vnto the coſtes cold.
And nowe ſo fele ſhippes this yeere there ware,
That moch loſſe for vnfreyght they bare:
Iſland might not make hem to bee fraught
Vnto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commoditees
For which neede is well to kepe the ſeas:
Eſte and Weſte, South and North they bee,
And chiefly kepe the ſharpe narrow ſee,
Betweene Douer and Caleis: and as thus
that foes paſſe none without good will of vs:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our coſtis and Caleis in our ſtrength.

The old trade of Scarborough to Iſland and the North.

An exhortation for the ſure keeping of *Caleis.*

AND for the loue of God, and of his bliſſe
Cheriſh yee Caleis better then it is,

See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for ſlought ſo great offence,
But that redreſſed it bee for any thing:
Leſte a ſong of ſorrow that wee ſing.
For litle wenith the foole who ſo might cheſe
What harme it were good Caleis for to leſe:
What wo it were for all this Engliſh ground.

The ioy of Sigiſmund the Emperour that Caleis was Engliſh.

Which wel conceiued the Emperour Sigiſmound,
That of all ioyes made it one of the moſte,
That Caleis was ſubiect vnto Engliſh coſte.
Him thought it was a iewel moſt of all,
And ſo the ſame in Latine did it call.
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I caſt to write within a litle ſcrowe,
Like as I haue done before by and by
In other parteis of our policie.
Loke how hard it was at the firſt to get;
And by my counſell lightly doe not it let.
For if wee leſe it with ſhame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.
Howe was Harflew cried vpon, and Rone,
That they were likely for ſhought to be gone;
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it betyde right ſo.

Harflew was loſt in the yere 1449. in the 27. of Henry the ſixth.

Farewell *Harflew: lewdly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can ſay no better:
My ſoule diſcharge I by this preſent letter.

After the Chapitles of commodities of diuers lands, ſheweth the concluſion of keeping of the ſea *enuiron, by a ſtorie of King Edgar and two incidents of* King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. *Chap.* 11.

NOwe ſee we well then that this round ſee
To our Noble by pariformitee
Under the ſhip ſhewed there the ſayle,
And our king with royal apparayle,
With ſwerd drawen bright and extent
For to chaſtiſe enimies violent;
Should be lord of the ſea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Chriſtianitee
Maſter and lord enuiron of the ſee:

*Dicit Chronica, quod iſte Edgarus cunctis prædeceſſoribus ſuis fælicior, nolli ſanctitate inferior, omnibus morum ſuauitate preſtantior fuerit. Luxit ipſe Anglis non minus memorabilis, quàm Cyrus Perſis, Carolus Francis Romulus verò Romanis.

All liuing men ſuch a prince to dreed,
Of ſuch a a regne to bee aferd indeed.
Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a * Chronicle anon ſhalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into Engliſh, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O moſt marueilous
Prince liuing, wittie, and cheualerous:
So good that none of his predeceſſours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.

Hee was fortunate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth no man in holines:
Hee paſſed all in vertuous ſweetnes.
Of Engliſh kings was none ſo commendable:
To Engliſh men no leſſe memorable;
Then Cyrus was to Perſe by puiſſance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus;
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt;
And another in the ſee without;
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boyſtrous windes put ſee men into fere;
Within his land about by all prouinces
Hee paſſed through, perceiuing his princes,
Lords, and others of the commontee,
Who was oppreſſour, and who to pouertee
Was drawen and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by miſchiefe and by ſtrife
With ouer leding and extortion:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee aſpied: and his miniſters als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was falſe:
Howe the right and lawes of the land
Were execute, and who durſt take in hand
To diſobey his ſtatutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of theſe he made ſubtile inueſtigation
Of his owne eſpie, and other mens relation.
Among other was his great buſines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,
And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppreſſion.
Thus was hee wont in this Winter tide
On ſuch enforchiſe buſily to abide.
This was his labour for the publike thing,
Thus was hee occupied: a paſſing holy King.

Dicit Chronica, preparauerat naues robuſtiſſimas numero tria millia ſexcenta: in quibus redeunte æſtate omnem inſulam ad terrorem extraneorũ, & ad ſuorum excitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnauigare conſueuerat.

Nowe to purpoſe, in the Sommer faire
Of luſty ſeaſon, whan clered was the aire,
He had redie ſhippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a ſtore:
Full three thouſand and ſixe hundred alſo
Stately inough on our ſea to goe.
The Chronicles ſay, theſe ſhippes were full boyſteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee haue in wonne
And in cuſtome to be ful redie ſoone,
With multitude of men of good array
And inſtruments of werre of beſt aſſay.
Who could hem well in any wiſe deſcriue:
It were not light for eny man aliue.
Thus he and his would enter ſhippes great
Habiliments hauing and the fleete
Of See werres, that ioyfull was to ſee

Such a nauie and Lord of Maieſtee,
There preſent in perſon hem among
To ſaile and rowe enuiron all along,
So regal liche about the Engliſh iſle;
To all ſtrangers terrours and perile.
Whoſe fame went about in all the world ſtout,
Unto great fere of all that be without,
And exerciſe to Knights and his meynee
To him longing of his natall cuntree.
For courage of nede muſt haue exerciſe,
Thus occupied for eſhewin of vice.
This knew the king that policie eſpied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that enuiron the ſee
Should bene our ſubiects vnto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worſhip and for profite alſo
To defend his land fro euery foo.

Dicit Chronica &c. vt non minus quantam ei etiam in hac vita bonorum operum mercedem donauerit: cum aliquando ad maximam eius feſtiuitatem, reges, comites, multarúmq; prouinciarum protectores conueniſſent, &c.

That worthy king I leue, Edgar by name,
And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:
Saffe onely this I may not paſſe away,
A worde of mightie ſtrength till that I ſay,
That graunted him God ſuch worſhip here,
For his merites, hee was without pere,
That ſometime at his great feſtiuitee
Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
And princes fele were there preſent,
And many Lords came thider by aſſent,
To his worſhip: but in a certaine day
Hee bad ſhippes to bee redie of aray:
For to viſit Saint Iohns Church hee liſt
Rowing vnto the good holie Baptiſt,
Hee aſſigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
Many ſhips right goodly to ſights:
And for himſelfe and eight kings moo
Subiect to him hee made kepe one of thoo,
A good ſhippe, and entrede into it
With eight kings, and downe did they ſit;
And eche of them an ore tooke in hand,
At ore hales, as I vnderſtand,
And he himſelfe at the ſhippe behinde
As ſteris man it became of kinde.
Such another rowing I dare well ſay,
Was not ſeene of Princes many a day.
Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
In lande, in ſee, that I may not ſuffice
To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,
That king Edgar had vpon the ſee.

An incident of the Lord of the ſea King *Edward* the third.

Of king Edward I paſſe and his prowes
On lande, on ſea yee knowe his worthines:
The ſiege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,
Howe it laſted not yeeres many agoe,
After the battell of Crecye was ydoe:

Caleis was yeelded to yͤ Engliſh 1347.

Howe it was cloſed enuiron about,
Olde men ſawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt,
Old Knights ſay that the Duke of Burgoyn,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;
Of ſhip on ſee made no beſieging there,
For want of ſhippes that durſt not come for feare,
It was nothing beſieged by the ſee:
Thus call they it no ſiege for honeſtee.
Gonnes aſſailed, but aſſault was there none,
No ſiege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
This maner carping haue knights ferre in age,
Expert through age of this maner language.
But king Edward made a ſiege royall,
And wanne the towne: and in eſpeciall
The ſea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;
In whoſe time was no nauie on the ſee
That might withſtand his maieſtie.
Battell of Scluſe yee may rede euery day,
Howe it was done I leue and goe my way:
It was ſo late done that yee it knowe,
In compariſon within a litle throwe:
For which to God giue we honour and glorie;
For Lord of ſee the king was with victorie.

King Edward had 700 Engliſh ſhips, and 14151. Engliſh mariners before Calcis.

The battell of Scluſe by ſea.

Another incident of keeping of the ſee, in the time of the marueilous werriour and victorious *Prince, King* Henrie *the fifth, and of his great* ſhippes.

AND if I ſhould conclude all by the King
Henrie the fift, what was his purpoſing,
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which paſſed other great ſhips of all the commons;
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghoſt,
And other moe, which as nowe bee loſt.
What hope ye was the kings great intent
Of thoo ſhippes, and what in minde hee meant?
It was not ellis, but that hee caſt to bee
Lorde round about enuiron of the ſee.
And when Harflew had her ſiege about,
There came caracks horrible great and ſtoute
In the narrow ſee willing to abide,
To ſtoppe vs there with multitude of pride.
My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Deſtroyed they were by that diſcomfiture.
This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to ſiege had begonne;
That all was ſlaine or take, by true relation,
To his worſhippe, and of his Engliſh nation.
There was preſent the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell otherwiſe then I:
Aſke him, and witte; I paſſe foorth haſtily.
What had this king of his magnificence,
Of great courage, of wiſedome, and prudence?
Prouiſion, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, iuſtice, and agilitee,
Diſcretion, ſubtile auiſedneſſe,

The great ſhips of Henry the fift, made at Hampton.

Great caracks of Genua taken by the Duke of Bedford.

1416.

The French nauie thus ouerthrowen was of fiue hundred ſaile.

Attemperance, Nobleſſe, and worthineſſe:
Science, proweſſe, deuotion, equitie,
Of moſt eſtate, with his magnanimitie
Liche to Edgar, and the ſaide Edward,
As much of both liche hem as in regard.
Where was on liue a man more victorious,
And in ſo ſhort time prince ſo marueilous:
By land and ſea, ſo well he him acquitte,
To ſpeake of him I ſtony in my witte.
Thus here I leaue the king with his nobleſſe,
Henry the fift, with whom all my proceſſe
Of this true booke of pure policie
Of ſea keeping, entending victorie
I leaue endly: for about in the ſee
No Prince was of better ſtrenuitee.
And if he had to this time liued here,
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:

The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghoſt.

His great ſhips ſhould haue ben put in preeſe,
Unto the ende that he ment of in cheeſe.
For doubt it not but that he would haue bee
Lord and maſter about the round ſee:
And kept it ſure to ſtoppe our enemies hence,
And wonne vs good, and wiſely brought it thence:
That no paſſage ſhould be without danger,
And his licence on ſee to moue and ſterre.

Of vnitie, ſhewing of our keeping of the ſee: with an endly or finall proceſſe of peace by authoritie. *Chap.* 12.

Exhortatio generalis in cuſtodiam totius Angliæ, per diligentiam cuſtodiæ circuitus maris circa littora eiuſdem: quæ debet eſſe per vnanimitatē Conſiliariorum regis, & hominum bonæ voluntatis.

Now than for loue of Chriſt, and of his ioy,
Bring it England out of trouble and noy:
Take heart and witte, and ſet a gouernance,
Set many wits withouten variance,
To one accord and vnanimitee.
Put to good will for to keepe the ſee,
Firſt for worſhip and profite alſo,
And to rebuke of eche euill willed foe.
Thus ſhall worſhip and riches to vs long.
Than to the Noble ſhall we doe no wrong,
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,
To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:
For which they muſt dreſſe hem to peace in haſte,
Or ellis their thrift to ſtanden, and to waſte.
As this proceſſe hath proued by and by
All by reaſon and expert policy;
And by ſtories which proued well this parte:
Or ellis I will my life put in ieoparte,
But many londs would ſeche her peace for nede,
The ſee wel kept: it muſt bee doo for drede.
Thus muſt Flanders for nede haue vnitee
And peace with vs: it will non other bee,
Within ſhort while: and ambaſſadours
Would bene here ſoone to treate for their ſuccours.

Tres ſunt cauſæ predictæ cuſtodiæ: ſcilicet, honor, commodum regni, & opprobrium inimicis.

This vnitee is to God pleaſance:
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace ſikerly,
And power cauſeth peace finally.
Kept than the ſea about in ſpeciall,

Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall enuiron were the ſee.
Kepe then the ſea that is the wall of England:
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at eaſe withouten doubt.
And thus ſhould euery lond one with another
Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
And liue togither werreleſſe in vnitie,
Without rancour in very charitie,
In reſt and peace, to Chriſtes great pleaſance,
Without ſtrife, debate and variance.
Which peace men ſhould enſerche with buſineſſe,
And knit it ſaddely holding in holineſſe.
The Apoſtle ſeith, if ye liſt to ſee,
Bee yee buſie for to keepe vnitee
Of the ſpirit in the bond of peace.
Which is nedeful to all withouten leſe.
The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire
To purſue it, this is holy deſire.
Our Lord Ieſu ſaith, Bleſſed motte they bee
That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.
For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the ſonnes of God almight.
God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe
Of his precepts, and ſlugly not to ſleepe
In ſhame of ſinne: that our verry foo
Might be to vs conuers, and turned ſo.
For in the Prouerbs is a text to this purpoſe
Plaine inough without any gloſe:
When mens weyes pleaſe vnto our Lord,
It ſhall conuert and bring to accord
Mans enemies vnto peace verray,
In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,
With vnitie, peace, reſt and charitie.
Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
That came from heauen, and ſtyed vp with our nature,
Or hee aſcended, he yaue to vs cure,
And left with vs peace, ageyne ſtriffe and debate,
Mote giue vs peace, ſo well irradicate
Here in this world: that after all this feſte
Wee may haue peace in the land of beheſte,
Ieruſalem, which of peace is the ſight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,
There glorified in reſt with his tuition,
The Deitie to ſee with full fruition:
Hee ſecond perſon in diuineneſſe is,
Who vs aſſume, and bring vs to the bliſ. Amen.

Epheſ. 4. Sollicitiſitis ſeruare vnitatem ſpiritus in vinculo pacis.

Matth. 5. Beati pacifici, quoniam filij Dei vocabuntur.

Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis, eius inimicós ad pacem conuertet.

Vrbs beata Ieruſalem dicta pacis viſio.

Here endeth the true proceſſe of the Libel of Engliſh policie, exhorting all England to keepe *the ſea enuiron: ſhewing what profit and ſaluation,* with worſhip commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

GOe furth Libelle, and meekely ſhew thy face;
Appearing euer with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,

In oppoſaile and cheriſhing the aduance.
To hardines if that not variance
Thou haſt fro trought by full experience
Authors and reaſons: if ought faile in ſubſtance
Remit to hem that yafe thee this ſcience;
That ſeth it is ſoth in verray fayth,
That the wiſe Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee ouerſeene, and verely he ſaith
That thou art true, and thus hee doeth record,
Next the Goſpel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all ouer in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Chriſt defend thy right.

The wiſe lord of Hungerfords iudgement of this booke.

Explicit libellus de Politia conſeruatiua maris.

A large Charter granted by K. *Edward* the 4. in the ſecond yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England reſident eſpecially in the Netherland, *for their chuſing of a maſter and gouernor among themſelues, which go*uernement was firſt appointed vnto one William Obray: with expreſſe mention, what authoritie he ſhould haue.

1462 EDward by the grace of God king of France, & of England, & lord of Ireland, to al thoſe which ſhal ſee or heare theſe letters, ſendeth greeting, & good wil. Know ye, that whereas we haue vnderſtood, as well by the report of our louing and faithfull Counſellors, as by the common complaint and report of all men, that many vexations, griefs, debates, diſcords, annoyes, diſſentions, & damages, haue heretofore bene done, moued, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants & mariners, our ſubiects of our realmes of France & England, & our lordſhips of Ireland and Wales, & of other our dominions, ſeigneuries, and territories, becauſe that good diſcretion and authority hath not bin obſerued among our ſaide ſubiects, which abide, frequent, conuerſe, remain, inhabit, & paſſe, aſwel by ſea as by land, into yͤ parts of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and diuers other countreis & ſeigneuries belonging aſwell to the high and mighty prince, our moſt deere and louing couſin yͤ Duke of Burgoine, of Brabant, earle of Flanders, &c. as being in the obedience & dominion of other lords, which are in friendſhip, alliance, & good wil with vs: and that it is to be doubted that through the ſaide inconuenience and occaſion, many diſcommodities may enſue & fal out in time to come (which God forbid) vnles we ſhould prouide conuenient remedie in this behalfe for our ſubiects aforeſaid: wherefore we deſiring moſt effectually and heartily to auoide the miſchiefe of the ſaide inconueniences & to prouide conuenient remedy for the ſame, to the end that the ſaid common marchants and mariners and others our ſubiects of our ſaid realms & dominions, which at this preſent & hereafter ſhal haunt and frequent yͤ ſaid countreis, may be iuſtly & lawfully ruled, gouerned, and intreated by right & equity in the countreis aforeſaid, and that equity, reaſon, & iuſtice may be miniſtred vnto them and euery of them, according as the caſes ſhal require, we being wel aſſured and hauing ful confidence, in the diſcretion, faithfulnes, wiſdome, experience, & good diligence of our moſt deare & welbeloued ſubiect Will. Obray our ſeruant, & in regard of the good, faithfull, and acceptable ſeruices, which he hath done vs in our realm & among our ſubiects in times paſt, & hoping that he wil do alſo hereafter, we haue made, ordained, conſtituted, committed, and eſtabliſhed, and by the tenour of theſe preſents, of our ſpecial grace, ful power, & authority royall, we ordaine, appoint, commit, and eſtabliſh, (during our pleaſure) to be gouernor, iudge, warden of iuſtice, and the appurtenances & appendances therof, which we haue or may haue ouer our ſaid common ſubiects the marchants trauailing hereafter as wel by ſea as by land, and abiding in the ſaid countries of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreis beyond the ſea, as is aforeſaide, together with the wages, rights, profits, and emoluments heretofore accuſtomed, & as the ſaid Will. Obray at other times hath had and receiued of our ſaid ſubiects, when he had, vſed, and exerciſed the ſaid office of gouernor, & alſo with other ſuch rights and profits, as hereafter ſhal more plainly be declared. And furthermore for our parts we haue giuen him, and by theſe preſents do giue him, as much as in vs lieth, during our pleaſure, ful power, authority, and ſpecial commandement, to gouerne, rule, and cauſe to be gouerned and ruled with good iuſtice by himſelfe, or by his ſufficient lieuetenants or deputies, all and euery our foreſaid ſubiects the common marchants & mariners comming, remaining, frequenting, paſſing, & repairing from henceforth into the ſaid countreis of Brabant, Flanders,

ders,Henault,Holland,Zeland,and other countreyes beyond the ſea,as it is ſaid,and to keep and cauſe to be kept,to exerciſe and maintein,for vs and in our place,the ſaid office of gouernour,and to doe all ſuch things which a faithfull gouernour ought to do,and to take knowledge and adminiſtration of the cauſes of the ſaid common marchants and mariners,our ſubiects, and of euery of them,and of their cauſes and quarels moued,or hereafter to be moued in the countreis aforeſaid, or within the limits & borders therof,and to doe them full & ſpeedy iuſtice. And to reforme, cauſe reformation,gouerne,appeaſe,and pacifie all contentions,diſcords,queſtions,or debates between thoſe our ſaid ſubiects moued,or to moued : and to right,redreſſe,repaire, reſtore, and amend all tranſgreſſions,domages,enterpriſes,outrages,violences and iniuries committed,or to be cõmitted:and likewiſe to require,to aſke,demand,and receiue,reſtitutions,reparations,reſtaurations, and amends of our ſaid ſubiects the common marchants & mariners,or of their factors in the cõtreis aforeſaid. And that,whenſoeuer and as often as it ſhal pleaſe the ſaid gouernor or his deputies,they may in ſome conuenient and honeſt place within the ſaid countreis make or cauſe to be made,ſomon,and hold in our name iuriſdictions,courts,and aſſemblies:and in our ſaid name take adminiſtration and knowledge of cauſes, as it is aforeſaide, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreements,mediatours, and vmpires, to iudge, to make decrees, and to miniſter iuſtice, to ordaine, appoint,cenſure, and conſtraine our ſaide ſubiects to ſweare and take all kind of oathes, which order of iuſtice and cuſtome require and afforde, and to enioy our authoritie, and to vſe,execute and accompliſh, by way of equitie and iuſtice, and to doe, or cauſe to be done all execution and exerciſe of law and iuſtice;and to ordain,appoint,& eſtabliſh ſixe ſergeants or vnder,to doe the executions & arreſts of our ſaid court,by the commandement of the ſaid gouernour or of his deputies, or at the requeſt of the partie or otherwiſe, according as the caſe ſhall require by their aduiſe, and to diſcharge and diſplace the ſaid ſergeants,as ſhall ſeeme good vnto him,as often and whenſoeuer as it ſhall pleaſe him, and change them, and appoint and ſet others in their roomes,and to require returne and anſwere of the court,whenſoeuer need ſhal be, of all cauſes, quarels,and buſineſſes in regard of the ſaid office belonging vnto vs and to our ſaid ſubiects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the caſe ſhall permit and require : and generally and ſpecially to doe as much for vs and in our ſtead, in the caſes before mentioned,and which hereafter ſhalbe declared,as we could doe or cauſe to be done, could ſay or require, if we were there preſent in our owne perſon. Moreouer wee will, and by the tenour of theſe preſents wee giue and graunt vnto the ſaide gouernour, and to our ſaide ſubiects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whenſoeuer it pleaſe them,they may meet and aſſemble in ſome honeſt and conuenient place, and by the conſent of the ſaide gouernour to chooſe and appoynt among them at their pleaſure, freely and without danger, certaine ſufficient and fit perſons to the number of twelue or vnder,which we wil haue to be named Iuſticers, vnto the which Iuſticers ſo elected by the ſaide gouernour and our ſaide ſubiects,as it is ſaid,and to euerie of them, we giue and graunt eſpeciall power and authoritie to ſitte and aſſiſt in court, with the ſaid gouernour or his lieutenants, for their aide and aſſiſtance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our ſaid ſubiects their ſuites,pleas, and the ſtate of their cauſes and quarels whatſoeuer moued or to be moued vnto the ende of their cauſe, and at the requeſt of the ſaide gouernour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to ſay, propound, and plainely to expreſſe and declare their opinions, according to right and conſcience, vpon the cauſes brought before them and by the parties vttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counſell and aduiſe the ſaide gouernour or his lieutenants, to order and cenſure,iudge and determine, and ende the ſame iuſtly and equally, according as the caſe ſhall permit and require. And furthermore we wil, that all iuſt and reaſonable ſtatutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and conſtitutions made and eſtabliſhed,or to be made and eſtabliſhed, in the countreys aforeſaide, by the conſent of the ſaid gouernour,and of the ſaie Iuſticers, ſhalbe corrected,amended, and made, as they ſhall ſee to bee expedient in this behalfe, for the better gouernment of the eſtate of the common marchants and mariners our ſaide ſubiects,and ſhalbe held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approued;and from henceforth we accept, admit,allow and approue them for ratified and confirmed,there to be firmely and inuiolably obſerued, kept and obeyed. And alſo,of our farther fauour and grace wee will and we grant,that by the conſent of our ſaid gouernour,our ſaid ſubiects the common marchants and mariners may make and ſet downe in the ſaid countreis,by their common conſent, as often as they ſhall thinke good for their better gouernment and eſtate, ſuch iuſt and reaſonable lawes, ſtatutes,ordinances,decrees,conſtitutions,and cuſtomes,as they ſhal thinke expedient in this behalfe:which we cõmand to be kept as ratified,confirmed,allowed,& approued,auailable, and eſtabliſhed. Prouided alwaies, that they do not nor ſeeke any thing preiudicial to this preſent power and authoritie giuen and graunted by vs to the ſaide gouernour, in any poynt or article heerein compriſed, by any meanes or way whatſoeuer: in which caſe if they ſhoulde doe any thing, or ought ſhould happen, we wil that it ſhal take no place, force, vigour, ſtrength, nor vertue: neither that it ſhalbe of any effect, but it ſhalbe aboliſhed, diſanulled, and vtterly fruſtrate; and as aboliſhed, diſanulled, and vtterly fruſtrated, from this time forward, wee holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the ſame. And ſo to doe, and put in execution in our name, we haue and doe giue full and abſolute power, & ſpeciall authority to our ſaid ſeruant William Obray, & to his ſaid lieutenants. And likewiſe, to the end that yͤ courſe of marchandiſe may be kept in good eſtate, and that by order of iuſtice a firme and conſtant rule may be ſet downe among thoſe our ſaid ſubiects and marchants, we haue ordained and do ordaine, haue conſented & doe conſent, and by theſe preſents haue giuen & do giue ful power & eſpeciall authority to our ſaid ſeruant Will. Obray gouernour aforeſaid, that at al time and times when he ſhal think good, he may ordaine, elect, chuſe, and appoint, in the countreis aforeſaid, ſuch miniſters, officers, and ſeruitours as hereafter ſhalbe named, and ſuch others as he ſhal think neceſſary, and to diſcharge them, and to change them, & ſet others in their roomes, at his good will and pleaſure, vnto ſuch a number as he ſhall thinke good and reaſonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or brokers as many as he ſhal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betweene our ſaid ſubiects and others with whom they ſhal haue to do or to deale in the foreſaid countreis: and alſo as many alnagers to alner and meaſure al kinds of marchandiſes which they ſhal buy or ſel by the yard: and alſo as many weighers to weigh the marchandiſe which ſhalbe ſold or bought by weight: and alſo ſo many folders to fold their clothes, and ſo many packers to pack their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baſkets, and other things needefull for the defence & preſeruation of their marchandize. Al which miniſters, officers, and ſeruitors, ſo choſen, elected, charged, admitted, and eſtabliſhed by the ſaide gouernour, as is ſaide, may take their wages for their paines & attendances vpon the ſaid marchants, according to the cuſtome of the ſaid countreis, and as they haue bene accuſtomed to take of the ſaid marchants before theſe preſents by vs giuen and graunted. And hereupon we haue giuen and doe giue expreſſe charge and commandement by vs and in our names to all our ſaid ſubiects common marchants and mariners, and to euery of them which ſhall frequent, come, remaine, paſſe, repaire, or inhabite within the countreis aforeſaid, that they ſhall not make contract or bargaine, ſell or buy, nor ſhall not cauſe any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the ſaid countreis ſell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandiſes, ſecretely nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatſoeuer, with any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, countrey, or condition ſoeuer they be, without he hath ſome of the ſaid brokers at the bargain making, to preſent, report, and to teſtifie the ſaid contracts or bargains before the ſaid gouernor or others, if need require, and ſtrife or contention ſhould grow therof betweene them: nor to packe or cauſe to be packed any goods or marchandiſes belonging vnto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, cheſts, maunds, dryfats, or rowles, without hauing ſome deputy preſent thereat: nor to take or cauſe to be taken or ſet on worke in the ſaid countreis, any other brokers, alnagers, weighers, folders, or packers, then the aforeſaid ſo choſen, admitted, eſtabliſhed, and ordained by the ſaide gouernor, & hereto authorized in our name, as it is ſaid, vnder paine of falling into, and incurring of our diſpleaſure, and of forfeiture, and confiſcation of all ſuch goods, wares, and marchandiſes, which ſhalbe found to haue paſſed by other hands or order, then that or thoſe which are before mentioned: the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiſcations ſhall be imployed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterburie by our ſaide ſubiects, in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zeland; the other fourth part to vs, & our vſe; the third fourth part to our ſaid couſin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the ſaide goods ſhall be found; and the fourth fourth part to him or them, which ſhall diſcouer, detect, or finde out the ſaide fraude. And alſo that none of our ſaid ſubiects ſhall vnlade or cauſe to be vnladen, vnder any colour nor otherwiſe, nor vnpacke, in the countreis aboueſaide, no kind of wares, goods, nor marchandiſes whatſoeuer, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to bee brought into the countreyes aforeſaide, comming out of our countreyes, dominions, or obeyſance, without firſt and beforehand they make the gouernour or his deputies acquainted with their arriuall, and craue leaue, and deliuer, ſhewe, and declare their cockets, that it may duely appeare, that the ſaide goods and marchandiſes haue truly and lawfully payde vnto vs our rights and cuſtomes, and not to vnpacke them but in the preſence of the ſaide gouernour, his lieuetenants or deputies, vpon paine of forfaiture, and confiſcation of the ſaide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foreſaide article. And if it bee found by the viſitation of the ſaide gouernor, his lieuetenants or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandiſes whatſoeuer be arriued and diſcharged in the countreis aforeſaid, belonging to our ſaide ſubiectes, not lawfully cuſtomed and acquited towarde vs of our right and cuſtome, for which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofe of our letters of coquet,as is metioned, or if they finde any other fraud: we will,we ordaine,and we grant, that the ſayd gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies may ſeaze vpon the ſayd goods on our behalfe,and may confiſcate and forfeit the ſame,diſtributing the ſame into foure parts in maner aforeſayd. And alſo wee will, that euery one of the ſayd packes, fardels, baſkets, maunds, cofers, tunnes, bales, roules, and other furnitures and geare,wherein the ſayd marchandiſes ſhalbe packed,to be ſent out of the ſaid countreis, ſhall not be laden vpon ſhips,carts, nor horſes,to come into our dominion, without being firſt ſealed with a ſeale ordayned by vs and giuen by the ſayd gouernour, vpon paine to be forfayted,applyed,and confiſcated to vs and into our hand,if they be found vnſigned and not ſealed with the ſeale. And for euery piece of marchandiſe which ſhall be ſealed with the ſayd ſeale,they ſhall pay to the ſayd ſealer two pence of groſſe money of Flanders, which ſhall goe to the profite of the ſayd gouernour. And forasmuch as according to right and conſcience,we ought not to vſe the labour,trauels, nor ſeruice of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reaſon and equity, eſpecially when we doe appoint any perſon or perſons to doe or cauſe to be done ſo great trauels, labours, buſines, and executions, as theſe which are contayned in this preſent charter,aſwell for the benefit and profit of vs and our ſelues,as for the holeſome, perfect,& good gouernment of our ſayd ſubiects: we by the good aduiſe and deliberation of the ſayd lords of our priuie counſell, haue granted and giuen,and as before, doe grant and giue, of our ſayd grace, to the ſayd William Obray our ſayd ſeruant and gouernour abouenamed,during our pleaſure, for part of his wages and fee of the ſayd office, one pennie of our money of England of the value of a liuer of groſſe money of Flanders,vpon al and ſinguler the goods, wares and marchandiſes of our ſayd ſubiects frequenting the ſayd countreis, to be leuyed, gathered,receiued, and payed vnto the ſayd William Obray or to his deputies, vpon the ſayd wares and marchandiſes belonging vnto our ſayd ſaid ſubiects buying and ſelling, or which they ſhall cauſe to ſell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreys aboueſaid, aſwell of the goods and marchandiſes which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into the ſayd countries,as of all other goods which they ſhall lade and carie, or cauſe to bee caried and conueyed out of thoſe countreis into our dominion or elſewhere into any other part whatſoeuer. And to cauſe the ſame to be gathered, receiued, leauied and payed, we haue giuen, and by theſe preſents doe giue full power and ſpeciall authoritie vnto the ſayd William Obray, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforeſayd, to leauy,gather, and cauſe to bee leauied and receiued the ſayd money,in forme and maner aboue mentioned, to his profite and vſe, during our pleaſure: and to enioy and vſe the ſame as his proper goods, without any contradiction, conſtraining and arreſting if neede bee,as well on land,as on the water,our ſaid ſubiects,their ſayd goods, and euery of them,by way of law and iuſtice, and to cauſe them to yeelde and pay the ſayd money,vpon the ſaid goods and marchandiſes,as is aforeſayd. For ſuch is our pleaſure,and ſo will we haue it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleaſure. And alſo we will that the ſayd William Obray,ouer and aboue that which is ſayd,ſhall take, gather,and receiue of our ſayd ſubiects from henceforth yearely,during our pleaſure, all ſuch and like wages and profits,as he had and receiued of our ſayd ſubiects, in the yeare 1458, when hee held and exerciſed the ſaid office of gouernour, without diminiſhing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithſtanding this preſent augmentation made, increaſed, and done vnto him, of our grace and fauour: and that hee ſhall gather,take,and receiue the ſame in ſuch forme and manner, as the other money aboue mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the ſayd William Obray may haue and take poſſeſſion, ſeaſon, and enterance of the ſaid office of gouernour in our name we haue and doe place him, by the deliuery of theſe preſents, in poſſeſſion, ſeaſon, and entrance of the ſaid office,and of the rights,profits,ſtipends,wages, and moneis aforeſayd,to begin to exerciſe the ſayd office of gouernour in our name, the firſt day of May next enſuing after the date of theſe preſents, for the ſayd William Obray to hold and exerciſe,practiſe and vſe the ſame,during our pleaſure,with the ſayd wages, moneys, rights, and profites aboue mentioned,without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and ſingular our ſubiects the common marchants and mariners,which ſhall be contrary, rebellious, and diſobedient to the ſaid gouernour ſo ordayned by vs,to his ſaid lieutenants,to the ſayd iuſticers ſo choſen,or to any of them, or to any of the ſtatutes, lawes,decrees,ſentences,ordinances,and cuſtomes,offices,gifts, and grants aboueſayd, let them grieuouſly be puniſhed by the ſayd gouernour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences,and the exigencie of the caſes. We doe ſommon, commaund, ſtraitly and expreſſly enioine by theſe preſents all and euery our ſaide ſubiects, that vnto the ſayd gouernour ſo by vs ordained,to his lieutenants,attorneis,or deputies, and alſo to the ſaid iuſticers, officers,and miniſters,in all and euerie the things aforeſaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our ſaid ordinances,their gouernmēt and rule, the circumſtances and dependances theron that they giue their attendance, counſayle, comfort, obedience, and aide, diligently without fault or difficulty, ſurely, ſafely, fully and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or ſuffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any diſturbance or impeachment, in any maner whatſoeuer: but rather if any thing bee done vnto them contrary and to the preiudice of theſe preſents, they ſhall remoue and cauſe the ſame to be remooued, and that which ſhall be hindered they ſhall ſet at free deliuerance, vpon payne to fall into and to incurre our high diſpleaſure. For ſuch is our pleaſure and ſo will wee haue it, notwithſtanding anie letters falſely crept in, obtayned, or to be obtayned contrary hereunto. And you our ſubiects, the common marchants and mariners, ſo behaue your ſelues, that you may receiue commendation of vs for your good obedience, knowing that ſuch as ſhall be found doing or to haue done the contrary, we will ſee them ſo puniſhed without redemption, that they ſhall bee an example to all rebellious perſons. We pray and moſt inſtantly require in ths ayde of equitie, all others our friends, allies, and well-willers, aſwell princes and potentates, as their iuſticers, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commiſſaries, and ſubiects, and euery of them, in regard of equitie; that they would vouchſafe, and that it would pleaſe them to giue, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, aſſiſtance, and priſons if neede require, to our ſayd gouernour, his lieutenants, commiſſaries, deputies, iuſticers, & others our officers and miniſters aforeſayd: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may pleaſe them herein to doe ſo much, that we may haue occaſion to thanke them, and to accompt our ſelues beholding for the ſame: and as they would that we ſhould do for them in the like matter, or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to bee made patents. Witnes our ſelues at Weſtminſter, the ſixteenth of April, in the ſecond yere our reigne.

A declaration of the *Indies* and lands diſcouered, and *ſubdued vnto the Emperour, and the king of* Portingal: *And alſo of* other partes of the *Indies* and rich countries to be diſcouered, which the worſhipfull M. *Robert Thorne* merchant of *London* (who dwelt long in the citie of *Siuil* in *Spaine*) exhorted king *Henrie* the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

Experience prooueth that naturally all princes bee deſirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be marueiled, to ſee them euery day procure the ſame, not regarding any coſt, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be maruelled, if there be any prince content to liue quiet with his owne dominions. For ſurely the people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and ſpirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the deſires of Princes haue bene ſo feruent to obtaine their purpoſe, that they haue aduentured and prooued things to mans coniecture impoſſible, the which they haue made poſſible, and alſo things difficult haue made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpoſe, haue in maner turned vp and downe the whole world ſo many times, that the people inhabiting in the fartheſt region of the Occident haue purſued with great diſtreſſe, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the fartheſt regions of the Orient: and in like wiſe thoſe people of the ſaid parts of the Orient haue had no leſſe labour and deſire to enter and penetrate into the fartheſt land of the Occident, and ſo following their purchaſe haue not ceaſed vntill they could paſſe no farther by reaſon of the great ſeas.

This naturall inclination is cauſe, that ſcarſely it may be ſaid, there is any kingdome ſtable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath prouided to your Grace, and to your gracious progenitors, this Realme of England, and ſet it in ſo fruitfull a place, and within ſuch limites, that it ſhould ſeeme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foreſayd deſire. One ſpeciall cauſe is, for that it is compaſſed with the Sea: by reaſon therof it ſeemes, this notwithſtanding, their deſires and noble courages haue beene moſt commonly like vnto others: and with marueilous great labours, coſtes and perils, they haue traueiled and paſſed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kings and dominions nigh neighbours, but alſo with them of farre countries, and ſo haue woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victory and glory. And alſo now of late your Grace hauing like courage and deſire, and not without iuſt cauſe, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demaund your limits and tribute of the French king, which at that preſent he reſtrained, your Grace in perſon paſſed with a great power into France, putting your Graces perſon to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriouſly you had conquered the ſayd Realme of France, as ye began, if your aduerſary had not reconciled himſelfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and ſo promiſed truely to pay tribute then due, and fulfill your requeſt in all things, and alſo deſired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuſe.

Now I conſidering this your noble courage and deſire, and alſo perceiuing that your Grace may at your pleaſure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little coſt, perill, or labour to your Grace or any of your ſubiects, amplifie and inrich this your ſayd Realme, I know it is my bounden duety to manifeſt this ſecret vnto your Grace, which hitherto, as I ſuppoſe, hath beene hid: which is, that with a ſmall number of ſhips there may bee diſcouered diuers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace ſhall winne perpetuall glory, and your ſubiectes infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to diſcouer, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it ſeemeth three parts are diſcouered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they haue diſcouered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: ſo that by this part of the Orient & Occident, they haue compaſſed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the courſe or way of the middeſt of the day, and ſo then was diſcouered a great part of the ſame Seas and coaſtes by the Spaniards. So that now reſt to be diſcouered the ſayd North parts, the which it ſeemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Becauſe the ſituation of this your Realme is thereunto neereſt and apteſt of all other: and alſo for that you haue ‖ already taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not ſeeme well to leaue ſo great and profitable an enterpriſe, ſeeing it may ſo eaſily and with ſo little coſt, labour, and danger, be followed and obtayned: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, & found not the commodity thereby as you truſted, at this time it ſhall be no impediment. For there may be now prouided remedies for things, then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cauſe that your Graces deſire tooke no full effect, which is, the courſes to be changed, & followed the foreſaid new courſes. And concerning the mariners, ſhippes, and prouiſion, an order may be deuiſed and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto. By reaſon whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpoſe ſhall take effect. Surely the coſt herein will be nothing, in compariſon to the great profit. The labour is much leſſe, yea nothing at all, where ſo great honour and glory is hoped for: and conſidering well the courſes, truely the danger & way is ſhorter to vs, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by euident reaſons appereth.

A ſecrete.

The diſcouery of the North.

‖ By Sebaſtian Cabot and ſir Thomas Pert in the eight yere of his reigne. And this is the voyage ſpoken of by Gonſaluo Oueido, that came to S. Domingo.

And now to declare ſomething of the commodity and vtilitie of this Nauigation and diſcouerie: it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men ſay, without great danger, difficulty and perill, yea rather it is impoſſible to paſſe, that thoſe ſame Seas be nauigable and without anie ſuch danger, but that ſhippes may paſſe and haue in them perpetuall clereneſſe of the day without any darkeneſſe of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the nauigants, to ſee at all times round about them, as well the ſafegards as dangers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leeſe the moſt part of euery foure and twentie houres the ſaid light, and goe in darkeneſſe groping their way, I thinke there is none ſo ignorant but perceiueth this more plainely, then it can be expreſſed. Yea what a vantage ſhal your Graces ſubiects haue alſo by this light to diſcouer the ſtrange lands, countries, and coaſtes? For if they that be diſcouered, to ſaile by them in darkeneſſe is with great danger, much more then the coaſtes not diſcouered be daungerous to trauell by night or in darkeneſſe. Yet theſe dangers or darkeneſſe hath not letted the Spanyards and Portingals and other, to diſcouer many vnknowen Realmes to their great perill. Which conſidered (and that your Graces ſubiects may haue the ſame light) it will ſeeme your Graces ſubiects to be without activity or courage, in leauing to doe this glorious and noble enterpriſe. For they being paſt this litle way which they named ſo dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they paſſe the Pole) it is cleere, that from thence foorth the ſeas and landes are as temperate as in theſe partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleaſure of the mariners, to chooſe whether they will ſayle by the coaſtes, that be colde, temperate or hote. For they being paſt the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they liſt.

Note.

Nauigation vnder the Pole

If they will goe toward the Orient, they ſhall inioy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land moſt Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their nauigation, following the coaſts that returne toward the Occident, they ſhall fall in with Malaca, and ſo with all

Tartaria.

China.

New found land diſcouered by yͤ Engliſh.

the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speranſa: and thus they ſhall compaſſe the whole worlde. And if they will take their courſe after they be paſt the Pole, toward the Occident, they ſhall goe in the backe ſide of the new found land, which of late was diſcouered by your Graces ſubiects, vntill they come to the backe ſide and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And ſo continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the ſtreight of Magellan to this countrey, and ſo they compaſſe alſo the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be paſt the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the lands and Iſlands ſituated between the Tropikes, and vnder the Equinoctiall, without doubt they ſhall finde there the richeſt landes and Iſlands of the world of golde, precious ſtones, balmes, ſpices, and other thinges that we here eſteeme moſt: which come out of ſtrange countries, and may returne the ſame way.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great aduantage of the riches, but alſo your ſubiects ſhall not trauell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as aforeſayd.

The booke made by the right worſhipful M. *Robert Thorne* in the *yeere* 1527. *in* Siuil, *to Doctour* Ley, *Lord ambaſſadour for king Henry* the eight, to *Charles* the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, diſcouered by him and the king of *Portingal*: and alſo of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.

Right noble and reuerend in &c. I haue receiued your letters, and haue procured and ſent to know of your ſeruant, who your Lordſhip wrote, ſhould be ſicke in Merchena. I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and ſhipt. I cannot iudge but that of ſome contagious ſickneſſe hee died, ſo that the owner of the houſe for defaming his houſe would bury him ſecretly, and not be knowen of it. For ſuch things haue often times happened in this countrey.

Alſo to write vnto your Lordſhippe of the new trade of Spicery of the Emperour, there is no doubt but that the Iſlands are fertile of Cloues, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamom: and that the ſaid Iſlands, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamondes, Balaſſes, Granates, Iacincts, and other ſtones & pearles, as all other lands, that are vnder and neere the Equinoctiall. For we ſee, where nature giueth any thing, ſhe is no nigard. For as with vs and other, that are aparted from the ſaid Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Iron, ſo theirs be Gold, Siluer, and Copper. And as our fruits and graines bee Apples, Nuts, and Corne, ſo theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloues, and other Spices. And as we haue Ieat, Amber, Criſtall, Iaſper, and other like ſtones, ſo haue they Rubies, Diamonds, Balaſſes, Saphyres, Iacincts, and other like. And though ſome ſay that of ſuch precious mettals, graines, or kind of ſpices, and precious ſtones, the abundance and quantity is nothing ſo great, as our mettals, fruits or ſtones aboue rehearſed: yet if it be well conſidered, how the quantitie of the earth vnder the Equinoctiall to both the Tropicall lines, (in which ſpace is found the ſayd Golde, ſpices and precious ſtones) is as much in quantity, as almoſt all the earth from the Tropickes to both the Poles; it cannot be denied but there is more quantity of the ſayd mettals, fruites, ſpices, and precious ſtones, then there is of the other mettals and other things before rehearſed. And I ſee that the preciouſnes of theſe things is meaſured after the diſtance that is between vs, and the things that we haue appetite vnto. For in this nauigation of the Spicerie was diſcouered, that theſe Iſlands nothing ſet by golde, but ſet more by a knife and a nayle of iron, then by his quantitie of Golde: and with reaſon, as the thing more neceſſary for mans ſeruice. And I doubt not but to them ſhould be as precious our corne and ſeedes, if they might haue them, as to vs their ſpices: & likewiſe the pieces of glaſſe that here we haue counterfeited are as precious to them, as to vs their ſtones: which by experience is ſeene daylie by them that haue trade thither. This of the riches of thoſe countries is ſufficient.

Doctor Leys letters.

Touching that your Lordſhip wrote, whether it may bee profitable to the Emperor or not: it may be without doubt of great profite: if, as the king of Portingal doth, he would become a merchant, and prouide ſhippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of theſe Iſlands for himſelfe. But other greater buſineſſe withholdeth him from this. But ſtill, as now it is begunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the ſhippes comming in ſafetie, there would thither many euery yere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and iewels that come from thence the fift part for his cuſtome cleare without any coſt. And beſides this hee putteth in euery flote a certaine quantitie of money, of which hee enioyeth of the gaines pound and pounds like as other aduenturers doe. In a fleete of three ſhippes and a Carauel that went from this citie armed by the marchants of it, which departed in Aprill laſt paſt, I and my partener haue one thouſand foure hundred duckets that we employed in the ſayd fleete, principally for that two Engliſh men, friends of mine, which are ſomewhat learned in Coſmographie, ſhould goe in the ſame ſhippes, to bring me certaine relation of the ſituation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of thoſe ſeas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduiſe that I deſire to knowe eſpecially. Seeing in theſe quarters are ſhippes, and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they ſaile, though much vnlike ours, that they ſhould procure to haue the ſaid cards, and learne how they vnderſtand them, and eſpecially to know what nauigation they haue for thoſe Iſlands Northwards, and Northeaſtward.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot diſcouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

For if from the ſayd Iſlands the ſea did extend, without interpoſition of land, to ſaile from the North point to the Northeaſt poynt one thouſand ſeuen hundred or one thouſand eight hundred leagues, they ſhould come to the New found Iſlands that we diſcouered, and ſo we ſhould be neerer to the ſayd Spicerie by almoſt two thouſand leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portingal are. And to aduiſe your Lordſhip whether of theſe Spiceries of the king of Portingal or the Emperours is neerer, and alſo of the titles that either of them hath, and howe our New found lands are parted from it, (for that by writing without ſome demonſtration, it were hard to giue any declaration of it) I haue cauſed that your Lordſhip ſhall receiue herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the world: the which, I feare me, ſhall put your Lordſhip to more labour to vnderſtand, then me to make it, onely for that it is made in ſo litle roome that it cannot be but obſcurely ſet out, that is deſired to be ſeene in it, and alſo for that I am in this ſcience little expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficulty, it is neceſſary to declare to your Lordſhip my intent, with which I truſt you ſhall perceiue in this Card part of your deſire, if, for that I cannot expreſſe mine intent, with my declaration I doe not make it more obſcure.

Note.

The New found Iſlands diſcouered by the Engliſh.

A Mappe of the world.

First, your Lordſhip knoweth that the Coſmographers haue diuided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, vnder the which is comprehended all the roundnes of the earth: the latitude being diuided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to euery quarter, which they meaſure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South ſtarres, being from the line Equinoctiall till they come right vnder the North ſtarre the ſaid ninetie degrees: and as much from the ſayd line Equinoctiall to the South ſtarre be other ninety degrees. And as much more is alſo from either of the ſayd ſtarres agayne to the Equinoctiall. Which imagined to bee round, is ſoone perceiued thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be conſumed in the ſaid foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter: ſo that this latitude is the meaſure of the worlde from North to South, and from South to North. And the longitude, in which are alſo counted other 360, is counted from Weſt to Eaſt, or from Eaſt to Weſt, as in the Card is ſet.

The ſayd latitude your Lordſhip may ſee marked and diuided in the ende of this Card on the left hand: ſo that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coaſt ſtandeth, take a compaſſe, and ſet the one foot of the ſame in the Equinoctial line right againſt the ſaid region, & apply the other foote of the compaſſe to the ſaid region or coaſt, & then ſet the ſayd compaſſe at the end of the Card, where the degrees are diuided. And the one foote of the compaſſe ſtanding in the line Equinoctial, the other will ſhew in the ſcale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the ſaid region is in. Alſo the longitude of the world I haue ſet out in the nether part of the Card, conteining alſo 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptoleme and other Coſmographers from an headland called Capo Verde, which is ouer againſt a little croſſe made in the part Occidental, where the diuiſion of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the ſame Capo Verde.

To know the latitudes.

Now to know in what longitude any land is, your Lordſhip muſt take a ruler or a compaſſe, and ſet the one foot of the compaſſe vpon the land or coaſt whoſe longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compaſſe to the next part of one of the tranſuerſall lines in the Oriental or Occidental part: which done, ſet the one foot of the compaſſe in the ſaid tranſuerſal line at the end of the nether ſcale, the ſcale of longitude, and the other foot ſheweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordſhip muſt vnderſtand that this Card, though little, conteineth the vniuerſall whole world betwixt two collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part deſcendeth perpendicular vpon the 175 degree, & the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree, whoſe diſtance meaſureth the ſcale of longitude. And that which is without the two ſaid tranſuerſall lines, is onely to ſhew how the Orientall part is ioined with the Occident, and Occident with the Orient. For that that is ſet without the line in the Oriental part, is the ſame that is ſet within the other line in the Occidentall part: and that that is ſet without the line in the Occidentall part, is the ſame that is ſet within the line in the Orientall part, to ſhew that though this figure of the

To know the longitudes.

world in plaine or flatte ſeemeth to haue an end, yet one imagining that this ſayd Card were ſet vpon a round thing, where the endes ſhould touch by the lines, it would plainely appeare howe the Orient part ioyneth with the Occident, as there without the lines it is deſcribed and figured.

And for more declaration of the ſaid Card, your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand, that beginning on the part Occidental within the line, the firſt land that is ſet out, is the maine land and Iſlands of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coaſt goeth Northward, and finiſheth in the land that we found, which is called here Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the ſayd land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

Now called the ſtraight of Magelane.

The ſayd coaſt from the ſayd Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordſhippe may ſee, commeth to a certaine ſtraight Sea, called Eſtrecho de todos Santos: by which ſtraight Sea the Spaniards goe to the Spiceries, as I ſhall declare more at large: the which ſtraight Sea is right againſt three hundred fifteene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the Equinoctiall three and fifty degrees. The firſt land from the ſayd beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Iſlands of the Canaries, and Iſlandes of Capo verde. But the firſt maine land next to the line Equinoctial is the ſayd Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the ſtraight of this ſea of Italie. And ſo followeth Spayne, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the higheſt parte toward the North. And ouer againſt Flanders are our Iſlands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coaſtes within the ſtreights I haue ſet out onely the Regions, diuiding them by lines of their limits, by which plainely I thinke your Lordſhip may ſee, in what ſituation euerie region is, and of what highneſſe, and with what regions it is ioyned. I doe thinke few are left out of all Europe. In the parts of Aſia and Affrica I could not ſo wel make the ſayd diuiſiōs: for that they be not ſo wel knowen, nor need not ſo much. This I write becauſe in the ſaid Card be made the ſaid lines & ſtrikes, that your Lordſhip ſhould vnderſtand wherefore they doe ſerue. Alſo returning to the foreſaid Capo verde, the coaſt goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona ſperanſa: which is right ouer againſt the 60. & 65. degree of longitude. And by this Cape go the Portingals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordſhip may ſee in the headland ouer againſt the 130. degree. Frō the ſayd Cape of Buona ſperanſa the coaſt returneth toward the line Equinoctial, and paſſing forth, entreth the red ſea, & returning out, entreth again into the gulfe of Perſia, and returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the headland called Calicut aforeſayd, and from thence the coaſt making a gulfe, where is the riuer of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a headland called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: & from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulfe, and after the coaſt goeth right toward the Orient, and ouer againſt this laſt gulfe and coaſt be many Iſlands, which be Iſlandes of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Vpon which the Portingals and he be at variance.

Note.

The ſayd coaſt goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right againſt the 155. degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coaſt not yet plainely knowen, I may ioine to the New found lande found by vs, that I ſpake of before. So that I finiſh with this briefe declaration of the Card aforeſayd. Well I know I ſhould alſo haue declared how the coaſts within the ſtraights of the Sea of Italie runne. It is playne that paſſing the ſtreights on the North ſide of that Sea after the coaſt of Granado, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coaſt of that which France hath in Italie. And then followeth in one piece all Italie, which land hath an arme of the Sea, with a gulfe which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottome of this gulfe is the citie of Venice. And on the other part of the ſayd gulfe is Sclauonia, and next Grecia, then the ſtreits of Conſtantinople, and then the ſea called Euxinus, which is within the ſayd ſtreights: and comming out of the ſayd ſtreights, followeth Turcia maior (though now on both ſides it is called Turcia.) And ſo the coaſt runneth Southward to Syria, and ouer againſt the ſayd Turcia are the Iſlands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And ouer againſt Italie are the Iſlands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And ouer againſt Spaine is Maiorca and Minorca. In the ende of the gulfe of Syria is Iudea. And from thence returneth the coaſt toward the Occident, till it commeth to the ſtreights where we began, which all is the coaſt of Affrike and Barbarie. Alſo your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand that the coaſtes of the Sea throughout all the world, I haue coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Iſlands: and all without the line ſo coloured to bee Sea: whereby it is eaſie and light to know it. Albeit in this little roome any other deſcription would rather haue made it obſcure then cleere. And the ſayd coaſts of the Sea are all ſet iuſtly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the nauigation approoueth them throughout all the Card, ſaue onely the coaſtes and Iſles of the Spicerie of the Emperour which is from ouer againſt the 160. to the 215. degrees of longitude, For theſe coaſtes and ſituations of the Iſlands, euery of the Coſmographers and pilots of Portingal & Spayne do ſet after their purpoſe. The Spaniards more towards the Orient, becauſe they ſhould appeare to appertain to the Emperour: & the Portingals more toward the Occident, for that they ſhould fal within their iuriſdiction. So that the pilots and nauigants thither, which in ſuch caſes ſhould declare the truth, by their induſtrie do ſet them falſly euery one to fauour his prince. And for this cauſe can be no certaine ſituation of that coaſt and Iſlands, till this difference betwixt them be verified. Now to come to the purpoſe of your Lordſhips demaund touching the difference between the Emperour and the king of Portingal, to vnderſtand it better, I muſt declare the beginning of this diſcouerie. Though peraduenture your Lordſhip may ſay that in that I haue written ought of purpoſe, I fall in the prouerbe, A gemino ouo bellum: But your Lordſhip commanded me to be large, and I take licence to be prolixious, and ſhalbe peraduenture tedious, but your Lordſhip knoweth that Nihil ignorantia verboſius.

Doctor Leys demaund.

In the yeere 1484 the king of Portingal minded to arme certaine Caruels to diſcouer this Spicerie. Then foraſmuch as he feared that being diſcouered, euery other prince woulde ſende and trade thither, ſo that the coſt and perill of diſcouering ſhould be his, and the profite common: wherefore firſt hee gaue knowledge of this his minde to all princes Chriſtened, ſaying that hee would ſeeke amongſt the infidels newe poſſeſſions of regions, and therefore would make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the coſt of the ſayd armie, he ſhould enioy his part of the profite or honour that ſhould come of it. And as then this diſcouering was holden for a ſtrange thing and vncertaine. Nowe they ſay, that all the Princes of Chriſtendome anſwered, that they would be no part of ſuch an armie, nor yet of the profit that might come of it. After the which he gaue knowledge to the Pope of his purpoſe, and of the anſwere of all the Princes, deſiring him that ſeeing that none would helpe in the coſtes, that he would iudge all that ſhould bee found and diſcouered to be of his iuriſdiction, and commannd that none other princes ſhould intermeddle therewith. The Pope ſayd not as Chriſt ſaith, Quis me conſtituit iudicem inter vos? He did not refuſe, but making himſelfe as Lord and Iudge of all, not onely granted that all that ſhould be diſcouered from Orient to Occident, ſhould be the kings of Portingal, but alſo, that vpon great cenſures no other Prince ſhould diſcouer but he. And if they did, all to bee the kings of Portingal. So he armed a fleete, and in the yeere 1497 were diſcouered the Iſlands of Calicut, from whence is brought all the ſpice he hath.

The Pope reprehended.

After this in the yere 1492 the king of Spaine willing to diſcouer lands toward the Occident without making any ſuch diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingal, armed certaine Caruels, and then diſcouered this India Occidentall, eſpecially two Iſlands of the ſayd India, that in this Card I ſet forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, he ſent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to giue him the ſayd Iſlands. For that by the ſentence of the Pope all that ſhould be diſcouered was his, and that hee ſhould not proceede further in the diſcouerie without his licence. And at the ſame time it ſeemeth that out of Caſtil into Portingal had gone for feare of burning infinite number of Iewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Chriſtians, and carried with them infinite number of golde and ſiluer. So that it ſeemeth that the king of Spaine anſwered, that it was reaſon that the king of Portingal aſked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would giue him the ſayd Iſlands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreed betwixt the ſayde kings, that none ſhould receiue the others ſubiects fugitiues, nor their goods, therfore the king of Portingal ſhould pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Iewes had caryed out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in ſo doing he would giue theſe Iſlands, and deſiſt from any more diſcouering. And not fulfilling this, he would not onely not giue theſe Iſlands, but procure to diſcouer more where him thought beſt. It ſeemeth that the king of Portingal would not, or could not with his eaſe pay this money. And ſo not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to diſcouer: ſo that he enterpriſed not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And conſented to the king of Spaine, that touching this diſcouering they ſhould diuide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that ſhould be diſcouered from Cape Verde, where this Card beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180 of the ſayd ſcale of longitude, which is halfe the world toward the Orient, & finiſheth in this Card right ouer againſt a litle croſſe made at the ſaid 180 degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the ſaid Croſſe towarde the Occident, vntill it ioyneth with the other Croſſe in the Orient, which conteineth the other hundreth and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So that from the land ouer againſt the ſaid hundreth & eighty degrees vntill it finiſh in the three hundred and ſixtie on both the ends of the Card, is the iuriſdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they diuided the world betweene them.

Now for that theſe Iſlands of Spicery fall neere the terme and limites betweene theſe princes (for as by the ſayd Card you may ſee they begin from one hundred and ſixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215) it ſeemeth all that falleth from 160 to 180 degrees, ſhould be of Portingal: and all the reſt of Spaine. And for that their Coſmographers and Pilots coulde not agree in the ſituation of the ſayde Iſlandes (for the Portingals ſet them all within their 180 degrees, and the Spaniards ſet them all without:) and for that in meaſuring, all the Coſmographers of both partes, or what other that euer haue bene cannot giue certaine order to meaſure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude: for that there is no ſtarre fixed from Eaſt to Weſt, as are the ſtarres of the Poles from North to South, but all mooueth with the moouing diuine: no maner can bee founde howe certainely it may bee meaſured, but by coniectures, as the Nauigants haue eſteemed the way they haue gone. But it is manifeſt that Spaine had the ſituation of al the lands from Cape Verde, toward the Orient of ye Portingals to their 180 degrees. And in all their Cardes they neuer hitherto ſet the ſaide Iſlands within their limitation of the ſayd 180 degrees, (though they knewe very well of the Iſlands,) till now that the Spaniards diſcouered them. And it is knowen that the king of Portingal had trade to theſe Iſlands afore, but would neuer ſuffer Portingal to go thither from Calicut: for ſo much as he knew that it fell out of his dominion: leaſt by going thither there might come ſome knowledge of thoſe other Iſlands of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloues of Marchants of that countrey, that brought them to Calicut, much deerer then they would haue coſt, if he had ſent for them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes ſecret. And now that it is diſcouered he ſendes and keepes the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

The longitudes hard to be found out.

Alſo it ſhould ſeeme that when this foreſaid conſent of the diuiſion of the worlde was agreed of betweene them, the king of Portingal had already diſcouered certaine Iſlandes that lie ouer againſt Cape Verde, and alſo certaine part of the maine land of India toward the South, from whence he fette Braſill, and called it the land of Braſil. So for that all ſhould come in his terme and limites, hee tooke three hundred and ſeuentie leagues beyond Cape Verde: and after this, his 180 degrees, being his part of the worlde, ſhould begin in the Carde right ouer againſt the 340 degrees, where I haue made a little compaſſe with a croſſe, and ſhould finiſh at the 160 degree, where alſo I haue made another little marke. And after this computation without any controuerſie, the Iſlands of the ſpicery fal out of the Portingals domination. So that nowe the Spaniards ſay to the Portingals, that if they would beginne their 180 degrees from the ſayde Cape Verde, to the intent they ſhould extende more toward the Orient, and ſo to touch thoſe Iſlandes of the Spicerie of the Emperour, which is al that is betweene the two croſſes made in this Card, that then the Iſlands of Cape Verde and the lande of Braſil that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the ſayd limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. Or if their 180 degrees they count from the 370 leagues beyond the ſaid Cape Verde, to include in it the ſaid Iſlands and lands of Braſil, then plainely appeareth the ſaid 180 degrees ſhould finiſh long before they come to theſe Iſlands of the Spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordſhip may ſee. For their limits ſhould begin at the 340 degrees of this Carde, and ende at the 160 degrees, where I haue made two little markes of the compaſſe with croſſes in them.

So that plainely it ſhould appeare by reaſon, that the Portingals ſhould leaue theſe Iſlands of Cape Verde and land of Braſil, if they would haue part of the Spicerie of the Emperours: or els holding theſe, they haue no part there. To this the Portingals ſay, that they will beginne their 180 degrees from the ſelfe ſame Cape Verde: for that it may extende ſo much more toward the Orient, and touch theſe Iſlandes of the Emperours: and would winne theſe Iſlandes of Cape Verde and land of Braſil neuertheleſſe, as a thing that they poſſeſſed before the conſent of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the beſt reaſon. They be not yet agreed, Quare ſub Iudice lis eſt.

But without doubt (by all coniectures of reaſon) the ſayd Iſlands fall all without the limitation of Portingal, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the moſt part of all the Cardes made by the Portingals, ſaue thoſe which they haue falſified of late purpoſely.

But now touching that your Lordſhip wrote, whether that which we diſcouered toucheth any thing the foreſayd coaſtes: once it appeareth plainely, that the Newefound land that we diſcouered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all the gold and pearles: and ſo continueth of coaſt more then 5000 leagues of length, as by this Carde appeareth. For from the ſaid New lands it proceedeth toward the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southward vp till it come to the Straits of Todos Santos, which I reckon to be more then 5000 leagues.

New found land diſcouered by the Engliſhmen.

So that to the Indias it ſhould ſeeme that we haue ſome title, at leaſt that for our diſcouering we might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie.

Note.

To ſaile by the Pole.

Now then if from the ſayd New found lands the Sea be nauigable, there is no doubt, but ſayling Northward and paſſing the Pole, deſcending to the Equinoctial line, we ſhall hit theſe Iſlands, and it ſhould be a much ſhorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portingals haue. For we be diſtant from the Pole but thirty and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be ninetie, the which added together, bee an hundred twenty and nine degrees, leagues 2489, and miles 7440: Where we ſhould find theſe Iſlands. And the Nauigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may ſee, from Spaine to the Iſlandes of Canarie, and from theſe Iſlandes they runne ouer the line Equinoctiall Southwarde to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of Saint Auguſtine, and from this Cape Southwards to the ſtraites of Todos Santos, in the which nauigation to the ſaid ſtraites is 1700. or 1800 leagues; and from theſe Straites being paſt them, they returne towarde the line Equinoctiall to the Iſlands of Spicerie, which are diſtant from the ſaide Straites 4200. or 4300. leagues.

Or the ſtraites of Magelane.

The nauigation of the Portingals to the ſaid Iſlandes is departing from Portingal Southward towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape paſſing the line Equinoctial called Capo de bona ſperanſa, and from Portingal to the Cape is 1800 leagues, and from this Cape to the Iſlands of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that this nauigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is ſayd,) if betweene our New found lands or Norway, or Iſland, the ſeas toward the North be nauigable, we ſhould goe to theſe Iſlands a ſhorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

Note

And though we went not to the ſayd Iſlandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingal, wee ſhoulde by the way and comming once to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no leſſe riche of golde and Spicerie, as all other landes are vnder the ſayd line Equinoctiall: and alſo ſhould, if we may paſſe vnder the North, enioy the nauigation of all Tartarie. Which ſhould be no leſſe profitable to our commodities of cloth, then theſe Spiceries to the Emperour, and king of Portingal.

Benefite to England.

Obiection.

But it is a generall opinion of all Coſmographers, that paſſing the ſeuenth clime, the ſea is all ice, and the colde ſo much that none can ſuffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that vnder the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was vnhabitable.

Anſwere.

Yet ſince (by experience is proued) no land ſo much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the ſame ſhould be found vnder the North, if it were experimented. For as all iudge, Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura: So I iudge, there is no land vnhabitable, nor Sea innauigable. If I ſhould write the reaſon that preſenteth this vnto me, I ſhould be too prolixe, and it ſeemeth not requiſite for this preſent matter. God knoweth that though by it I ſhould haue no great intereſt, yet I haue had and ſtill haue no litle mind of this buſineſſe: So that if I had facultie to my will, it ſhould be the firſt thing that I woulde vnderſtand, euen to attempt, if our Seas Northward be nauigable to the Pole, or no. I reaſon, that as ſome ſickeneſſes are hereditarious, and come from the father to the ſonne, ſo this inclination or deſire of this diſcouerie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Briſtow named Hugh Eliot, were the diſcouerers of the New found lands, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, the lands of the Weſt Indies (from whence all the gold commeth) had bene ours. For all is one coaſt, as by the Carde appeareth, and is aforeſayd.

A true opiniõ.

A voyage of diſcouery by the Pole.

M. Thorne and M. Eliot diſcouerers of New found land.

The cauſe why the Weſt Indies were not ours: which alſo Sebaſtian Gabot writeth in an Epiſtle to Baptiſta Ramuſius.

Alſo in this Carde by the coaſtes where you ſee C. your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand it is ſet for Cape or headland, where I. for Iſland, where P. for Port, where R. for Riuer. Alſo in all this little Carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the ſituation of the land, ſaue onely in theſe Iſlands of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is ſayd) euery one ſetteth them after his minde, there can be no certification how they ſtand. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a conſummate Carde ſhould haue, or that a right good demonſtration deſireth. For there ſhould be expreſſed all the mountaines and Riuers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of Portes of the ſea, the names of all principall cities, which all I might haue ſet, but not in this Carde, for the litle ſpace would not conſent.

Your Lordſhip may ſee that ſetting onely the names almoſt of euery Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied. Many Iſlands are alſo left out, for the ſaid lack of roome, the names almoſt of all Portes put to ſilence, with the roſes of the windes or points of the compaſſe: For that this is not for Pilots to ſayle by, but a ſummary declaration of that which your Lordſhip commanded. And if by this your Lordſhip cannot wel perceiue the meaning of this Card, of the which I would not marueile, by reaſon of the rude compoſition of it, will it pleaſe your Lordſhip to aduiſe mee to make a bigger and a better Mappe, or els that I may cauſe one to be made. For I know my ſelfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but Licet ſemper diſcens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam ſcientiam perueniens. Alſo I know, to ſet the forme Sphericall of the world in Plano after the true rule of Coſmographie, it would haue bene made otherwiſe then this is: howbeit the demonſtration ſhould not haue bene ſo plaine.

And alſo theſe degrees of longitude, that I ſet in the lower part of this card, ſhould haue bin ſet along by the line Equinoctiall, & ſo then muſt be imagined. For the degrees of longitude neere either of the poles are nothing equall in bigneſſe to them in the Equinoctiall. But theſe are ſet ſo, for that ſetting them a long the Equinoctial, it would haue made obſcure a great part of the map. Many other curioſities may be required, which for the nonce I did not ſet downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to ſatiſfie your doubt touching the ſpicerie, as for that I lack leaſure and time. I truſt your Lordſhip correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your Lordſhips ſeruice. But from henceforth I knowe your Lordſhip will rather commaund me to keepe ſilence, then to be large, when you ſhall be wearied with the reading of this diſcourſe. Ieſus proſper your eſtate and health.

Your Lordſhips
Robert Thorne 1527.

ALſo this Carde and that which I write touching the variance betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to be ſhewed or communicated there with many of that court. For though there is nothing in it preiudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may be a cauſe of paine to the maker: as well for that none may make theſe Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for maſters, as for that peraduenture it would not ſound well to them, that a ſtranger ſhould know or diſcouer their ſecretes: and would appeare worſt of all, if they vnderſtand that I write touching the ſhort way to the ſpicerie by our Seas. Though peraduenture of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is vnpoſſible, and I thinke neuer will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor elſe where is it to be ſpoken of. For to moue it amongſt wiſe men, it ſhould bee had in deriſion. And therefore to none I would haue written nor ſpoken of ſuch things, but to your Lordſhip, to whom boldly I commit in this all my fooliſh fantaſie as to my ſelf. But if it pleaſe God that into England I may come with your Lordſhip, I will ſhew ſome coniectures of reaſon, though againſt the generall opinion of Coſmographers, by which ſhall appeare this that I ſay not to lacke ſome foundation. And till that time I beſeeche your Lordſhip let it be put to ſilence: and in the meane ſeaſon it may pleaſe God to ſend our two Engliſhmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may alſo bring more plaine declaration of that which in this caſe might be deſired.

Alſo I knowe I needed not to haue beene ſo prolixe in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordſhip, if the ſayd Carde had bene very well made after the rules of Coſmographie. For your Lordſhip would ſoone vnderſtand it better then I, or any other that could haue made it: and ſo it ſhould appeare that I ſhewed Delphinũ natare. But for that I haue made it after my rude maner, it is neceſſary that I be the declarer or gloſer of mine own worke, or els your Lordſhip ſhould haue had much labour to vnderſtand it, which now with it alſo cannot be excuſed, it is ſo groſſely done. But I knew you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I truſt your Lordſhip will accept this, and hold me for excuſed. In other mens letters that they write they craue pardon that at this preſent they write no larger: but I muſt finiſh, aſking pardon that at this preſent I write ſo largely. Ieſus preſerue your Lordſhip with augmentation of dignities.

Your ſeruant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

Epitaphium M.Roberti Thorni, ſepulti in Eccleſia Templariorum Londini.

ROBertus iacei hîc Thorne, quem Briſtolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim ſemper magnæ Reſpublica curę,
Charior & cunctis patria diuitijs.
Ferre inopi auxilium, triſtes componere lites,

Dulce huic conſilio quóſque iuuare fuit,
Qui pius exaudis miſerorum vota precéſque,
Chriſte huic cœli des regione locum.

A briefe Treatiſe of the great Duke of *Moſcouia* his genealogie, being taken out of the Moſcouites manuſcript Chronicles written by a Polacke.

IT hath almoſt euer bene the cuſtome of nations, in ſearching out the infancie and firſt beginnings of their eſtate, to aſcribe the ſame vnto ſuch authors as liued among men in great honour and endued mankinde with ſome one or other excellent benefite. Nowe, this inbred deſire of all nations to blaze and ſet foorth their owne petigree hath ſo much preuayled with the greater part, that leauing the vndoubted trueth, they haue betaken themſelues vnto meere fables and fictions. Yea and the Chronicles of many nations written in diuers and ſundrie ages doe teſtifie the ſame. Euen ſo the Grecians boaſted that they were either Autocthones, that is earthbredde, or els lineally deſcended from the Gods. And the Romans affirme that Mars was father vnto their firſt founder Romulus. Right well therefore and iudicially ſayth Titus Liuius: Neither meane I to auouch (quoth he) ne to diſable or confute thoſe thinges which before the building and foundation of the Citie haue beene reported, being more adorned and fraught with Poeticall fables then with incorrupt and ſacred monuments of trueth: antiquitie is to be pardoned in this behalfe, namely in ioyning together matters hiſtoricall and poeticall, to make the beginnings of cities to ſeeme the more honourable. For ſith antiquity it ſelfe is accompted ſuch a notable argument of true nobility, euen priuate men in all ages haue contended thereabout. Wherefore citizens of Rome being deſirous to make demonſtration of their Gentrie, vſe to haue their aunceſtours armes painted along the walles of their houſes: in which regarde they were ſo puffed vp, that oftentimes they would arrogantly diſdaine thoſe men, which by their owne vertue had attained vnto honour. In like ſorte Poets, when the originall of their worthines and braue champions was either vtterly vnknowen or ſomewhat obſcure, would ofte referre it vnto their Gods themſelues. So in theſe our dayes (to lette paſſe others) the Turkiſh Emperour with grert preſumption boaſteth himſelfe to bee deſcended of the Troian blood. Likewiſe the great duke of Moſcouie, to make himſelfe and his predeceſſours ſeeme the more ſouereigne, deriueth the beginnings of his parentage from the Romane Emperours, yea euen from Auguſtus Cęſar. Albeit therefore no man is ſo fonde as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly ſet downe what the Moſcouites haue written in their Chronicles as touching this matter.

Auguſtus (beleeue it who liſteth) had certaine brethren or kinſfolkes which were appoynted gouernours ouer diuers prouinces. Amongſt the reſt one Pruſſus (of whome Pruſſia was named) had his place of gouernment aſſigned vnto him vpon the ſhore of the eaſtern or Baltick ſea, and vpon the famous riuer of Wixel. This mans graund children or nephewes of the fourth generation were Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor, who likewiſe inhabited in the very ſame places. Whereas therefore at the very ſame time the Ruſſians or the Moſcouites without any ciuill regiment poſſeſſed large and ſpacious territories towards the north, the foreſayd three brethren, vpon the perſwaſion of one Goſtomiſſius the chiefe citizen of Nouogrod, in the yeare ſince the worldes creation (according to the computation of the Greekes) 6370, which was in the yeare of our Lord 572, were ſent for, to beare rule. And ſo ioyning their kinſman Olechus vnto them, and diuiding theſe huge countreys among themſelues, they laboured to reduce the barbarous and ſauage people vnto a ciuill kinde of life.

Ruſſia became ciuill in yͤ yere of our Lord 572.

Sinaus and Truuor deceaſing without iſſue, Rurek ſucceeded and lefte a ſonne behinde him named Igor; who not being of ſufficient yeres to beare rule, was committed vnto the protection of his kinſman Olechus. The ſayde Igor begate of Olha daughter vnto a citizen of Pleſco (who, after her huſbande was ſlaine by his enemies, taking her iourney to Conſtantinople, was there baptized by the name of Helena) a ſonne called Stoſlaus, who fought many battels with the neighbour countreys. Howbeit at length Stoſlaus was ſlayne by his foe, who making a drinkiug cup of his ſkull, engraued therupon in golden letters this ſentence: Seeking after other mens, he loſt his owne. He left behind him three ſonnes, namely Teropolchus, Olega, and Vulodimir. The which Vulodimir hauing ſlaine his two brethren, became ſole gouernour of Ruſſia, or (as the Moſcouites call it) Roſſeia, his owne ſelfe. This man beginning at length to loath and miſlike the ethnik religion, and the multitude of falſe gods, applyed his minde vnto the religion of Chriſt, and hauing taken to wife Anna ſiſter vnto Baſilius and Conſtantinus Emperours of Conſtantinople, was together with his whole nation, in the yeare of Chriſt 988, baptized, and imbraced the Chriſtian religion, with the rites and ceremonies of the Greeke Church, and his name being changed, he was called Baſilius.

Howbeit Zonaras reporteth that before the time of Vulodimir, Baſilius Emperour of Conſtantinople ſent a biſhop vnto the Ruſſians, by whoſe meanes they were conuerted vnto the Chriſtian faith. He reporteth moreouer that they would not be perſwaded vnleſſe they might ſee a miracle: whereupon the ſaid biſhop hauing made his prayers vnto almighty God, threwe the booke of the Euangeliſts into the fire, which remained there vnconſumed. And that by this miracle they were mooued to giue credite vnto the doctrine of Chirſt, and to conforme themſelues thereunto.

The ſonnes of Vulodimir were Vuiſeſlaus, Iſoſlaus, Iaroſlaus, Suatopolcus, Boriſſus, Glebus, Stoſlaus, Vulzeuolodus, Staniſlaus, Sudiſlaus, and Podius who died in his childhood. Amongſt the reſidue all Ruſſia was diuided by their father, who not being contented with their portions, but inuading each other, were moſt of them ſlaine by their mutuall contentions. Boriſſus and Glebus in regard of their holy conuerſation were regiſtred for Saints, whoſe feaſts are euery yeere celebrated with great ſolemnitie vpon the twelfth of Nouember.

At length Iaroſlaus only got the Soueraigne authoritie into his owne hands, and left behind him foure ſonnes, Vvlodimir, Iſoſlauus, Weceſlauus, and Vuſzeuolodus.

Kiow.

The foreſaid Vulodimir ſonne of Iaroſlaus kept his reſidence at the ancient citie of Kiow ſtanding vpon the riuer of Boriſthenes, and after diuers conflicts with his kinſmen, hauing ſubdued all the prouinces vnto himſelfe, was called Monomachos, that is, the onely champoin. This man (for I thinke it not amiſſe to report thoſe things which their owne Manuſcript Chronicles make mention of) waged warre againſt Conſtantine the Emperour of Conſtantinople, and when he had waſted & ouerrun Thracia, being returned home with great and rich ſpoyles, and making preparation for new wars, Conſtantine ſent Neophytus the Metropolitane of Epheſus and two Biſhops, with the gouernour of Antiochia, and Euſtaphius the Abbat of Ieruſalem, to preſent rich and magnificent gifts vnto him; as namely, part of the croſſe of our Sauiour Chriſt, a crowne of gold, a drinking cup curiouſly made of Sardonyx ſtone, a cloake ſet all ouer with precious ſtones, and a golden chaine; commaunded them to ſalute him by the name of Czar (which name, as it may be prooued by many arguments, ſignifieth a king, and not an Emperour) and concluded a moſt inuiolable league of amity and friendſhip with him.

The foreſayd Vulodimir begate Vuſzeuolodus the ſecond. This Vuſzeuolodus lefte eight ſonnes behind him, Miſciſlaus, Iſoſlaus, Stoſlaus, Teropolcus, Wreceſlaus, Romanus, Georgius, and Andrew. The ſonnes of George were Roſeſlaus, Andrew, Baſilius, and Demetrius.

1237.

Demetrius begat George, who in the yere 1237. was ſlaine by one Bathy a Tartarian duke, which Bathy waſted Moſcouia, and ſubdued the ſame vnto himſelfe. Since which time the Ruſſians were tributary to the Tartars, and were gouerned by ſuch dukes as they pleaſed to ſet ouer them. Howbeit the Tartars ſo greatly abuſed that authoritie, that when they ſent their ambaſſadours vnto the prince of Moſcouie, he was conſtrained to goe forth and meete with them, and (as Herbortus Fulſtinius in his Polonian hiſtorie reporteth) to offer them a baſon full of mares milk, and if they had ſpilt any whit thereof vpon their horſes maines, to licke it off with his toung, and hauing conducted them into his princely court, to ſtand bareheaded before them while they ſate downe, and with all reuerence to giue eare and attendance vnto them. But by what meanes they ſhooke off at the length this yoake of ſeruitude, I will forthwith declare.

About the ſame time almoſt all Polonia, and the dukedome of Sileſia were ouerrun by the Tartars with fire and ſword. Who hauing burnt Preſla the chiefe citie of Sileſia, & being come before the citie of Legnitz, they fought there a moſt cruel and bloody field, wherin was ſlain duke Henrie himſelfe being ſonne vnto the moſt holy and deuout lady Heduice, with many others, whoſe monuments and graues be as yet extant in ſundry places, and with an infinite multitude of common ſouldiers, inſomuch that the Tartars filled nine great ſackes with the eares of them which they had ſlaine. The Tartars to the end they might obtaine the victorie, preſented vnto the view of our ſouldiers the portrature of a mans head placed by arte magique vpon a banner, wherein the letter X. was painted, which being ſhaken and mooued vp and downe breathed foorth a moſt loathſome ſtench, & ſtrooke ſuch a terrour into the hearts of our men, that being as it were aſtoniſhed with the ſnaky viſage of Meduſa, they were vtterly daunted and diſmayed.

From thence Bathy and his company with the ſame bloodthirſtie intent marched into Hungarie, and had almoſt ſlaine king Bela the fourth, who together with his ſonne eſcaping by flight did ſcarcely ridde themſelues out of the enemies hand. And when the whole world almoſt was exceedingly terrified at the cruell inuaſions of this moſt barbarous nation, at length Pope Innocentius the fourth ſending ambaſſadours vnto Bathy obtained peace for fiue yeeres: but to forſake his heathenish ſuperſtitions and to become a Chriſtian, hee would by no meanes bee perſwaded. For he was by the inſtigation of the Saracens infected with deuiliſh opinions of Mahomet, as being more agreeable vnto his barbarous rudenes, which euen vnto this day the Tartars do maintaine, like as the prophane Turkes alſo.

These ambaſſadours were Iohan. de Plano Carpini & Frier Benedict a Polonian.

This Bathy had a ſonne called Tamerlan, whome the Moſcouites call Temirkutla, who likewiſe, as it is recorded in hiſtories, attained vnto great renoume. For he caried about with him in a cage Baiazet the Turkiſh Emperour being fettered in golden chaines, and made him a laughing ſtocke vnto all men.

Let vs now returne vnto the Ruſſians. George being ſlaine, Iaroſlaus his brother ſucceeded in his roome, and left behinde him three ſonnes, Theodorus, Alexander and Andreas. Daniel the ſonne of Alexander firſt eſtabliſhed his royall ſeate in the citie of Moſco, and magnificently building the caſtle which before time had bene obſcure, he tooke vpon him the title of the great Duke of Ruſſia. He had fiue ſonnes, namely, George, Alexander, Boriſſus, Ophonias, and Iohn. This Iohn ſucceeded his father, and becauſe he continually caried a ſcrippe about with him to beſtow almes, he was ſirnamed Kaleta, which word ſignifieth a ſcrippe. His ſonnes were, Simeon, Iohn, and Andrew. He gaue vnto his ſonne Simeon the prouinces of Vvlodimiria and Moſcouia: which Simeon deceaſing without iſſue his brother Iohn ſucceeded, who begate a ſonne called Demetrius. This Demerius had ſeuen ſonnes, namely Daniel, Baſilius, George, Andrew, Peter, Iohn, & Conſtantine. Baſilius reigned after his fathers death. This mā diſhinheriting his ſonne which was called after his owne name, becauſe he ſuſpected his mother of adulterie, at his death ſurrendred his Dukedome vnto his brother George, who kept his nephewe a long time in priſon. Howbeit at his death, though himſelfe had two ſonnes namely Andrew and Demetrius, yet being ſtricken perhaps with remorſe of conſcience, he beſtowed the Dukedome vpon his nephew Baſilius. Againſt whom his two couſins bearing a grudge waged warre, and at length hauing taken him by a wyly ſtratageme they put out his eyes. Notwithſtanding the Boiarens (for ſo the Moſcouites call their nobles) continued their duetifull alleageance vnto this their blinde Duke, whom for his blindnes they called Cziemnox, that is to ſay, darke or darkened. He left a ſonne behinde him called Iuan Vaſilowich who brought the Ruſſian common wealth, being before his time but obſcure, vnto great excellencie and renowme. Who that he might the better get all the ſuperioritY into his owne hands put to death ſo many ſonnes and nephewes of the former Dukes as he could lay hold on, and began to take vpon him the title of the great Duke of Vvlodimiria, Moſcouia, and Nouogardia, and to call himſelfe the Monarch or Czar of all Ruſſia. He brought vnder his ſubiection two principall cities, namely Pleſco being the only walled citie in all Moſcouie, and Mouogrod, both of them being in regard of traffike moſt riche and flouriſhing cities, and hauing bin ſubiect vnto the Lithuanians for the ſpace of 50. yeeres before. The treaſure of Nouogrod was ſo exceeding, that the great Duke is reported to haue carried home from thence 300. carts laden with gold and ſiluer.

The citie of Moſco firſt made the ſeate of the great Duke.

Iuan Vaſilowich.

The name of the Moſcouites firſt aduanced.

He alſo was the firſt man that waged warre againſt the Polonians and the Liuonians: againſt Polonia he pretended a quarell, alleaging that his daughter Helena (whome hee had married vnto Alexander the great Duke of Lithuania, which was afterward king of Polonia) was euil intreated, and was withdrawen from the Greekiſh religion vnto the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. But againſt the Liuonians for none other cauſe, but onely for an incredible deſire of enlarging his dominions. Howbeit what impulſiue cauſes of litle or no moment happened in the mean ſeaſon, we will in another place more plainely declare. Notwithſtanding he was very often and in diuers battels vanquiſhed by Plettebergius the great maſter of the Dutch knights: but it is not to the purpoſe to ſtand any longer vpon this diſcourſe.

He was married firſt vnto Marie the Duke of Tyuersky his daughter, and of her hee begate Iohn, vnto whom in his life time he ſurrendred his Dukedome, and married him vnto the daughter of Stephan the Palatine of Moldauia: which Iohn, after he had begotten his ſonne Demetrius, deceaſed before his father.

Afterward Iuan Vaſilowich aforeſaide married a wife called Sophia being daughter vnto Thomas Palælogus, which is reported to haue had her dowry out of the Popes treaſury, becauſe the Moſcouite had promiſed to conforme himſelfe vnto the Romiſh Church. This Sophia being a woman of a princely and aſpiring minde, and often complaining that ſhe was married vnto the

Tartars vaſſal, at length by her inſtant intreatie and continual perſwaſions, and by a notable ſtratageme ſhe caſt off that ſlauiſh yoke very much vnbeſeeming ſo mighty a prince. For whereas the Tartarian Duke had his procuratours and agents in the Moſcouites court, who dwelt in their owne houſes built within the very caſtle of Moſco, and were eye witneſſes of all affaires which were there performed: Sophia ſaid ſhe was admoniſhed from heauen to builde a Temple in the ſelfe ſame place where the Tartars houſe ſtoode, and to conſecrate it vnto Saint Nicholas. Being therfore deliuered of a ſonne ſhe inuited the Tartarian Duke vnto the ſolemne baptizing of him, and beeing come, ſhee requeſted him to giue her his houſe, and obtained it at his hands. Which houſe being razed and thoſe Tartarian eſpials beeing excluded, the Tartars at length were quite bereaued and vtterly diſpoſſeſſed of their authoritie which they had exerciſed ouer the Ruſſians for many yeres, and could neuer yet recouer it; albeit they haue giuen ſundry attempts. Of his wife Sophia he begate ſixe children, namely, a daughter called Helena, & fiue ſonnes, that is to ſay, Gabriel, Demetrius, George, Simeon, and Andrew.

The yoke of the Tartars ſhaken off.

The Dukedome of right appertayned vnto Demetrius the ſonne of Iohn, which was the ſonne of Vaſilowich by his firſt marriage. Howbeit Sophia preuailed ſo with her huſband, that neglecting his graund-childe Demetrius, hee beſtowed his Dukedome vpon Gabriel his ſonne.

Andrew the younger had a ſonne called Vvlodimir, of whom Mary was borne, which in the yeere of Chriſt 1573. was maried vnto Magnus the Duke of Holſt.

Baſilius.

Gabriel hauing obtained the great dukedome of Ruſſia, changed his name calling himſelfe Baſilius, and applied his minde to the atchieuing of high and great enterpriſes. For hee reduced a great part of the dukedome of Moſcouie, which Vitoldus the great Duke of Lithuania helde in poſſeſſion, vnder his owne iuriſdiction, and wonne vpon the riuer of Boriſthenes (which the Ruſſians call Neiper) many cities and eſpecially Smolenſco, in the yeere of our Lord 1514. Hauing diuorced his firſt wife, hee begate of Helena daughter vnto Duke Glinskie, Iuan Vaſilowich, which now this preſent 1580. reigneth as great Duke. Hee was borne in the yeere of our Lorde 1528. the 25. of Auguſt, ſixe houres after the riſing of the ſonne. The great dukedome of Ruſſia fell vnto the ſaid Iuan Vaſilowich in the fifth yeere of his age, hauing his vncle George for his great protector: being 25. yeeres of age, and being of a ſtrong body and of a couragious mind he ſubdued the Tartars of Cazan and Aſtracan vpon the riuer of Volgha, carrying their Dukes and chieftaines into captiuitie.

Iuan Vaſilowich.

But by what wayes and meanes (after the league which by the intercceſſion of the moſt ſacred Roman Emperour, continued from the yeere 1503. for the ſpace of fifty yeeres, was expired) hauing renewed warres againſt Liuonia, hee brought that moſt flouriſhing prouince into extreame miſerie, vſing for the ſame purpoſe a new pretenſe, and alleadging that it belonged vnto him by right of inheritance, I tremble to recount: and it requireth a large hiſtorie, which perhaps in time and place conuenient ſome more learned then my ſelfe will take vpon them to addreſſe.

He is exceedingly addicted vnto piety and deuotion, and doth oftentimes obſerue very ſtrict faſtings and abſtinence with his monks: and wheras the Ruſſes in doing reuerence & adoration vnto God doe beate their foreheads againſt the ground, this Iuan Vaſilowich with performing of the ſame ceremonie cauſeth his forehead to be ful of boines and ſwellings, and ſometimes to be black and blew, and very often to bleed. He is much delighted with building of Churches & ſpareth no coſt for that purpoſe. Whether therfore by nature, or (which hee pretendeth to be the cauſe) by reaſon of his ſubiects malice & treacherie, he be ſo addicted vnto all rigour and cruelty, I dare not determine, eſpecially ſithens he hath not an illiberal or miſhapen countenance, as Attila is reported to haue had. Of his firſt wife which was ſiſter vnto Mikita Romanowich, beeing nowe great ſteward of his houſhold, he begate two ſonnes, namely Iuan and Theodore. And albeit he was fiue times married, yet had he not one childe more.

Theodore.

Whereas this Iuan Vaſilowich vpon certaine friuolous reaſons calleth himſelfe the naturall lord of Liuonia, I thought it not amiſſe to adde an Epiſtle hereunto, which was written by a certaine honourable man concerning the ſame matter.

S. All wee which inhabite this Prouince with all ſeemely reuerence and ſubmiſſion of mind, do offer moſt humble thanks vnto the Emperors moſt ſacred and peereleſſe maieſty our moſt gracious lord, in that according to his fatherly affection which he beareth towards all Chriſtendome, and for the good & commodity of this our diſtreſſed and afflicted countrey, which theſe many yeres hath bin in ſtead of a bulwarke againſt the inuaſion of barbarous nations, he hath ſent his ambaſſadors vnto the great duke of Moſcouia. In regard of which his fatherly loue and great benefite vouchſafed on vs, wee are ready when occaſion ſhall ſerue, to aduenture our liues and goods: praying in the meane ſeaſon vnto Almightie God, who is the onely eſtabliſher and confounder of common wealths, to bring this excellent worke; the foundation whereof is already laide vnto a proſperous concluſion. But as touching the title which the Moſcouite maketh to this prouince, to ſay the very trueth, we greatly wondred and were aſtoniſhed at the declaration thereof. For it is moſt apparant, not onely out of all ancient and credible hiſtories, but euen from the experience and ſtate of theſe regions, that the ſaid title and allegations are fabulous and fained. For out of all auncient monuments, by what names ſoeuer they bee called (whereof there are diuers extant among vs) it cannot be proued by any mention, nor yet by any likelihoode or coniecture, that thoſe things which the Moſcouite affirmeth concerning the people which were gouernors of theſe regions in times paſt, and concerning the right and title of his anceſtors vnto this prouince, are grounded vpon truth.

The commodities of traffike and of nauigation.

For it is not vnknowen by what meanes this prouince, partly through the induſtry of marchants, and partly by the benefite of nauigation, was firſt diſcouered: neither is it vnknowen howe the inhabitants thereof beeing wholly addicted vnto heatheniſh ſuperſtitions and idolatrie, were by the croiſed knights (who drew other knights profeſſing the ſame order in Pruſſia to aide and accompanie them in this their enterpriſe) and that with great labour and difficultie, conuerted vnto the Chriſtian faith: when as at the ſame time the Liuonians had no knowledge at all of the iuriſdiction, religion, maners, or language of Moſcouie: who had not onely no conuerſation nor dealings with the Moſcouites, but were eſtranged alſo from all other nations whatſoeuer: for leading a miſerable, poore, barbarous, and heatheniſh life, in ſauage maner among wilde beaſtes, and in the deſert and ſolitary woods, they were vtterly ignorant of God and deſtitute of ciuil magiſtrates. Howbeit this kind of gouernment was peculiar vnto them, namely that all of one familie and ſociety vſed a kinde of reuerence vnto their elders more then to any other, whom alſo, that their authoritie might be the greater, they called by the name of kings, and (albeit one of their families conſiſted of a 100. perſons) they obeyed them in al reſpects, and after their rude and barbarous maner did them loyal ſeruice. At the very ſame time the Moſcouites had receiued the religion, and the Eccleſiaſticall ceremonies of the Greeke and Eaſterne Church, which religion they publiſhed and diſperſed throughout all prouinces ſubiect to their dominion, vſing their owne proper letters and characters for the ſame purpoſe. Of all which things the Liuonians which very barbarouſly inhabited a lande beeing enuironed with Ruſſia, Lithuania, Samogitia, Pruſſia, and the Balthic ſea, neuer heard any report at all. It is moreouer to be noted that neuer at any time heretofore either within the earth, or in other places of Liuonia, there haue bene found any monuments at all of the antiquitie or letters of the Ruſſes: which verily muſt needs haue come to paſſe, if the Moſcouites, Ruſſes, or any other nations which vſe the foreſaid particulars, had borne rule and authority ouer the Liuonians: yea there had beene left ſome remainder and token, either of their religion and diuine worſhip, or of their lawes and cuſtomes, or at the leaſt of their maners, language, and letters. This indeed we can in no wiſe deny, that euen in Liuonia it ſelfe, there haue bin in times paſt and at this preſent are many and diuers languages ſpoken by the people. Howbeit no one language of them all hath any affinity either with the Moſcouian tongue, or with the tongues of any other nations. But whereas the Moſcouite pretendeth that there hath bin vſually paide a penſion or tribute vnto himſelfe and his predeceſſours out of the whole prouince, it is as incredible as the former.

About the beginning of this tragicall warre, the Moſcouite, to cloke his tyranny and ambition vnder ſome faire pretenſe, amongſt other of his demaunds, made mention alſo of a tribute which ſhould be due vnto him out of the biſhop of Dorpat his iuriſdiction, whereof notwithſtanding hee could neither bring any iuſt account, nor affirm any certainty: howbeit there is no man liuing to be found which either can tell of his owne remembrance, or from the relation of others, that any ſuch tribute was euer paid vnto the Moſcouite. What time therefore he referred al this negotiation vnto the maſter of the Liuonian order, and commanded him to get what knowledge hee could therof from the men of Dorpat, & vrged the tribute, ſaying if it were worth but one haire, that he would not remit it: at length it was found recorded in the ancient Chronicles of Dorpat, that beyond the memory of man, when the territory of Pleſco contained nothing but woods and forreſts for wilde beaſtes, that the peſaunts of the liberty of Dorpat called Neuhus, by the conſent of the Ruſſian borderers, enioyed Bee-hiues in the ſaid woods, and paid euery yeere in lieu thereof vnto the Ruſſian gouernours, ſixe ſhillings of Liuonian coine. But ſo ſoone as the Ruſſians had felled the woods and had built townes and villages in their place, the ſaide penſion ceaſed together with the trees which were cut downe. Wherefore the ſaide ſixe ſhillings were neuer ſince that time either demanded by the Ruſſes or paid by the Liuonians. Theſe things which I knew concerning the cauſes of the Liuonian warres I thought good to ſignifie vnto you. Giuen the 22. of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

Ordinan-

Ordinances, inſtructions, and aduertiſements of and for the *direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and deliue*red by the right worſhipfull M. Sebaſtian Cabota Eſquier, gouernour of the myſterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the diſcouerie of Regions, Dominions, Iſlands and places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reigne of our moſt dread ſoueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth ſupreame head.

First the Captaine general, with the pilot maior, the maſters, marchants & other officers, to be ſo knit and accorded in vnitie, loue, conformitie, and obedience in euery degree on all ſides, that no diſſention, variance, or contention may riſe or ſpring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hinderance of the voyage: for that diſſention (by many experiences) hath ouerthrown many notable intended and likely enterpriſes and exploits.

2 Item, for as much as euery perſon hath giuen an othe to be true, faithfull, and loial ſubiects, and liege men to the kings moſt excellent Maieſtie, his heires and ſucceſſors, and for the obſeruation of all lawes & ſtatutes, made for the preſeruation of his moſt excellent Maieſtie, & his crown Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to ſerue his grace, the Realme, and this preſent voyage truely, and not to giue vp, intermit, or leaue off the ſaid voyage and enterpriſe vntill it ſhalbe accompliſhed, ſo farre forth as poſſibilitie and life of man may ſerue or extend: Therfore it behoueth euery perſon in his degree, as well for conſcience, as for dueties ſake to remember his ſaid charge, and the accompliſhment thereof.

3 Item, where furthermore euery mariner or paſſenger in his ſhip, hath giuen like othe to bee obedient to the Captaine generall, and to euery Captaine and maſter in his ſhip, for the obſeruation of theſe preſent orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter ſhalbe made by the 12. counſailers in this preſent book named, or the moſt part of them, for the better conduction, and preſeruation of the fleete, and atchieuing of the voyage, and to be prompt, ready and obedient in all acts and feates of honeſty, reaſon, and duetie to be miniſtred, ſhewed & executed, in aduancement and preferment of the voyage and exploit: therfore it is conuenient that this preſent booke ſhall once euery weeke (by the diſcretion of the Captaine) be read to the ſaid companie, to the intent that euery man may the better remember his othe, conſcience, duetie and charge.

4 Item, euery perſon by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good wil (as farre forth as him ſhall complie) all, and euery ſuch act and acts, deede and deeds, as ſhalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enioyned (during the voyage) by the Captain generall, with the aſſent of the Counſell and aſſiſtants, as well in and during the whole Nauigatien and voyage, as alſo in diſconering and landing, as caſes and occaſions ſhall require.

5 Item, all courſes in Nauigation to be ſet and kept, by the aduice of the Captaine, Pilot maior, maſters, & maſters mates, with the aſſents of the counſailers and the moſt number of them, and in voyces vniformely agreeing in one to preuaile, and take place, ſo that the Captaine generall, ſhall in all counſailes and aſſemblies haue a double voyce.

6 Item, that the fleete ſhal keep together, and not ſeparate themſelues aſunder, as much as by winde & weather may be done or permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & maſters ſhall ſpeedily come aboord the Admiral, when and as often as he ſhall ſeeme to haue iuſt cauſe to aſſemble them for counſaile or conſultation to be had concerning the affaires of the fleete and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants, and other ſkilful perſons in writing, ſhal daily write, deſcribe, and put in memorie the Nauigation of euery day and night, with the points, and obſeruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the ſunne, courſe of the moon and ſtarres, and the ſame ſo noted by the order of the Maſter and pilot of euery ſhip to be put in writing, the captaine generall aſſembling the maſters together once euery weeke (if winde and weather ſhal ſerue) to conferre all the obſeruations, and notes of the ſaid ſhips, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they diſſent, and vpon good debatement, deliberation, and concluſion determined, to put the ſame into a common leger, to remain of record for the company: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Cardes, Aſtrolabes, and other inſtruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterpriſes and exploits of diſcouering or landing to ſearch Iles, regions, and ſuch like, to be ſearched, attempted, and enterpriſed by good deliberation, and common aſſent, determined aduiſedly. And that in all enterpriſes, notable ambaſſages, ſuites, requeſts, or preſentment of giftes, or preſents to Princes, to be done and executed by the captaine generall in

perſon or by ſuch other, as he by common aſſent ſhall appoint or aſſigne to doe or cauſe to be done in the ſame.

9 Item, the ſteward and cooke of euery ſhip, and their aſſociats, to giue and render to the captaine and other head officers of their ſhippe weekely (or oftner) if it ſhall ſeeme requiſite, a iuſt or plaine and perfect accompt of expenſes of the victuals, as wel fleſh, fiſh, biſket, meate, or bread, as alſo of beere, wine, oyle, or vineger, and all other kinde of victualling vnder their charge, and they, and euery of them ſo to order and diſpende the ſame, that no waſte or vnprofitable exceſſe be made otherwiſe then reaſon and neceſſitie ſhall command.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer, of what degree or condition he ſhalbe, ſhalbe tried vntrue, remiſſe, negligent, or vnprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to vſe himſelfe in his charge accordingly, then euery ſuch officer to be puniſhed or remoued at the diſcretion of the captaine and aſſiſtants, or the moſt part of them, and the perſon ſo remoued not to be reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remoue, any more for an officer, but to remaine in ſuch condition and place, as hee ſhall be aſſigned vnto, and none of the companie, to reſiſt ſuch chaſtiſement or worthie puniſhment, as ſhalbe miniſtred vnto him moderately, according to the fault or deſert of his offence, after the lawes and common cuſtomes of the ſeas, in ſuch caſes heretofore vſed and obſerued.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour ſhalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is preſently ſhipped for, ſuch perſon may bee vnſhipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Maieſties realme & dominion, and one other perſon more able and worthy to be put in his place, at the diſcretion of the captaine and maſters, & order to be taken that the partie diſmiſſed ſhalbe allowed proportionably the value of that he ſhall haue deſerued to the time of his diſmiſſion or diſcharge, & he to giue order with ſureties, pawn, or other aſſurance, to repay the ouerplus of that he ſhall haue receiued, which he ſhall not haue deſerued, & ſuch wages to be made with the partie newly placed as ſhalbe thought reaſonable, and he to haue the furniture of al ſuch neceſſaries as were prepared for the partie diſmiſſed, according to right and conſcience.

12 Item, that no blaſpheming of God, or deteſtable ſwearing be vſed in any ſhip, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or vngodly talke to be ſuffred in the company of any ſhip, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diueliſh games to be frequented, whereby enſueth not onely pouertie to the players, but alſo ſtrife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the vtter deſtruction of the parties, and prouoking of Gods moſt iuſt wrath, and ſworde of vengeance. Theſe and all ſuch like peſtilences, and contagions of vices, and ſinnes to bee eſchewed, and the offenders once moniſhed, and not reforming, to bee puniſhed at the diſcretion of the captaine and maſter, as appertaineth.

13 Item, that morning and euening prayer, with other common ſeruices appointed by the kings Maieſtie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and ſaide in euery ſhip daily by the miniſter in the Admirall, and the marchant or ſome other perſon learned in other ſhips, and the Bible or paraphraſes to be read deuoutly and Chriſtianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Nauigants accordingly.

A miniſter in the voyage.

14 Item, that euery officer is to be charged by Inuentorie with the particulars of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the diffraying of the ſame together with modeſt & temperate diſpending of powder, ſhot, and vſe of all kinde of artillery, which is not to be miſuſed, but diligently to be preſerued for the neceſſary defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all inſtruments of your Nauigation, and other requiſites.

15 Item, no liquor to be ſpilt on the balaſt, nor filthines to be left within boord: the cook room, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the gromals & pages to bee brought vp according to the laudable order and vſe of the Sea, as well in learning of Nauigation, as in exerciſing of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liueries in apparel giuen to the mariners be to be kept by the marchants, and not to be worne, but by the order of the captaine, when he ſhall ſee cauſe to muſter or ſhewe them in good aray, for the aduancement and honour of the voyage, and the liueries to bee redeliuered to the keeping of the marchants, vntill it ſhal be thought conuenient for euery perſon to haue the ful vſe of his garment.

17 Item, when any mariner or any other paſſenger ſhal haue neede of any neceſſarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conſeruation of his health, the ſame ſhall bee deliuered him by the Marchant, at the aſſignement of the captaine and Maſter of that ſhippe, wherein ſuch needie perſon ſhall be, at ſuch reaſonable price as the ſame coſt, without any gaine to be exacted by the marchants, the value therof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the ſame to be diſcounted off the parties wages, that ſo ſhal receiue, and weare the ſame.

18 Item the ſicke, diſeaſed, weake, and viſited perſon within boord, to be tendred, relieued, comforted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and euery maner of perſon, without reſpect, to beare anothers burden, and no man to refuſe ſuch labour as ſhall be put to him, for the moſt benefite, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterpriſe, to be atchieued exactly.

19 Item if any perſon ſhal fortune to die, or miſcary in the voyage, ſuch apparell, and other goods, as he ſhall haue at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the captaine and Maſter of the ſhippe, and an inuentorie to be made of it, and conſerued to the vſe of his wife, and children, or otherwiſe according to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he ſhall haue deſerued to his death, and what ſhall reſt due to him.

20 Item, that the Marchants appointed for this preſent voyage, ſhall not make any ſhew or ſale of any kind of marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forrein princes, or any of their ſubiects, without the conſent, priuitie, or agreement of the Captaines, the cape Marchants and the aſſiſtants, or foure of them, whereof the captaine generall, the Pilot Maior, and cape marchant to be three, and euery of the pettie marchants to ſhewe his reckoning to the cape marchant, when they, or any of them ſhall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the petie marchants, without the aſſent abouesaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought or giuen to the companie, by way of marchandiſe, trucke, or any other reſpect, to be booked by the marchants, and to be wel ordred, packed, and conſerued in one maſſe entirely, and not to be broken or altered, vntil the ſhippes ſhall returne to the right diſcharges, and inuentorie of al goods, wares, and marchandiſes ſo trucked, bought, or otherwiſe diſpended, to be preſented to the Gouernor, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants in London, in good order, to the intent the Kings Maieſtie may be truly anſwered of that which to his grace by his grant of corporation is limited, according to our moſt bound dueties, and the whole companie alſo to haue that which by right vnto them appertaineth, and no embezelment ſhall be vſed, but the truth of the whole voyage to bee opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and myſterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine.

King Edwards corporation.

21 Item, no particular perſon, to hinder or preiudicate the common ſtocke of the company, in ſale or preferment of his own proper wares, and things, and no particular emergent or purchaſe to be employed to any ſeuerall profite, vntill the common ſtocke of the companie ſhall be furniſhed, and no perſon to hinder the common benefite in ſuch purchaſes or contingents, as ſhal fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper policie, induſtrie, or chance, nor no contention to riſe in that behalfe, by any occaſion of iewel, ſtone, pearles, precious mettals, or other things of the region, where it ſhall chance the ſame to riſe, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or giuen: but euery perſon to be bounden in ſuch caſe, and vpon ſuch occaſion, by order, and direction, as the generall captaine, and the Councell ſhall eſtabliſh and determine, to whoſe order and diſcretion the ſame is left: for that of things vncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be giuen.

22 Item not to diſcloſe to any nation the ſtate of our religion, but to paſſe it ouer in ſilence, without any declaration of it, ſeeming to beare with ſuch lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you ſhall arriue.

23 Item for as much as our people, and ſhippes may appeare vnto them ſtrange and wonderous, and theirs alſo to ours: it is to be conſidered, how they may be vſed, learning much of their natures and diſpoſitions, by ſome one ſuch perſon, as you may firſt either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ſhips, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or diſhoneſtie.

24 Item the perſon ſo taken, to be well entertained, vſed, and apparelled, to be ſet on land, to the intent that he or ſhe may allure other to draw nigh to ſhewe the commodities: and if the perſon taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you ſhal know the ſecrets of his heart.

25 Item our people may not paſſe further into a lande, then that they may be able to recouer their pinneſſes, or ſhips, & not to credit the faire words of the ſtrange people, which be many times tried ſubtile, and falſe, nor to be drawen into perill of loſſe, for the deſire of golde, ſiluer, or riches, and eſteeme your owne commodities aboue al other, and in countenance ſhew not much to deſire the forren commodities: neuertheleſſe take them as for friendſhip, or by way of permutation.

26 Item euery nation and region is to be conſidered aduiſedly, & not to prouoke them by any diſdaine, laughing, contempt, or ſuch like, but to vſe them with prudent circumſpection, with al gentlenes, and curteſie, and not to tary long in one place, vntill you ſhall haue attained the moſt worthy place yͭ may be found, in ſuch ſort, as you may returne wͭ victuals ſufficient proſperouſly.

27 Item the names of the people of euery Iſland, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the ſame, their natures, qualities, and diſpoſitions, the ſite of the

ſame, and what things they are moſt deſirous of, & what commodities they wil moſt willingly depart with, & what mettals they haue in hils, mountaines, ſtreames, or riuers, in, or vnder the earth.

28 Item if people ſhal appeare gathering of ſtones, gold, mettall, or other like, on the ſand, your pinneſſes may drawe nigh, marking what things they gather, vſing or playing vpon the drumme, or ſuch other inſtruments, as may allure them to harkening, to fantaſie, or deſire to ſee, and heare your inſtruments and voyces, but keepe you out of danger, and ſhewe to them no poynt or ſigne of rigour and hoſtilitie.

29 Item if you ſhall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers houſe, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in ſuch order of ſtrength, that you may be ſtronger then they, and be warie of woods and ambuſhes, and that your weapons be not out of your poſſeſſions.

30 Item if you ſhall ſee them weare Lyons or Beares ſkinnes, hauing long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that ſight: for ſuch be worne oftentimes more to feare ſtrangers, then for any other cauſe.

31 Item there are people that can ſwimme in the ſea, hauens, & riuers, naked, hauing bowes and ſhafts, coueting to draw nigh your ſhips, which if they ſhal finde not wel watched, or warded, they wil aſſault, deſirous of the bodies of men, which they couet for meate: if you reſiſt them, they diue, and ſo will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night, in ſome Iſlands.

32 Item if occaſion ſhal ſerue, that you may giue aduertiſements of your proceedings in ſuch things as may correſpond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of ſucceſſe in the voyage, paſſing ſuch dangers of the ſeas, perils of ice, intollerable coldes, and other impediments, which by ſundry authors & writers, haue miniſtred matter of ſuſpition in ſome heads, that this voyage could not ſuccede for the extremitie of the North pole, lacke of paſſage, & ſuch like, which haue cauſed wauering minds, and doubtful heads, not onely to withdraw themſelues from the aduenture of this voyage, but alſo diſſwaded others from the ſame, the certaintie wherof, when you ſhall haue tried by experience, (moſt certaine Maſter of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the trueth, which you ſhall haue experted, you may by common aſſent of counſell, ſende either by land, or otherwaies, ſuch two or one perſon, to bring the ſame by credite, as you ſhal think may paſſe in ſafetie: which ſending is not to be done, but vpon vrgent cauſes, in likely ſucceſſe of the voyage, in finding of paſſage, in towardlines of beneficiall traffike, or ſuch other like, whereby the company being aduertiſed of your eſtates and proceedings, may further prouide, foreſee, and determine that which may ſeeme moſt good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the ſame: either prouiding before hand ſuch things, as ſhall bee requiſite for the continuance of the voyage, or elſe otherwiſe to diſpoſe as occaſion ſhall ſerue: in which things your wiſedomes and diſcretions are to be vſed, and ſhewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant, how many perſons, as well the kings Maieſtie, the Lords of his honorable Counſel, this whole companie, as alſo your wiues, children, kinſfolkes, allies, friends and familiars, be repleniſhed in their hearts with ardent deſire to learne and know your eſtates, conditions, and welfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtain this notable enterpriſe, which is hoped no leſſe to ſucceed to you, then the Orient or Occident Indias haue to the high benefite of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whoſe ſubiects induſtries, and trauailes by ſea, haue inriched them, by thoſe lands and Iſlands, which were to all Coſmographers, and other writers both vnknowne, and alſo by apparances of reaſon voide of experience thought and reputed vnhabitable for extremities of heates, and colds, and yet indeed tried moſt rich, peopled, temperate, and ſo commodious, as all Europe hath not the like.

Reaſon voide of experience.

33 Item no conſpiracies, parttakings, factions, falſe tales, vntrue reports, which be the very ſeedes, and fruits of contention, diſcord, & confuſion, by euill tongues to be ſuffered, but the ſame, & all other vngodlines to be chaſtened charitably with brotherly loue, and alwaies obedience to be vſed and practiſed by al perſons in their degrees, not only for duetie and conſcience ſake towards God, vnder whoſe mercifull hand nauigants aboue all other creatures naturally bee moſt nigh, and vicine, but alſo for prudent and worldly pollicie, and publike weale, conſidering and alwaies hauing preſent in your mindes that you be all one moſt royall kings ſubiects, and naturals, with daily remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praiſe, and benefite that depend of, and vpon the ſame, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the aduancement of you the trauailers therein, your wiues, and children, and ſo to endeuour your ſelues as that you may ſatiſfie the expectation of them, who at their great coſts, charges, and expenſes, haue ſo furniſhed you in good ſort, and plentie of all neceſſaries, as the like was neuer in any realme ſeene, vſed, or knowen requiſite and needful for ſuch an exploit, which is moſt likely to be atchieued, and brought to good effect, if euery perſon in his vocation ſhall endeuour himſelfe according to his charge, and moſt bounden duetie: praying the liuing God, to giue you his grace, to accom-

pliſh your charge to his glorie, whoſe merciful hand ſhal proſper your voyage, and preſerue you from all dangers.

In witnes whereof I Sebaſtian Gabota, Gouernour aforeſayde, to theſe preſent ordinances, haue ſubſcribed my name, and put my ſeale, the day and yeere aboue written.

The names of the twelue Counſellors appointed in *this voyage.*

1 SIr Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall.
2 Richard Chancelour Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3 George Burton Cape marchant.
4 Maſter Richard Stafford Miniſter.
5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6 Iames Dalabere Gentleman.
7 William Gefferſon Maſter of the Bona Speranza Admirall.
8 Stephen Burrough Maſter of the Edward Bonauenture.
9 Gornelius Durfurth Maſter of the Confidentia.
10 Roger Wilſon.
11 Iohn Buckland. } Maſters mates.
12 Richard Ingram.

Exemplar Epiſtolæ ſeu literarum Miſsiuatum, quas illuſtriſsimus *Princeps Eduardus eius nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hi*berniæ Rex, miſit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes iuxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem; Anno Domini 1553 Regni ſui anno ſeptimo, & vltimo.

EDuardus ſextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, &c. Omnibus Regibus & principibus ac dominis, & cunctis Iudicibus terræ, & Ducibus eius, quibuſcunque eſt excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ ſunt ſub vniuerſo cœlo: Pax, tranquillitas, & honor vobis, terris, & regionibus veſtris quæ imperio veſtro ſubiacent, cuiq; veſtrum quemadmodum conuenit ei. Propterea quòd indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis alijs viuentibus, cor & deſiderium tale, vt appetat quiſque cum alijs ſocietatem inire, amare, & viciſſim amari, beneficijs afficere, & mutua accipere beneficia ſtudeat, ideò cuique pro facultate ſua hoc deſiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficijs fouere & conſeruare conuenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc deſiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingreſſi ſunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc deſiderium fuiſſe declararunt. Inſuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorumq; noſtrorum exempla inuitant, qui ſemper humaniſſimè ſuſceperunt & benigniſſimè tractauerunt illos, qui tum à locis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum ſe protectioni commendantes. Quod ſi omnibus id præſtare æquum eſt, certè mercatoribus imprimis præſtari debet, qui per vniuerſum orbem diſcurrunt, mare circumluſtrantes & aridam, vt res bonas & vtiles, quę Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotiſſimas regiones & regna adferant, atque inde viciſſim referant, quòd ſuæ regioni vtile ibi repererint: vt & populi ad quos eunt, non deſtituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, & ipſi ſint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli & terræ, humano generi maximè conſulens, noluit vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quò regio ope alterius regionis indigeret, & gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita ſtabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, ſinguliq; omnibus benefacere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac ſtabiliendæ amicitiæ deſiderio moti viri quidam regni noſtri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones inſtituerunt, vt inter noſtros & illos populos, viam mercibus inferendis & efferendis aperirent, noſq; rogauerunt vt id illis concederemus. Qui petitioni illorum annuentes, conceſſimus viro honorabili & forti, Hugoni Wilibeo, & alijs qui cum eo ſunt ſeruis noſtris fidis & charis, vt pro ſua voluntate, in regiones eis prius incognitas eant, quæſituri ea quibus nos caremus, & adducant illis ex noſtris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis & nobis commodum inde accedat, ſitq; amicitia perpetua, & fœdus indiſſolubile inter illos & nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus ſuperabundant in regnis ſuis, & nos concedemus illis ex regnis noſtris res, quibus deſtituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges & Principes, & omnes quibus aliqua eſt poteſtas in terra, vt viris iſtis noſtris, tranſitum permittatis per regiones veſtras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus veſtris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quòd homines & ipſi ſunt. Et ſi qua re caruerint, oramus pro veſtra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes viciſſim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cuperetis vt nos, & ſubditi noſtri, nos gereremus erga ſeruos veſtros, ſi quando tranſierint per regiones noſtras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo, terra & mari continentur, perq́; vitam noſtram, & tranquillitatem regnorum noſtrorum, nos pari benignitate ſeruos veſtros accepturos, ſi ad regna noſtra aliquando venerint. Atque à nobis & ſubditis noſtris, ac ſi nati fuiſſent in regnis noſtris ita benignè tractabuntur, vt rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam noſtris exhibueritis. Poſtquam vos Reges, Principes, &c. rogauimus, vt humanitate & beneficentia omni proſequamini ſeruos noſtros nobis charos, oramus omnipotentem Deum noſtrum, vt vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur, & pacem quæ nullam habeat finem. Scriptum Londini, quæ ciuitas eſt primaria regni noſtri, Anno 5515. à creato mundo, menſe Iair, 14. die menſis, anno ſeptimo regni noſtri.

The copie of the letters miſſiue, which the right noble Prince *Edward the ſixt ſent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting the Northeaſt partes of the worlde, toward the mighty Empire of* Cathay, at ſuch time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their company, attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Chriſt 1553. and the ſeuenth and laſt yeere of his raigne.

EDward the ſixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges, and Gouernours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent dignitie on the ſame, in all places vnder the vniuerſall heauen: peace, tranquillitie, and honour be vnto you, and your lands and regions, which are vnder your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

Foraſmuch as the great and Almightie God hath giuen vnto mankinde, aboue all other liuing creatures, ſuch an heart and deſire, that euery man deſireth to ioine friendſhip with other, to loue, and be loued, alſo to giue and receiue mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increaſe this deſire in euery man, with well deſeruing to all men, and eſpecially to ſhew this good affection to ſuch, as being moued with this deſire, come vnto them from farre countreis. For how much the longer voyage they haue attempted for this intent, ſo much the more doe they thereby declare that this deſire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore alſo, the examples of our fathers and predeceſſors doe inuite vs hereunto, foraſmuch as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated ſuch as of friendly mind came to them, aſwell from Countries neare hand, as farre remote, commending themſelues to their protection. And if it be right and equity to ſhew ſuch humanitie toward all men, doubtleſſe the ſame ought chiefly to be ſhewed to marchants, who wandering about the world, ſearch both the land and the ſea, to carry ſuch good and profitable things, as are found in their Countries, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the ſame, ſuch things as they find there commodious for their owne Countries: both aſwell that the people, to whom they goe, may not be deſtitute of ſuch commodities as their Countries bring not foorth to them, as that alſo they may be partakers of ſuch things, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen and earth greatly prouiding for mankinde, would not that all things ſhould be found in one region, to the ende that one ſhould haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendſhip might be eſtabliſhed among all men,, and euery one ſeeke to gratifie all. For the eſtabliſhing and furtherance of which vniuerſall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, mooued heereunto by the ſaid deſire, haue inſtituted and taken vpon them a voyage by ſea into farre Countreis, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may bee opened to bring in, and cary out marchandizes, deſiring vs to further their enterpriſe. Who aſſenting to their petition, haue licenſed the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our truſty and faithfull ſeruants, which are with him, according to their deſire, to goe to countreis to them heeretofore vnknowen, aſwell to ſeeke ſuch things as we lacke, as alſo to cary vnto them from our regions, ſuch things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may enſue both to them and vs, but alſo an indiſſoluble and perpetuall league of friendſhip be eſtabliſhed betweene vs both, while they permit vs to take of their things, ſuch whereof they haue abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them ſuch things of ours, whereof they are deſtitute We therfore deſire you kings & princes, and al other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit vnto theſe our ſeruants free paſſage by your regions and dominions: for they ſhall not touch any thing of yours vnwilling vnto you. Conſider you that they alſo are men. If therefore they ſhall ſtand in neede of any thing, we deſire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with ſuch things as they lacke, receiuing againe of them ſuch things as they ſhall bee able to giue you in recompenſe. Shew your ſelues ſo towards them, as you would that we and our ſubiects ſhould ſhewe our ſelues towards your ſeruants, if at any time they ſhall paſſe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promiſe you by the God of all things that are contained in heauen, earth, and the Sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your ſeruants, if at any time they ſhall come to our kingdomes, where they ſhall as friendly and gently bee entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompence the fauour and benignitie which you haue ſhewed to our men. Thus after we haue deſired you Kings and princes, &c. with all humanity and fauour, to entertaine our welbeloued ſeruants, we will pray our Almighty God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which neuer ſhall haue ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe Citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world, 5515. in the moneth of Iiar, the foureteenth day of the moneth, and ſeuenth yeere of our reigne.

Iiar. I would reade Mair, that is, in the Saraſen language, mixt of Turkiſh and Aegyptian, Februarie, interpreted by them the moneth to ſet ſhips to the ſea.

This letter was written alſo in Greeke, and diuers other languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ſhips, *to wit, the* Speranza, *which wintred in Lappia, where ſir Hugh Willoughby* and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.

The voiage intended for the diſcouerie of Cathay, and diuers other regions, dominions, Iſlands, and places vnknowen, ſet forth by the right worſhipful, maſter Sebaſtian Cabota Eſquire, and Gouernour of the myſterie and company of the Marchants Aduenturers of the citie of London: which fleete being furniſhed, did ſet forth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the ſeuenth yeere of our moſt dread Soueraigne Lord, and King, Edward the ſixt.

The names of the ſhippes of the fleete, and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counſellors, Pilot Maior, Maſters of the ſhips, Marchants, with other officers, and Mariners, as hereafter followeth.

The firſt ſhip.

The Bona Eſperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, hauing with her a pinneſſe, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine generall of the fleete.
William Gefferſon, Maſter of the ſhippe.
Roger Wilſon, his Mate.
William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, Iohn Andrews, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralph Chatterton, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the cuſtome, and vſe of the Seas,

Iohn Brooke, Maſter Gunner.
Nicholas Anthony, Boateſwaine.
Iohn Web, his Mate.
Chriſtopher Banbrucke, Thomas Dauiſon, Robert Roſſe, Thomas Simpſon, quarter Maſters.
William White, Iames Smith, Thomas Painter, Iohn Smith, their Mates.
Richard Gwinne, George Goiſwine, Carpenters.
Robert Gwinne, Purſer.
Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.
Richard Morgan, Cooke.
Thomas Naſhe, his Mate.
William Light, Iohn Brande, Cutbert Chelſie, George Blage, Thomas Walker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, Iohn Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.
Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwich.

Diſcharged at Harwich, by reaſon of ſicknes, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony.
For pickerie ducked at the yards arme, and ſo diſcharged Thomas Naſh.

The Edward Bonauenture, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinneſſe, and a boate.
Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot maior of the fleete.
Stephen Borowgh, Maſter of the ſhip.
Iohn Buckland, his Mate.
George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.
Iohn Stafford, Miniſter.
Iames Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, Iohn Segſwike, Thomas Francis, Iohn Haſſe, Richard Iohnſon, William Kempe.

The ſecond ſhip.

Iohn Stafford Miniſter.

Mariners and officers, according to the cuſtome and vſe of the Seas.

Robert Stanton, Maſter Gunner.
Iohn Walker, his Mate.
Iames Long, Iohn Cocks, Gunners.
Thomas Walter, Surgeon.
Peter Palmer, Boateſwaine.
Richard Strowde, his Mate.
Iohn Robinſon, Iohn Carowe, Thomas Stone, Roger Liſhbie, quarter Maſters.
Iohn Auſten, Steward: Patricke Steuens, his Mate.
Auſten Iacks, Cooke.
William Euery, Cowper.
Griffin Wagham, Carpenter.
Thomas Stelſton, Thomas Townes, Iohn Robinſon, Iohn White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, Iohn Browne, William Morren, William Watſon, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterſon, William Beare, Iohn Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrough, Roger Welford, Iohn Williams.

M. William Burrough nowe comptroller of her Maieſties nauie.

The Bona Confidentia of 90. tunnes, hauing with her a pinneſſe, and a boate.
Cornelius Durfoorth, Maſter of the ſhippe.
Richard Ingram, his Mate.
Thomas Langlie, Edward Keuer, Henrie Dorſet, Marchants.

The third ſhip.

Mariners and officers, according to the vſe and cuſtome of the Sea.

Henrie Tailer, Maſter Gunner.
George Thurland, his Mate.
William Hamane, Boateſwaine.
Iohn Edwards, his Mate.
Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenſon, Iohn Haye, William Shepwaſh, quarter Maſters.
Iohn Reyne, Steward.
Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Laſſie, his Mate.
Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.
Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, Iohn Moore, William Chapman, Brian Cheſter, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibſon, Iohn Clarocke, Eraſmus Bently, Iohn Duriforth.

The *Iuramentum*, or othe, miniſtred to the Captaine.

YOu ſhall ſweare to be a faithfull, true, and loyal ſubiect in all points, and duties, that to a ſubiect appertaineth, to our ſoueraigne Lord the kings Maieſtie, his heires, and ſucceſſors: and that you ſhall wel and truely to the vttermoſt of your capacitie, wit, & knowledge, ſerue this preſent voiage, committed to your charge, and not to giue vp, nor ſooner intermit the ſame, vntil you ſhall haue atchieued the ſame, ſo farre foorth, as you may without danger of your life, and loſſe of the fleete: you ſhall giue good, true, and faithful counſell to the ſaid ſocietie, and to ſuch as ſhal haue the charge with or vnder you, and not to diſcloſe the ſecrets, or priuities of the ſame to any perſon by any maner of meane, to the preiudice, hurt, or damage of it. You ſhal miniſter iuſtice to all men vnder your charge, without reſpect of perſon, or any affection, that might moue you to decline from the true miniſtration of iuſtice. And further, you ſhal obſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued, as much as in you lieth, all and ſingular rules, articles, prouiſions hitherto made, or heereafter to be made for the preſeruation or ſafeconduct of the fleete and voyage, and benefit of the company. You ſhall not permit nor ſuffer the ſtocke or goods of the company to be waſted, imbezeled, or conſumed, but ſhall conſerue the ſame whole and entire, without diminiſhment, vntill you ſhall haue deliuered, or cauſe to be deliuered the ſame, to the vſe of the companie. And finally you ſhal vſe your ſelfe in all points, ſorts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this companie ſhall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe miniſtred to the Maiſter of the ſhip, &c.

YOu ſhall ſweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according and to the vttermoſt of your knowledge, and good vnderſtanding in mariners ſcience and craft, ſhall in your vocation doe your beſt to conduct the good ſhippe called the N. &c. whereof you nowe are Maiſter vnder God, both vnto and from the portes of your diſcouerie, and ſo vſe your indeuour and faithfull diligence, in charging, diſcharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the ſame ſhippe, as may be moſt for the benefite and profite of this right worſhipfull fellowſhip: and you ſhall not priuately bargein, buy, ſell, exchange, barter, or diſtribute any goods, wares, merchandize, or things whatſoeuer (neceſſary tackles and victuals for the ſhippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the priuate lucre, gaine, or profit of any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer. And further, If you ſhall know any boatſwaine, mariner, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, to buy, ſell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, marchandizes, or things for priuate account, reckoning, or behalfe, you ſhall doe your beſt to withſtand and let the ſame: and if you cannot commodiouſly ſo doe, that then before the diſcharge of ſuch goods bought for priuat account, you ſhal giue knowledge therof to the cape marchant of this ſaid fellowſhip for the time being. And you ſhal not receiue nor take, nor ſuffer to be receiued or taken into your ſaid ſhip during this voyage any maner perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, going or returning, but onely thoſe mariners which without fraud or guile ſhall be hired to be of your company, and to ſerue in mariners craft and ſcience onely: So helpe you God, &c.

These foreſaid ſhippes being fully furniſhed with their pinneſſes and boates, well appointed with al maner of artillerie, and other things neceſſary for their defence with al the men aforeſaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and valed vnto Detford, the 10. day of May, 1553.

The 11. day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detford, paſſing by Greenwich, ſaluting the kings Maieſty then being there, ſhooting off our ordinance, & ſo valed vnto Blackwall, and there remained vntil the 17. day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackwall, and came to Woolwich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and ſo the ſame night vnto Heyreth.

The 18. day from Heyreth vnto Graueſend, and there remained vntil the twentieth day: that day being Saterday, from Graueſend vnto Tilberie Hope, remaining there vntill the two and twentieth day.

May.

The 22. day from Tilbery Hope to Hollie hauen.

The 23. day from Hollie Hauen, till we came againſt Lee, and there remained that night, by reaſon that the winde was contrary to vs.

The 24. day the winde being in the Southweſt in the morning, we ſailed along the coaſt ouer the Spits, vntill we came againſt S. Oſyth, about ſixe of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25. day about tenne of the clocke we departed from S. Oſyth, and ſo ſailed forward vnto the Naſe, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26. day at fiue of the clock in the morning, we weyed our anker, and ſailed ouer the Naſe, the winde being at the Southweſt, vntill wee came to Orwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there vntill the 28. day.

The ſame day being Trinitie Sunday about 7. of of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers, and ſailed til we came athwart Walſurſye, and there came to an anker.

The 29. day from thence to Holmehead, where we ſtayed that day, where we conſulted which way, and what courſes were beſt to be holden for the diſcouerie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30. day of May at fiue of the clocke in the morning wee ſet ſaile, and came againſt Yermouth about three leagues into the ſea, riding there at anker all that night.

The laſt of May into the Sea ſixe leagues Northeaſt, and there taried that night, where the winde blew very ſore.

Iune.

The firſt of Iune the winde being at North contrary to vs, wee came backe againe to Orwell, and remained there vntill the 15. day, tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpoſe.

The 15 day being at Orwel in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning wee weyed our ankers, and went forth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we ſet forward, and ſayled vntill we came athwart Alburrough, and there ſtayed that night.

The 17 day about fiue of the clocke before noone we went backe vnto Orfordneſſe, and there remained vntill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Orwel, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of Iune the wind being faire in the Southweſt we hailed into the ſeas to Orfordneſſe, and from thence into the ſeas ten leagues Northeaſt: then being paſt the ſands, we changed our courſe ſixe leagues Northnortheaſt: about midnight we changed our courſe againe, and went due North, continuing in the ſame vnto the 27 day.

The 27 day about ſeuen of the clocke Northnorthweſt 42 leagues to the ende to fall with Shotland: then the wind veared to the Weſt, ſo that we could lie but North and by Weſt, continuing in the ſame courſe 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we ſayled North 16 leagues by eſtimation, after that North and by Weſt, & Northnorthweſt, then Southeaſt, with diuers other courſes, trauerſing and tracing the ſeas, by reaſon of ſundry and manifolde contrary windes, vntill the 14 day of Iuly: and then the ſunne entring into Leo, we diſcouered land Eaſtward of vs, vnto the which we ſayled that night as much as we might: and after wee went on ſhore with our Pinneſſe, & found little houſes to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we iudged, for feare of vs.

Iuly.

The land was all full of little Iſlands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Orfordneſſe North and by Eaſt, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The diſtance betweene Orfordneſſe and Ægeland 250 leagues. Then we ſailed from thence 12 leagues Northweſt, and found many other Iſlandes, and there came to anker the 19 day, and manned our Pinneſſe, and went on ſhore to the Iſlands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the ſhore and welcomed vs. In which place were an innumerable ſort of Iſlands, which were called the Iſles of Roſt, being vnder the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minutes. The winde being contrary, we remayned there three dayes, & there was an innumerable ſort of foules of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

In this land dwellt Octher as it ſeemeth.

Roſt Iſlands.

The 22 day the winde comming fayre, we departed from Roſt, ſailing Northnortheaſt, keeping the ſea vntill the 27 day, and then we drew neere vnto the land, which was ſtill Eaſt of vs: then went foorth our Pinneſſe to ſeeke harborow, & found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our ſhippes, which was called Stanfew, and the land being Iſlands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being alſo vnder the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there vntil the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the foreſaid Roſt about 30 leagues Northnortheaſt.

Stanfew harbor.

Lofoot.

The 30 day of Iuly about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and ſayled along theſe Iſlands Northnortheaſt, keeping the land ſtill in ſight vntill the ſecond day of Auguſt: then hailing in cloſe aboord the land, to the entent to knowe what land it was, there came a ſkiffe of the Iſland aboord of vs, of whom we aſked many queſtions, who ſhewed vnto vs, that the Iſland was called Seynam, which is the latitude of ſeuenty degrees, and from Stanfew thirtie leagues, being alſo vnder the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandiſe there, but onely dryed fiſh, and traine oyle. Then we being purpoſed to goe vnto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might haue a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, & he ſaid, that if we could beare in, we ſhould haue a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring vs to Finmarke, vnto the wardhouſe, which is the ſtrongeſt holde in Finmarke, and moſt reſorted to by report. But when wee would haue entred into an harbour, the land being very high on euery ſide, there came ſuch flawes of winde and terrible whirlewinds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were conſtrained to take the ſea agayne, our Pinneſſe being vnſhipt: we ſailed North and by Eaſt, the wind increaſing ſo ſore that we were not able to beare any ſaile, but tooke them in, and lay a drift, to the end to let the ſtorme ouer paſſe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickeneſſe of miſts, we were not able to keepe together within ſight, and then about midnight we loſt our pinneſſe, which was a diſcomfort vnto vs. Aſſoone as it was day, and the fogge ouerpaſt, we looked about, and at the laſt we deſcried one of our ſhippes to Leeward of vs: then we ſpyed an hullocke of our foreſaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not ſee. Then the flaw ſomething abating, we and the Confidence hoyſed vp our ſailes the fourth day,

Auguſt.

Seynam in 70 degrees.

ſayling Northeaſt and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouſe, as we did conſult to doe before, in caſe we ſhould part company. Thus running Northeaſt and by North, and Northeaſt fiftie leagues, then we ſounded, and had 160 fadomes, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceiued that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherfore we changed our courſe the ſixt day, and ſailed Southeaſt and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouſe.

The eight day much winde riſing at the Weſtnorthweſt, we not knowing how the coaſt lay, ſtrook our ſayles, and lay a drift, where we ſounded and found 160 fadomes as afore.

The ninth day, the wind vearing to the South Southeaſt, we ſailed Northeaſt 25 leagues.

The tenth day we ſounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could ſee any land, wherat we wondered: then the wind comming at the Northeaſt, we ran Southeaſt about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the wind being at South, we ſounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire ſand.

The 12 day the winde being at South and by Eaſt, we lay with our ſaile Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day early in the morning we deſcried Land, which land we bare with all, hoiſing out our boat to diſcouer what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was ſo ſhoale, where was very much ice alſo, but there was no ſimilitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam Eaſt and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

Willoughbie his land, in 72 degrees.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeaſt, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and ſtocked, we thought it good to ſeeke harbour for her redreſſe: then we bare roome the 18 day Southſoutheaſt, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we ſounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we ſounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, ſo ſhoalder and ſhoalder water, and yet could ſee no land, where we marueiled greatly: to auoide this danger, we bare roomer into the ſea all that night Northweſt and by Weſt.

The next day we ſounded, and had 20. fadoms, then ſhaped our courſe, and ran Weſt Southweſt vntill the 23. day: then we deſcried a low land, vnto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then wee plyed Weſtward along by that lande, which lyeth Weſt Southweſt, and Eaſt Northeaſt, and much winde blowing at the Weſt, we haled into the ſea North and by Eaſt 30. leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeaſt, we ſailed Weſt Northweſt: after that, the winde bearing to the Northweſt, we lay with our ſailes Weſt ſouthweſt, about 14. leagues, and then deſcried land, and bare in with it, being the 28. day, finding ſhoale water, and bare in till we came to 3. fadome, then perceiuing it to be ſhoale water, and alſo ſeeing drie ſands, we haled out againe Northeaſt along that land vntil we came to the point thereof. That land turning to the Weſtwarde, we ran along 16. leagues Northweſt: then comming into a faire bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was vnhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had bin there, by croſſes, and other ſignes: from thence we went all along the coaſt Weſtward.

September.

The fourth day of September we loſt ſight of land, by reaſon of contrary winds, and the eight day we deſcried land againe. Within two dayes after we loſt the ſight of it: then running Weſt and by South about 30. leagues, we gat the ſight of land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to be a lee ſhore, we gat vs into the ſea, to the end to haue ſea roome.

The 12. of September we hailed to ſhoareward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the ſhoare, and the tide almoſt ſpent, wee came to an anker in 30. fadoms water.

The 13. day we came along the coaſt, which lay Northweſt and by Weſt, and Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

The 14. day we came to an anker within two leagues of the ſhoare, hauing 60. fadoms.

There we went a ſhore with our boat, & found two or three good harboroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we ſee none. The 15 day we ran ſtill along the coaſt vntill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary vnto vs, we thought it beſt to returne vnto the harbor which we had found before, and ſo we bare roomer with the ſame, howbeit we could not accōpliſh our deſire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the hauen, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This hauen runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many ſeale fiſhes, & other great fiſhes, and vpon the maine we ſaw beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers ſtrange beaſts, as ‖ guloines, and ſuch other which were to vs vnknowen, and alſo wonderfull. Thus remaining in this hauen the ſpace of a weeke, ſeeing the yeare farre ſpent, & alſo very euill wether, as froſt, ſnow, and haile, as though it had beene the deepe of winter, we thought beſt to winter there. Wherefore we ſent out three men

In this hauen they died.

‖ Or, Ellons.

Southſouthweſt, to ſearch if they could find people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we ſent other three Weſtward foure daies iourney, which alſo returned without finding any people. Then ſent we three men Southeaſt three dayes iourney, who in like ſorte returned without finding of people, or any ſimilitude of habitation.

Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his owne hand.

These two notes following were written vpon the outſide of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was ſeparated from the Edward Bonauenture.

2 Our ſhippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Iſland Loſoote.

The riuer or hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ſhips periſhed for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere vnto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ſhip that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and moſt of the company were aliue in Ianuary 1554.

The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of *Ruſsia*, *and Duke of* Moſcouia, *and of the dominions orders and commodities* thereunto belonging: drawen by *Richard Chancelour.*

FOraſmuch as it is meete and neceſſary for all thoſe that minde to take in hande the trauell into farre or ſtrange countreys, to endeuour themſelues not onely to vnderſtande the orders, commodities, and fruitfulneſſe thereof, but alſo to applie them to the ſetting foorth of the ſame, whereby it may incourage others to the like trauaile: therefore haue I nowe thought good to make a briefe rehearſall of the orders of this my trauaile in Ruſſia and Moſcouia, and other countreys thereunto adioyning; becauſe it was my chaunce to fall with the North partes of Ruſſia before I came towards Moſcouia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein. Ruſſia is very plentifull both of land and people, and alſo welthy for ſuch commodities as they haue. They be very great fiſhers for Salmons and ſmall Coddes: they haue much oyle which wee call treine oyle, the moſt whereof is made by a riuer called ‖ Duina. They make it in other places, but not ſo much as there. They haue alſo a great trade in ſeething of ſalte water. To the North parte of that countrey are the places where they haue their Furres, as Sables, marterns, greeſſe Beuers, Foxes white, blacke, and redde, Minkes, Ermines, Miniuer, and Harts. There are alſo a fiſhes teeth, which fiſh is called a Morſſe. The takers thereof dwell in a place called Poſteſora, which bring them vpon Hartes to Lampas to ſell, and from Lampas carie them to a place called Colmogro, where the hie market is holden on Saint Nicholas day. To the Weſt of Colmogro there is a place called Gratanoue, in our language Nouogorode, where much fine Flaxe and Hempe groweth, and alſo much waxe and honie. The Dutch marchants haue a Staplehouſe there. There is alſo great ſtore of hides, and at a place called Pleſco: and thereabout is great ſtore of Flaxe, Hempe, Waxe, Honie; and that towne is from Colmogro 120 miles.

‖ Duyna

Note.

There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallowe, Waxe, and Flaxe; but not ſo great plenty as is in Gratanoue. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a riuer called Duyna, and from thence it falleth into the ſea. Colmogro ſerueth Gratanoue, Vologda and the Moſco with all the countrey thereabout with ſalte and ſaltfiſh. From Vologda to Ieraſlaue is two hundreth miles: which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are hides, and tallowe, and corne in great plenty, and ſome Waxe, but not ſo plentifull as in other places.

The Moſco is from Ieraſlaue two hundreth miles. The countrey betwixt them is very wel repleniſhed with ſmall Villages, which are ſo well filled with people, that it is wonder to ſee them: the ground is well ſtored with corne which they carie to the citie of Moſco in ſuch abundance that it is wonder to ſee it. You ſhall meete in a morning ſeuen or eight hundred ſleds comming or going thither, that carrie corne, and ſome carie fiſh. You ſhall haue ſome that carie corne to the Moſco, and ſome that fetch corne from thence, that at the leaſt dwell a thouſand miles off: and all their cariage is on ſleds. Those which come ſo farre dwell in the North partes of the Dukes dominions, where the cold will ſuffer no corne to grow, it is ſo extreme. They bring thither fiſhes, furres, and beaſtes ſkinnes. In thoſe partes they haue but ſmall ſtore of cattell.

The Moſco it ſelfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the ſuburbes: but it is very rude, and ſtandeth without all order. Their houſes are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Caſtle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and very high: they ſay they are eighteene foote thicke, but I doe not beleeue it, it doth not ſo ſeeme, notwithſtanding I doe not certainely know it: for no ſtranger may come to viewe it. The one ſide is ditched, and on the other ſide runneth a riuer called Moſcua which runneth into Tartarie and ſo into the ſea called Mare Caſpium: and on the North ſide there is a baſe towne, the which hath alſo a bricke wall about it, and ſo it ioyneth with the Caſtle wall. The Emperour lieth in the caſtle, wherein are nine fayre Churches, and therin are religious men. Alſo there is a Metropolitane with diuers Biſhops. I will not ſtande in deſcription of their buildinges nor of the ſtrength thereof becauſe we haue better in all points in England. They be well furniſhed with ordinance of all ſortes.

The Emperours or Dukes houſe neither in building nor in the outward ſhew, nor yet within the houſe is ſo ſumptuous as I haue ſeene. It is very lowe built in eight ſquare, much like the olde building of England, with ſmall windowes, and ſo in other poynts.

Now to declare my comming before his Maieſtie: After I had remained twelue daies, the Secretary which hath the hearing of ſtrangers did ſend for me, aduertiſing me that the Dukes pleaſure was to haue me to come before his Ma. with the kings my maſters letters: whereof I was right glad, and ſo I gaue mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the interpretour came for me into the vtter chamber, where ſate one hundred or more gentlemen, all in cloth of golde very ſumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counſaile chamber, where ſate the Duke himſelfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they ſate round about the chamber on high, yet ſo that he himſelfe ſate much higher then any of his nobles in a chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten golde, with an emperial crowne vpon his head, and a ſtaffe of Criſtall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his chaire. The Chancelour ſtoode vp with the Secretary before the Duke. After my dutie done and my letter deliuered, he bade me welcome, & enquired of me the health of the King my maſter, and I anſwered that he was in good health at my departure from his court, and that my truſt was that he was now in the ſame. Vpon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancelour preſented my preſent vnto his Grace bareheaded (for before they were all couered) and when his Grace had receiued my letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to ſpeake to the Duke, but when he ſpake to me. So I departed vnto the Secretaries chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was ſent for againe vnto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I ſaw no cauſe why it ſhould be ſo called; for I haue ſeene many fayrer then it in all poynts: and ſo I came into the hall, which was ſmall and not great as is the Kings Maieſties of England, and the table was couered with a tablecloth; and the Marſhall ſate at the ende of the table with a little white rod in his hand, which boorde was full of veſſell of golde: and on the other ſide of the hall did ſtand a faire cupborde of plate. From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himſelfe ſate at his table without cloth of eſtate, in a gowne of ſiluer, with a crowne emperiall vpon his head, he ſate in a chaire ſomewhat hie: There ſate none neare him by a great way. There were long tables ſet round about the chamber, which were full ſet with ſuch as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Alſo the places where the tables ſtoode were higher by two ſteppes then the reſt of the houſe. In the middeſt of the chamber ſtoode a table or cupbord to ſet plate on; which ſtoode full of cuppes of golde: and amongſt all the reſt there ſtoode foure maruellous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and ſiluer: I thinke they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. By the cupborde ſtoode two gentlemen with napkins on their ſhoulders, and in their handes each of them had a cuppe of gold ſet with pearles and precious ſtones, which were the Dukes owne drinking cups: when he was diſpoſed, he drunke them off at a draught. And for his ſeruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich ſeruice: for all were ſerued in gold, not onely he himſelfe, but alſo all the reſt of vs, and it was very maſſie: the cups alſo were of golde and very maſſie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred perſons, and all were ſerued in golden veſſell. The gentlemen that waited were all in cloth of gold, and they ſerued him with their caps on their heads. Before the ſeruice came in, the Duke ſent to euery man a great ſhiuer of bread, and the bearer called the party ſo ſent to by his name aloude, and ſayd, Iohn Baſiliuich Emperour of Ruſſia and great Duke of Moſcouia doth reward thee with bread: then muſt all men ſtand vp, and doe at all times when thoſe wordes are ſpoken. And then laſt of all he giueth the Marſhall bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and ſo doth reuerence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes ſeruice of the Swannes all in pieces, and euery one in a ſeuerall diſh: the which the Duke ſendeth as he did the bread, and the bearer ſayth the ſame wordes as he ſayd before. And as I ſayd before, the ſeruice of his meate is in no order, but commeth in diſh by diſh: and then after that the Duke ſendeth drinke, with the like ſaying as before is tolde. Alſo before dinner hee changed his crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; ſo that I ſaw three ſeuerall crownes vpon his head in one day. And thus when his ſeruice was all come in hee gaue to euery one of his gentlemen waiters meate with his owne hand, & ſo likewiſe drinke. His intent thereby is, as I haue heard, that euery man ſhall know perfectly his ſeruants. Thus when dinner is done hee calleth his nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare howe he could name them, hauing ſo many as he hath. Thus when dinner was done I departed to my lodging, which was an hower within night. I will leaue this, and ſpeake no more of him nor his houſhold: but I will ſomewhat declare of his land and people, with their nature and power in the wars. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countreis, & his power is maruellous great. For he is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thouſand men: he neuer goeth into the field himſelfe with vnder two hundred thouſand men: And when he goeth himſelfe he furniſheth his borders all with men of warre, which are no ſmall number. He leaueth on the borders of Liefland fortie thouſand men, and vpon the borders of Letto 60 thouſand men, and towarde the Nagayan Tartars ſixtie thouſand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doeth hee neuer take to his warres neither huſbandman nor marchant. All his men are horſemen: he vſeth no footmen, but ſuch as goe with the ordinance and labourers, which are thirtie thouſand. The horſemen are all archers, with ſuch bowes as the Turkes haue, and they ride ſhort as doe the Turkes. Their armour is a coate of plate, with a ſkull on their heads. Some of their coates are couered with veluet or cloth of gold: their deſire is to be ſumptuous in the field, and eſpecially the nobles and gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very coſtly, and partly I haue ſeene it, or elſe I would ſcarcely haue beleeued it: but the Duke himſelfe is richly attired aboue all meaſure: his pauilion is couered either with cloth of gold or ſiluer, and ſo ſet with ſtones that it is wonderfull to ſee it. I haue ſeene the Kings Maieſties of England and the French Kings pauilions, which are fayre, yet not like vnto his. And when they bee ſent into farre or ſtrange countreys, or that ſtrangers come to them, they be very gorgious. Els the Duke himſelfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when he goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reaſonably apparelled ouer other times. In the while that I was in Moſco the Duke ſent two ambaſſadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the leſt fiue hundred horſes; their ſumptuouſnes was aboue meaſure, not onely in themſelues, but alſo in their horſes, as veluet, cloth of golde, and cloth of ſiluer ſet with pearles and not ſcant. What ſhall I farther ſay? I neuer heard of nor ſaw men ſo ſumptuous: but it is no dayly guiſe, for when they haue not occaſion, as I ſayd before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their warres: They are men without al order in the field. For they runne hurling on heapes, and for the moſt part they neuer giue battell to their enemies: but that which they doe, they doe it all by ſtelth. But I beleeue they be ſuch men for hard liuing as are not vnder the ſun: for no cold wil hurt them. Yea and though they lie in the field two moneths, at ſuch time as it ſhall freeſe more then a yard thicke, the common ſouldier hath neither tent nor any thing elſe ouer his head: the moſt defence they haue againſt the wether is a felte, which is ſet againſt the winde and weather, and when Snowe commeth hee doth caſt it off, and maketh him a fire, and laieth him down thereby. Thus doe the moſt of all his men, except they bee gentlemen which haue other prouiſion of their owne. Their lying in the fielde is not ſo ſtrange as is their hardnes: for euery man muſt carie & make prouiſion for himſelfe & his horſe for a moneth or two, which is very wonderful. For he himſelfe ſhal liue vpon water & otemeale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his horſe ſhal eat green wood, & ſuch like baggage, & ſhal ſtand open in the cold field without couert, & yet wil he labour & ſerue him right wel. I pray you amongſt all our boaſting warriors how many ſhould we find to endure the field with thē but one moneth. I know no ſuch region about vs that beareth that name for man & beaſt. Now what might be made of theſe men if they were trained & broken to order and knowledge of ciuill wars? If this Prince had within his countreys ſuch men as could make thē to vnderſtand yͤ things aforeſaid, I do beleeue that 2 of the beſt or greateſt princes in Chriſtendome were not wel able to match with him, cōſidering the greatnes of his power & the hardnes of his people & ſtraite liuing both of people and horſe, and the ſmall charges which his warres ſtand him in: for he giueth no wages, except to ſtrangers. They haue a yerely ſtipend & not much. As for his own countrey men euery one ſerueth of his owne proper coſtes and charges, ſauing that he giueth to his Harcubuſiers certaine allowance for powder & ſhot: or elſe no man in all his countrey hath one pennie wages. But if any man hath done very good ſeruice he giueth him a ferme or a piece of lande; for the which hee is bound at all times to bee readie with ſo many men as the Duke ſhall appoynt: who conſidereth in his mind what that lande or ferme is well able to finde: and ſo many ſhall he bee bound to furniſh at all and euery ſuch time as warres are holden in any of the Dukes dominions. For there is no man of liuing, but hee is bound likewiſe, whether the Duke call for either ſouldier or labourer, to furniſh them with all ſuch neceſſaries as to them belong.

Alſo, if any gentleman or man of liuing do die without iſſue male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his land, notwithſtanding he haue neuer ſo many daughters, and peraduenture giueth it forthwith to another man, except a ſmall portion that he ſpareth to marrie the daughters with all. Alſo if there be a rich man, a fermour, or man of liuing, which is ſtriken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke ſeruice, ſome other gentleman that is not able to liue and more able to doe ſeruice, will come to the Duke and complayne, ſaying, your Grace hath ſuch an one, which is vnmeete to doe ſeruice to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of welth, and likewiſe your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke liuing, and we that lacke are well able to doe good ſeruice, your Grace might doe well to looke vpon him, and make him to helpe thoſe that want. Immediately the Duke ſendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be ſo proued, he ſhall be called before the Duke, and it ſhall bee ſayd vnto him, friend, you haue too much liuing, and are vnſeruiceable to your prince, leſſe will ſerue you, and the reſt will ſerue other men that are more able to ſerue. Whereupon immediately his liuing ſhal be taken away from him, ſauing a little to find himſelfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for anſwere he will ſay, that he hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot ſay, as we the common people in England ſay, if wee haue any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. Men may ſay, that theſe men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one muſt giue and grant his goods which he hath bene ſcraping and ſcratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleaſure and commandement. Oh that our ſturdie rebels were had in the like ſubiection to knowe their duety towarde their Princes. They may not ſay as ſome ſnudges in England ſay, I would find the Queene a man to ſerue in my place, or make his friends tarrie at home if money haue the vpper hand. No, no, it is not ſo in this countrey: for hee ſhall make humble ſute to ſerue the Duke. And whom he ſendeth moſt to the warres he thinketh he is moſt in his fauour: and yet as I before haue ſayde, hee giueth no wages. If they knewe their ſtrength no man were able to make match with them: nor they that dwel neere them ſhould haue any reſt of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young horſe that knoweth not his ſtrength, whome a little childe ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great ſtrength: for if hee did, neither childe nor man could rule him. Their warres are holden againſt the Crimme Tartarians and the Nagaians.

I will ſtand no longer in the rehearſall of their power and warres. For it were too tedious to the reader. But I will in part declare their lawes, and puniſhments, and the execution of iuſtice. And firſt I will begin with the commons of the countrey, which the gentlemen haue rule on: And that is, that euery gentleman hath rule and iuſtice vpon his owne tenants. And if it ſo fall out that two gentlemens ſeruants or tenaunts doe diſagree, the two gentlemen examine the matter, and haue the parties before them, and ſoe giue the ſentence. And yet cannot they make the ende betwixt them of the controuerſie, but either of the gentlemen muſt bring his ſeruant or tenant before the high iudge or iuſtice of that countrey, and there preſent them, and declare the matter and caſe. The plaintife ſayth, I require the law; which is graunted: then commeth an officer and arreſteth the party defendant, and vſeth him contrarie to the lawes of England. For when they attach any man they beate him about the legges, vntill ſuch time as he findeth ſureties to anſwere the matter: And if not, his handes and necke are bound together, and he is led about the towne and beaten about the legges, with other extreme puniſhments till he come to his anſwere: And the Iuſtice demaundeth if it be for debt, and ſayth: Oweſt thou this man any ſuch debt? He will perhaps ſay nay. Then ſayth the Iudge: art thou able to denie it? Let vs heare how? By othe ſayth the defendant. Then he commandeth to leaue beating him till further triall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They haue no man of Lawe to pleade their cauſes in any court: but euery man pleadeth his owne cauſe, and giueth bill and anſwere in writing: contrarie to the order in England. The complaint is in maner of a ſupplication, & made to the Dukes Grace, and deliuered him into his owne hand, requiring to haue iuſtice as in his complaint is alleaged.

The duke giueth ſentence himſelfe vpon all matters in the Law. Which is very cōmendable, that ſuch a Prince wil take paines to ſee miniſtration of iuſtice. Yet notwithſtanding it is wonderfully abuſed: and thereby the Duke is much deceiued. But if it fall out that the officers be eſpied in cloking the trueth, they haue moſt condigne puniſhment. And if the plaintife can nothing prooue, then the defendant muſt take his oth vpon the crucifixe whether he bee in the right or no. Then is demanded if the plaintife be any thing able further to make proofe: if hee bee not, then ſometimes he will ſay, I am able to prooue it by my body and hands, or by my champions body, ſo requiring the Campe. After the other hath his othe, it is graunted aſwell to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they ſweare vpon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one ſhall make the other to confeſſe the trueth before they depart foorth of the field: and ſo they goe both to the battell armed with ſuch weapons as they vſe in that countrey: they fight all on foote, & ſeldome the parties themſelues do fight, except they be Gentlemen, for they ſtand much vpon their reputation, for they wil not fight, but with ſuch as are come of as good an houſe as themſelues. So that if either partie require the combate, it is graunted vnto them, and no champion is to ſerue in their roome: wherein is no deceit: but otherwiſe by champions there is. For although they take great othes vpon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrary often ſeene: becauſe the common champions haue none other liuing. And aſſoone as the one party hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carried to priſon, and there is ſhamefully vſed till he take order. There is alſo another order in the lawe, that the plaintife may ſweare in ſome cauſes of debt. And if the partie defendant be poore, he ſhalbe ſet vnder the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintife muſt ſweare ouer his head, and when hee hath taken his othe, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his houſe, and vſeth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hier to any ſuch as neede him, vntill ſuch time as his friends make prouiſion for his redemption: or elſe hee remaineth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe there are many that will ſell themſelues to Gentlemen or Marchants to bee their bondmen, to haue during their life meate, drinke and cloth, and at their comming to haue a piece of mony. yea and ſome will ſell their wiues and children to bee bawdes and drudges to the byer. Alſo they haue a Lawe for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his firſt offence; but may keepe him long in priſon, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other puniſhment: and there he ſhall remaine vntill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purſe, as there be very many, the ſecond time he is taken, he hath a piece of his Noſe cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in priſon till hee finde ſureties for his good behauiour. And if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the firſt time he is extremely puniſhed and not releaſed, except hee haue very good friends, or that ſome Gentleman require to haue him to the warres: And in ſo doing, he ſhall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the countrey is brought into good quietneſſe. But they be naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreme beating did bridle them. They be naturally giuen to hard liuing aſwell in fare as in lodging. I heard a Ruſſian ſay, that it was a great deale merrier liuing in priſon then foorth, but for the great beating. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well diſpoſed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and liue moſt miſerably: for I haue ſeene them eate the pickle of Hearring and other ſtinking fiſh: nor the fiſh cannot be ſo ſtinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praiſe it to be more wholeſome then other fiſh or freſh meate. In mine opinion there be no ſuch people vnder the ſunne for their hardneſſe of liuing. Well, I will leaue them in this poynt, and will in part declare their Religion. They doe obſerue the lawe of the Greekes with ſuch exceſſe of ſuperſtition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They haue no grauen images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they vſe ſuch idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in England. They will neither worſhip nor honour any image that is made forth of their owne countrey. For their owne images (ſay they) haue pictures to declare what they be, and howe they be of God, and ſo be not ours: They ſay, Looke how the Painter or Caruer hath made them, ſo we doe worſhip them, and they worſhip none before they be Chriſtened. They ſay we be but halfe Chriſtians: becauſe we obſerue not part of the olde law with the Turks. Therefore they call themſelues more holy then vs. They haue none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will ſuffer no other in their countrey among them. All their ſeruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the olde and newe Teſtament, which are daily read among them: and yet their ſuperſtition is no leſſe. For when the Prieſts doe reade, they haue ſuch tricks in their reading, that no man can vnderſtand them, nor no man giueth eare to them. For all the while the Prieſt readeth, the people ſit downe and one talke with another. But when the Prieſt is at ſeruice no man ſitteth, but gagle and ducke like ſo many Geeſe. And as for their prayers they haue but little ſkill, but vſe to ſay As bodi pomele: As much to ſay, Lord haue mercy vpon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot ſay the Pater noſter. And as for the Creede, no man may be ſo bolde as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they ſay it ſhoulde not bee ſpoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Cōmandements, and they wil ſay they were giuen to Moſes in the law, which Chriſt hath nowe abrogated by his precious death and paſſion: therefore, (ſay they) we obſerue little or none thereof. And I doe beleeue them. For if they were examined of their Lawe and Commandements together, they ſhoulde agree but in fewe poynts. They haue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then wee haue. They preſent them in a diſh in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the Church vpon the Prieſtes head, and ſo doe miniſter at all ſuch times as any ſhall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and ſometimes of money, which wee call in England, Soule penſe, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare. They haue foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greateſt. Looke as we doe begin on the Wedneſday, ſo they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. Howbeit I beleeue there bee in no other countrey the like people for drunkenneſſe. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie ſunday, and endeth on Saint Peters euen. If they ſhould breake that faſt, their beliefe is, that they ſhould not come in at heauen gates. And when any of them die, they haue a teſtimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the ſoule commeth to heauen gates it may deliuer the ſame to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Ruſsian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Eeuen. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Chriſtmas Eeuen: which Lent is faſted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure be the principall and greateſt Saints in that countrey. In theſe Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheeſe; but they are very ſtraitely kept with Fiſh, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they obſerue truely the Wedneſdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate fleſh. Furthermore they haue a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monks, and they eate no fleſh throughout the yeere, but fiſh, milke and Butter. By their order they ſhould eate no freſh-fiſh, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, ſalt Cowcumbers, with other rootes, as Radiſh and ſuch like. Their drinke is like our peny Ale, and is called Quaſſ. They haue ſeruice daily in their Churches; and vſe to goe to ſeruice two houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Maſſe: that ended, to dinner: and after that to ſeruice againe: and then to ſupper. You ſhall vnderſtand that at euery dinner and ſupper they haue declared the expoſition of the Goſpel that day: but howe they wreſt and twine the Scripture and that together by report it is wonderfull. As for whoredome and drunkenneſſe there be none ſuch liuing: and for extortion, they be the moſt abhominable vnder the ſunne. Nowe iudge of their holineſſe. They haue twiſe as much land as the Duke himſelfe hath: but yet hee is reaſonable euen with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and ſimple, he hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of of their houſes dieth, then the Duke hath all his goods moueable and vnmoueable: ſo that the ſucceſſour buieth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they be the beſt Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an ende, truſting hereafter to know it better.

To the right worſhipfull and my ſingular good Vncle,
Maſter Chriſtopher Frothingham, giue theſe.

Sir, Reade and correct;
For great is the defect.

The Teſtimonie of M. Richard Eden in his Decades,

concerning the Booke following.

AND whereas (ſaith he) I haue before made mention howe Moſcouie was in our time diſcouered by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebaſtian Cabota, who long before had this ſecret in his minde: I ſhall not neede here to deſcribe that voyage, forasmuch as the ſame is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned yong man Clement Adams, ſchoolemaſter to the Queenes henſhmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of the ſaid Richard Chanceler.

The newe Nauigation and diſcouerie of the kingdome of *Moſcouia, by the Northeaſt, in the yeere 1553: Enterpriſed by Sir Hugh* Willoughbie knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chancelor Pilot maior of the voyage: Written in Latine by Clement Adams.

Vpon what occaſions, and by whom this voyage was ſet out, and of the diſcouerie of Moſcouie by the North.

AT what time our Marchants perceiued the commodities and wares of England to bee in ſmall requeſt with the countreys and people about vs, and neere vnto vs, and that thoſe Marchandizes which ſtrangers in the time and memorie of our aunceſters did earneſtly ſeeke and deſire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by vs carried to their owne portes, and all forreine Marchandiſes in great accompt, and their priſes wonderfully raiſed: certaine graue Citizens of London, and men of great wiſedome, and carefull for the good of their Countrey, began to thinke with themſelues, howe this miſchiefe might bee remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their deſires, for the auoyding of ſo great an inconuenience: for ſeeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the diſcouerie and ſearch of newe trades and Countreys was marueilouſly increaſed, ſuppoſing the ſame to be a courſe and meane for them alſo to obteine the like, they thereupon reſolued vpon a newe and ſtrange Nauigation. And whereas at the ſame time one Sebaſtian Cabota, a man in thoſe dayes very renowmed, happened to bee in London, they began firſt of all to deale and conſult diligently with him, and after much ſpeech and conference together, it was at laſt concluded that three ſhippes ſhould bee prepared and furniſhed out, for the ſearch and diſcouerie of the Northerne part of the world, to open a way and paſſage to our men for trauaile to newe and vnknowen kingdomes.

3. Ships furniſhed for the diſcouerie.

And whereas many things ſeemed neceſſary to bee regarded in this ſo hard and difficult a matter, they firſt make choyſe of certaine graue and wiſe perſons in maner of a Senate or companie, which ſhould lay their heads together, and giue their iudgements, and prouide things requiſite and profitable for all occaſions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine ſumme of money ſhould publiquely bee collected to ſerue for the furniſhing of ſo many ſhippes. And leſt any priuate man ſhould bee too much oppreſſed and charged, a courſe was taken, that euery man willing to be of the ſocietie, ſhould diſburſe the portion of twentie and fiue pounds a piece: ſo that in ſhort time by this meanes the ſumme of ſixe thouſand pounds being gathered, the three ſhippes were bought, the moſt part whereof they prouided to be newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wote not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights: for the Marchants, they get very ſtrong and well ſeaſoned plankes for the building, the Shippewrights, they with daily trauaile, and their greateſt ſkill doe fitte them for the diſpatch of the ſhippes: they calke them, pitch them, and among the reſt, they make one moſt ſtanch and firme, by an excellent and ingenious inuention. For they had heard that in certaine parts of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is bredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the ſtrongeſt oake that is: and therfore that the Mariners, and the reſt to bee imployed in this voyage might bee free and ſafe from this danger, they couer a piece of the keele of the ſhippe with thinne ſheetes of leade: and hauing thus built the ſhips, and furniſhed them with armour and artillerie, then followed a ſecond care no leſſe troubleſome and neceſſarie then the former, namely, the prouiſion of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to haue the Eaſt part of the world ſayled vnto, and yet that the ſea towards the ſame was not open, except they kept the Northren tract, whereas yet it was doubtfull whether there were any paſſage yea or no, they reſolued to victuall the ſhips for eighteene moneths, which they did for this reaſon. For our men being to paſſe that huge and colde part of the world, they wiſely foreſeeing it, allowe them ſixe moneths victuall to ſaile to the place, ſo much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and ſo much more alſo for the time of their comming home.

Prouiſion of victuals for 18. moneths.

Nowe this prouiſion being made and caried aboord, with armour and munition of all ſorts, ſufficient Captaines and gouernours of ſo great an enterpriſe were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and ſome voyde of experience) offered themſelues, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a moſt valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earneſtly requeſted to haue that care and charge committed vnto him: of whom before all others, both by reaſon of his goodly perſonage (for he was of a tall ſtature) as alſo for his ſingular ſkill in the ſeruices of warre, the company of the Marchants made greateſt accompt: ſo that at the laſt they concluded and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appoynted to him the Admirall

Choiſe of Captaines and Pilots.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

mirall, with authoritie and commaund ouer all the reſt. And for the gouernement of other ſhips although diuers men ſeemed willing, and made offers of themſelues thereunto, yet by a common conſent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great eſtimation for many good partes of wit in him, was elected, in whom alone great hope for the performance of this buſineſſe reſted. This man was brought vp by one maſter Henry Sidney, a noble yong Gentleman and very much beloued of King Edward, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent ſpeech or Oration, and ſpake to them after this maner following.

Maſter Henry Sidney his Oration.

My very worſhipfull friends, I cannot but greatly commend your preſent godly and vertuous intention, in the ſerious enterpriſing (for the ſingular loue you beare to your Countrey) a matter, which (I hope) will prooue profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours wee alſo of the Nobilitie are ready to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing ſo deare and precious vnto vs, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in ſo commendable a cauſe. But principally I reioyce in my ſelfe, that I haue nouriſhed and maintained that witte, which is like by ſome meanes and in ſome meaſure, to profite and ſteede you in this worthy action. But yet I would not haue you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe now part with Chanceler, not becauſe I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and chargeable vnto mee, but that you might conceiue and vnderſtand my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this buſineſſe, and that the authoritie and eſtimation which hee deſerueth may be giuen him. You know the man by report, I by experience, you by wordes, I by deedes, you by ſpeech and companie, but I by the daily triall of his life haue a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are alſo to remember, into howe many perils for your ſakes, and his countreys loue, he is nowe to runne: whereof it is requiſite that wee be not vnmindefull, if it pleaſe God to ſend him good ſucceſſe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: He commits his life (a thing to a man of all things moſt deare) to the raging Sea, and the vncertainties of many dangers. We ſhall here liue and reſt at home quietly with our friends, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and vnruly Mariners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares ſhall hee trouble and vexe himſelfe? with how many troubles ſhall he breake himſelfe? and howe many diſquietings ſhall hee bee forced to ſuſtaine? We ſhall keepe our owne coaſtes and countrey: Hee ſhall ſeeke ſtrange and vnknowen kingdomes. He ſhall commit his ſafetie to barbarous and cruell people, and ſhall hazard his life amongſt the monſtrous and terrible beaſtes of the Sea. Wherefore in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to fauour and loue the man thus departing from vs: and if it fall ſo happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie alſo, liberally to reward him.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had deliuered this or ſome ſuch like ſpeech, much more eloquently then I can poſſiblie report it, the companie then preſent beganne one to looke vpon another, one to queſtion and conferre with another: and ſome (to whom the vertue and ſufficiencie of the man was knowen) began ſecretly to reioyce with themſelues, and to conceiue a ſpeciall hope, that the man would prooue in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues already appearing and ſhining to the world would growe to the great honour and aduancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to ſome ſilence, it ſeemed good to them that were of greateſt grauity amongſt them, to inquire, ſearch and ſeeke what might be learned & knowen, concerning the Eaſterly part or tract of the world. For which cauſe two Tartarians, which were then of the kings Stable, were ſent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be preſent, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to anſwere nothing to the purpoſe: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly ſaid) to toſſe pottes, then to learne the ſtates and diſpoſitions of people. But after much adoe and many things paſſed about this matter, they grewe at laſt to this iſſue, to ſet downe and appoynt a time for the departure of the ſhippes: becauſe diuers were of opinion, that a great part of the beſt time of the yeere was already ſpent, and if the delay grewe longer, the way would bee ſtopt and bard by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought beſt by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Mariners ſhould take ſhipping, and depart from Radcliffe vpon the ebbe, if it pleaſed God. They hauing ſaluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinſfolkes, and another his friends deerer then his kinſfolkes, were preſent and ready at the day appoynted: and hauing wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and ſailing eaſily, came

They departed from Ratcliffe the 20. of May 1553.

firſt to Greenewich. The greater ſhippes are towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or ſkie coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay) preſently vpon the newes therof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, ſtanding very thicke vpon the ſhoare: the priuie Counſel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the reſt ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the ſhippes hereupon diſcharge their Ordinance, and ſhoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the ſea, inſomuch that the tops of the hilles ſounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gaue an Eccho, and the Mariners, they ſhouted in ſuch ſort, that the ſkie rang againe with the noyſe thereof. One ſtoode in the poope of the ſhip, and by his geſture bids farewell to his friendes in the beſt maner hee could. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbes the ſhrowds, another ſtands vpon the maine yard, and another in the top of the ſhippe. To be ſhort, it was a very triumph (after a ſort) in all reſpects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in reſpect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe was abſent from this ſhewe, and not long after the departure of theſe ſhips, the lamentable and moſt ſorowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The ſhippes going downe with the tyde came at laſt to Woolwich, where they ſtayed and caſt ancre, with purpoſe to depart therehence againe, as ſoone as the turning of the water, and a better winde ſhould drawe them to ſet ſaile. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which porte they ſtayed long, not without great loſſe and conſuming of time: yet at the laſt with a good winde they hoyſed vp ſaile, and committed themſelues to the ſea, giuing their laſt adieu to their natiue Countrey, which they knewe not whether they ſhould euer returne to ſee againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe, and could not refraine from teares, conſidering into what hazards they were to fall, and what vncertainties of the ſea they were to make triall of.

Amongſt the reſt, Richard Chanceler the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, was not a little grieued with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hoggeſheads of wine alſo leaked, and were not ſtanch: his naturall and fatherly affection alſo ſomewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him his two little ſonnes, which were in the caſe of Orphanes if he ſpedde not well: the eſtate alſo of his companie mooued him to care, being in the former reſpects after a ſort vnhappie, and were to abide with himſelfe euery good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of ſorowes and cares, after many dayes ſayling, they kenned land afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ſhips: and being come to it, they land, and finde it to be Roſt Iſland, where they ſtayed certaine dayes, and afterwards ſet ſaile againe, and proceeding towards the North, they eſpied certaine other Iſlands, which were called the Croſſe of Iſlands. From which places when they were a litle departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foreſight and prouidence in all his actions, erected and ſet out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefeſt men of the other ſhippes, that by the helpe and aſſiſtance of their counſels, the order of the gouernement, and conduction of the ſhippes in the whole voyage might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempeſt ſhould ariſe at any time, and happen to diſperſe and ſcatter them, euery ſhippe ſhould indeuour his beſt to goe to Wardhouſe, a hauen or caſtell of ſome name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arriued there firſt in ſafetie ſhould ſtay and expect the comming of the reſt.

The very ſame day in the afternoone, about foure of the clocke, ſo great a tempeſt ſuddenly aroſe, and the Seas were ſo outragious, that the ſhips could not keepe their intended courſe, but ſome were perforce driuen one way, and ſome another way, to their great perill and hazard: The generall with his lowdeſt voyce cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earneſtly requeſted him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor could keepe companie with him, if he ſailed ſtill ſo faſt: for the Admirall was of better ſaile then his ſhippe. But the ſaid Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his ſailes, was caried away with ſo great force and ſwiftneſſe, that not long after hee was quite out of ſight, and the third ſhip alſo with the ſame ſtorme and like rage was diſperſed and loſt vs.

The ſhippe boate of the Admirall (ſtriking againſt the ſhippe,) was ouerwhelmed in the ſight and viewe of the Mariners of the Bonauenture: and as for them that are already returned and arriued, they know nothing of the reſt of the ſhips what was become of them.

They returne the next yeere not knowing what was become of the other 2. ſhips.

But if it be ſo, that any miſerable miſhap haue ouertaken them, If the rage and furie of the

Sea haue deuoured thoſe good men, or if as yet they liue, and wander vp and downe in ſtrange Countreys, I muſt needs ſay they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wiſh them ſafetie and a good returne: but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God ſend them a Chriſtian graue and Sepulchre.

Nowe Richard Chanceler with his ſhippe and company being thus left alone, and become very penſiue, heauie, and ſorowfull, by this diſperſion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) ſhapeth his courſe for Wardhouſe in Norway, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the reſt of the ſhippes. And being come thither, and hauing ſtayed there the ſpace of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceede alone in the purpoſed voyage. And as hee was preparing himſelfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in company and ſpeech with certaine Scottiſhmen: who hauing vnderſtanding of his intention, and wiſhing well to his actions, beganne earneſtly to diſſwade him from the further proſecution of the diſcouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reaſon that might ſerue to that purpoſe. But hee holding nothing ſo ignominious and reprochfull, as inconſtancie and leuitie of minde, and perſwading himſelfe that a man of valour coulde not commit a more diſhonourable part then for feare of danger to auoyde and ſhunne great attempts, was nothing at all changed or diſcouraged with the ſpeeches and words of the Scots, remaining ſtedfaſt and immutable in his firſt reſolution: determining either to bring that to paſſe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with Maſter Chanceler in his ſhippe, although they had great cauſe of diſcomfort by the loſſe of their companie (whom the foreſaid tempeſt had ſeparated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in reſpect of their doubtfull courſe: yet notwithſtanding, they were of ſuch conſent and agreement of minde with Maſter Chanceler, that they were reſolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make proofe and triall of all aduentures, without all feare or miſtruſt of future dangers. Which conſtancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increaſe their Captaines carefulneſſe: for hee being ſwallowed vp with like good will and loue towards them, feared leſt through any errour of his, the ſafetie of the companie ſhould bee indangered. To conclude, when they ſawe their deſire and hope of the arriuall of the reſt of the ſhippes to be euery day more and more fruſtrated, they prouided to ſea againe, and Maſter Chanceler held on his courſe towards that vnknowen part of the world, and ſailed ſo farre, that hee came at laſt to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightneſſe of the Sunne ſhining clearely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleaſed God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout ouer. Whereinto they entred, and ſomewhat farre within it caſt ancre, and looking euery way about them, it happened that they eſpied a farre off a certaine fiſher boate, which Maſter Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towards to common with the fiſhermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what maner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the ſtrange greatneſſe of his ſhippe, (for in thoſe partes before that time they had neuer ſeene the like) beganne preſently to auoyde and to flee: but hee ſtill following them at laſt ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) proſtrated themſelues before him, offering to kiſſe his feete: but hee (according to his great and ſingular courteſie,) looked pleaſantly vpon them, comforting them by ſignes and geſtures, refuſing thoſe dueties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing ſort from the ground. And it is ſtrange to conſider howe much fauour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchaſe to himſelfe. For they being diſmiſſed ſpread by and by a report abroad of the arriuall of a ſtrange nation, of a ſingular gentleneſſe and courteſie: whereupon the common people came together offering to theſe newe-come gheſts victuals freely, and not refuſing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious vſe and cuſtome, not to buy any forreine commodities, without the knowledge and conſent of the king.

They arriue in the Bay of Saint Nicholas.

The diſcouerie of Ruſſia.

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Ruſſia, or Moſcouie, and that Iuan Vaſiliwich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned farre and wide in thoſe places. And the barbarous Ruſſes aſked likewiſe of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto anſwere was made, that they were Engliſhmen ſent into thoſe coaſtes, from the moſt excellent King Edward the ſixt, hauing from him in commandement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and ſeeking nothing els but his amitie and friendſhip, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would growe to the ſubiects of both kingdomes.

The Barbarians heard theſe things very gladly, and promiſed their aide and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with ſo honeſt and a reaſonable requeſt.

In the meane time Maſter Chanceler intreated victuals for his money of the gouernour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hoſtages of them likewiſe for the more aſſurance of ſafetie to himſelfe and his company. To whom the Gouernours anſwered, that they knewe not in that caſe the will of their king, but yet were willing in ſuch things as they might lawfully doe, to pleaſure him: which was as then to afford him the benefit of victuals.

Nowe while theſe things were a doing, they ſecretly ſent a meſſenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriuall of a ſtrange nation, and withall to knowe his pleaſure concerning them. Which meſſage was very welcome vnto him, inſomuch that voluntarily hee inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reaſon of the tediouſneſſe of ſo long a iourney, they thought it not beſt ſo to doe, then hee graunted libertie to his ſubiects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promiſed, that if it would pleaſe them to come to him, hee himſelfe would beare the whole charges of poſte horſes. In the meane time the gouernours of the place differred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuſes, and ſaying one while that the conſent of all the gouernours, and another while, that the great and waightie affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differ their anſwere: and this they did of purpoſe, ſo long to protract the time, vntill the meſſenger (ſent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleaſure.

But Maſter Chanceler, (ſeeing himſelfe held in this ſuſpenſe with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they peſted the matter off ſo often,) was very inſtant with them to performe their promiſe: Which if they would not doe, hee tolde them that hee would depart and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moſcouites (although as yet they knew not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men who had ſuch wares and commodities as they greatly deſired, they at laſt reſolued to furniſh our people with all things neceſſarie, and to conduct them by land to the preſence of their king. And ſo Maſter Chanceler beganne his iourney, which was very long and moſt troubleſome, wherein hee had the vſe of certaine ſleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are caried themſelues vpon ſleds, and all their carriages are in the ſame ſort, the people almoſt not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cauſe wherof is the exceeding hardneſſe of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in thoſe places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will ſay ſomething.

But nowe they hauing paſſed the greater part of their iourney, mette at laſt with the Sleddeman (of whom I ſpake before) ſent to the king ſecretly from the Iuſtices or gouernours, who by ſome ill happe had loſt his way, and had gone to the Sea ſide, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to haue found our ſhip. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the laſt in his direct returne, hee met (as hee was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courteſie and in the moſt louing maner that could be: wherein expreſſe commandement was giuen, that poſt horſes ſhould bee gotten for him and the reſt of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Ruſſes in the reſt of their iourney ſo willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight alſo in ſtriuing and contending which of them ſhould put their poſt horſes to the ſledde: ſo that after much adoe and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauailed very neere fifteene hundred miles) Maſter Chanceler came at laſt to Moſco the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the ſeate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himſelfe, and of the principall cities of Moſcouie, wee will ſpeake immediatly more at large in this diſcourſe.

The Emperours courteous letters to M. Chanceler.

Of Moſcouie, which is alſo called Ruſsia.

Moſcouie, which hath the name alſo of Ruſſia the white, is a very large and ſpacious Countrey, euery way bounded with diuers nations. Towards the South and the Eaſt, it is compaſſed with Tartaria: the Northren ſide of it ſtretcheth to the Scytian Ocean: vpon the Weſt part border the Lappians, a rude and ſauage nation, liuing in woods, whoſe language is not knowen to any other people: next vnto theſe, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Liuonia, and laſt of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moſcouie, hath alſo very many and great riuers in it, and is mariſh ground in many places: and as for the riuers, the greateſt and moſt famous amongſt all the reſt, is that, which the Ruſſes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next vnto it in fame is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boriſthenes which at this day they call Neper. Two of theſe, to wit, Rha, and Boriſthenes yſſuing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receiuing many other pleaſant riuers into it, & running from the very head or ſpring of it towards the Eaſt, after many crooked turnings and windings, diſchargeth it ſelfe, and all the other waters and riuers that fall into it by diuers paſſages into the Caſpian Sea. Tanais ſpringing from a fountaine of great name in thoſe partes, and growing great neere to his head, ſpreds it ſelfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrowe againe, doth ſo runne for certaine miles, vntill it fall into another lake, which they call Iuan: and therehence fetching a very crooked courſe, comes very neere to the riuer Volga: but diſdaining as it were the company of any other riuer, doth there turne it ſelfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and fals at laſt into the Lake of Mœotis. Boriſthenes, which comes from the ſame head that Rha doth, (as wee ſayde before) carieth both it ſelfe, and other waters that are neere vnto it, towards the South, not refuſing the mixture of other ſmall riuers: and running by many great and large Countreys fals at laſt into Pontus Euxinus. Beſides theſe riuers, are alſo in Moſcouie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fiſh by the celeſtiall influence: and amongſt them all, the chiefeſt and moſt principall is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reaſon of a very ſtrong towre built in it, wherein the kings of Moſcouie reſerue and repoſe their treaſure in all time of warre and danger.

The mightie lake of Bealozera.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the ſnow lieth continually, and where hence in times paſt it was thought that Tanais the riuer did ſpring, and that the reſt of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and inuented of olde, were there to be ſeene: our men which lately came from thence, neither ſawe them, nor yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the ſpace of three moneths, and had gotten in that time ſome intelligence of the language of Moſcouie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large & ſpacious woods, wherein is great ſtore of Firre trees, a wood very neceſſarie, and fit for the building of houſes: there are alſo wilde beaſtes bred in thoſe woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolues, and another kinde of beaſt vnknowen to vs, but called by them Roſſomakka: and the nature of the ſame is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with yong, and ready to bring foorth, it ſeeketh out ſome narrow place betweene two ſtakes, and ſo going through them, preſſeth it ſelfe, and by that meanes is eaſed of her burden, which otherwiſe could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the moſt part a horſebacke, but their Beares a foot, with wooden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be ſo cold, that the very ice or water which diſtilleth out of the moiſt wood which they lay vpon the fire is preſently congealed and frozen: the diuerſitie growing ſuddenly to be ſo great, that in one and the ſelfe ſame firebrand, a man ſhall ſee both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth ſtill more & more increaſe by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that colde ſlake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth diſſolue the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our mariners which we left in the ſhip in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes ſo ſuddenly taken away, that they eftſoones fell downe as men very neere dead, ſo great is the ſharpeneſſe of that colde climate: but as for the South parts of the Countrey, they are ſomewhat more temperate.

The ſharpnes of the winter in Moſcouie.

Of Moſco the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of *the Emperour thereof.*

IT remaineth that a larger diſcourſe be made of Moſco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince alſo, as before we haue promiſed. The Empire and gouernment of the king is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And becauſe the citie of Moſco is the chiefeſt of al the reſt, it ſeemeth of it ſelfe to challenge the firſt place in this diſcourſe. Our men ſay, that in bigneſſe it is as great as the Citie of London, with the ſuburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and faireneſſe, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes and Villages alſo, but built out of order, and with no hanſomneſſe: their ſtreetes and wayes are not paued with ſtone as ours are: the walles of their houſes are of wood: the roofes for the moſt part are couered with ſhingle boords. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Caſtle, ſtrong, and furniſhed with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is ioyned directly

Their manner of building.

towards the North, with a bricke wall: the walles alſo of the Caſtle are built with bricke, and are in breadth or thickeneſſe eighteene foote. This Caſtle hath on the one ſide a drie ditch, on the other ſide the riuer Moſcua, whereby it is made almoſt inexpugnable. The ſame Moſcua trending towards the Eaſt doth admit into it the companie of the riuer Occa.

In the Caſtle aforeſaide, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether vnhanſome, which are vſed and kept by certaine religious men, ouer whom there is after a ſort, a Patriarke, or Gouernour, and with him other reuerend Fathers, all which for the greater part, dwell within the Caſtle. As for the kings Court and Palace, it is not of the neateſt, onely in forme it is foure ſquare, and of lowe building, much ſurpaſſed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houſes of the kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and ſome of them by glaſſe, ſome other by lettiſſes admit the light: and whereas the Palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none ſuch there: they build and ioyne to all their wals benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all priuate mens houſes.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelue dayes in the Citie, there was then a Meſſenger ſent vnto them, to bring them to the Kings houſe: and they being after a ſort wearied with their long ſtay, were very ready, and willing ſo to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there ſate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and there-hence being conducted into the chamber of preſence, our men beganne to wonder at the Maieſtie of the Emperour: his ſeate was aloft, in a very royall throne, hauing on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldſmiths worke, and in his hand hee held a Scepter garniſhed, and beſet with precious ſtones: and beſides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Maieſtie in his countenance proportionable with the excellencie of his eſtate: on the one ſide of him ſtood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other ſide, the great Commander of ſilence, both of them arayed alſo in cloth of gold: and then there ſate the Counſel of one hundred and fiftie in number, all in like ſort arayed, and of great ſtate. This ſo honorable an aſſemblie, ſo great a Maieſtie of the Emperour, and of the place might very well haue amazed our men, and haue dasht them out of countenance: but notwithſtanding Maſter Chanceler being therewithall nothing diſmaied ſaluted, and did his duetie to the Emperour, after the maner of England, and withall, deliuered vnto him the letters of our king, Edward the ſixt. The Emperour hauing taken, & read the letters, began a litle to queſtion with them, and to aſke them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men anſwered him directly, & in few words: hereupon our men preſented ſome thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretary, which at the deliuery of it, put of his hat, being before all the time couered: and ſo the Emperour hauing inuited them to dinner, diſmiſſed them from his preſence: and going into the chamber of him that was Maſter of the Requeſts to the Emperour, & hauing ſtayed there the ſpace of two howres, at the laſt, the Meſſenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for ſo they call it, although not very faire) they finde the Emperour ſitting vpon an high and ſtately ſeate, apparelled with a robe of ſiluer, and with another Diademe on his head: our men being placed ouer againſt him, ſit downe: in the middes of the roome ſtoode a mightie Cupboord vpon a ſquare foote, whereupon ſtoode alſo a round boord, in manner of a Diamond, broade beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and euery ſteppe roſe vp more narrowe then another. Vpon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was ſo much, that the very Cupboord it ſelfe was ſcant able to ſuſtaine the waight of it: the better part of all the veſſels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold: and amongſt the reſt, there were foure pots of very large bigneſſe, which did adorne the reſt of the plate in great meaſure: for they were ſo high, that they thought them at the leaſt fiue foote long. There were alſo vpon this Cupbord certaine ſiluer caskes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyrkins, wherein was reſerued the Emperours drinke: on each ſide of the Hall ſtood foure Tables, each of them layde and couered with very cleane table clothes, whereunto the company aſcended by three ſteps or degrees: all which were filled with the aſſemblie preſent: the gheſts were all apparelled with linnen without, and with rich ſkinnes within, and ſo did notably ſet out this royall feaſt. The Emperour, when hee takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth firſt of all croſſe himſelfe vpon his forehead: they that are in ſpeciall fauour with the Emperour ſit vpon the ſame bench with him, but ſomewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himſelfe, according to an ancient cuſtome of the kings of Moſcouy, doth firſt beſtow a piece of bread vpon euery one of his gheſts, with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moſcouie, and chiefe Emperour of Ruſſia, Iohn Baſiliwich (& then the officer nameth the gheſt)

King Edwards letters deliuered.

doth giue thee bread. Whereupon al the gheſts riſe vp, and by & by ſit downe againe. This done, the Gentleman Vſher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of ſeruants, carying the diſhes, and hauing done his reuerence to the Emperour, puts a yong Swanne in a golden platter vpon the table, and immediatly takes it thence againe, deliuering it to the Caruer, and ſeuen other of his fellowes, to be cut vp: which being perfourmed, the meate is then diſtributed to the gheſts, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Vſher receiues his bread, and taſteth to the Emperour, and afterward, hauing done his reuerence, he departeth. Touching the reſt of the diſhes, becauſe they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of diſhes, and drinking veſſels, which were then for the vſe of a hundred gheſts, was all of pure golde, and the tables were ſo laden with veſſels of gold, that there was no roome for ſome to ſtand vpon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140. ſeruitors arayed in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thriſe their habit and apparell, which ſeruitors are in like ſort ſerued with bread from the Emperour, as the reſt of the gheſts. Laſt of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his gheſts and Noble men by their names, in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwiſe occupied in great matters of eſtate, ſhould ſo well remember ſo many and ſundry particular names. The Ruſſes tolde our men, that the reaſon thereof, as alſo of the beſtowing of bread in that maner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houſhold: and withal, that ſuch as are vnder his diſpleaſure, might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the diſcipline of warre among the Ruſſes.

Whenſoeuer the iniures of their neighbours doe call the King foorth to battell, hee neuer armeth a leſſe number againſt the enemie, then 300. thouſand ſoldiers, 100. thouſand whereof hee carieth out into the field with him, and leaueth the reſt in gariſon in ſome fit places, for the better ſafetie of his Empire. He preſſeth no huſbandman, nor Marchant: for the Countrey is ſo populous, that theſe being left at home, the youth of the Realme is ſufficient for all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare doe prouide all things of their owne coſt: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horſebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, & a helmet: the coate of maile without is gilded, or els adorned with ſilke, although it pertaine to a commom ſoldier: they haue a great pride in ſhewing their wealth: they vſe bowes, and arrowes, as the Turks do: they cary lances alſo into the field. They ride with a ſhort ſtirrop, after the maner of the Turks: They are a kinde of people moſt ſparing in diet, and moſt patient in extremitie of cold, aboue all others. For when the ground is couered with ſnowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the froſt, this Ruſſe hangs vp his mantle, or ſouldiers coate, againſt that part from whence the winde and Snowe driues, and ſo making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his ſerues him for his bed, wall, houſe and all: his drinke is colde water of the riuer, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good cheere, and he thinketh himſelfe well, and daintily fedde therewith, and ſo ſitteth downe by his fire, and vpon the hard ground, roſteth as it were his wearie ſides thus daintily ſtuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, & ſome blocke or ſtone his pillow: and as for his horſe, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his maſter, faring both alike. How iuſtly may this barbarous, and rude Ruſſe condemne the daintineſſe and niceneſſe of our Captaines, who liuing in a ſoile & aire much more temeprate, yet commonly vſe furred boots, and clokes? But thus much of the furniture of their common ſouldiers. But thoſe that are of higher degrees come into the field a little better prouided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himſelfe, it is then aboue all other times, moſt notable. The couerings of his tent for the moſt part, are all of gold, adorned with ſtones of great price, and with the curious workemanſhip of plumaſiers. As often as they are to ſkirmiſh with the enemie, they goe forth without any order at all: they make no wings, nor militarie diuiſions of their men, as we doe, but lying for the moſt part, in ambuſh, doe ſuddenly ſet vpon the enemie. Their horſes can well abſtaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede vpon the barkes of trees, and the moſt tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this ſcant and miſerable maner of liuing, both the horſe and his Maſter can well endure, ſometimes for the ſpace of two moneths, luſtie, and in good ſtate of body. If any man behaue himſelfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he beſtoweth vpon him in recompenſe of his ſeruice, ſome farme, or ſo much ground as he and his may liue vpon, which notwithſtanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male iſſue. For although his daughters be neuer ſo many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peraduenture the Emperour of his goodneſſe, giue ſome portion of the land amongſt them,to beſtowe them withall. As for the man, whoſoeuer he be,that is in this ſort rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, hee is bound in a great ſumme, to maintaine ſo many ſouldiers for the warre,when need ſhall require,as that land,in the opinion of the Emperour,is able to maintaine. And all thoſe, to whom any land fals by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male iſſue,all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperour. And moreouer, if there be any rich man amongſt them, who in his owne perſon is vnfit for the warres, and yet hath ſuch wealth,that thereby many Noble men and warriours might be maintained,if any of the Courtiers preſent his name to the Emperour, the vnhappy man is by and by ſent for, and in that inſtant,depriued of all his riches,which with great paines and trauell all his life time he had gotten together: except perhaps ſome ſmall portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children and familie. But all this is done of all the people ſo willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make reſtitution of other mens goods,then giue that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour hauing taken theſe goods into his hands,beſtoweth them among his Courtiers,according to their deſerts: and the oftener that a man is ſent to the warres, the more fauour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour,although he goe vpon his owne charge, as I ſaid before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour of Moſcouie.

THe Moſcouite, with no leſſe pompe, and magnificence, then that which we haue ſpoken of, ſends his Ambaſſadors to forren Princes, in the affaires of eſtate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Moſco,there were two Ambaſſadors ſent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horſes,and the greater part of the men were arayed in cloth of gold, and of ſilke,and the worſt apparell was of garments of blewe colour, to ſpeake nothing of the trappings of the horſes,which were adorned with gold and ſiluer,and very curiouſly embrodered: they had alſo with them one hundred white and faire ſpare horſes, to vſe them at ſuch times, as any wearineſſe came vpon them. But now the time requireth me to ſpeake briefly of other Cities of the Moſcouites,and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Nouogorode.

NExt vnto Moſco,the Citie of Nouogorode is reputed the chiefeſt of Ruſſia: for although it be in Maieſtie inferior to it,yet in greatneſſe it goeth beyond it. It is the cheifeſt and greateſt Marte Towne of all Moſcouie: and albeit the Emperours ſeate is not there,but at Moſco, yet the commodiouſneſſe of the riuer, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous then Moſco it ſelfe. This towne excels all the reſt in the commodities of flaxe and hempe: it yeeldes alſo hides,honie,and waxe. The Flemings there ſometimes had a houſe of Marchandize, but by reaſon that they vſed the like ill dealing there,which they did with vs,they loſt their priuileges, a reſtitution whereof they earneſtly ſued for at the time that our men were there. But thoſe Flemings hearing of the arriuall of our men in thoſe parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour againſt them, accuſing them for pirats and rouers,wiſhing him to detaine,and impriſon them. Which things when they were knowen of our men,they conceiued feare,that they ſhould neuer haue returned home. But the Emperour beleeuing rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and falſe ſuggeſtions of the Flemings,vſed no ill intreatie towards them.

The knauery of the Flemmings againſt our men.

Yeraſlaue.

YEraſlaue alſo is a Towne of ſome good fame,for the commodities of hides,tallow,and corne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there alſo to bee ſolde, although other places haue greater ſtore: this Yeraſlaue is diſtant from Moſco,about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fields yeeld ſuch ſtore of corne,that in conuaying it towards Moſco, ſometimes in a forenoone, a man ſhall ſee ſeuen hundred or eight hundred ſleds, going and comming, laden with corne and ſalt fiſh: the people come a thouſand miles to Moſco, to buy that corne,and then cary it away vpon ſleds: and theſe are thoſe people that dwell in the North parts, where the colde is ſo terrible, that no corne doth growe there, or if it ſpring vp,it neuer comes to ripeneſſe. The commodities that they bring with them,are ſalt fiſh, ſkinnes, and hides.

Vologda.

VOlogda being from Moſco, 550. miles yeeldes the commodities of Hempe and Flaxe alſo: although the greateſt ſtore of Flaxe is ſolde at Nouogrode.

Pleſco.

THe Towne of Pleſco, is frequented of Marchants for the good ſtore of Honie and Waxe that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

THe North parts of Ruſſia yeelde very rare and precious ſkinnes: and amongſt the reſt, thoſe principally, which we call Sables, worne about the neckes of our Noble women and Ladies: it hath alſo Martins ſkinnes, white, blacke, and red Foxe ſkinnes, ſkinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarouſly, as Beuers, Minxes, and Minuers. The ſea adioyning, breedes a certaine beaſt, which they call the Mors, which ſeeketh his foode vpon the rockes, climing vp with the helpe of his teeth. The Ruſſes vſe to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompt, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. Theſe commodities they cary vpon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for the ſale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, ſerues all the Countrey about it with ſalt, and ſalt fiſh. The Ruſſians alſo of the North parts, ſend thither oyle, which they call traine, which they make in a riuer called ‖ Vna, although it be alſo made elſe-where: and here they vſe to boile the water of the ſea, whereof they make very great ſtore of ſalt.

‖ Or, Dwina.

Of controuerſies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

HAuing hitherto ſpoken ſo much of the chiefeſt Cities of Ruſſia, as the matter required: it remaineth that we ſpeake ſomewhat of the lawes, that the Moſcouits doe vſe, as farre foorth as the ſame are come to our knowledge. If any controuerſie ariſe among them, they firſt make their Landlords Iudges in the matter, and if they cannot end it, then they preferre it to the Magiſtrate. The plaintif craueth of the ſaid Magiſtrate, that he may haue leaue to enter law againſt his aduerſarie: and hauing obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring forth a ſuretie for him: but if he be not of ſuch credite, as to procure a ſurety, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Iudge. The Iudge then aſketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintife. If he denies it, then ſaith the Iudge, How canſt thou deny it? the defendant anſwereth, By an othe: thereupon the officer is commaunded to ceaſe from beating of him, vntill the matter be further tried. They haue no Lawyers, but euery man is his owne Aduocate, and both the complaint of the accuſer, and the anſwere of the defendant, are in maner of petition deliuered to the Emperour, intreating iuſtice at his hands. The Emperour himſelfe heareth euery great controuerſie, and vpon the hearing of it, giueth iudgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worthy of ſpeciall commendation, in the Maieſtie of a Prince. But although he doe this with a good purpoſe of mind, yet the corrupt Magiſtrates do wonderfully peruert the ſame: but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doeth puniſh them moſt ſeuerely. Now at the laſt, when ech partie hath defended his cauſe with his beſt reaſons, the Iudge demandeth of the accuſer, whether he hath any more to ſay for himſelfe: he anſwereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his Champion, or elſe intreateth, that in fight betwixt themſelues the matter may be ended: which being graunted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them ſeeme vnfit for that kinde of triall, then they haue publike Champions to be hired, which liue by ending of quarrels. Theſe Champions are armed with yron axes, and ſpeares, and fight on foote, and he whoſe Champion is ouercome, is by and by taken, and impriſoned, and terribly handled, vntill he agree with his aduerſarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Iudge granteth it: in which caſe they may not vſe publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be baſely borne, and wil not fight with him. If a poore man happen to grow in debt, his Creditor takes him, & maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himſelfe, or to ſome other man, whoſe wages he taketh vp. And there are ſome among them, that vſe willingly to make themſelues, their wiues, and children, bondſlaues vnto rich men, to haue a little money at the firſt into their hands, and ſo for euer after content themſelues with meate and drinke: ſo little accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of puniſhments vpon theeues.

If any man be taken vpon cõmitting of theft, he is impriſoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the firſt offence, as the manner is with vs: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the ſecond time hath his noſe cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurſes among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be auoyded.

Of their religion.

They maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they ſuffer no grauen images of ſaints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they haue in great abundance, which they do adore and offer vnto, and burne waxe candles before them, and caſt holy water vpon them, without other honour. They ſay that our images which are ſet vp in Churches, and carued, haue no diuinitie in them. In their priuate houſes they haue images for their houſhold ſaints, and for the moſt part, they are put in the darkeſt place of the houſe: hee that comes into his neighbours houſe doth firſt ſalute his ſaints, although he ſee them not. If any forme or ſtoole ſtand in his way, hee oftentimes beateth his browe vpon the ſame, and often ducking downe with his head, and body, worſhippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Prieſts, and of the Lay men, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is receiued and held amongſt them for a rule, and cuſtome, that if a Prieſts wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a ſecond wife: and therefore they of ſecular Prieſts, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whom then chaſtitie for euer is commanded. Their diuine ſeruice is all done and ſaid in their owne language, that euery man may vnderſtand it: they receiue the Lords Supper with leauened bread, and after the conſecration, they carry it about the Church in a ſaucer, and prohibite no man from receiuing and taking of it, that is willing ſo to doe. They vſe both the Olde and the Newe Teſtament, and read both in their owne language, but ſo confuſedly, that they themſelues that doe reade, vnderſtand not what themſelues doe ſay: and while any part of either Teſtament is read, there is libertie giuen by cuſtome to prattle, talke, and make a noiſe: but in the time of the reſt of the ſeruice they vſe very great ſilence and reuerence, and behaue themſelues very modeſtly, and in good ſort. As touching the Lords praier, the tenth man amongſt them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the leaſt very fewe of them doe either know them or can ſay them: their opinion is, that ſuch ſecrete and holy things as they are ſhould not raſhly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Maxime amongſt them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements alſo are aboliſhed by the death and blood of Chriſt: all ſtudies and letters of humanitie they vtterly refuſe: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

Euery yeere they celebrate foure ſeuerall faſtes, which they call according to the names of the Saints: the firſt beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent beginnes. The ſecond is called amongſt them the faſt of S.Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the fourth and laſt begins vpon S.Philips day. But as we begin our Lent vpon Wedneſday, ſo they begin theirs vpon the Sunday. Vpon the Saturday they eate fleſh: whenſoeuer any of thoſe faſting feaſtes doe drawe neere, looke what weeke doth immediatly goe before them, the ſame weeke they liue altogether vpon white meates, and in their common language they call thoſe weekes, the faſt of Butter.

In the time of their faſts, the neighbours euery where goe from one to another, and viſite one another, and kiſſe one another with kiſſes of peace, in token of their mutuall loue and Chriſtian concord: and then alſo they doe more often then at any other time goe to the holy Communion. When ſeuen dayes are paſt, from the beginning of the faſt, then they doe often either goe to their Churches, or keepe themſelues at home, and vſe often prayer: and for that ſeuennight they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that ſeuennights faſt is once paſt, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable toſpots. As for the keeping of their faſting dayes, they doe it very ſtreightly, neither doe they eate any thing beſides hearbes, and ſalt fiſh, as long as thoſe faſting dayes doe endure: but vpon euery Wedneſday and Friday, in euery weeke throughout the yeere, they faſt.

There are very many Monaſteries of the order of S. Benedict, amongſt them, to which many great liuings, for their maintenance, doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes doe at the leaſt poſſeſſe the third part of the liuings, throughout the whole Moſcouite Empire. To thoſe Monkes that are of this order, there is amongſt them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no fleſh: and therefore their meate is onely ſalt fiſh, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and cuſtomes of their religion, to eate any freſh fiſh at all: and at thoſe foure faſting times, whereof we ſpake before, they eate no fiſh at all: onely they liue with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpoſe cauſe and take order to grow and ſpring, for their vſe and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and ſmall. For the diſcharge of their office, they do euery day ſay ſeruice, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in ſuch ſort, and with ſuch obſeruation begin their ſeruice, that they will be ſure to make an ende of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning they celebrate the Communion. When they haue ſo done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner they goe againe to ſeruice, and the like alſo after ſupper: and in the meane time while they are at dinner there is ſome expoſition or interpretation of the Goſpel vſed.

Note.

Whenſoeuer any Abbot of any monaſterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his houſholde ſtuffe, beaſtes, flockes of ſheepe, golde, ſiluer, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to ſucceede him in his place and dignitie doth redeeme all thoſe things, and buyeth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the moſt part are couered with ſhingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they vſually build ſome entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine houſe of wood, wherein they ſet vp their bels, wherein ſometimes they haue but one, in ſome two, and in ſome alſo three.

There is one vſe and cuſtome amongſt them, which is ſtrange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongſt them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or cheſt, and in the hand of the corps they put a litle ſcroule, & in the ſame there are theſe wordes written, that the ſame man died a Ruſſe of Ruſſes, hauing receiued the faith, and died in the ſame. This writing or letter they ſay they ſend to S. Peter, who receiuing it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heauen, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Chriſtians of the Latine church, reputing themſelues to be followers of a more ſincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that we are but halfe Chriſtians, and themſelues onely to be the true and perfect church: theſe are the fooliſh and childiſh dotages of ſuch ignorant Babarians.

Of the Moſcouites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to *Tartaria*.

Aurea vetula, or Zelotibaba.

There is a certaine part of Moſcouie bordering vpon the countreys of the Tartars, wherein thoſe Moſcouites that dwell are very great idolaters: they haue one famous idole amongſt them, which they call the Golden old wife & they haue a cuſtome that whenſoeuer any plague or any calamitie doth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or ſuch like, then they goe to conſult with their idol, which they do after this maner: they fall down proſtrate before the idol, & pray vnto it, & put in the preſence of the ſame, a cymbal: & about the ſame certaine perſons ſtand, which are choſen amongſt them by lot: vpon their cymball they place a ſiluer tode, and ſound the cymball, and to whomſoeuer of thoſe lotted perſons that tode goeth, he is taken, and by and by ſlaine: and immediately, I know not by what illuſions of the deuill, or idole, he is againe reſtored to life, & then doth reueale and deliuer the cauſes of the preſent calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idole, they are deliuered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their priuate houſes, and of the apparell of the people.

The common houſes of the countrey are euery where built of beames of Firre tree: the lower beames doe ſo receiue the round holowneſſe of the vppermoſt, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they reſiſt, and expell all winds that blow, and where the timber is ioined together, there they ſtop the chinks with moſſe. The forme & faſhion of their houſes in al places is foure ſquare, with ſtreit and narrow windowes, whereby with a tranſparent caſement made or couered with ſkinne like to parchment, they receiue the light. The roofes of their houſes are made of boords couered without with ẏ barke of trees: within their houſes they haue benches or griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they ſleepe vpon, for the common people knowe not the vſe of beds: they haue ſtooues wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the ſame fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole houſe.

The apparell of the people for the moſt part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like vnto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and ſharpe vpward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a ſigne and repreſentation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth ſuppoſed to be, and the greater reuerence is giuen them by the common people.

The Concluſion to Queene *Marie*.

These are the things moſt excellent Queene, which your Subiects newly returned from Ruſſia haue brought home concerning the ſtate of that countrey! wherfore if your maieſtie ſhall be fauourable, and grant a continuance of the trauell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be ſpred amongſt thoſe nations, whereunto three onely noble perſonages from the verie creation haue had acceſſe, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moſcouie and Emperour of *Ruſsia* his letters, ſent to King *Edward* the ſixt, by the hands of *Richard Chancelour*.

The Almighty power of God, and the incomprehenſible holy Trinitie, rightfull Chriſtian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vaſiliuich, by the grace of God great lord and Emperor of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouograd, King of Kazan, King of Aſtracan, lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Nouograd in the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Roſtoue, Yaruſlaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and lord of many other countries, greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of honour Edward King of England &c. according to our moſt hearty and good zeale, with good intent and friendly deſire, & according to our holy Chriſtian faith, & great gouernance, & being in the light of great vnderſtãding, our anſwere by this our honourable writing vnto your kingly gouernance, at the requeſt of your faithfull ſeruant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they ſhall let you wiſely know, is this. In the ſtrength of the twentieth yeere of our geuernance, be it knowen, that at our ſea coaſtes arriued a ſhippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and ſayd, that hee was deſirous to come into our dominions, and according to his requeſt, hath ſeene our Maieſtie, and || our eyes: and hath declared vnto vs your Maieſties deſire, as that we ſhould grant vnto your ſubiects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our ſubiects, to frequent free Marts, with all ſortes of marchandizes, and vpon the ſame to haue wares for their returne. And they haue alſo deliuered vs your letters, which declare the ſame requeſt. And hereupon we haue giuen order, that wheresoeuer your faithful ſeruant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be wel entertained, who as yet is not arriued, as your ſeruant Richard can declare.

Iuan Vaſiliuich, that is to ſay, Iohn the ſonne of Baſilius.

|| That is, come into our preſence.

And we with Chriſtian beliefe and faithfulnes, and aceording to your honourable requeſt, and my honourable commandement will not leaue it vndone: and are furthermore willing that you ſend vnto vs your ſhips and veſſels, when and as often as they may haue paſſage, with good aſſurance on our part to ſee them harmeleſſe. And if you ſend one of your maieſties counſel to treate with vs whereby your countrey marchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they ſhall haue their free Marte with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleaſure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our ſeale which we haue commaunded to be vnder ſealed. Written in our dominion, in our citie and our palace in the caſtle of Moſco, in the yeare 7060, the ſecond moneth of February.

This letter was written in the Moſcouian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad ſeale hanging at the ſame, ſealed in paper vpon ware. This ſeale was much like yͤ broad ſeale of England, hauing on the one ſide the image of a man on horſeback in complete harneſſe fighting with a dragon. Under this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moſcouian letters. Theſe letters were ſent the next yere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, weights and meaſures vſed in *Ruſſia*, written by Iohn Haſſe, in the yere, 1554.

FOraſmuch as it is moſt neceſſary for al marchants which ſeeke to haue traffique in any ſtrange regions, firſt to acquaint thẽſelues with the coines of thoſe lands with which they do intend to ioyne in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the higheſt piece to the loweſt, and in what ſort they make their paiments, as alſo what their common weights and meaſures be: for theſe cauſes I haue thought good to write ſome thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the marchants of that new aduenture may the better vnderſtand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will ariſe.

No coines of gold in Ruſſia, but all of ſiluer

Firſt, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Ruſſia hath no other coines then ſiluer in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongſt merchants, yet notwithſtanding there is a coine of copper, which ſerueth for the reliefe of the poore in Moſco, & no where els, and that is but only for quaſſe, water and fruit, as nuts, apples, and ſuch other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the leaſt of the ſiluer coines, 18. But I will not ſtand vpon this, becauſe it is no currant money among merchants.

Of ſiluer coines there be three ſortes of pieces: the leaſt is a Poledenga, the ſecond a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to ſay in Engliſh as halfepenie, penie, and twopence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forrein countreys, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they paſſe according to the agreement of merchants.

Their order in ſumming of money is this: as we ſay in England, halfpenie, penie, ſhilling and pound, ſo ſay they Poledenga, Denga, Altine and Rubble: There goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, ſix Dengaes to an Altine, and 23 Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

The weights in Ruſſia.

Concerning the weights of Ruſſia they are theſe: There are two ſorts of pounds in vſe amõgſt them, the one great, yͤ other ſmall: the great pound is iuſt two ſmall pounds: they call the great weight by the name of Beaſemar, and the ſmal they call the Skalla weight: with this ſmal weight they weigh their ſiluer coines, of the which the Emperor hath commanded to put to euery ſmall pound three Rubbles of ſiluer, and with the ſame weight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almoſt al other wares which come into the land, except thoſe which they weigh by the Pode, as hops ſalt, iron, lead, tinne & batrie with diuers others, notwithſtanding they vſe to weigh batrie more often by the ſmall weight then by the great.

Whenſoeuer you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, conſider that to be the great weight, and the pound to be the ſmall. Alſo they diuide the ſmall pound into 48 parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers ſell their wares out of their ſhops, as Goldſmiths, Grocers, Silkeſellers and ſuch other like as we doe vſe to retaile by the ounce: and as for their great weight which they cal the Beaſemar, they ſel by pode, or ſhippond. The pode doth containe of the great weight, 40 pounds, and of the ſmal 80: there goe 10, podes to a ſhippond.

Yet you muſt conſider that their great weight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13 ounces, but aboue 12 I thinke it be. But for your iuſt proofe, weigh 6 Rubbles of Ruſſia money with our pound weight, and then ſhal you ſee what it lacketh: for 6 Rubbles of Ruſſia is by the Emperors ſtanderd, the great pound: ſo that I thinke it the next way to know the iuſt waight, as well of the great pound as of the ſmall.

The weight of Wardhouſe.

There is another weight needfull to be knowen, which is the weight of Wardhouſe, for ſo much as they weigh all their drie fiſh by weight, which weight is the Beaſemar, as they of Ruſſia doe vſe, notwithſtanding there is another ſorte in it: the names of thoſe weights are theſe: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the ſhippond. The marke pound is to be vnderſtood as our pound, and their great pound is 24 of their marke pound: the weie is 3 great pound, and 8 weie is a ſhippound.

The Ruſſia meaſures.

Now concerning their meaſures, As they haue two ſortes of weights, ſo they haue alſo two ſortes of meaſures: wherewith they meaſure cloth both linnen and wollen: they cal the one an Areſhine, and the other a Locut: the Areſhine I take to bee as much as the Flanders ell, and their Locut halfe an Engliſh yard: with their Areſhine they may mete all ſuch ſorts of clothes as come into the land, and with the Locut all ſuch cloth both linnen and wollen, as they make themſelues. And whereas we vſe to giue yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they do giue nothing but bare meaſure.

¶ They haue alſo a meaſure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they cal a Setforth, and the halfe of that an Oſmine: this Setforth I take take to bee three buſhels of London meaſure. And as for their drinke meaſure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I neuer ſaw any true rate, but that ſome was greater then other ſome. And as for the meaſures of Wardhouſe wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference between that and the meaſure of Danske, which is halfe an Engliſh ell.

The meaſure of Wardhouſe in cloth, is the meaſure of Danske.

Cõcerning the tolles & cuſtoms of Ruſſia, it was reported to me in Moſcouia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie cuſtome of all the wares they bring into the Emperors land, and aboue that they pay for all ſuch goods as they weigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which yͤ buyer or ſeller muſt make report to of the Maſter of the beame: they alſo pay a certaine horſe toll, which is in diuers places of his Realme foure pence of a horſe.

The Turkes and Armenians pay cuſtome.

The Emperors beame.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithſtanding for certaine offences, they had loſt their priuiledges which they haue recouered this Summer to their great charge. It was reported to me by a Iuſtice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thouſand Rubbles, and alſo that Rye, Dorpte and Reuel haue yeelded themſelues vnder the gouernment of the Emperour of Ruſſia: whether this was a bragge of the Ruſſes or not, I know not, but thus he ſayd, and in deed whiles we were there, there came a great Ambaſſadour out of Liefland, for the aſſurance of their priuiledges.

The Dutch nation loſt their priuiledges, & renued them with a great ſumme.

To ſpeake ſomewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to be vnderſtood, that there is a certaine place foure ſcore miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there reſorte all the ſortes of Wares that are in the North parts, as Oyles, Salt, Stockfiſh, Salmon, Fethers and Furres: their Salt they make of ſaltwater by the ſea ſide: their Oyles they make of Seales, whereof they haue great ſtore which is brought out of the Bay where our ſhippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to ſell, and the merchants there carie it to Nouogrode, and ſo ſell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockefiſh and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouſe: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Moſco, and their drie fiſhe they carrie to Nouogrode, and ſell it there to the Lieflanders.

The commodities of Ruſſia.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beauers, Minkes, Armine, Lettis, Graies, Wooluerings, and white Foxes, with Deere ſkinnes, they are brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampas, and Powſtezer, which fetch them from the Samoedes that are counted ſauage people: and the merchants that bring theſe Furres doe vſe to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Batrie, & ſuch other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carie them to Nouogrode, Vologda, or Moſco, & ſell them there. The Fethers which come from Penning they doe little eſteeme.

If our merchants do deſire to know the meeteſt place of Ruſſia for the ſtanding houſe, in mine opinion I take it to be Vologda, which is a great towne ſtanding in the heart of Ruſſia, with many great and good towns about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all ſuch wares as are raiſed in Ruſland, but ſpecially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon: there is alſo great ſtore of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko.

The towne of Vologda is meeteſt for our marchants, becauſe it lieth amongeſt all the beſt towns of Ruſſia, and there is no towne in Ruſſia but trades with it: alſo the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themſelues in Moſco or Nouogrode, their charge will be great and wonderfull, but not ſo in Vologda: for all things will there be had better cheape by the one half. And for their vent, I know no place ſo meet. It is likely that ſome will thinke yͤ Mosko to be the meeteſt by the reaſon of the court, but by that reaſon I take it to be worſe: for the charge there would be ſo great by crauers and expenſes, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholly conſumed, which in the other place will bee ſaued. And yet notwithſtanding our marchants may bee there in the Winter to ſerue the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great marchant himſelfe of waxe and ſables, which with good foreſight may bee procured to their hands: as for other commodities there are litle or none in Moſcouia, beſides thoſe aboue rehearſed: if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes conſidering the charges of cariage ouer land.

Vologda and the ſtate thereof.

The Emperor of Moſcouie is a marchant himſelfe.

Our marchants may doe well to prouide for the Ruſſes ſuch wares as the Dutch nation doeth ſerue them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeue, they ſhal ſerue better and with leſſe charge then they of Rye or Dorpt, or Reuel: for it is no ſmal aduenture to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of theſe places, and their charge not litle to cary them ouer lande to Nouogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Ruſſian miles.

This Nouogrode is a place wel furniſhed with flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the beſt flaxe in Ruſſia is brought thither and there ſold by the hundred bundles, which is done alſo at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Nouogrode, dwell as neere Vologda, as Nouogrode, and when they heare of the vtterance which they may haue with our nation, they wil as willingly come to them as goe to other.

Two ſorts of flaxe.

They haue in Ruſſia two ſorts of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other ſmall: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundels then the ſmall: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the ſmall flaxe there goe 27. or 28 bundles to a ſhippound, there goeth not of the greater ſort aboue 22. or 24 at the moſt. There are many other trifles in Ruſſia, as ſope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will bee no great account made of them.

The letters of king *Philip* and Queene *Marie* to *Iuan Vaſiliuich* the Emperour of *Ruſsia* written the firſt of April 1555 and in the ſecond voyage.

Philip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spaine and Sicilie, Archdukes of Auſtrich, Dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flanders, and Tiroll: To the right High, right Mightie, and right excellent Prince, garniſhed with all gifts of nature, by Gods grace Iohn Vaſiliuich Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſco, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tueria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod of the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskay, Roſtoue, Yeraſlaue, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and lord of many other countreys, greeting. Whereas by the conſent and licence of our moſt deare and entirely beloued late brother, King Edward the ſixt, whoſe ſoule God pardon, ſundrie of our ſubiects marchants of the citie of London within this our realme of England did at their owne proper coſts and aduenture furniſh three ſhippes to diſcouer, ſerch, and find lands, Iſlands, regions, and territories before this aduenture not knowen, ne commonly haunted and frequented by ſeas. The one of the which three ſhippes, named the Edward Bonauenture, (whereof our right welbeloued Richard Chancelour was then gouernour and great Captaine) chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the ſayd Chancelour to arriue and winter in the North part of your Empire of Ruſſia. Foraſmuch as we be credibly informed by the report of our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiect, that your Maieſtie did not onely call him and certaine of his company to your emperiall preſence and ſpeech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes: but alſo being thereunto requeſted partly by the letters of our ſaid brother, & partly by requeſt of the ſayd Richard Chancelour, haue by your letters patents vnder your ſeale among other things granted: That all ſuch marchants as ſhall come forth of anie of our realms of England or Ireland with al maner of wares, if they wil trauel or occupie within your dominions, The ſame marchants with their marchandiſes in al your lordſhip may freely, & at their libertie trauaile out and in without hinderance or any maner of loſſe: And of your farther ample goodneſſe haue promiſed that our ambaſſadours, if wee ſend any, ſhall with free good will paſſe to and from you without any hinderance or loſſe, with ſuch meſſage as ſhall come vnto you, and to returne the ſame to our kingdomes well anſwered, as by the ſame your letters, written in your lordly Palace and Caſtle of Moſco in the yeere 7063 the moneth of Februarie more at large appeareth. Like as wee cannot but much commend your princely fauour and goodneſſe, and in like manner thanke you for the aboundant grace, extended to the ſayd Richard Chancelour, and others our ſubiects marchants: Euen ſo theſe are to pray and requeſt you to continue the ſame beneuolence toward them, and other our marchants and ſubiects, which doe or heereafter ſhall reſorte to your countrey: And for the more aſſurance and incouragement to trade and exerciſe the feate of marchandiſe with your ſubiects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may pleaſe you at this our contemplation to aſſigne and authoriſe ſuch Commiſſaries as you ſhall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our welbeloued ſubiects and marchants, the ſayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, & Richard Graie, bearers of theſe our letters: who are by vs authoriſed for that purpoſe: and to confirme and graunt ſuch other liberties and priuiledges vnto the Gouernour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and Communaltie of the fellowſhip of the ſaide Marchants, as the ſaid bearers in their name propone and require by you to be granted for their ſafe conduct, good gouernment, and order to bee erected and continued among them in your ſaide dominions; And this with ſuch your clemencie and expedition, as wee, vpon the next arriuall of the ſaide Richard Chancelour may bee enformed of your gracious diſpoſition and anſwere. Which your beneuolences ſo to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your ſubiects Marchants, that ſhal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right Excellent, and right mightie, Almightie God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt haue you in his bleſſed keeping. Giuen vnder our ſeale at our Palace of Weſtminſter, the firſt of April, in the yere from the bleſſed incarnation of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, 1555. and in the firſt and ſecond yeeres of our reignes.

Articles conceiued and determined for the Commiſſion of the *Merchants of this company reſiant in Ruſsia, and at the VVarhouſe, for* the ſecond voyage, 1555. the firſt of May, as followeth.

First, the Gouernour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants and whole company aſſembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, iointly and ſeuerally to be Agents, Factors, and Atturneis generall and ſpeciall, for the whole body of this companie, to buy, ſel, trucke, change and permute al, and euery kind and kindes of wares, marchandizes and goods to the ſaid company appertaining, now laden & ſhipped in the good ſhip called the Edward Bonauenture, appointed for Ruſſia, the ſame to vtter and ſell to the beſt commoditie, profit and aduantage of the ſaid corporation, be it for ready money, wares & marchandiſes, or truck, preſently, or for time, as occaſion & benefit of the company ſhal require: and all ſuch wares as they or either of them ſhal buy, trucke, or prouide, or cauſe to be bought for the company to lade thē homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent courſe of marchandiſes, ſhall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth alſo to Iohn Brooke for the Wardhouſe, as in the 17. and 18. articles of this commiſſion appeareth.

2 Item, it is alſo committed, as aboue, to the ſaid Agents, to binde & charge the ſaid company by debt for wares vpon credit, as good opportunitie and occaſion ſhal ſerue, with power to charge and bind the ſaid company, and their ſucceſſors, for the paiments of ſuch things as ſhalbe taken vp for credite, and the ſaid Agents to be relieued ab opere ſatis dandi.

3 Item full authoritie and power is committed to the ſaid firſt named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to preſent the king and Queenes Maieſties letters, written in Greeke, Poliſh, and Italian, and to giue and exhibite the marchants preſents at ſuch time and place as ſhalbe thought moſt expedient, they, or one of them to demand, and humbly deſire of yͤ Emperour ſuch further grants and priuiledges to be made to this companie, as may be beneficiall for the ſame, to continue in traffike with his ſubiects, according to ſuch inſtructions as bee in this behalfe deuiſed and deliuered to the Agents whereunto relation is to be had, and ſome one of theſe perſons to attend vpon the court for the obtaining of the ſame, as to their diſcretions ſhalbe thought good.

4 Item, that all the ſaide Agents doe well conſider, ponder and weigh ſuch articles as bee deliuered to them to know the natures, diſpoſitions, lawes, cuſtomes, maners and behauiours of the people of the countreis where they ſhal traffike, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Marchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the ſubtilties of their bargaining, buying and ſelling, making as fewe debtes as poſſiblie may bee, and to bee circumſpect, that no lawe neither of religion nor poſitiue bee broken or tranſgreſſed by them or any miniſter vnder them, ne yet by any mariner or other perſon of our nation, and to foreſee that all tolles, cuſtomes, and ſuch other rites be ſo duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiſcation may enſue to our goods either outward or inward, and that al things paſſe with quiet, without breach of the publike peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they ſhall arriue or traffique.

5 Item, that prouiſion bee made in Moſco or elſwhere, in one or mo good townes, where good trade ſhall be found for a houſe or houſes for the Agents, and companie to inhabite and dwell at your accuſtomed diets, with warehouſes, ſellers, and other houſes of offices requiſite, and that none of the inferiour miniſters of what place or vocation ſoeuer he be, doe lie out of the houſe of the Agents without licence to be giuen, and that euery inferiour officer ſhalbe obedient to the or-

ders, rules and gouernments of the ſaid Agents, and in caſe any diſobient perſon ſhall be found among any of them, then ſuch perſon to be puniſhed for his miſbehauiour, at the diſcretion of the ſaid Agents, or of one of them in the abſence of the other.

6 Item, if any perſon of the ſaid miniſters ſhall be of ſuch pride or obſtinacie, that after one or two honeſt admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the ſaide Agents to diſplace euery ſuch perſon from the place or roume to him heere committed, and ſome other diſcreete perſon to occupie the ſame, as to the ſaide Agents by their diſcretions ſhal ſeeme meete.

7 Item, if any perſon ſhall bee found ſo arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the ſaid Agents or by one of them in the abſence of the other, then the ſayde perſon to bee deliuered to the Iuſtice of the countrey, to receiue ſuch puniſhment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8 Item, that the ſaide Agents and factours ſhall daily one houre in the morning conferre and conſult together what ſhall bee moſt conuenient and beneficiall for the companie, and ſuch orders as they ſhall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee prouided for that purpoſe, and no inferiour perſon to infringe or breake any ſuch order or deuiſe, but to obſerue the ſame exactly, vpon ſuch reaſonable paine as the Agents ſhall put him to by diſcretion.

9 Item, that the ſaid Agents ſhall in the ende of euerie weeke, or oftener as occaſion ſhall require, peruſe, ſee and trie, not onely the Caſhers, bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the ſame with their handes, but alſo ſhall receiue and take weekly the account of euery other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the empteous, and alſo of the ſtate of the houſhold expenſes, making thereof a perfect declaration as ſhall appertaine, the ſame accounts alſo to bee firmed by the ſaide Agents hands.

10 Item, that no inferiour miniſter ſhall take vpon him to make any bargaine or ſale of any wares, marchandiſes or goods, but by the Commiſſion and Warrantiſe of the ſayde Agents vnder their handes, and hee not to tranſgreſſe his Commiſſion by any way, pretenſe or colour.

11 Item, that euery inferiour miniſter, that is to vnderſtand, all Clerks and yong merchants being at the order of the ſaide Agents, ſhall ride, goe, ſaile and trauaile to all ſuch place, and places, as they or hee ſhall be appointed vnto by the ſaide Agents, and effectually to follow and do all that which to him or them ſhall be committed, well and truely to the moſt benefite of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, euen as by their othes, dueties and bondes of their maſters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at euery moneths end, all accounts and reckonings ſhalbe brought into perfect order, into the Lidger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents together with the priuileges, and copies of letters, may and ſhall be well and truely written by the ſecretarie, in ſuch forme as ſhalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings may be ſent home with the ſaid ſhip at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents doe diligently learne and obſerue all kinde of wares, as wel naturals as forrein, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be ſold for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other things of theſe Weſt partes bee moſt vendible in thoſe Realmes with profite, giuing a perfect aduiſe of all ſuch things requiſite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargain with you for the whole maſſe of your ſtock, and will haue the trade of it to vtter to his owne ſubiects, then debating the matter prudently among your ſelues, ſet ſuch high priſes of your commodities, as you may aſſure your ſelues to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at ſuch baſe priſes, as you may here alſo make a commoditie and gaine at home, hauing in your mindes the notable charges that the companie haue diffrayed in aduancing this voyage: and the great charges that they ſuſtaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things: all which muſt bee requited by the wiſe handling of this voyage, which being the firſt preſident ſhalbe a perpetual preſident for euer: and therefore all circumſpection is to be vſed, and foreſeene in this firſt enterpriſe, which God bleſſe and proſper vnder you, to his glorie, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Maieſtie, and the Lords of the Councell haue conceiued great hope, whoſe expectations are not to be fruſtrated.

Note.

Inquirie for the way to Cathaya.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you vſe all wayes and meanes poſſible to learne howe men may paſſe from Ruſſia, either by land or by ſea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ſhips, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well trauailed perſons, either naturall or forrein, ſuch as haue trauailed from the North to the South.

16 Item, it is committed to the ſaid Agents, that if they ſhall be certified credibly, that any

of our ſaid firſt ſhips be arriued in any place whereunto paſſage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the diſcretion of the Agents ſhall bee appointed to be ſent to them, to learne their eſtate & condition, to viſite, refreſh, relieue, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries and requiſites, at the common charges of the companie, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and welbeloued brethren of this our ſocietie, to their reioycing and comfort, aduertiſing Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnes of them and their long abſence, with our deſire to heare of them, with all other things done in their abſence for their commoditie, no leſſe then if they had bene preſent.

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the ſhips ſhal arriue at this going foorth at the Wardhouſe, that their Agents, with maſter Chancelor grand pilot, Iohn Brooke merchant, deputed for the Wardhouſe, with Iohn Buckland maſter of the Edward, Iohn Howlet maſter, and Iohn Robins pilot of the Philip and Marie, ſhall conferre and conſult together, what is moſt profitable to be done therfore for the benefit of the company, & to conſider whether they may bargaine with the captaine of the caſtle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongſt the coaſt for a large quantity of fiſh, drie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reaſonable for trucke of cloth, meale, ſalt, or beere, and what traine oyle, or other commodity is to be had there at this time, or any other ſeaſon of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found ſufficient lading for both the ſayd ſhippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in hanting the place, if profit wil ſo ariſe to the company, and to conſider whether the Edward in her returne may receiue at the Wardhouſe any kind of lading homeward, and what it may amount vnto, and whether it ſhall be expedient for the Philip to abide at the Wardhouſe the returne of the Edward out of Ruſſia, or getting that ſhe may returne with the firſt good wind to England, without abiding for the Edward, and ſo to conclude & accord certainely among themſelues vpon their arriuall, that the certaintie may (vpon good deliberation) be ſo ordered and determined betweene both ſhips, that the one may be aſſured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ſhip, according to ſuch order as ſhall be taken betweene them.

The Philip and Mary.

18 Item, that Iohn Brooke our marchant for the Wardhouſe take good aduiſe of the reſt of our Agents, how to vſe himſelfe in al affaires, whiles the ſhip ſhalbe at the Wardhouſe, he to ſee good order to be be kept, make bargains aduiſedly, not crediting the people vntill their natures, diſpoſitions & fidelities ſhal be well tried, make no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be truſted then to truſt. Note diligently what be the beſt wares for thoſe parts, and howe the fiſhe falleth on the coaſt, and by what meane it is to bee bought at the moſt aduantage, what kindes and diuerſities of ſortes in fiſhes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caſke.

Note.

Note.

19 Item, he to haue a diligent eye & circumſpection to the beere, ſalt, and other liquid wares, and not to ſuffer any waſte to be made by the companie, and he in all contracts to require aduiſe, counſel, and conſent of the maſter and pilot, the marchant to be our houſwife, as our ſpeciall truſt is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor cuſtomes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the company to be quiet, voide of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, abſteine from all exceſſe of drinking as much as may bee, and in all to vſe and behaue themſelues as to quiet marchants doeth, and ought to apperteine.

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward ſhall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conueniently & profitably prouided, bought, and laden in Ruſſia, and the reſt to be taken in at the Wardhouſe, as by the Agents ſhall be accorded. But by all meanes it is to be foreſeene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any forrein place, but to come home, and bring with her all the whole aduertiſements of the marchants, with ſuch further aduiſe for the next yeeres prouiſion, as they ſhall giue.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inuiolably to be obſerued, that when the good ſhips, or either of them (by Gods grace) ſhall returne home to the coaſtes of England, that neither of them ſhall ſtay or touch in any Hauen or Port of England, otherwiſe then wind and weather ſhall ſerue, but ſhall directly ſaile and come to the Port of the citie of London, the place of their right diſcharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, cheſt, fardell, truſſe, barrel, fat, or whatſoeuer thing it ſhall be, be brought out of the ſhippe, vntill the companie ſhall giue order for the ſame, and appoint ſuch perſons of the companie as ſhall be thought meet for that purpoſe, to take viewe, and conſider the ſhippe and her lading, and ſhall giue order for the breaking vp of the ſaide bulke, or giue licence by diſcretion, for things to be brought to land. And that euery officer ſhall ſhewe the inuoiſe of his charge to him firſt committed, and to examine the waſtes and

loſſes,and to deliuer the remainder to the vſe and benefit of the company,according to ſuch order as ſhall be appointed in that behalfe.

Note.

22 Item,the company exhorteth,willeth,and requireth,not onely all the ſaid Agents,pilots, maſters,marchants,clerkes, boatſwaines,ſtewards,ſkafemaſters, and all other officers and miniſters of this preſent voyage,being put in charge and truſt dayly to peruſe,reade,and ſtudie ſuch inſtructions as be made,giuen,& deliuered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Ruſſia, Moſcouia, Wardhouſe, and other places,their diſpoſitions,maners cuſtomes,vſes, tolles,cariages, coines, weights, numbers, meaſures,wares, merchandiſes,commodities, and incommodities,the one to be accepted and imbraced, the other to be reiected and vtterly abandoned, to the intent that euery man taking charge, may be ſo well taught,perfited, and readily inſtructed in all the premiſſes,that by ignorance, no loſſe or preiudice may grow or chance to the company: aſſuring themſelues,that foraſmuch as the company hath trauelled and laboured ſo in theſe their inſtructions to them giuen,that euery man may bee perfect, and fully learned to eſchew all loſſes, hurts and damages that may inſue by pretenſe or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allow,or accept ignorance for any lawfull or iuſt cauſe of excuſe, in that which ſhall be miſordered by negligence, the burden whereof ſhall light vpon the negligent offending perſon, eſpecially vpon ſuch as of their owne heads,or temeritie, will take vpon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby preiudice may ariſe, without the commiſſion of the Agents as aboue is mentioned, whereunto relation muſt be had.

23 Foraſmuch as it is not poſſible to write and indite ſuch preſcribed orders, rules and commiſſions to the Agents and factours, but that occaſion, time and place, and the pleaſures of the princes,together with the operation or ſucceſſe of fortune ſhall change or ſhift the ſame, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the ſaid company doe commit to you their deare and intire beloued Agents and factors to doe in this behalfe for the commodity and wealth of this company, as by your diſcretions,vpon good aduiſed deliberations ſhalbe thought good and beneficiall. Prouided alwayes,that the honour,good name,fame,credite,and eſtimation of the ſame companie be conſerued and preſerued: which to confirme we beſeech the liuing Lord to his glory, the publike benefite of this realme, our common profits,and your praiſes.

Finally for the ſeruice, and due accompliſhment of all the premiſſes, euery Agent and miniſter of and for this voyage, hath not onely giuen a corporall othe vpon the Euangeliſts to obſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued,this commiſſion, and euery part, clauſe and ſentence of the ſame, as much as in him lyeth, as well for his owne part as for any other perſon, but alſo haue bounde themſelues and their friendes to the companie in ſeuerall ſummes of money, expreſſed in the actes and recordes of this ſocietie,for the trueth and fidelities of them,for the better, and alſo manifeſter teſtification of the trueth, and of their othes, promiſes,and bands aforeſaid,they haue to this Commiſſion ſubſcribed particularly their ſeuerall hands, and the company alſo in confirmation of the ſame,haue ſet their ſeale. Geuen the day,moneth,and yeeres firſt aboue mentioned.

The othe miniſtred to the ſeruants of the fellowſhip.

YE ſweare by the holy contents of that booke,that ye ſhal wel,faithfully and truely, and vprightly, and with all your indeuour, ſerue this right worſhipfull company in that order, which by this fellowſhips Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperours of Ruſſia, &c. ſhall bee vnto you committed, by commiſſion, commandement,or other his direction. And that you ſhall bee obedient and faithfull to the ſame our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and vprightly according to the commiſſion, charge, commãdement,or other direction of the ſaid Agent or Agents to you from time to time giuen and to be giuen,you ſhall proſecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme,commoditie,benefite and profite of the ſaid fellowſhip: and you ſhall not directly or indirectly,openly or couertly doe, exerciſe or vſe any trade or feate of marchandizes for your owne priuate account,commodity,gaine or profite, or for the account of or for any other perſon or perſons,without conſent or licence of this ſaid fellowſhip,firſt obtained in writing. And if you ſhall know or vnderſtand any other perſon or perſons to vſe, exerciſe or doe any trade, traffike or feat of marchandiſe,to or for his or their own account or accounts,at any time or times hereafter, that then ye ſhall truely and plainly diſcloſe,open,vtter and reueale,and ſhew the ſame vnto this ſaid fellowſhip, without fraude,colour,couin or delay: So helpe you God,&c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth the companies firſt *Agent in* Moſcouie, *touching their interteinement in their ſe*cond voyage. Anno 1555. the 27. of Nouember in *Moſco.*

Right worſhipfull, my duetie conſidered, &c. It may pleaſe your worſhip to underſtand, that at the making hereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, ſaue onely William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the riuer out of the boate, and was drowned. And the 11. day of September wee came to Vologda, and there we laide all our wares vp, and ſold very litle: but one marchant would haue giuen vs 12. robles for a broad cloth, & he ſaid he would haue had them all, and 4. altines for a pound of ſugar, but we did refuſe it becauſe he was the firſt, and the marchants were not come thither, nor would not come before Winter, truſting to haue more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwiſtanding we did for the beſt. And the houſe that our wares lie in coſt from that day vntill Eaſter ten robles. And the 28. day of September we did determine with our ſelues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, Chriſtopher Hudſon, Iohn Segewicke, Richard Iohnſon, and Richard Iudde, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Priſe, Robert Beſt and I ſhould goe to Moſco. And we did lade the Emperours ſuger, with part of all ſorts of wares to haue had to the Moſco with vs, but the way was ſo deepe, that we were faine to turne back, and leaue it ſtil at Vologda till the froſt. And we went forth with poſte horſe, & the charge of euery horſe being ſtil ten in number, comes to 10. s. 7. d. halfepenie, beſides the guides. And wee came to the Moſco the 4. day of October, and were lodged that night in a ſimple houſe: but the next day we were ſent for to the Emperour his ſecretarie, and he bade vs welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes, and wee ſhewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he deſired to ſee them all, and that they might remain with him, to haue them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and ſo we did: and then we were appointed to a better houſe: and the ſeuenth day the ſecretary ſent for vs againe, & then he ſhewed vs that we ſhould haue a better houſe, for it was the Emperour his will, that we ſhould haue all things that we did lacke, and did ſend vs meade of two ſorts, and two hens, our houſe free, and euery two dayes to receiue eight hens, ſeuen altines, and two pence in money, and meade a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our houſe, & to doe that wherunto we would ſet him. And wee had giuen many rewards before, which you ſhal perceiue by other, and ſo we gaue the meſſengers a reward with thanks: and the ninth day we were ſent to make vs readie to ſpeak with the Emperour on the morow. And the letters were ſent vs, that wee might deliuer them our ſelues, & we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his preſence we went thorow a great chamber, where ſtood many ſmall tunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of ſiluer, I meane, like waſhing bowles, all parſel gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein ſate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold, and then into the chamber where his grace ſate, & there I thinke were more then in the other chamber alſo in cloth of gold, and we did our duety, & ſhewed his grace our Queenes graces letters, with a note of your preſent which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aſke how our Queenes grace did, calling her couſin, ſaying that hee was glad that wee were come in health into his Realme, and we went one by one vnto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid vs goe in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his preſence, and were ſet with our faces towards his grace, & none in the chamber ſate with their backes towards him, being I thinke neere a hundred at dinner then, and all ſerued with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not ſlender but very maſſy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, ſtanding ſtill on the cupboord, not moued: and diuers times in the dinner time his grace ſent vs meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went vp to his grace, and receiued a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the ſame night his grace ſent certaine gentlemen to vs with diuers ſortes of wine and mede, to whome wee gaue a rewarde. And afterwarde we were by diuers Italians counſelled to take heed whom we did truſt to make the copie of the priuileges that we would deſire to haue, for feare it ſhould not be writtē in the Ruſſie tongue, as we did meane. So firſt a Ruſſian did write for vs a breuiat to the Emperor, the tenour wherof was, that we did deſire a ſtronger priuilege: & when the Secretary ſaw it, he did deliuer it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed vs to write our minds, and hee would ſee it, and ſo we did. And his grace is ſo troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet wee haue no anſwere: but we haue byn required of his Secretary, and of the vnder Chancelor, to know what wares we had

Queene Maries letters to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

The Italians counſell to our people.

brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to haue, that are, or may bee had in this Realme : and we ſhewed them, and they ſhewed the Emperor therof. And then they ſaid his graces pleaſure was, that his beſt marchants of the Moſco ſhould be ſpoken to, to meet and talk with vs. And ſo a day was appointed, and wee mette in the Secretarie his office, and there was the vnder Chancelor, who was not paſt two yeeres ſince the Emperors marchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the concluſion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed vs to bethinke vs, where we would deſire to haue a houſe or houſes, that wee might come to them as to our owne houſe, and for marchandize to be made preparation for vs, and they would know our priſes of our wares and friſe : and we anſwered, that for our prices they muſt ſee the wares before we coulde make any price thereof, for the like in goodneſſe hath not bene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all ſorts of our wares to come from Vologda, with the firſt ſledway, and then they ſhould ſee them, and then we would ſhew them the prices of them: and likewiſe we could not tell them what we would giue them iuſtly, till we did knowe as well their iuſt weights as their meaſures: for in all places where we did come, al weights and meaſures did vary. Then the Secretary (who had made promiſe vnto vs before) ſaide, that we ſhould haue all the iuſt meaſures vnder ſeale, & he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or ſel with any other meaſure then that, the law was, that he ſhould be puniſhed: he ſaid moreouer, that if it ſo happẽ that any of our marchants do promiſe by couenãt at any time to deliuer you any certain ſum of wares in ſuch a place, and of ſuch like goodneſſe, at ſuch a day, for ſuch a certaine price, that then becauſe of variance, we ſhould cauſe it to be writtẽ, according as the bargain is, before a iuſtice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe couenant & promiſe in all points, according to his couenant, that then looke what loſſe or hinderance we could iuſtly proue that we haue therby, he ſhould make it good if he be worth ſo much : and in like caſe we muſt do to them: and to that we did agree, ſaue onely if it were to come ouer the ſea, then if any ſuch fortune ſhould bee (as God forbid) that the ſhip ſhould miſchance or be robbed, & the proofe to be made that ſuch kind of wares were laden, the Engliſh marchants to beare no loſſe to the other marchant. Then yͤ Chancelor ſaid, me thinks you ſhall do beſt to haue your houſe at Colmogro, which is but 100. miles frõ the right diſcharge of the ſhips, and yet I truſt the ſhips ſhal come neerer hereafter, becauſe the ſhips may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000. miles from Vologda by water, and all our marchants ſhall bring all our marchandize to Colmogro to you, and ſo ſhall our marchants neither go empty nor come empty: for if they lacke lading homeward, there is ſalt, which is good ware here, that they may come loden againe. So we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his ſaying: for we ſhal neuertheleſſe, if we luſt, haue a houſe at Vologda, & at the Moſco, yea, & at Nouogrode, or where we wil in Rusland: But the three & twentieth of this preſent we were with the ſecretary, and then among other talke, we moued, that if we ſhould tary at Colmogro with our wares, and ſhould not come to Vologda, or further to ſeeke our market, but tary ſtil at Colmogro, and then the marchants of the Moſco and others ſhould not come and bring their wares, and ſo the ſhips ſhould come, and not haue their lading ready, that then it were a great loſſe and hinderance for vs: then ſaide hee againe to vs, that the marchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they ſhould come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they ſhould not find wares there ſufficient to ſerue them, that then they ſhould be at great loſſe and hinderance, they leauing their other trades to fal to that: and to that we did anſwere, that after the time that we do appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they ſhould neuer come thither, but at the beginning of the yere, they ſhould find that our marchants would haue at the leaſt for a thouſand robles, although the ſhips were not come: ſo that he ſaide, that then wee muſt talke further with the marchants: ſo that as yet I know not, but that we ſhall haue neede of one houſe at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then wee ſhalbe ſure to buy ſome at Vologda, and to be out of bondage.

The diuerſitie of weights & meaſures in Ruſſia.

Colmogro.

Vologda.

And thus may we continue three or foure yeeres, and in this ſpace we ſhall know the countrey and the marchants, and which way to ſaue our ſelues beſt, and where to plant our houſes, and where to ſeeke for wares: for the Moſco is not beſt for any kind of wares for vs to buy, ſaue onely ware, which we cannot haue vnder ſeuen pence the Ruſſe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I haue bidden 6. pence for a pound. And I haue bought more, fiue hundred weight of yarne, which ſtands mee in eight pence farthing the Ruſſe pound one with another. And if wee had receiued any ſtore of money, and were diſpatched heere of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we ſhalbe ſhortly (you know what I meane) then as ſoone as we haue made ſale, I doe intend to goe to Nouogrode, and to Pleſco, whence all the great number of the beſt tow flaxe commeth, and ſuch wares as are there I truſt to buy part. And feare you not but we will do that may be done, if God ſend vs health, deſiring you to prepare fully for

Nouogrode.

one ſhip to be ready in the beginning of April to depart off the coaſt of England.

Concerning all thoſe things which we haue done in the wares, you ſhal receiue a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth theſe from vs is a marchant of Terwill and he was cauſed to cary theſe by the commandement of the Emperour his ſecretarie, whoſe name is Iuan Mecallawich Weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it pleaſe you to ſend any letters to Dantiske to Robert Elſon, or to William Watſons ſeruant Dunſtan Walton to be conueyed to vs, it may pleaſe you to incloſe ours in a letter ſent from you to him, written in Poliſh, Dutch, Latine or Italian: ſo incloſed, comming to the Moſco to his hands, he wil conuey our letters to vs whereſoeuer we be. And I haue written to Dantiske already to them for the conueyance of letters from thence.

The Ruſſian ſecretary his name.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men ſay that theſe hundred yeres was neuer ſo warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yeſternight wee receiued a letter from Chriſtopher Hudſon from a citie called Yeraſlaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceiue him, ſo that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours preſent was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the ſled did ouerthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was loſt, which made vs all very ſory.

I pray you be not offended with theſe my rude letters for lacke of time: but aſſoone as ſales be made, I will finde the meanes to conuey you a letter with ſpeed: for the way is made ſo doubtful, that the right meſſenger is ſo much in doubt, that he would not haue any letters of any effect ſent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of theſe: and to ſay the truth, the way is not for him to trauell in, But I will make another ſhift beſide, which I truſt ſhall ſerue the turne till he come, if ſales be made before he be readie, which is and ſhall be as pleaſeth God: who euer preſerue your worſhip, and ſend vs good ſales. Written in haſte.

By yours to commaund
George Killingvvorth
Draper.

A copie of the firſt Priuileges graunted by the Emperour of *Ruſſia* to the Engliſh Marchants in the yeere 1555.

IOhn Vaſiliuich, by the grace of God Emperor of Ruſſia, great duke of Nouogrode, Moſcouia, &c. To all people that ſhal ſee, reade, heare or vnderſtād theſe preſents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted al realmes and dominions in the whole world with ſundry cōmodities, ſo as the one hath neede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means therof traffike is vſed from one to another, and amity therby increaſed: and for that as amongſt men nothing is more to be deſired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good diſpoſition can liue in quietnes, ſo that it is as troubleſome to be vtterly wanting, as it is perceiuep to be grieuous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other neceſſaries moſt requiſite for the conſeruation and maintenance thereof in health: conſidering alſo how needfull marchandize is, which furniſheth men of all that which is conuenient for their liuing and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the ſatiſfying of their delights, and all other things conuenient and profitable for them, and that marchandize bringeth the ſame commodities from diuers quarters in ſo great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in euery place (where entercourſe of marchandizes is receiued and imbraced) generally in ſuch ſort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the inioyers thereof be as men liuing in a golden world: Vpon theſe reſpects and other weighty and good conſiderations, vs hereunto mouing, and chiefly vpon the contemplation of the gratious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, &c. in the fauour of her ſubiects, merchants, the gouernour, conſuls, aſſiſtants, and communaltie of merchants aduenturers for diſcouery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace ſpeciall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, do giue and grant as much as in vs is and lieth, vnto Sebaſtian Cabota Gouernour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Conſuls: Sir Iohn Greſham, &c. Aſſiſtants, and to the communaltie of the aforenamed fellowſhip, and to their ſucceſſours for euer, and to the ſucceſſours of euerie of them, theſe articles, graunts, immunities, franchiſes, liberties and priuileges, and euery of them hereafter following, expreſſed and declared. Videlicet:

1 Firſt, we for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, do by theſe preſents giue and graunt free licence, facultie, authoritie and power vnto the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and communalty of the ſaid fellowſhip, and to their ſucceſſors for euer, that all and ſingular the marchants of the ſame company, their Agents, factours, doers of their buſineſſe, atturneys, ſeruants, and miniſters, and euery of them may at all times hereafter for euer more ſurely, freely and ſafely with their ſhippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatſoeuer ſaile, come and enter into all and ſingular our lands, countreis, dominions, cities, townes, villages, caſtles, portes, iuriſdictions and deſtraicts by ſea, land or freſh waters, and there tary, abide and ſoiourne, and buy, ſell, barter and change all kind of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatſoeuer nation, rite, condition, ſtate or degrees they be, and with the ſame or other ſhips, wares, marchandizes, goods & things whatſoeuer they be, vnto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleaſure and liberty by ſea, land or freſh waters may depart, and exerciſe all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and euery part thereof freely and quietly without any reſtraint, impeachment, price, exaction, preſt, ſtraight cuſtome, toll, impoſition, or ſubſidie to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demãded, taxed, ſet, leuied or inferred vpon them or any of them, or vpon their goods, ſhips, wares, marchandizes and things, of, for or vpon any part or parcell thereof, or vpon the goods, ſhips, wares, merchandizes, and things of any of them, ſo that they ſhall not need any other ſafe conduct or licence generall, ne ſpeciall of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, neither ſhall be bound to aſke any ſafe conduct or licence in any of the aforeſaid places ſubiect vnto vs.

2 Item, we giue and graunt to the ſaid marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, marchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, ſhal be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreyes, caſtles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our iuriſdiction, at any time heereafter attached, ſtaied, arreſted ne diſturbed for anie debt, duetie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or ſureties, ne alſo for any offence or treſpaſſe committed, or that ſhall be committed, but onely for ſuch as they or any of them ſhall actually commit, and the ſame offences (if any ſuch happen,) ſhall bee by vs onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we giue and graunt, that the ſaid Marchants ſhal and may haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, chooſe and aſſigne brokers, ſhippers, packers, weighers, meaſurers, wagoners, and all other meet and neceſſary laborers for to ſerue them in their feat of marchandiſes, and miniſter and giue vnto them and euery of them a corporall othe, to ſerue them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may puniſh and diſmiſſe them, and from time to time chooſe, ſweare and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, vexation or diſturbance, either of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, or of any other our Iuſtices, officers, miniſters or ſubiects whatſoeuer.

4 Item, we giue and graunt vnto the ſaide Marchants and their ſucceſſours, that ſuch perſon as is, or ſhalbe commended vnto vs, our heires or ſucceſſors by the Gouernour, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſaid fellowſhip reſiant within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor within this our empire and dominions, may and ſhal haue ful power and authoritie to gouerne and rule all Engliſhmen that haue had, or ſhall haue acceſſe, or repaire in or to this ſaid Empire and iuriſdictions, or any part thereof, and ſhal and may miniſter vnto them, and euery of them good iuſtice in all their cauſes, plaints, quarrels, and diſorders betweene them moued, and to be moued, and aſſemble, deliberate, conſult, conclude, define, determine and make ſuch actes, and ordinances, as he ſo commended with his Aſſiſtants ſhall thinke good and meete for the good order, gouernment and rule of the ſaid Marchants, and all other Engliſhmen repairing to this our ſaide empire and dominions, or any part thereof, and to ſet and leuie vpon all, and euery Engliſhmen, offender or offenders, of ſuch their acts and ordinances made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine or impriſonment.

5 Item, if it happen that any of the ſaide Marchants, or other Engliſhman, as one or more doe rebell againſt ſuch chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not diſpoſe him or themſelues to obey them and euery of them as ſhall appertaine, if the ſaide Rebels or diſobedients doe come, and bee founde in our ſaide Empire and iuriſdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promiſe and graunt, that all and euery our officers, miniſters, and ſubiects ſhall effectually ayde and aſſiſt the ſaide chiefe Factour or Factours, and their deputies, and for their power ſhall really worke, to bring ſuch rebell or diſobedient rebels, or diſobedients to due obedience: And to that intent ſhall lende vnto the ſame Factour or Factours, and their

deputies vpon requeſt therefore to be made, priſons, and inſtruments for puniſhments from time to time.

6 Item, we promiſe vnto the ſaide Marchants, and their ſucceſſours vpon their requeſt to exhibite and doe vnto them good, exact and fauourable iuſtice, with expedition in all their cauſes, and that when they or any of them ſhall haue acceſſe, or come to or before any of our Iuſtices, for any their plaints mooued, and to bee mooued betweene any our ſubiects or other ſtranger, and them, or any of them, that then they ſhalbe firſt and forthwith heard, as ſoon as the party which they ſhal find before our Iuſtices ſhalbe depeached, which party being heard forthwith, and aſſoone as may be, the ſaid Engliſh marchants ſhall be ridde and diſpatched: And if any action ſhall be moued by or againſt any of the ſaid Marchants being abſent out of our ſaide empire and dominions, then ſuch Marchants may ſubſtitute an Atturney in all and ſingular his cauſes to be followed as need ſhall require, and as ſhall ſeeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt and promiſe to the ſaide Marchants, and to their ſucceſſours, that if the ſame Marchants or any of them ſhall bee wounded, or (which God forbid) ſlaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof giuen; Wee and our Iuſtices and other officers ſhall execute due correction and puniſhment without delay, according to the exigence of the caſe: ſo that it ſhall bee an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it ſhall chaunce the factors, ſeruants, or miniſters of the ſaide Marchants or any of them to treſpaſſe or offende, whereby they or any of them ſhall incurre the danger of death or puniſhment, the goods, wares, marchandizes, and things of their Maſters ſhall not therefoore bee forfaited, confiſcated, ſpoiled ne ſeiſed by any meanes by vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, or by any our officers, miniſters or ſubiects, but ſhall remaine to their vſe, franke, free, and diſcharged from all puniſhment and loſſe.

8 Item, we graunt that if any of the Engliſh nation be arreſted for any debt, he ſhal not be laid in priſon, ſo farre as he can put in ſufficient ſuretie and pawne: neither ſhall any ſergeant, or officer leade them or any of them to priſon, before he ſhall haue knowen whether the chiefe factor or factors, or their deputies ſhalbe ſureties, or bring in pawne for ſuch arreſted: then the officers ſhal releaſe the partie, and ſhall ſet him or them at libertie.

9 Moreouer, wee giue, graunt and promiſe to the ſaide Marchants, that if any of their ſhips or other veſſels ſhall bee ſpoyled, robbed, or damnified in ſayling, anckoring or returning to or from our ſaide Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other perſon, whatſoeuer hee or they bee, that then and in ſuch caſe, wee will doe all that in vs is to cauſe reſtitution, reparation, and ſatiſfaction to bee duely made to the ſaid Engliſh marchants by our letters and otherwiſe, as ſhall ſtand with our honour, and be conſonant to equitie and iuſtice.

10 Item, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, wee doe promiſe and graunt to performe, mainteine, corroborate, autenticate, and obſerue all and ſingular the aforeſaide liberties, franchiſes, and priuiledges, like as preſently we firmely doe intend, and will corroborate, autentike and performe the ſame by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to the commoditie and profite of the ſaid Engliſh Marchants, and their ſucceſſours for euer.

And to the intent that all and ſinguler the ſaide giftes, graunts and promiſes, may bee inuiolably obſerued and performed, we the ſaid Iohn Vaſiliuich by the grace of God Emperor of Ruſſia, great Duke of Nouogrode, Moſco, &c. for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, by our Imperiall and lordly word in ſtead of an othe, haue and doe promiſe by theſe preſents, inuiolably to mainteyne and obſerue, and cauſe to be inuiolably obſerued and mainteined all and ſinguler the aforeſayde giftes, graunts and promiſes from time to time, and at all and euery time and times heereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof haue cauſed our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Caſtle of Moſco the 20. day of in the yeere.

The Charter of the Marchants of *Ruſsia*, graunted vpon the diſcouerie of the ſaide Countrey, by King *Philip* and Queene *Marie*.

PHilip and Marie, by the grace of God King and Queene, &c. To all manner of officers, true Iurie men, miniſters and ſubiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme or elſewhere vnder our obeyſance, iuriſdiction, and rule, or otherwiſe vnto whome theſe our letters ſhall bee ſhewed, ſeene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right truſtie, right faithfull, and welbeloued Counſailors, William Marques of Winchester Lord high Treaſurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our houſholde, Iohn Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our priuie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Howard of Effingham Lorde high Admirall of our ſaide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their owne aduenture, coſts and charges, prouided, rigged, and tackled certaine ſhips, pinneſſes, and other meete veſſels, and the ſame furniſhed with all things neceſſary haue aduanced and ſet forward, for to diſcouer, deſcrie, and finde Iles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by our ſubiects before this not commonly by ſea frequented, which by the ſufferance and grace of Almightie God, it ſhall chaunce them ſailing Northwards, Northeaſtwards, and Northweſtwards, or any partes thereof, in that race or courſe which other Chriſtian Monarches (being with vs in league and amitie) haue not heeretofore by Seas traffiqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their ſaid aduenture, as well for the glorie of God, as for the illuſtrating of our honour and dignitie royall, in the increaſe of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our ſubiects of the ſame: And to this intent our ſubiects aboue ſpecified and named, haue moſt humbly beſeeched vs, that our abundant grace, fauour and clemencie may be gratiouſly extended vnto them in this behalfe: Whereupon wee inclined to the petition of the foreſaide our Counſailours, ſubiects and marchants, and willing to animate, aduance, further and nouriſh them in their ſaid godlie, honeſt, and good purpoſe, and, as we hope, profitable aduenture, and that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieue the ſame, Of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto our ſaid right truſtie, and right faithfull, and right welbeloued Counſailours, and the other before named perſons, that they by the name of marchants aduenturers of England, for the diſcouery of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and not before that late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation, commonly frequented as aforeſaid, ſhalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowſhip and communaltie of themſelues, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants aduenturers for the diſcouerie of lands, territories, Iles & ſeigniories vnknowen, and not by the ſeas, and Nauigations, before their ſaide late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by theſe preſents, and that the ſame fellowſhip or communalty from henceforth ſhalbe, and may haue one Gouernour of the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers.

The diſcouerie principally intended for Gods glory.

Sebaſtian Cabota firſt gouernour of the Moſcouie companie.

And in conſideration that one Sebaſtian Cabota hath bin the chiefeſt ſetter forth of this iourney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and conſtitute him the ſaid Sebaſtian to be the firſt and preſent gouernour of the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, by theſe preſents. To haue and enioy the ſaid office of Gouernour, to him the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota during his naturall life, without amouing or dimiſſing from the ſame roome.

And furthermore, we graunt vnto the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie and their ſucceſſors, that they the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors after the deceaſe of the ſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, ſhall, and may freely and lawfully in places conuenient and honeſt, aſſemble themſelues together, or ſo many of them as will or can aſſemble together, as well within our citie of London, or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe them, in ſuch ſort and maner, as other worſhipfull corporations of our ſaide citie haue vſed to aſſemble, and there yeerely name, elect and chooſe one Gouernour or two, of themſelues, and their liberties, and alſo as well yeerely during the natural life of the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota now Gouernour, as alſo at the election of ſuch ſaide Gouernour or gouernours before his deceaſe, to chooſe, name and appoint eight and twenty of the moſt ſad, diſcreete, and honeſt perſons of the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchant aduenturers, as is aboue ſpecified, and 4. of the moſt expert and ſkilfull perſons of the ſame 28. to be named and called Conſuls, and 24. of the reſidue, to be named and called Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls for the time being, which ſhal remaine and ſtand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it ſhall fortune the ſaide Gouernour, Conſuls, and aſſiſtants, or any of them ſo to be elected, and choſen as is aforeſaid, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and ſo often, it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſaid fellowſhip, and communalty, to elect and chooſe of themſelues other Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, in the place and ſteade of ſuch as ſo ſhall happen to die, to ſerue out the ſame yeere.

Sir George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Huſie, Ioh. Suthcot, the firſt 4. Conſuls.

And further we do make, ordeine, and conſtitute George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret Alderman of our ſaide Citie, Athonie Huſie, and Iohn Suthcot, to be the firſt and preſent 4. Conſuls of the ſaid felowſhip and communalty by theſe preſents, to haue and enioy the ſaid offices of Conſuls to them the ſaid George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Huſie, & Iohn Suthcot, for terme of one whole yere next after yͤ date of theſe our letters patents: And we doe likewiſe make, ordeine and conſtitute Sir Iohn Greſham knight, Sir Andrew Iudde knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir Iohn Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdſon, Iohn Hopkins, William Watſon, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, Iohn Ellot, Iohn Sparke, Blaſe Sanders, & Miles Mording, to be the firſt and preſent 24. Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls, and to the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie by theſe preſents, to haue and enioy the ſaid offices of aſſiſtants to them for terme of one whole yere, next after the date of theſe our letters patents. And further, we for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, as much as in vs is, wil & graunt by theſe preſents vnto the ſaide Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtans, fellowſhip & company of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, & to their ſucceſſors, that the ſaid gouernour or gouernours, 4. Conſuls, & 24. aſſiſtants, that now by theſe patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the ſaide fellowſhip & communaltie of marchants aduenturers, or the more part of them, which ſhalbe then preſent, ſo from time to time to be choſen, ſo that there be 15. at the leaſt wholy agreed therof, the ſaid Gouernour or gouernors, or one of them, and 2. of the ſaid Conſuls ſhalbe there, and 12. of the reſidue of the ſaid number of 15. ſhall be of the ſaide aſſiſtants, and in the abſence of ſuch Gouernour, that then 3. of the ſaid Conſuls, and 12. of the ſaide aſſiſtants at the leaſt for the time being ſhal & may haue, vſe and exerciſe ful power and authority to rule and gouerne all and ſinguler the Marchants of the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie, and to execute and doe full and ſpeedie iuſtice to them, and euery of them, in all their cauſes, differences, variances, controuerſies, quarrels, and complaints, within any our realmes, dominions & iuriſdictions onely moued, and to be moued touching their marchandiſe, traffikes, and occupiers aforeſaid, or the good order or rule of them or any of them.

Alſo wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ſo much as in vs is, doe likewiſe by theſe preſents graunt, that the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors ſhall and may haue perpetuall ſucceſſion, and a common Seale which ſhall perpetually ſerue for the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie. And that they and their ſucceſſours, ſhall and may bee for euer able perſons, and capax in the lawe, for to purchaſe and poſſeſſe in fee and perpetuitie, and for terme of life or liues, or for terme of yeeres or otherwiſe, lands, tenements, rents, reuerſions, and other poſſeſſions, and hereditaments whatſoeuer they bee, by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of the Marchants aduenturers by Seas and Nauigations for the diſcouerie of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and before the ſaide laſt aduenture or enterpriſe by ſeas not frequented, as before is ſpecified, and by the ſame names ſhall and may lawfully alien, graunt, let and ſet the ſame or any part thereof to any perſon or perſons able in the lawe to take and receiue the ſame. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the ſame, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without ſpeciall licence of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, firſt had and obtained.

Alſo wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt vnto the ſaide Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of the ſaide Marchants and to their ſucceſſours, that they and their ſucceſſours, ſhall and may lawfully purchaſe vnto them and their ſucceſſors for euer, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatſoeuer, of the cleare yeerely value of threeſcore ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings & foure pence of lawful money of England and not aboue, as well of ſuch lands, tenements and hereditaments, as bee holden or ſhall be holden of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, as of any other perſon or perſons, the ſtatutes prouided againſt alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any article or clauſe in them or any of them contained, or any other lawe, cuſtome, ſtatute or prouiſion to the contrary in any wiſe notwithanding. And that they by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, for the diſcouerie of lands territories, Iſles, dominions and Seigniories vnknowen by the Seas and Nauigations, and not before the ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſeas frequented as aforeſaid, ſhall and may be able in the law to implead, and be impleaded, to anſwere, and to be anſwered, to defende, and to be defended before whatſoeuer Iudge or Iuſtice, temporall or ſpirituall, or other perſons whatſoeuer, in whatſoeuer court, or courts, and in all actions perſonall, reall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of nouel diſſeiſon, and alſo in all plaints, ſuites, quarels, affaires, buſineſſes and demaunds whatſoeuer they bee, touching and concerning the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, and the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſame onely, in as ample manner and forme, as any other corporation of this our Realme may doe.

Moreouer, wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and graunt vnto the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhippe, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaide, and to their ſucceſſours, that the ſaide Gouernour, or Gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, and their ſucceſſors, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearſed, ſhall haue full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make, ordein, eſtabliſh and erect all ſuch ſtatutes, actes and ordinaunces, for the gouernement, good condition, and laudable rule of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, as to them ſhall bee thought good, meete, conuenient and neceſſarie, and alſo to admit vnto the ſaide Corporation and fellowſhip to be free of the ſame, ſuch and as many perſons, as to them ſhal bee thought good, meete, conuenient and neceſſarie. And that euery ſuch perſon or perſons, as ſhall fortune heereafter to bee admitted into the ſaide fellowſhippe, communaltie and corporation, ſhal from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the ſame. And alſo wee will, and by theſe preſents graunt for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto the ſaide Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, communaltie of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, and to their ſucceſſours, that the Gouernour, or gouernors, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſame, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearſed, and their ſucceſſours for the time being, ſhall, and may haue full power and authoritie by theſe preſents from time to time, as to them ſhal ſeeme good, to limite, ſet, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, & impriſonments, or any of them vpon any offender of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, for any offence touching the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, and alſo that all acts and ordinances by them or their ſucceſſours to bee made, which time ſhall thinke not neceſſarie or preiudiciall to the ſaide fellowſhip or communaltie, at al times to reuoke, breake, fruſtrate, annihilate, repeale and diſſolue at their pleaſure and liberty. And further, wee will, that if any of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie ſhalbe found contrarious, rebellious, or diſobedient to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, and the ſaid aſſiſtants for the time being, or to any ſtatutes, acts or ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, and the ſaide aſſiſtants, in maner, forme, and number aboue ſpecified, for the time being, ſhall and may by vertue of theſe preſents, mulct, and puniſh euery ſuch offender or offenders, as the quality of the offence requireth, according to their good diſcretions.

And further, we will that none of the ſaide offender or offenders ſhall decline from the power of the ſaide Gouernour, or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, in maner, forme, and number aboueſaide for the time being: ſo alwayes, that the ſaide actes, ſtatutes and ordinances, doe onely touch and concerne the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, and the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie of our before named Marchants aduenturers, or the men of the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, and none other; And ſo alwayes, that ſuch their acts, ſtatutes and ordinances bee not againſt our prerogatiue, lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of our realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the ſeuerall duetie of any our ſubiects towards vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, nor contrarie to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by vs or any our progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by vs, our heires and ſucceſſours to bee made, to or with any foreine Prince or potentate, nor alſo to the preiudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our Citie of London, nor to the preiudice of any perſon or perſons, bodie politique, or corporate, or incorporate, iuſtly pretending, clayming, or hauing any liberties, franchiſes, priuiledges, rightes or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of anie graunt, gift, or Letters patents, by vs, or anie our Progenitours, heeretofore giuen, graunted, or made.

Moreouer, we for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, will, and by theſe preſents, doe graunt vnto the ſaid Gouernors, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of our Marchants aforeſaid, that their ſaid Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, and their ſucceſſors for the time being, in maner, forme and number aboue rehearſed, ſhal haue full power and authority to aſſigne, conſtitute and ordaine one officer, or diuers officers as well within our aforeſaide Citie of London, as alſo in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or elſe where within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the fellowſhip or communalty of the ſaid marchants, and that the ſaid ſergeant or ſergeants, ſhall and may haue full power and authoritie by theſe preſents, to take, leuie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of euery perſon and perſons, of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie conuict, and that ſhalbe conuicted, vpon or for breaking of any ſtatutes, acts, ordinances, to bee made by the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants for the time being.

And further, wee will and alſo graunt for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, that the ſaide officer or officers ſhall haue further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for diſobedience in this behalfe (if neede be) to ſet hands and arreſt aſwell the bodie and bodies, as the goods and chattels of ſuch offender, and offenders, & tranſgreſſers, in euery place and places not franchiſed. And if it ſhall fortune any ſuch offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to be in any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other place franchiſed or priuiledged, where the ſaid officer or officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, ſhirifes, baylifes, and other head officers, or miniſters, within euery ſuch citie, borough, towne incorporate, or place or places franchiſed, vpon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſaid fellowſhip, in number and forme aforeſaid, vnder the common ſeale of the ſayd fellowſhip and communaltie for the time being, ſhall and may attach & arreſt the body or bodies of ſuch offender or offenders, as alſo take, and ſeiſe the goods and chattels of all and euery ſuch offender or offenders, being within any ſuch place or places franchiſed, and the ſame body and bodies, goods and chattels of all and euery ſuch offender and offenders, being within any ſuch place or places franchiſed, and euery part therof ſo attached and ſeazed, ſhall according to the tenor and purport of the ſayd precept, returne, and deliuer vnto the ſayd officer or officers of the aforeſaid fellowſhip, and communaltie.

And further, we will and grant for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours by theſe preſents, that all, and euery ſuch Maior, ſhirife, baylife, or other head officers or miniſters of any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other places franchiſed, ſhall not be impeached, moleſted, vexed or ſued in any our court or courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the ſaid precept or precepts.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, & certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, as much as in vs is, haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and grant vnto the ſayd gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, and comminaltie of Marchants aduenturers, and to their ſucceſſors, and to the Factor and Factors, aſſigne and aſſignes of euery of them, ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie and licence, and power to ſaile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Iſles, Iſlands, and coaſtes of the ſea, whereſoeuer before their late aduenture or enterpriſe vnknowen, or by our Marchants and ſubiects by the ſeas not heretofore commonly frequented, vnder our banner, ſtanderd, flags and enſignes, with their ſhippe, ſhips, barke, pinneſſes, and all other veſſels of whatſoeuer portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and wish any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in ſuch ſhippe or ſhippes, or other veſſels at their owne and proper coſts and expences, for to traffique, deſcrie, diſcouer and finde, whatſoeuer Iſle, Iſlands, countreis, regions, prouinces, creekes, armes of the ſea, riuers & ſtreames, as wel of Gentiles, as of any other Emperor, king, prince, gouernor or Lord whatſoeuer he or they ſhalbe, and in whatſoeuer part of the world they be ſituated, being before the ſayd late aduenture or enterpriſe vnknowen, and by our Marchants and ſubiects not commonly frequẽted: and to enter and land in the ſame, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to be had or taken by anie our lawes, cuſtomes or ſtatutes to our vſe, or to the vſe of our heires or ſucceſſors for the ſame.

K. Philip and Queene Mary hereby do diſanull Pope Alexanders diuiſion.

And we haue alſo granted, and by theſe preſents, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe graunt vnto the ſayd Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and comminalty, and to their ſucceſſours, and to their Factors and aſſignes, and to euery of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and faſten our banners, ſtandards, flags, and Enſignes, in whatſoeuer citie, towne, village, caſtle, Iſle, or maine lande, which ſhall be by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforeſayde, and that the ſayd fellowſhip and comminalty, and their ſucceſſors, Factors & aſſignes and euery of them ſhall and may ſubdue, poſſeſſe and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Iſles, and maine lands of infidelitie, which is or ſhall be by them, or any of them newly founde or deſcried, as our vaſſals and ſubiects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and iuriſdiction of the ſame Cities, Townes, Caſtles, Villages, Iſles, and maine landes, which ſhall bee by them, or any of them newly diſcouered or found vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſours for euer.

Conqueſt permitted.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our ſubiects in this laſt ‖ yeere attempted by Nauigation, towards the diſcouerie and diſcloſure of vnknowen places, Realmes, Iſlandes, and Dominions by the ſeas not frequented, it hath pleaſed Almighty God to cauſe one of the three ſhippes by them ſet foorth for the voyage, and purpoſe aboue mentioned, named the Edward Bonauenture, to arriue, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our couſin and brother, Lord Iohn Baſiliuich Emperour of all Ruſſia, Volodomer, great duke of Moſcouie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our loue and zeale, did not onely admitte the Captaine, and marchants our ſubiects into his protection, and Princely preſence, but alſo receiued and intertained them very graciouſly, and honourably, granting

Anno 1554.

The Moſcouites priuiledges vnto the Engliſh.

The largenes of the priuiledge of the Moſcouite companie.

granting vnto them by his letters addreſſed vnto vs, franke acceſſe into all his Seigniories and dominions, with licence freely to traffique in and out with all his Subiects in all kinde of Marchandiſe, with diuers other gracious priuiledges, liberties and immunities ſpecified in his ſayde letters vnder his Signet: Know yee therefore that wee of our further royall fauour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and ſpeciall grace, for vs our heires and ſucceſſours, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and grant vnto the ſame Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, and comunalty aboue named, and to their ſucceſſours, as much as in vs is, that all the mayne landes, Iſles, portes, hauens, creekes, and riuers of the ſaid mighty Emperour of all Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſco, &c. And all and ſinguler other lands, dominions, territories, Iſles, Portes, hauens, creekes, riuers, armes of the ſea, of al and euery other Emperor, king, prince, ruler and gouernor, whatſoeuer he or they before the ſaid late adenture or enterpriſe not knowen, or by our foreſayd marchants and ſubiects by the ſeas, not commonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcell thereof lying Northwards, Northeaſtwards, or Northweſtwards, as is aforeſayd, by ſea ſhall not be viſited, frequented nor hanted by any our ſubiects, other then of the ſayd company and felowſhip, and their ſucceſſours without expreſſe licence, agreement and conſent of the Gouernour, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid felowſhip and communaltie aboue named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforeſayd, for the time being, vpon paine of forfeiture and loſſe, as well of the ſhippe and ſhippes, with the appurtenances, as alſo of all the goods, marchandiſes, and things whatſoeuer they be, of thoſe our ſubiects, not being of the ſayd felowſhip and communalty, which ſhall attempt or preſume to ſaile to any of thoſe places, which bee, or hereafter ſhall happen to bee found, and traffiked vnto: the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to be to the vſe of the ſayd fellowſhip and communaltie. And if it ſhall fortune anie ſtranger or ſtrangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the ſame marchants, their factors, deputies or aſſignes, or any of them in ſailing, going or returning at any time in the ſayd aduenture, or for to ſaile or trade to or from any thoſe places, landes or coaſtes, which by the ſayd marchants, their factors, deputies and aſſignes haue bene, or ſhall bee deſcried, diſcouered and found, or frequented, aſwell within the coaſtes and limites of gentility, as within the dominions and Seigniories of the ſayd mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and euery other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and gouernour whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſayd late aduenture or enterpriſe not knowen by any our ſaid marchants and ſubiects, by the ſeas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northweſtwards or Northeaſtwards as aforeſaid, then wee will and grant, and by theſe preſents doe licence, and authoriſe for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, the ſaid marchants, their factors, deputies, and aſſignes, and euery of them to doe their beſt in their defence, to reſiſt the ſame their enterpriſes and attempts. Willing therefore, and ſtraightly commanding and charging al and ſinguler our Officers, Maiors, Sherifes, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Bailifes, and all and ſinguler other our miniſters and liege men, and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to bee aiding, fauouring, helping & aſſiſting vnto the ſayd gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communalty, and to their ſucceſſeors and deputies, factors, ſeruants, and aſſignes, and to the deputies, factors and aſſignes of euery of them, in executing and enioying the premiſſes, as well on land as in the ſea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you ſhall be thereunto required. In witneſſe whereof, &c.

Anno 1555.

Apud Weſtmonaſterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum noſtrorum, primo & ſecundo.

Certaine inſtructions deliuered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. for *Ruſſia*, to euery Purſer and the reſt of the ſeruants, taken for the voyage, which may ſerue as good and neceſſary directions, to all other like aduenturers.

1 First you ſhall before the ſhip doth begin to lade, goe aboord, and ſhall there take, and write one inuentorie, by the aduiſe of the Maſter, or of ſome other principall officer there aboord, of all the tackle, apparell, cables, ankers, ordinance, chambers, ſhot, powder, artillerie, and of all other neceſſaries whatſoeuer doth belong to the ſayd ſhip: and the ſame iuſtly taken, you ſhall write in a booke, making the ſayd Maſter, or ſuch officer priuie of that which you haue ſo written, ſo that the ſame may not be denied, when they ſhall call accompt thereof: that done, you ſhall write a copie of the ſame with your owne hand, which you ſhall deliuer before the

ſhippe ſhall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be iuſtly anſwered the ſame, when time ſhall require: and this order to be ſeene and kept euery voyage orderly, by the Purſers of the companies owne ſhip, in any wiſe.

2 Alſo when the ſhippe beginneth to lade, you ſhall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter ſuch goods as ſhall be brought aboord, to be laden for the company, packed, or vnpacked, taking the markes and numbers of euery packe, fardell, truſſe, or packet, corouoya, cheſt, fatte, butte, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, firken, or other caſke, maunde, or baſket, or any other thing, which may, or ſhall be packed by any other manner of waies or deuiſe. And firſt, all ſuch packes, or truſſes, &c. as ſhal be brought aboord to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you ſhall doe the beſt to let that the ſame be not laden, and to enquire diligently to know the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the ſame is, that is ſo brought aboord to be laden: if you can not know the owners of ſuch goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as alſo to ſend or bring word thereof to the Agent, and to ſome one of the foure Marchants with him adioined ſo ſpeedily as you can, if it be here laden or to be laden in this riuer, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforeſaid: and when the ſayd ſhippe hath receiued in all that the companies Agent will haue laden, you ſhal make a iuſt copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of euery thing plainely, which you ſhall likewiſe deliuer to the ſayd bookekeeper to the vſe aforeſayd.

3 Alſo when the ſhip is ready to depart, you ſhall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and ſhall ſhew him all ſuch letters as you haue receiued of any perſon or perſons priuately or openly, to be deliuered to any perſon or perſons in Ruſſia or elſewhere, and alſo to declare if you know any other that ſhall paſſe in the ſhip either maſter or mariner that hath receiued any letters to be priuily deliuered to any there, directed frō any perſon or perſons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters ſo by you receiued, you ſhall not carie with you, without you be licenced ſo to doe by the Agent here, and ſome of the foure merchants, as is aforeſayd: and ſuch others as do paſſe, hauing receiued any priuie letters to be deliuered, you ſhal all that in you lieth, let the deliuerie of them at your arriuing in Ruſſia: and alſo if you haue or do receiue, or ſhal know any other that doth or hath receiued any goods or ready money to be imployed in Ruſſia, or to bee deliuered there to any perſon or perſons from any perſon or perſons, other then ſuch as bee the companies goods, and that vnder their marke, you ſhall before the ſhip doeth depart, declare the ſame truely to the ſayd Agent, and to ſome of the other merchants to him adioyned, as it is before declared.

4 Alſo when the ſhippe is ready to depart, and hath the maſter and the whole company aboord, you ſhall diligently foreſee and take heede, that there paſſe not any priuie perſon or perſons, other then ſuch as be authorized to paſſe in the ſaid ſhip, without the licence and warrant of one of the Gouernours and of the aſſiſtants, for the ſame his paſſage, to be firſt ſhewed. And if there be any ſuch perſon or perſons that is to paſſe and will paſſe without ſhewing the ſame warrant, you ſhall let the paſſage of any ſuch to the vttermoſt of your power: And for that there may no ſuch priuie perſon paſſe vnder the cloke and colour of ſome mariner, you ſhall vpon the weying of your ſhips anker, call the maſter and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may ſee that you haue neither more nor leſſe, but iuſt the number for the voyage.

5 Alſo you muſt haue in remembrance, that if it ſhall chance the ſhippe to bee put into anie harbour in this coaſt by contrary windes or other wiſe in making the voyage, to ſend word thereof from time to time as the caſe ſhall require, by your letters in this maner. To maſter I.B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that which he muſt haue for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you ſhall do very well to keepe a dayly note of the voyage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally ſee that you forget not dayly in all the voiage both morning and euening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you ſhall pleaſe God, and the voiage will haue the better ſucceſſe thereby, and the company proſper the better.

7 Alſo in calme weather and at other times when you ſhall fortune to come to anker in the ſeas during the voyage, you ſhall for the companies profite, and for the good huſbanding of the victuals aboord, call vpon the Boateſwaine and other of the company to vſe ſuch hookes and other engines as they haue aboord to take fiſh with, that ſuch fiſh ſo taken may bee eaten for the cauſe aforeſayd: and if there bee no ſuch engines aboord, then to prouide ſome before you goe from hence.

8 And when God ſhall ſend you in ſafetie into the Bay of S. Nicholas at an anker, you ſhall goe a ſhore with the firſt boate that ſhall depart from the ſhip, taking with you ſuch letters as you

haue to deliuer to the Agent there: and if he be not there at your comming a land, then ſend the companies letters to Colmogro to him by ſome ſure mariner or otherwiſe, as the maſter and you ſhall thinke beſt, but goe not your ſelfe at any hand, nor yet from aboord the ſhip, vnleſſe it bee a ſhore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ſhip that you be appointed in, which you ſhall applie diligently to haue done ſo ſpeedily as may be. And for the diſcharging of the goods therein in the Bay, to be carried from thence, ſee that you doe looke well to the vnlading thereof, that there be none other goods ſent a ſhore then the companies, and according to the notes entred in your booke as is aforeſaid: if there be, inquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiuer of the ſayd goods, in ſuch ſort that the company may haue the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9 Alſo there a ſhore, and likewiſe aboord, you ſhall ſpie and ſearch as ſecretly as you may, to learne and know what bargaining, buying and ſelling there is with the maſter and the mariners of the ſhippe and the Ruſſes, or with the companies ſeruants there: and that which you ſhall perceiue and learne, you ſhall keepe a note thereof in your booke ſecretly to your ſelfe, which you ſhall open and diſcloſe at your comming home to the gouernours and aſſiſtants, in ſuch ſorte as the trueth of their ſecret trades and occupyings may be reuealed and knowen. You ſhal need alwayes to haue Argos eyes, to ſpie their ſecret packing and conueyance, aſwell on land as aboord the ſhippe, of and for ſuch furres and other commodities, as yeerely they doe vſe to buy, packe and conuey hither. If you will bee vigilant and ſecrete in this article, you cannot miſſe to ſpie their priuie packing one with another, either on ſhore or aboord the ſhippe: worke herein wiſely, and you ſhall deſerue great thanks of the whole company.

10 Alſo at the lading againe of the ſhippe, you ſhall continue and abide aboord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke all ſuch goods and marchandiſes as ſhall be brought and laden, which you ſhall orderly note in all ſortes as heretofore, as in the ſecond article partly it is touched: and in any wiſe put the Maſter and the company in remembrance, to looke and foreſee ſubſtantially to the roomaging of the ſhippe, by faire meanes or threats, as you ſhall ſee and thinke will ſerue for the beſt.

11 Thus when the ſhippe is full laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a ſhore to the Agent for your letters, and diſpatch away: you ſhall demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the trueth thereof, you ſhal repaire to the companies ſtorehouſe there at S. Nicholas, to ſee if there be any goods left in the ſayd ſtorehouſe: if there be, you ſhal demand why they be not laden, and note what kinde of goods they be that be ſo left: and ſeeing any of the ſhippes there not fully laden, you ſhall put the Agent in remembrance to lade thoſe goods ſo left, if any ſuch be to be laden, as is aforeſayd. And thus God ſending you a faire wind, to make ſpeede and away.

12 Finally, when God ſhall ſend you to arriue againe vpon this coaſt in ſafetie, either at Harewich, or elſewhere, goe not you aland, if you may poſſiblie, to the ende that when you be gone a ſhore, there may no goods be ſent priuily aſhore to be ſolde, or elſe to be ſolde aboord the ſhip in your abſence, but keepe you ſtill aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the cauſes aforeſaid, and write the company a letter from the ſhippe of your good arriuall, which you may conuey to them by land by ſome boy or mariner of the ſhippe, or otherwiſe as you ſhall thinke beſt: and likewiſe when God ſhall ſend you and the ſhippe into the riuer here, doe not in any wiſe depart out of the ſhippe that you be in, vntil the company doe ſend ſome other aboord the ſhippe, in your ſteede and place, to keepe the ſhippe in your abſence.

The Nauigation and diſcouerie toward the riuer of *Ob*, made by Maſter *Steuen Burrough*, Maſter of the Pinneſſe called the Serchthrift, with diuers things worth the noting, paſſed in the yere 1556.

April 23. WE departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April. Saturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays.

27 The 27 being Munday, the right Worſhipfull Sebaſtian Cabota came aboord our Pinneſſe at Graueſende, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinneſſe, and taſted of ſuch cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on ſhore, giuing to our mariners right liberall rewards: and the good olde Gentleman Maſter Cabota gaue to the poore moſt liberall almes, wiſhing them to pray for the good fortune, and proſperous ſucceſſe of the Serchthrift, our Pinneſſe. And then at the ſigne of the Chriſtopher, hee and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in the company great cheere: and for very ioy that he had

to ſee the towardnes of our intended diſcouery, he entred into the dance himſelfe, amongſt the reſt of the young and luſty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed moſt gently, commending vs to the gouernance of almighty God.

28 Tueſday we rode ſtill at Graueſend, making prouiſion for ſuch things as we wanted.

29 Wedneſday in the morning we departed from Graueſende, the winde being at Southweſt, that night we came to an anker thwart our Lady of Hollands.

30 Thurſday at three of the clocke in the morning we weyed, and by eight of the clocke, we were at an anker in Orwell waynes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonauenture, where the worſhipfull company of marchants appointed me to be, vntill the ſayd good ſhip arriued at Wardhouſe. Then I returned againe into the pinneſſe.

Note May 15.

Friday the 15 of May we were within 7 leagues of the ſhore, on the coaſt of Norway: the latitude at a South ſunne, 58 degrees and a halfe, where we ſaw three ſailes, beſide our owne company: and thus we followed the ſhoare or land, which lieth Northnorthweſt, North and by Weſt, and Northweſt and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat.

16 Saturday at an Eaſt ſunne we came to S. Dunſtans Iſland, which Iſland I ſo named. It was off vs Eaſt two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeaſt: the latitude this day at a South ſunne 59 degrees, 42 minutes. Alſo the high round monntaine bare Eaſt of vs, at a ſouth ſunne: and when this hill is Eaſt of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lyeth North and halfe a point Weſterly, from this ſayd South ſunne, vnto a North ſunne twenty leagues Northweſt alongſt the ſhoare.

17 Upon Sunday at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, the fartheſt land that we could ſee that lay Northnorthweſt, was Eaſt of vs three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eaſtwards of the North, which headland I iudged to be Scoutſneſſe. At ſeuen of the clocke we changed our courſe and went North, the wind being at Southſoutheaſt, and it waxed very thick and miſtie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheaſt. At a South ſunne we loſt ſight of the Serchthrift, becauſe of the miſt, making our way North. And when we loſt ſight of the ſhoare and pinneſſe, we were within two leagues & a halfe of the ſhoare: the laſt land that we ſaw when this miſt came vpon vs, which is to the Northwards of Scowtſneſſe, lay Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, and we made our way North vntill a weſt ſunne fiue leagues.

18 From that vntill Munday three a clocke in the morning ten leagues Northnortheaſt: and then we went North and by Eaſt, becauſe the winde came at the Weſtſouthweſt with thicke miſte: the latitude this day at a South ſunne ſixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this ſeaſon we had ſight of our Pinneſſe againe.

19 From that vntill Tueſday a South ſunne Northnortheaſt fortie foure leagues, and then Northeaſt. From a South ſunne vntill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeaſt.

20 From that vntill Wedneſday a South ſunne Northnortheaſt, except the firſt watch Northeaſt: then had we the latitude in ſixtie ſeuen degrees, thirtie nine minutes. From that vnto a Northweſt ſunne eighteen leagues Northeaſt, & then we were within two leagues off the ſhore, and ſaw the high land to the Southwards of Lowfoot breake out through the miſt, and then we went North and by eaſt.

From the ſayd Northweſt ſunne vntill foure of the clocke in the morning North and by Eaſt
ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheaſt vntill a South ſunne, the latitude being ſixtie 21
nine degrees, and a halfe. From that vntill halfe an houre paſt ſeuen of the clocke, Northnorth-
eaſt eleuen leagues and a halfe, and then we went Northeaſt ten leagues. From that 3 leagues 22
and a halfe Eaſtnortheaſt, and then we ſawe the land through the cloudes and hazie thwart on
the broad ſide of vs the winde being then at Southſouthweſt.

23 From that vntill Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning Eaſtnortheaſt, and to the Northwards fortie eight leagues, and then the wind came vp at North, wee being aboord the ſhore, and thwart of the Chappel, which I ſuppoſe is called Kedilwike: then we caſt the ſhippes head to the ſeawards, becauſe the winde was verie ſcant: and then I cauſed the Pinneſſe to beare in with the ſhore, to ſee whether ſhe might find an harborough for the ſhips or not, and that ſhe found and ſaw two roaders ride in the ſound: and alſo they ſawe houſes. But notwithſtanding, God be prayſed, the winde enlarged vpon vs, that we had not occaſion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinneſſe bare her Myſſen maſt ouer boord with flagge and all, and loſt the flagge: with the maſt there fell two men ouer boord, but God be praiſed, they were ſaued: the flagge was a token, whereby we might vnderſtand whether there were a good harbout there or not.

Kedelwike chappell.

At a North ſunne the Norh cape (which I ſo named the firſt voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eaſtwards of the foreſayd Chappel from the Eaſtermoſt point of it.

The North cape ſo named by Steuen Burrowe.

Iune

Iune.

7 The ſunday we weied in Corpus Chriſti Bay, at a Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſunne: the Bay is almoſt halfe a league deepe: the headland which is Corpus Chriſti point, lyeth Southeaſt and by Eaſt, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race ouer the flood: the Bay is at the leaſt two leagues ouer: ſo doe I imagine from the fayre foreland to Corpus Chriſti poynt ten leagues Southeaſt and by Eaſt: It floweth in this Bay, at a South and by Weſt moone full ſea. From that we went vntill ſeuen a clocke at after noone twentie leagues Southeaſt and by South: and then we tooke in all our ſailes, becauſe it was then very miſtie, and alſo we met with much ice that ran out of the Bay, and then wee went Southſoutheaſt with our foreſayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of the Edward, which bade vs farewell, and then we ſhot off another piece, and bade her farewell: wee could not one ſee the other, becauſe of the thicke miſte: at a Northweſt ſunne it began ſomewhat to cleere, and then we ſawe a head lande, and the ſhoare trended to the Southweſtward, which I iudged to be about Croſſe Iſland: it was off vs at a Northnorthweſt ſunne, Weſtſouthweſt.

8 From this Northnorthweſt ſunne, vntill Munday, we went Southeaſt, and this morning we came at anker among the ſhoales that lie off of point Looke out, at a Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſunne, the wind being at Eaſtſoutheaſt. At this poynt Looke out, a ſouth Moone maketh a full ſea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Iſle of Croſſes Southeaſt, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out lieth from Cape Good fortune Eaſtſoutheaſt, and betweene them are ſixe leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Looke out Eaſtſoutheaſt, and halfe a point to the Southwards, and betweene them are ſixe leagues. There is betweene theſe two points, a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of ſhoales and dangers. At a Southeaſt ſunne we weyed, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at Eaſtſoutheaſt: and at a Southeaſt ſunne, we came to an anker, being then a full ſea, in fiue fadoms and a halfe water. It hieth at this place where we roade, and alſo at point Looke out, foure fadome water. At a Weſtnorthweſt ſunne we weyed, and driued to the windewards, vntill

9 Tueſday, a Northnortheaſt ſunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the riuer Cola, in eight fadome water. Cape S. Bernard lyeth from S. Edmonds point, Southeaſt and by South, and betwixt them are ſixe leagues, and alſo betwixt them is the Riuer Cola, into which Riuer wee went this euening.

10 Wedneſday we roade ſtill in the ſayd riuer, the winde being at the north: we ſent our ſkiffe aland to be dreſſed: the latitude of the mouth of the riuer Cola is ſixtie fiue degrees, fortie and eight minutes.

The latitude of Cola.

11 Thurſday at 6 of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of vs one of the Ruſſe Lodiaes, rowing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twenty men in her. The maſter of the boate preſented me with a great loafe of bread, and ſixe ringes of bread, which they call Colaches, and foure dryed pikes, and a pecke of fine otemeale, and I gaue vnto the Maſter of the boate, a combe, and a ſmall glaſſe: and he declared vnto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to drinke, the tide being ſomewhat broken, they gently departed. The Maſters name was Pheodor.

A Ruſſe Lodia.

Whereas the tenth day I ſent our Pinneſſe on ſhoare to be mended, becauſe ſhe was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter and three men more to helpe him, the weather chanced ſo, that it was Sunday before they could get aboord our ſhippe. All that time they were without prouiſion of victuals, but onely a little bread, which they ſpent by Thurſday at night, thinking to haue come aboord when they had liſted, but winde and weather denied them: inſomuch that they were faine to eate graſſe, and ſuch weedes as they could finde then aboue grounde, but freſh water they had plentie, but the meate with ſome of them could ſcant frame by reaſon of their queazie ſtomackes.

14 From Thurſday at afternoone, vntill Sunday in the morning, our barke did ride ſuch a road ſted that it was to be marueiled, without the helpe of God, how ſhe was able to abide it.

In the bight of the Southeaſt ſhoare of the riuer Cola, there is a good roade in fiue fadome, or foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you ſhall haue no land Northnortheaſt of you then. I proued with our pinneſſe, that the depth goeth on the Southeaſt ſhoare.

18 Thurſday we weyed our ankers in the Riuer Cola, and went into the Sea ſeuen or eight leagues, where we met with the winde farre Northerly, that of force it conſtrained vs to goe againe backe into the ſayd riuer, where came aboord of vs ſundry of their Boates, which decla-

red vnto me that they were alſo bound to the northwards, a fiſhing for Morſe, and Salmon, and gaue me liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

As we roade in this riuer, wee ſawe dayly comming downe the riuer many of their Lodias, and they that had leaſt, had foure and twenty men in them, and at the laſt they grew to thirtie ſaile of them: and amongſt the reſt, there was one of them whoſe name was Gabriel, who ſhewed me very much friendſhippe, and he declared vnto mee, that all they were bound to Pechora, a fiſhing for Salmons, and Morſes: inſomuch that hee ſhewed mee by demonſtrations, that with a faire winde wee had ſeuen or eight dayes ſailing to the Riuer Pechora, ſo that I was glad of their company. This Gabriel promiſed to giue mee warning of ſhoales, as hee did indeede.

Lodias hauing 24 men a peice

From Cola to Pechora is but 7 or 8 dayes ſayling.

21 Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gaue me a barrell of Meade, and one of his ſpeciall friends gaue me a barrell of beere, which was carryed vpon mens backs at leaſt 2 miles.

22 Munday we departed from the riuer Cola, with all the reſt of the ſaid Lodias, but ſailing before the wind, they were all too good for vs: but according to promiſe, this Gabriel and his friend did often ſtrike their ſayles, and taried for vs forſaking their owne company.

The curteſie of one Gabriel.

23 Tueſday at an Eaſtnortheaſt ſunne we were thwart of Cape S. Iohn. It is to be vnderſtood, that from the Cape S. Iohn vnto the riuer or bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all ſunke land, and full of ſhoales and dangers, you ſhall haue ſcant two fadome water, and ſee no land. And this preſent day wee came to an anker thwart of a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the ſayd Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before night there were aboue 20 ſaile that went into the ſayd creeke, the wind being at the Northeaſt. We had indifferent good landfang.

A good & neceſſarie note.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboord with his ſkiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with vs ouer the ſhoales with two ſmall iuory combes, and a ſteele glaſſe, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not vngratefull. But notwithſtanding, his firſt company had gotten further to the Northwards.

24 Wedneſday being Midſummer day, we ſent our ſkiffe aland to ſound the creeke, where they found it almoſt drie at a low water. And all the Lodais within were on ground.

Although the harborough were euil, yet the ſtormie ſimilitude of Northerly winds tempted vs to ſet our ſayles, & we let ſlip a cable aud an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in ſuch iourneis varieties do chance, when we came vpon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did ſhrink ſo ſuddenly vpon vs, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could haue flatted the ſhippe before the winde, we ſhould haue bene on ground on the lee ſhore, ſo that we were conſtrained to let fall an anker vnder our ſailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to haue warpt in. Gabriel came out with his ſkiffe, and ſo did ſundry others alſo, ſhewing their good will to helpe vs, but all to no purpoſe, for they were likely to haue bene drowned for their labour, in ſo much that I deſired Gabriel to lend me his anker, becauſe our owne ankers were two big for our ſkiffe to lay out, who ſent me his owne, and borrowed another alſo and ſent it vs. Then we layd out one of thoſe ankers, with a hawſer which he had of 140 fadom long, thinking to haue warpt in, but it would not be: for as we ſhorted vpon yͤ ſaid warpe the anker came home, ſo that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we ruſhed in vpon the other ſmall anker that Gabriel ſent aboord, and layd that anker to ſeawards: and then betweene theſe two ankers we trauerſed the ſhips head to ſeawards, and ſet our foreſaile and maine ſayle, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawſer, and ſo gate the ſea to our friend, and tryed out al that day with our maine corſe.

25 The Thurſday we went roome with Cape S. Iohn, where we found indifferent good rode for a Northnortheaſt wind, and for a neede, for a North and by Weſt winde.

26 Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the winde at Eaſtſoutheaſt, and plied for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawſer: & as ſoone as we were at an anker, the foreſaid Gabriel came aboord of vs, with 3 or foure more of their ſmall boats, and brought with them of their Aquauitæ & Meade, profeſſing vnto me very much friendſhip, and reioiced to ſee vs againe, declaring that they earneſtly thought that we had bene loſt. This Gabriel declared vnto me, that they had ſaued both the ankers and our hauſer, and after we had thus communed, I cauſed 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gaue them figs, and made them ſuch cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of thē, there came another of their ſkiffes aboord with one who was a Keril, whoſe name afterwards I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, & Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Cola, which is not far from the riuers mouth. This foreſaid Keril ſaid vnto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gaue him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene ſufficient. And as I continued in one accuſtomed

maner, that if the preſent which they brought were worth enterteinment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, & therfore I regarded him but litle. And thus we ended, & they took their leaue and went aſhore. At their comming aſhore, Gabriel and Keril were at vnconuenient words, and by the eares, as I vnderſtand: the cauſe was becauſe the one had better enterteinmẽt then the other: but you ſhal vnderſtand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, becauſe there were 17 lodias of the Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company.

Twentie eight Lodias belonging to Cola.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former company and neighbours, which were in number 28 at the leaſt, and all of them belonging to the riuer Cola.

27 And as I vnderſtood Keril made reckoning that the hawſer which was faſt in his anker ſhould haue bene his owne, and at firſt would not deliuer it to our boat, inſomuch that I ſent him worde that I would complaine vpon him, whereupon he deliuered the hawſer to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I ſent our boat on ſhore to fetch freſh water and wood, and at their comming on ſhore this Keril welcomed our men moſt gently, and alſo banketed them: and in the meane time cauſed ſome of his men to fill our baricoes with water, and to help our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his beſt ſilke coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, & brought his preſent with him: and thus hauing more reſpect vnto his preſent then to his perſon, becauſe I perceiued him to be vaineglorious, I bade him welcome, and gaue him a diſh of figs: and then he declared vnto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to ſhew me pleaſure, and not Gabriel, who was but a prieſts ſonne.

28 After their departure from vs we weied, and plyed all the ebbe to the windewards, the winde being Northerly, & towards night it waxed very ſtormie, ſo that of force we were conſtrained to go roome with Cape S. Iohn againe, in which ſtormie wee loſt our ſkiffe at our ſterne, that wee bought at Wardhouſe, and there we rode vntil the fourth of Iuly. The latitude of Cape S. Iohn is 66 degrees 50 minutes. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. Iohn is of height from the full ſea marke, as I iudge, 10 fadomes, being cleane without any trees growing, & alſo without ſtones or rockes, and conſiſts onely of blacke earth, which is ſo rotten, that if any of it fall into the ſea, it will ſwimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the ſhore you ſhall not haue aboue 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

The latitude of Cape S. Iohn 66 degrees 50 minutes.

Earth ſwimming aboue water like wood.

Iulie.

4 Saturday at a Northnorthweſt ſunne the wind came at Eaſtnortheaſt, & then we weied, and plied to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues ſhot paſt the Cape, we ſaw a houſe ſtanding in a valley, which is dainty to be ſeene in thoſe parts, and by and by I ſaw three men on the top of the hil. Then I iudged them, as it afterwards proued, that they were men which came from ſome other place to ſet traps to take vermin for their furres, which trappes we did perceiue very thicke alongſt the ſhore as we went.

5 Sunday at an Eaſt ſunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Ruſſes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiuing the moſt part of the Lodias to be gone we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed and ſpent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

6 Munday at a South ſunne it was high water. All alongſt the coaſt it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full ſea: and as we were a weying we eſpied the Ruſſe Lodias, which we firſt loſt. They came out of a creeke amongſt the ſandy hilles, which hilles beginne 15 leagues Northnortheaſt from Cape S. Iohn.

7 Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheaſt frõ the place where we ſaw the Ruſſes come out: and there the Ruſſes harboured themſelues within a ſoonke banke, but there was not water enough for vs.

At a North ſunne we weyed and plied to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, vntill a South ſunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende thoſe ſandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie North and by Weſt, South and by Eaſt, and Northnorthweſt, and to the Weſtwards, and there the water beginneth to waxe deepe.

The latitude 68 degrees and a halfe.

At a Northweſt ſunne we came to an anker within halfe a league of the ſhore, where wee had good plenty of fiſh, both Haddocks and Cods, riding in 10 fadom water.

8 Wedneſday we weyed, and plyed neerer the headland, which is called Caninoz, the wind being at Eaſt and by North.

9 Thurſday the wind being ſcant we turned to windwards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degreee 40 minutes.

Friday

10 Friday we turned to the windward of the ebbe, but to no purpoſe: and as we rode at an anker, we ſaw the ſimilitude of a ſtorme riſing at Northnorthweſt, & could not tell where to get rode nor ſuccor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: & that land which we rode vnder with that winde was a lee ſhore. And as I was muſing what was beſt to be done, I ſaw a ſaile come out of a creeke vnder the foreſayd Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forſooke his harborough and company, and came as neere vs as he might, and pointed vs to the Eaſtwards, & then we weyed and followed him, and went Eaſt and by South, the wind being at Weſtnorthweſt, and very miſtie.

11 Saturday we went Eaſtſoutheaſt & followed Gabriel, and he brought vs into an harborough called Morgiouets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz, & we had vpon the barre going in two fadome and a fourth part: and after we were paſt in ouer the barre, it waxed deeper, for we had 5 fadoms, 4 and a half, and 3 fadom &c. Our barke being mored, I ſent ſome of our men to ſhoare to prouide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of young foule, as Gulles, Seapies, and others, whereof the Ruſſes would eate none, whereof we were nothing ſory, for there came the more to our part.

Morgiouets an harbour.

Drift wood.

12 Sunday our men cut wood on ſhoare, and brought it aboord, and wee balaſted our ſhippe with ſtones.

This morning Gabriel ſaw a ſmoke on yͤ way, who rowed vnto it with his ſkiffe, which ſmoke was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northweſt ſunne he came aboord again, and brought with him a Samoed, which was but a young man: his apparell was then ſtrange vnto vs, and he preſented me with three young wild geeſe, and one young barnacle.

A Samoed.

13 Munday I ſent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought vs aboord 8 barricoes of freſh water: the latitude of the ſaid Morgiouets is ſixtie eight degrres and a terce. It floweth there at a Southſouthweſt moone full ſea, and hyeth two fadome and a halfe water.

14 At a Weſtnorthweſt ſunne we departed from this place, and went Eaſt 25 leagues, and then ſaw an Iſland North and by Weſt of vs eight leagues, which Iſland is called Dolgoieue: and from the Eaſtermoſt part of this Iſland, there lyeth a ſand Eaſt and by South 7 leagues long.

Dolgoieue an Iſland.

15 Wedneſday at a North and by Eaſt ſunne Swetinoz was South of vs 5 leagues. This day at afternoone we went in ouer the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had vpon the barre but one fadome water.

Pechora.

16 Thurſday we road ſtill.

17 Friday I went on ſhoare and obſerued the variation of the Compaſſe, which was three degrees and a halfe from the North to the Weſt: the latitude this day was ſixtie nine degrees ten minutes.

The variation of the Compas

From two or three leagues to the Eaſtward of Swetinoz, vntill the entering of the riuer Pechora, it is all ſandy hilles, and towards Pechora the ſandie hilles are very low.

It higheth on the barre of Pechora foure foote water, & it floweth there at a Southweſt moone a full ſea.

20 Munday at a North & by Eaſt ſunne, we weyed, and came out ouer the ſayd dangerous barre, where wee had but fiue foote water, inſomuch that wee found a foote leſſe water comming out then wee did going in. I thinke the reaſen was, becauſe when we went in the winde was off the ſea. which cauſed the ſands to breake on either ſide of vs, and wee kept in the ſmootheſt betweene the breaches, which we durſt not haue done, except we had ſeene the Ruſſes to haue gone in before vs: and at our comming out the winde was off the ſhoare, and fayre weather, and then the ſands did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God that our ſhip did draw ſo little water.

When we were a ſeaboord the barre the wind ſcanted vpon vs, and was at Eaſtſoutheaſt, inſomuch that we ſtopped the ebbes, and plyed all the floods to the windewards, and made our way Eaſtnortheaſt.

21 Tueſday at a Northweſt ſunne we thought that we had ſeen land at Eaſt, or Eaſt & by North of vs: which afterwards prooued to be a monſtrous heape of ice.

Within a little more then halfe an houre after, we firſt ſaw this ice, we were incloſed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull ſight to ſee: for, for the ſpace of ſixe houres, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our ſhippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarſe, And when we had paſt from the danger of this ice, we lay to the Eaſtwards cloſe by the wind.

Ice.

22 The next day we were againe troubled with the ice.

23 Thurſday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had the latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minutes.

The lat. 70 degrees 11 min.

We had not runne paſt two houres Northweſt, the wind being at Northnortheaſt and Northeaſt and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the ſeawards, and made way Weſt 6 leagues.

24 Friday at a Southeaſt ſunne we caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the wind being at Northnortheaſt: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

25 On S. Iames his day bolting to the windewardes, we had the latitude at noone in ſeuenty degrees twentie minutes. The ſame day at a Southweſt ſunne, there was a monſtrous Whale aboord of vs, ſo neere to our ſide that we might haue thruſt a ſworde or any other weapon in him, which we durſt not doe for feare hee ſhould haue ouerthrowen our ſhippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs ſhouted, & with the crie that we made he departed from vs: there was as much aboue water of his backe as the bredth of our pinneſſe, and at his falling downe, he made ſuch a terrible noyſe in the water, that a man would greatly haue marueiled, except hee had knowen the cauſe of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him. And a little after we ſpied certaine Iſlands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and blacke oze: we came to an anker at a Northeaſt ſunne, & named the Iſland S. Iames his Iſland, where we found freſh water.

S. Iames Iſland.

26 Sunday, much wind blowing we rode ſtill.

27 Munday I went on ſhoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the variation of the compaſſe was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the Weſt.

The variation of the Compas 7 degrees and a halfe.

28 Tueſday we plyed to the Weſtwards alongſt the ſhoare, the wind being at Northweſt, and as I was about to come to anker, we ſaw a ſayle comming about the point, wherunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I ſent a ſkiffe aboord of him, and at their comming aboord, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man ſaid hee had bene in our company in the riuer Cola, and alſo declared vnto them that we were paſt the way which ſhould bring vs to the Ob. This land, ſayd he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to ſay, the New land: and then he came aboord himſelfe with his ſkiffe, and at his comming aboord he told mee the like, and ſayd further, that in this Noua Zembla is the higheſt mountaine in the worlde, as he thought, & that Camen Bolſhay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I ſaw it not: he made me alſo certaine demonſtrations of the way to the Ob, and ſeemed to make haſte on his owne way, being very lothe to tarie, becauſe the yeere was farre paſt, and his neighbour had ſet Pechora, and not he: ſo I gaue him a ſteele glaſſe, two pewter ſpoones, and a paire of veluet ſheathed kniues: and then he ſeemed ſomewhat the more willing to tary, and ſhewed me as much as he knew for our purpoſe: he alſo gaue me 17 wilde geeſe, and ſhewed me that foure of their lodias were driuen perforce from Caninoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Loſhak.

The relation of Loſhak. The way to the riuer of Ob. A mighty hill in Noua Zembla.

Loſhak.

29 Wedneſday, as we plied to the Eaſtwards, we eſpied another ſaile, which was one of this Loſhaks company, and we bare roome, and ſpake with him, who in like ſort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done.

30 Thurſday, we plied to the Eaſtwards, the winde being at Eaſtnortheaſt.

31 Friday, the gale of winde began to increaſe, and came Weſterly withall, ſo that by a Northweſt ſunne we were at an anker among the Iſlands of Vaigats, where we ſaw two ſmall lodias, the one of them came aboord of vs, and preſented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who ſeemed to be the chiefeſt among them in killing of the Morſe.

The Iſlands of Vagaits.

There were ſome of their company on ſhoare, which did chaſe a white beare ouer the high cliffs into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboord of vs killed in our ſight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we ſaw ſo much ice driuing a ſeaboord, that it was then no going to ſea.

Auguſt.

1 Saturday I went aſhore, and there I ſaw three morſes that they had killed: they held one tooth of a Morſe, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare ſkin at three robles & two robles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Iſland, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houſes, but onely couerings made of Deers ſkins, ſet ouer them with ſtakes: they are men expert in ſhooting, and haue great plenty of Deere.

Samoeds.

This night there fell a cruell ſtorme, the wind being at Weſt.

2 Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of ſnow, and we rode with two ankers a head.

3 Munday we weyed and went roome with another Iſland, which was fiue leagues Eaſtnortheaſt from vs: and there I met againe with Loſhak, and went on ſhore with him, and hee brought

me

The maners of the Samoeds.

me to a heap of the Samoeds idols, which were in number aboue 300, the worſt and the moſt vnartificiall worke that euer I ſaw: the eyes and mouthes of ſundrie of them were bloodie, they had the ſhape of men, women and children, very groſſly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was alſo ſprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde ſticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it. I ſaw much of the footing of the ſayd Samoeds, and of the ſleds that they ride in. There was one of their ſleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I ſaw a deers ſkinne which the foules had ſpoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table wheron they offered their ſacrifice: I ſaw alſo the inſtruments, whereupon they had roaſted fleſh, and as farre as I could perceiue, they make their fire directly vnder the ſpit.

The Samoeds of the Ob very hurtfull and ſhrewd people.

Loſhak being there preſent tolde me that theſe Samoeds were not ſo hurtful as they of Ob are, and that they haue no houſes, as indeede I ſaw none, but onely tents made of Deers ſkins, which they vnderproppe with ſtakes and poles: their boates are made of Deers ſkins, and when they come on ſhoare they cary their boates with them vpon their backes: for their cariages they haue no other beaſtes to ſerue them, but Deere only. As for bread and corne they haue none, except the Ruſſes bring it to them: their knowledge is very baſe, for they know no letter.

4 Tueſday we turned for the harborough where Loſhaks barke lay, whereas before we road vnder an Iſland. And there he came aboord of vs and ſaid vnto me: if God ſende winde and weather to ſerue, I will goe to the Ob with you, becauſe the Morſes were ſcant at theſe Iſlands of Vaigats: but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he ſayd hee would goe to the riuer of Naramzay, where the people were not altogether ſo ſauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee ſhewed me that they will ſhoot at all men to the vttermoſt of their power, that cannot ſpeake their ſpeech.

Naramzay.

5 Wedneſday we ſaw a terrible heape of ice approch neere vnto vs, and therefore wee thought good with al ſpeed poſſible to depart from thence, and ſo I returned to the Weſtwards againe, to the Iſland where we were the 31 of July.

6 Thurſday I went a ſhoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and the variation of the compaſſe was 8 degrees from the North to the Weſt.

The latitude.
The variation of the compas.

Loſhak and the two ſmall Lodias of Pechora departed from this Iſland, while I was on ſhoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I maruailed why he departed ſo ſuddenly, and went ouer the ſhoales amongſt the Iſlands where it was impoſſible for vs to follow them. But after I perceiued them to be weatherwiſe.

7 Friday we road ſtill, the winde being at Northnortheaſt, with a cruell ſtorme. The ice came in ſo abundantly about vs at both ends of the Iſland that we road vnder, that it was a fearefull ſight to behold: the ſtorme continued with ſnow, raine, and hayle plenty.

8 Saturday we road ſtill alſo, the ſtorme being ſomewhat abated, but it was altogether miſty, that we were not able to ſee a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeaſt and by Eaſt.

9 Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Iſland, the winde being at Southeaſt, and as we were cleere a ſea boord the ſmall Iſlandes and ſhoales, it came ſo thick with miſtes, that we could not ſee a baſe ſhotte from vs. Then we tooke in all our ſailes to make little way.

At a Southeaſt ſunne it waxed cleere, and then we ſet our ſayles, and lay cloſe by the wind to the Southwards alongſt the Iſlands of Vaigats. At a Weſt ſunne we tooke in our ſayle againe becauſe of the great miſt and raine. Wee ſounded at this place, and had fiue and twenty fadomes water, and ſoft blacke oze, being three leagues from the ſhoare, the winde being at South and by Eaſt, but ſtill miſty.

10 Munday at an Eaſt ſunne we ſounded, and had 40 fadomes, and oze, ſtill miſty: at noone wee ſounded againe, and had 36 fadome, ſtill miſty.

11 Tueſday at an Eaſtnortheaſt ſunne we let fall our anker in three and twenty fadome, the miſt ſtill continuing.

12 Wedneſday at three of the clocke in the morning the miſt brake vp, the wind being at Northeaſt & by Eaſt, and then we ſaw part of the Iſlands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went Eaſtſoutheaſt cloſe by the winde: at a Weſt ſunne we were at an anker vnder the Southweſt part of the ſaid Vaigats, and then I ſent our ſkiffe to ſhoare with three men in her, to ſee if they might ſpeake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie.

They land vpon Vaigatz.

10 Thurſday the wind came Weſterly, ſo that we were faine to ſeeke vs another place to ride in, becauſe the wind came a ſeaboord land, and although it were miſty, yet wee followed the ſhoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of vs, we let fall our anker. At a Weſt ſunne

We had not runne paſt two houres Northweſt, the wind being at Northnortheaſt and Northeaſt and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the ſeawards, and made way Weſt 6 leagues.

24 Friday at a Southeaſt ſunne we caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the wind being at Northnortheaſt: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

25 On S. Iames his day bolting to the windewardes, we had the latitude at noone in ſeuenty degrees twentie minutes. The ſame day at a Southweſt ſunne, there was a monſtrous Whale aboord of vs, ſo neere to our ſide that we might haue thruſt a ſworde or any other weapon in him, which we durſt not doe for feare hee ſhould haue ouerthrowen our ſhippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs ſhouted, & with the crie that we made he departed from vs: there was as much aboue water of his backe as the bredth of our pinneſſe, and at his falling downe, he made ſuch a terrible noyſe in the water, that a man would greatly haue marueiled, except hee had knowen the cauſe of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him. And a little after we ſpied certaine Iſlands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and blacke oze: we came to an anker at a Northeaſt ſunne, & named the Iſland S. Iames his Iſland, where we found freſh water.

S. Iames Iſland.

26 Sunday, much wind blowing we rode ſtill.

27 Munday I went on ſhoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the variation of the compaſſe was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the Weſt.

The variation of the Compas 7 degrees and a halfe.

28 Tueſday we plyed to the Weſtwards alongſt the ſhoare, the wind being at Northweſt, and as I was about to come to anker, we ſaw a ſayle comming about the point, wherunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I ſent a ſkiffe aboord of him, and at their comming aboord, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man ſaid hee had bene in our company in the riuer Cola, and alſo declared vnto them that we were paſt the way which ſhould bring vs to the Ob. This land, ſayd he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to ſay, the New land: and then he came aboord himſelfe with his ſkiffe, and at his comming aboord he told mee the like, and ſayd further, that in this Noua Zembla is the higheſt mountaine in the worlde, as he thought, & that Camen Bolſhay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I ſaw it not: he made me alſo certaine demonſtrations of the way to the Ob, and ſeemed to make haſte on his owne way, being very lothe to tarie, becauſe the yeere was farre paſt, and his neighbour had fet Pechora, and not he: ſo I gaue him a ſteele glaſſe, two pewter ſpoones, and a paire of veluet ſheathed kniues: and then he ſeemed ſomewhat the more willing to tary, and ſhewed me as much as he knew for our purpoſe: he alſo gaue me 17 wilde geeſe, and ſhewed me that foure of their lodias were driuen perforce from Caninoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Loſhak.

The relation of Loſhak. The way to the riuer of Ob. A mightie hill in Noua Zembla.

Loſhak.

29 Wedneſday, as we plied to the Eaſtwards, we eſpied another ſaile, which was one of this Loſhaks company, and we bare roome, and ſpake with him, who in like ſort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done.

30 Thurſday, we plied to the Eaſtwards, the winde being at Eaſtnortheaſt.

31 Friday, the gale of winde began to increaſe, and came Weſterly withall, ſo that by a Northweſt ſunne we were at an anker among the Iſlands of Vaigats, where we ſaw two ſmall lodias, the one of them came aboord of vs, and preſented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who ſeemed to be the chiefeſt among them in killing of the Morſe.

The Iſlands of Vagaits.

There were ſome of their company on ſhoare, which did chaſe a white beare ouer the high cliffs into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboord of vs killed in our ſight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we ſaw ſo much ice driuing a ſeaboord, that it was then no going to ſea.

Auguſt.

1 Saturday I went aſhore, and there I ſaw three morſes that they had killed: they held one tooth of a Morſe, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare ſkin at three robles & two robles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Iſland, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houſes, but onely couerings made of Deers ſkins, ſet ouer them with ſtakes: they are men expert in ſhooting, and haue great plenty of Deere.

Samoeds.

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3 Munday we weyed and went roome with another Iſland, which was fiue leagues Eaſtnortheaſt from vs: and there I met againe with Loſhak, and went on ſhore with him, and hee brought

me to a heap of the Samoeds idols, which were in number aboue 300, the worſt and the moſt vnartificiall worke that euer I ſaw: the eyes and mouthes of ſundrie of them were bloodie, they had the ſhape of men, women and children, very groſly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was alſo ſprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde ſticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it. I ſaw much of the footing of the ſayd Samoeds, and of the ſleds that they ride in. There was one of their ſleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I ſaw a deers ſkinne which the foules had ſpoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table wheron they offered their ſacrifice: I ſaw alſo the inſtruments, whereupon they had roaſted fleſh, and as farre as I could perceiue, they make their fire directly vnder the ſpit.

The maners of the Samoeds.

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The Samoeds of the Ob very hurtfull and ſhrewd people.

4 Tueſday we turned for the harborough where Loſhaks barke lay, whereas before we road vnder an Iſland. And there he came aboord of vs and ſaid vnto me: if God ſende winde and weather to ſerue, I will goe to the Ob with you, becauſe the Morſes were ſcant at theſe Iſlands of Vaigats: but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he ſayd hee would goe to the riuer of Naramzay, where the people were not altogether ſo ſauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee ſhewed me that they will ſhoot at all men to the vttermoſt of their power, that cannot ſpeake their ſpeech.

Naramzay.

5 Wedneſday we ſaw a terrible heape of ice approch neere vnto vs, and therefore wee thought good with al ſpeed poſſible to depart from thence, and ſo I returned to the Weſtwards againe, to the Iſland where we were the 31 of July.

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The latitude.
The variation of the compas.

Loſhak and the two ſmall Lodias of Pechora departed from this Iſland, while I was on ſhoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I maruailed why he departed ſo ſuddenly, and went ouer the ſhoales amongſt the Iſlands where it was impoſſible for vs to follow them. But after I perceiued them to be weatherwiſe.

7 Friday we road ſtill, the winde being at Northnortheaſt, with a cruell ſtorme. The ice came in ſo abundantly about vs at both ends of the Iſland that we road vnder, that it was a fearefull ſight to behold: the ſtorme continued with ſnow, raine, and hayle plenty.

8 Saturday we road ſtill alſo, the ſtorme being ſomewhat abated, but it was altogether miſty, that we were not able to ſee a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeaſt and by Eaſt.

9 Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Iſland, the winde being at Southeaſt, and as we were cleere a ſea boord the ſmall Iſlandes and ſhoales, it came ſo thick with miſtes, that we could not ſee a baſe ſhotte from vs. Then we tooke in all our ſailes to make little way.

At a Southeaſt ſunne it waxed cleere, and then we ſet our ſayles, and lay cloſe by the wind to the Southwards alongſt the Iſlands of Vaigats. At a Weſt ſunne we tooke in our ſayle againe becauſe of the great miſt and raine. Wee ſounded at this place, and had fiue and twenty fadomes water, and ſoft blacke oze, being three leagues from the ſhoare, the winde being at South and by Eaſt, but ſtill miſty.

10 Munday at an Eaſt ſunne we ſounded, and had 40 fadomes, and oze, ſtill miſty: at noone wee ſounded againe, and had 36 fadome, ſtill miſty.

11 Tueſday at an Eaſtnortheaſt ſunne we let fall our anker in three and twenty fadome, the miſt ſtill continuing.

12 Wedneſday at three of the clocke in the morning the miſt brake vp, the wind being at Northeaſt & by Eaſt, and then we ſaw part of the Iſlands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went Eaſtſoutheaſt cloſe by the winde: at a Weſt ſunne we were at an anker vnder the Southweſt part of the ſaid Vaigats, and then I ſent our ſkiffe to ſhoare with three men in her, to ſee if they might ſpeake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie.

They land vpon Vaigats.

10 Thurſday the wind came Weſterly, ſo that we were faine to ſeeke vs another place to ride in, becauſe the wind came a ſeaboord land, and although it were miſty, yet wee followed the ſhoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of vs, we let fall our anker. At a Weſt ſunne

the miſt brake vp, ſo that we might ſee about vs, and then we might perceiue that we were entred into a ſound.

This afternoone we tooke in two or three ſkiffes lading of ſtones to balaſt our ſhippe withall. It hyeth here foure foot water, and floweth by fits, vncertaine to be iudged.

The vncerteintie of ebbing & flowing.

14 Friday we road ſtill in the ſound, the wind at Southweſt, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it waxed againe miſtie.

15 Saturday there was much winde at Weſt, and much raine, and then againe miſtie.

16 Sunday was very miſtie, and much winde.

17 Munday very miſtie, the winde at Weſtnorthweſt.

18 Tueſday was alſo miſtie, except at noone: then the ſunne brake out through the miſt, ſo that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minutes: the afternoone was miſty againe, the wind being at Weſtnorthweſt.

19 Wedneſday at three of the clocke afternoone the miſt brake vp, & the wind came at Eaſtnortheaſt, and then we weyed, and went South & by Eaſt, vntil ſeuen of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to haue had ſight of the ſandie hilles that are to the Eaſtwards of the riuer Pechora. At a Northweſt ſunne we took in our maine ſaile, becauſe the wind increaſed, & went with a foreſaile Weſtnorthweſt, the wind being at Eaſtnortheaſt: at night there grewe ſo terrible a ſtorme, that we ſaw not the like, although we had indured many ſtormes ſince we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke ſuch monſtrous & terrible ſeas, without the great helpe of God, who neuer fayleth them at neede, that put their ſure truſt in him.

They were within 15 leagues of Pechora

20 Thurſday at a Southſouthweſt ſunne, thanks be to God, the ſtorme was at the higheſt, & then the winde began to ſlake, and came Northerly withall, & then I reckoned the Weſtermoſt point of the riuer Pechora to be South of vs 15 leagues. At a Weſtſouthweſt ſunne we ſet our maine ſayle, and lay cloſe by the winde, the winde being at Northweſt and by North, making but little way, becauſe the billow went ſo high: at midnight wee caſt about, and the ſhippe caped Northnortheaſt, making little way.

21 Friday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minutes, and we ſounded, and had 29 fadomes ſand, and in maner ſtremy ground. At a Weſt ſunne we caſt about to the Weſtwards, and a little after the wind came vp at Weſt.

22 Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a terce, we ſounded heere, and had nine and forty fadomes and oze, which oze ſignified that we drew towards Noua Zembla.

And thus we being out of al hope to diſcouer any more to the Eaſtward this yeere, wee thought it beſt to returne, and that for three cauſes.

They returne the 22 of Auguſt.

The firſt, the continuall Northeaſt and Northerly winds, which haue more power after a man is paſt to the Eaſtwards of Caninoze, then in any place that I doe know in theſe Northerly regions.

Second, becauſe of great and terrible abundance of ice which we ſaw with our eies, and we doubt greater ſtore abideth in thoſe parts: I aduentured already ſome what too farre in it, but I thanke God for my ſafe deliuerance from it.

Third, becauſe the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his ſtormes: and therefore I reſolued to take the firſt beſt wind that God ſhould ſend, and plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to ſee if we might do any good there, if God would permit it.

This preſent Saturday we ſaw very much ice, and were within two or three leagues of it: it ſhewed vnto vs as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might ſee from Northweſt off vs to the Eaſtwards: and this afternoone the Lord ſent vs a little gale of wind at South, ſo that we bare cleere off the Weſtermoſt part of it, thanks be to God. And then againſt night it waxed calme againe, and the winde was at Southweſt: we made our way vntill Sunday noone Northweſt and by Weſt, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at Southweſt: there was a billow, ſo that we could not diſcerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reaſonable geſſe.

24

25 Munday there was a pretie gale of wind at South, ſo that wee went Weſt and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minutes: wee had little winde all day: at a Weſtnorthweſt ſunne we ſounded, and had 29 fadoms blacke ſandie oze, & then we were Northeaſt 5 leagues from the Northeaſt part of the Iſland Colgoieue.

26 Tueſday the wind all Weſterly we plyed to the wind wards.

27 Wedneſday the wind was all Weſterly, and calme: wee had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minutes, we being within three leagues of the North part of the Iſland Colgoieue.

28 Thurſday, we went roome about the Weſtermoſt part of the Iſland, ſeeking where we might

finde a place to ride in for a Northweſt wind, but could find none, and then we caſt about againe to the ſeawards, and the winde came at Weſtſouthweſt, and this morning we had plenty of ſnow.

Friday, the winde being at Southweſt and by Weſt, we plied to the windewards. 29

Saturday, the winde being at South, we plyed to the Weſtwards, and at afternoone the miſt brake vp, and then we might ſee the land ſeuen or eight leagues to the Eaſtwards of Caninoz: we ſounded a litle before and had 35. fadoms and oze. And a while after wee ſounded againe, and had 19. fadome and ſand: then we were within three leagues and a halfe of the ſhore, and towards night there came downe ſo much winde, that we were faine to bring our ſhip a trie, and laide her head to the Weſtwards.

Sunday, the winde became more calme, and then it waxed verie myſtie: At noone wee caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the winde beeing at South, and ranne eight houres on that boorde, and then we caſt about and caped Weſt ſouthweſt: we ſounded and had 32. fathomes, and tough oaze like clay. 30

Munday, we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that we might kill ſome fiſh if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Nuſe, which Nuſes were there ſo plentie, that they would ſcarcely ſuffer any other fiſh to come neere the hookes: the ſaid Nuſes caried away ſundrie of our hookes and leads. 31

A litle after at a Weſt Sunne, the winde began to blow ſtormie at Weſt ſouthweſt, ſo that we were faine to wey and forſake our fiſhing ground, and went cloſe by the winde Southweſt, and Southweſt and by Weſt, making our way South ſouthweſt.

September.

TUeſday at a Weſt Sunne we ſounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeſhels: I reckoned Canonize to be 24. leagues Northnortheaſt from vs. 1

The eleuenth day we arriued at Colmogro, and there we wintered, expecting the approch of the next Sommer to proceede farther in our intended diſcouerie for the Ob: which (by reaſon of our imploiments to Wardhouſe the next ſpring for the ſearch of ſome Engliſh ſhips) was not accordingly performed. 11

Certaine notes vnperfectly written by *Richard Iohnſon* ſeruant to Maſter *Richard Chancelour*, which was in the diſcouerie of *Vaigatz* and *Noua Zembla*, with *Steuen Burrowe* in the Serchthrift 1556. and afterwarde among the Samoedes, whoſe deuiliſh rites hee deſcribeth.

1556

FIrſt, after we departed out of England we fell with Norway, and on that coſte lieth Northbern or Northbergen, and this people are vnder the King of Denmarke: But they differ in their ſpeech from the Danes, for they ſpeake Norſh. And North of Northbern lie the Iſles of Roſte and Lofoot, and theſe Iſlands pertaine vnto Finmarke, and they keepe the lawes and ſpeake the language of the Iſlanders. And at the Eaſtermoſt part of that land is a caſtle which is called the Ward houſe, and the King of Denmarke doeth fortifie it with men of warre: and the Ruſſes may not goe to the Weſtward of that caſtle. And Eaſt Southeaſt from that caſtle is a lande called Lappia: in which lande be two maner of people, that is to ſay, the Lappians, and the Scrickfinnes, which Scrickfinnes are a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order: and theſe people liue in tents made of Deares ſkinnes: and they haue no certaine habitations, but continue in heards and companies by one hundred and two hundreds. And they are a people of ſmall ſtature, and are clothed in Deares ſkinnes, and drinke nothing but water, and eate no bread but fleſh all raw. And the Lappians bee a people adioyning to them & be much like to them in al conditions: but the Emperour of Ruſſia hath of late ouercome manie of them, and they are in ſubiection to him. And this people will ſay that they beleeue in the Ruſſes God. And they liue in tents as the other doe. And Southeaſt and by South from Lappia lyeth a prouince called Corelia, and theſe people are called Kerilli. And South ſoutheaſt from Corelia lyeth a countrey called Nouogardia. And theſe three nations are vnder the Emperour of Ruſſia, and the Ruſſes keepe the Lawe of the Greekes in their Churches, and write ſomewhat like as the Greekes write, and they ſpeake their owne language, and they abhorre the Latine tongue, neither haue they to doe with the Pope of Rome, and they holde it not good to worſhippe any carued Image, yet they will worſhippe paynted Images on tables or boordes. And in Ruſſia their Churches,

Norway.
Roſte & Lofoot.
Finmarke.
Wardhouſe.
Lappia.
The Scricfinnes.
The Lappians.
Corelia.
Nouogardia.
The Ruſſes.

ches,

Tartaria.

Lampas a mart or faire of the Ruſſes, Tartars and Samoeds.

The Samoeds countrey.

Or, Pechora.

Vaigatz.

Noua Zembla.

Store of foule.

White Foxes.

White beares.

The maner of the Samoeds ſacrifices, about the riuer of Pechere.

ches, ſteeples, and houſes are all of wood: and their ſhippes that they haue are ſowed with withes and haue no nayles. The Kerilles, Ruſſians and Moſcouians bee much alike in all conditions. And South from the Moſcouians lye the Tartarians, which bee Mahumetans, and liue in tentes and wagons, and keepe in heardes and companies: and they holde it not good to abide long in one place, for they will ſay, when they will curſe any of their children, I would thou mighteſt tary ſo long in a place that thou mighteſt ſmell thine owne dung, as the Chriſtians doe: and this is the greateſt curſe that they haue. And Eaſt Northeaſt of Ruſſia lieth Lampas, which is a place where the Ruſſes, Tartars and Samoeds meete twiſe a yeere, and make the faire to barter wares for wares. And Northeaſt from Lampas lieth the countrey of the Samoeds, which be about the riuer of Pechere, and theſe Samoeds bee in ſubiection to the Emperour of Ruſſia, and they lie in tentes made of Deere ſkinnes, and they vſe much witchcraft, and ſhoot well in bowes. And Northeaſt from the riuer Pechere lieth Vaygatz, and there are the wilde Samoeds which will not ſuffer the Ruſſes to land out of the Sea, but they will kill them and eate them, as wee are tolde by the Ruſſes: and they liue in heards, and haue all their carriages with deere, for they haue no horſes. Beyond Vaygatz lyeth a lande called Noua Zembla, which is a great lande, but wee ſawe no people, and there wee had Foule inough, and there wee ſawe white Foxes and white Beares. And the ſayde Samoeds which are about the bankes of Pechere, which are in ſubiection to the Emperour of Ruſſia, when they will remoue from one place to another, then they will make ſacrifices in manner following. Euerie kinred doeth ſacrifice in their owne tent, and hee that is moſt auncient is their Prieſt. And firſt the Prieſt doeth beginne to playe vpon a thing like to a great ſieue, with a ſkinne on the one ende like a drumme: and the ſticke that he playeth with is about a ſpanne long, and one ende is round like a ball, couered with the ſkinne of an Harte. Alſo the Prieſt hath vpon his head a thing of white like a garlande, and his face is couered with a piece of a ſhirt of maile, with manie ſmall ribbes, and teeth of fiſhes, and wilde beaſtes hanging on the ſame maile. Then hee ſingeth as wee vſe heere in Englande to hallow, whope, or ſhowte at houndes, and the reſt of the company anſwere him with this Owtis, Igha, Igha, Igha, and then the Prieſt replieth againe with his voyces. And they anſwere him with the ſelfeſame wordes ſo manie times, that in the ende he becommeth as it were madde, and falling downe as hee were dead, hauing nothing on him but a ſhirt, lying vpon his backe I might perceiue him to breathe. I aſked them why hee lay ſo, and they anſwered mee, Now doeth our God tell him what wee ſhall doe, and whither wee ſhall goe. And when he had lyen ſtill a litle while, they cried thus three times together, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, and as they vſe theſe three calles, hee riſeth with his head and lieth downe againe, and then hee roſe vp and ſang with like voyces as hee did before: and his audience anſwered him, Igha, Igha, Igha. Then hee commaunded them to kill fiue Olens or great Deere, and continued ſinging ſtill both hee and they as before. Then hee tooke a ſworde of a cubite and a ſpanne long, (I did mete it my ſelfe) and put it into his bellie halfeway and ſometime leſſe, but no wounde was to bee ſeene, (they continuing in their ſweete ſong ſtill) Then he put the ſworde into the fire till it was warme, and ſo thruſt it into the ſlitte of his ſhirte and thruſt it through his bodie, as I thought, in at his nauill and out at his fundament: the poynt beeing out of his ſhirt behinde, I layde my finger vpon it, then hee pulled out the ſworde and ſate downe. This beeing done, they ſet a kettle of water ouer the fire to heate, and when the water doeth ſeethe, the Prieſt beginneth to ſing againe they anſwering him, for ſo long as the water was in heating, they ſate and ſang not. Then they made a thing being foure ſquare, and in height and ſquareneſſe of a chaire, and couered with a gown very cloſe the forepart therof, for the hinder part ſtood to the tents ſide. Their tents are rounde and are called Chome in their language. The water ſtill ſeething on the fire, and this ſquare ſeate being ready, the Prieſt put off his ſhirt, and the thing like a garland which was on his head, with thoſe things which couered his face, & he had on yet all this while a paire of hoſen of deeres ſkins with yͤ haire on, which came vp to his buttocks. So he went into the ſquare ſeat, and ſate down like a tailour and ſang with a ſtrong voyce or halowing. Then they tooke a ſmall line made of deeres ſkinnes of foure fathoms long, and with a ſmal knotte the Prieſt made it faſt about his necke, and vnder his left arme, and gaue it vnto two men ſtanding on both ſides of him, which held the ends together. Then the kettle of hote water was ſet before him in the ſquare ſeat, al this time the ſquare ſeat was not couered, and then it was couered wͭ a gown of broad cloth without lining, ſuch as the Ruſſes do weare. Then the 2. men which did hold yͤ ends of the line ſtil ſtanding there, began to draw, & drew til they had drawn the ends of the line ſtiffe and together, and then I hearde a thing fall into the kettle of water which was before him in the tent. Thereupon I aſked them that ſate by me what it was that fell into the water that ſtoode before him. And they anſwered me, that it was his head, his ſhoulder and left arme, which the line had cut off, I meane the knot which I ſawe afterwarde drawen hard together. Then I roſe vp and would haue looked whether it were ſo or not, but they laid hold on me, and ſaid, that if they ſhould ſee him with their bodily eyes, they ſhoulde liue no longer. And the moſt part of them can ſpeake the Ruſſe tongue to bee vnderſtood: and they tooke me to be a Ruſſian. Then they beganne to hallow with theſe wordes, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, many times together. And as they were thus ſinging & out calling, I ſawe a thing like a finger of a man two times together thruſt through the gowne from the Prieſt. I aſked them that ſate next to me what it was that I ſawe, and they ſaide, not his finger; for he was yet dead: and that which I ſaw appeare through the gowne was a beaſt, but what beaſt they knew not nor would not tell. And I looked vpon the gowne, and there was no hole to bee ſeene: and then at the laſt the Prieſt lifted vp his head with his ſhoulder and arme, and all his bodie, and came forth to the fire. Thus farre of their ſeruice which I ſawe during the ſpace of certaine houres: but how they doe worſhip their Idoles that I ſaw not: for they put vp their ſtuffe for to remoue from that place where they lay. And I went to him that ſerued the Prieſt, and aſked him what their God ſaide to him when he lay as dead. Hee anſwered, that his owne people doeth not know, neither is it for them to know: for they muſt doe as he commanded. This I ſaw the fift day of Ianuarie in the yere of our Lord 1556, after the Engliſh account.

A diſcourſe of the honourable receiuing into England of the firſt Ambaſſador from the Emperor of Ruſſia, in the yeere of Chriſt 1556. and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queene *Marie*, ſeruing for the third voyage to *Moſcouie*. Regiſtred by Maſter *Iohn Incent* Protonotarie.

IT is here recorded by writing and autenticall teſtimonie, partly for memorie of things done, and partly for the veritie to be knowen to poſteritie in time to come, that whereas the moſt high and mightie Iuan Vaſiliuich Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſcouia and Nouogrode, Emperor of Caſſan, and of Aſtrachan, Lord of Pleskie, and great Duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permskie, Viatskie, Bolgarskie, and Sibierskie, Emperour and great Duke of many others, as Nouogrode in the nether countries, Chernigoskie, Rezanskie, Polodskie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Roſtoskie, Yeraſlaueskie, Bealozarskie, Oudarskie, Obdorskie, Condenskie, and manie other countries, and lord ouer all thoſe partes, in the yeere of our Lord God, folowing the account of yͤ Latin church, 1556. ſent by the ſea from the port of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, his right honorable ambaſſador ſirnamed Oſep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the moſt famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, & Brabant, counties of Haſpurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambaſſador & Orator with certaine letters tenderly conceiued, together with certain preſents and gifts mentioned in the foot of this memorial, as a manifeſt argument and token of a mutual amity and friendſhip to be made and continued betweene their maieſties & ſubiects reſpectiuely, for the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Orator was the 20. day of Iuly imbarked and ſhipped in, and vpon a good Engliſh ſhip named the Edward Bonauenture, belonging to the Gouernor, Conſuls and company of Engliſh marchants, Richard Chancelor being grand Pilot, and Iohn Buckland maſter of the ſaid ſhip. In which was laden at the aduēture of the foreſaid Ambaſſador, and marchants at ſeuerall accounts, goods & merchandizes, viz. in waxe, trane oyle, tallow, furres, felts, yarne and ſuch like, to the ſumme of 20000. li. ſterling, together with 16. Ruſſies attendant vpon the perſon of the ſaid Ambaſſador. Ouer and aboue ten other Ruſſies ſhipped within the ſaid Bay of S. Nicholas, in one other good ſhip to the ſaid company alſo belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the ſaid Orators & marchants to the value of 6000. lib. ſterling, as by the inuoiſes and letters of lading of the ſaid ſeueral ſhips (wherunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ſhips comming in good order into the ſeas, & trauerſing the ſame in their iourney towards the coaſt of England, were by contrary windes and extreme tempeſts of weather ſeuered the one from the other, that is to ſay, the ſaide Bona Speranza with two other Engliſh ſhips alſo appertaining to the ſaide company, the one ſirnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driuen on the coaſt of Norway, into Drenton water, where the ſaide Confidentia was ſeene to periſh on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie perſons ſeemed to winter there, whereof no certaintie at this preſent day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary arriued in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord,

Foure ſhips.

The Edward Bonauenture arriued in Scotland, in the Bay of Pettiſlego, Nouemb. 7. 1556.

Lord one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and ſeuen. The Edward Bonauenture trauerſing the ſeas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of Nouember of the aforeſaide yeere of our Lorde one thouſand fiue hundred, fiftie and ſixe, arriued within the Scottiſh coaſt in a Bay named Pettiſlego, where by outragious tempeſts, and extreme ſtormes, the ſaid ſhip being beaten from her ground tackles, was driuen vpon the rockes on ſhore, where ſhe brake and ſplit in pieces in ſuch ſort, as the grand Pilot vſing all carefulneſſe for the ſafetie of the bodie of the ſayde Ambaſſadour and his trayne, taking the boat of the ſaid ſhip, truſting to attaine the ſhore, and ſo to ſaue and preſerue the bodie, and ſeuen of the companie or attendants of the ſaide Ambaſſadour, the ſame boat by rigorous waues of the ſeas, was by darke night ouerwhelmed and drowned, wherein periſhed not only the bodie of the ſaid grand Pilot, with ſeuen Ruſſes, but alſo diuers of the Mariners of the ſayd ſhip: the noble perſonage of the ſaide Ambaſſadour with a fewe others (by Gods preſeruation and ſpeciall fauour) onely with much difficultie ſaued. In which ſhipwracke not onely the ſaide ſhippe was broken, but alſo the whole maſſe and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and rauenous people of the Countrey thereunto adioyning, rifled, ſpoyled and caried away, to the manifeſt loſſe and vtter deſtruction of all the lading of the ſaid ſhip, and together with the ſhip, apparell, ordinance and furniture belonging to the companie, in value of one thouſand pounds, of all which was not reſtored toward the coſts and charges to the ſumme of fiue hundred pound ſterling.

Rich. Chancelor drowned.

As ſoone as by letters addreſſed to the ſaid companie, and in London deliuered the ſixt of December laſt paſt, it was to them certainely knowen of the loſſe of their Pilote, men, goods and ſhip, the ſame merchants with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes maieſties moſt gracious and fauourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the Councell of Scotland for the gentle comfortment and entertainment of the ſaide Ambaſſadour, his traine and companie, with preſeruation and reſtitution of his goods, as in ſuch miſerable caſes, to Chriſtian pitie, princely honour and meere Iuſtice appertaineth, but alſo addreſſed two Gentlemen of good learning, grauitie and eſtimation, videlicet, Maſter Lawrence Huſſie Doctor of the Ciuill Lawe, and George Gilpin with money and other requiſites into the Realme of Scotland, to comfort, ayde, aſſiſt, and relieue him and his there, and alſo to conduct the Ambaſſadour into England, ſending with them by poſte a Talmach or Speachman for the better furniture of the ſeruice of the ſayde Ambaſſadour, truſting thereby to haue the more ample and ſpeedie redreſſe of reſtitution: which perſonages vſing diligence, arriued at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the ſaide moneth of December, who firſt viſiting the ſaide Ambaſſadour, declaring the cauſes of their comming and Commiſſion, ſhewing the letters addreſſed in his fauour, the order giuen them for his ſolace and furniture of all ſuch things as hee woulde haue, together with their daily and readie ſeruice to attend vpon his perſon and affaires, repaired conſequently vnto the Dowager Queene, deliuering the letters.

Whereupon they receiued gentle anſweres, with hope and comfort of ſpeedie reſtitution of the goods, apparell, iewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene ſent firſt certaine Commiſſioners with an Harold of armes to Pettiſlego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all ſuch perſons (no degree excepted) as had any part of ſuch goods as were ſpoyled and taken out or from the ſhip to bring them in, and to reſtore the ſame with ſuch further order as her grace by aduiſe of her Councel thought expedient: by reaſon whereof not without great labours, paines and charges (after long time) diuers ſmall parcels of Ware, and other ſmall trifling things of no value, were by the poorer ſort of the Scottes brought to the Commiſſioners, but the Iewels, rich apparell, preſents, gold, ſiluer, coſtly furres, and ſuch like, were conueyed away, concealed and vtterly embezelled. Whereupon, the Queene at the requeſt of the ſaid Ambaſſadour, cauſed diuers perſons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called perſonally before her princely preſence, to anſwer to yͤ ſaid ſpoile, & really to exhibit and bring in all ſuch things as were ſpoiled and violently taken, & caried out of the ſame, whereof not onely good teſtimonie by writing was ſhewed, but alſo the things themſelues found in the hands of the Scottiſh ſubiects, who by ſubtile and craftie dealings, by conniuence of the commiſſioners, ſo vſed or rather abuſed themſelues towards the ſame Orator & his attendants, that no effectuall reſtitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendance and charges, the 14. day of February next enſuing, diſtruſting any reall and effectual rendring of the ſaide goods and marchandizes and other the premiſſes, vpon leaue obtained of the ſaide Queene, departed towards England, hauing attending vpon him the ſaid two Engliſh Gentlemen and others (leauing neuertheleſſe in Scotland three Engliſhmen to purſue the deliuerie of ſuch things as were collected to haue bene ſent by ſhip to him in England: which being in Aprill next, and not

His departure from Scotland towards England.

before imbarked for London, was not at this preſent day here arriued) came the 18. day of Februarie to Barwike within the dominion and realme of England, where he was by the Queenes maieſties letters and commandement honourably receiued, vſed and interteined by the right honourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the Eaſt marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the dayly iourneys done ordinarily did lie, in ſuch order, maner and forme, as to a perſonage of ſuch eſtate apperteineth. He proſecuting his voyage vntil the 27. of Februarie approched to the citie of London within twelue Engliſh miles, where he was receiued with fourſcore merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as wel in order of men ſeruants in one vniforme liuerie, as alſo in and vpon good horſes and geldings, who conducting him to a marchants houſe foure miles from London, receiued there a quantitie of gold, veluet and ſilke, with all furniture thereunto requiſite, wherewith he made him a riding garment, repoſing himſelfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the laſt day of Februarie, he was by the merchants aduenturing for Ruſſia, to the number of one hundred and fortie perſons, and ſo many or more ſeruants in one liuerie, as abouesaid, conducted towards the citie of London, where by the way he had not onely the hunting of the Foxe and ſuchlike ſport ſhewed him, but alſo by the Queenes maieſties commandement was receiued and embraced by the right honourable Viſcount Montague, ſent by her grace for his entertainment: he being accompanied with diuers luſtie knights, eſquires, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horſes led him to the North partes of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchants richly apparelled was preſented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footcloth of Orient crimſon veluet, enriched with gold laces, all furniſhed in moſt glorious faſhion, of the preſent, and gift of the ſayde merchants: where vpon the Ambaſſadour at inſtant deſire mounted, riding on the way towards Smithfield barres, the firſt limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The Lord Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their ſkarlet did receiue him, and ſo riding through the Citie of London in the middle, betweene the Lord Maior and Viſcount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable perſonages riding before, and a large troupe of ſeruants and apprentiſes following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and plauſibilitie of the people running plentifully on all ſides, and repleniſhing all ſtreets in ſuch ſort as no man without difficultie might paſſe) into his lodging ſituate in Fant church ſtreete, where were prouided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, ouer and aboue the gallant furniture of the whole houſe, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all ſortes, to furniſh and ſerue him at all meales, and other ſeruices during his abode in London, which was, as is vnderwritten, vntil the third day of May: during which time daily diuers Aldermen and the graueſt perſonages of the ſaid companie did viſite him, prouiding all kind of victuals for his table and his ſeruants, with al ſorts of Officers to attend vpon him in good ſort and condition, as to ſuch an ambaſſadour of honour doeth and ought to appertaine.

1557. Febr. 27.

His honorable receiuing into the citie of London.

It is alſo to be remembred that at his firſt entrance into his chamber, there was preſented vnto him on the Queenes Maieſties behalfe for a gift and preſent, and his better furniture in apparel, one rich piece of cloth of tiſſue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of golde raiſed with crimoſin veluet, a piece of crimoſin veluet in graine, a piece of purple veluet, a piece of Damaſke purpled, a piece of crimoſin damaſke, which he moſt thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreſhing and preparing himſelfe and his traine with things requiſite he abode, expecting the kings maieſties repaire out of Flanders into England, whoſe highneſſe arriuing the one and twentie of March, the ſame Ambaſſadour the fiue and twentieth of March being the Annunciation of our Ladie (the day tweluemoneth he tooke his leaue from the Emperour his maſter) was moſt honourably brought to the King and Queenes maieſties court at Weſtminſter, where accompanied firſt with the ſaid Viſcount and other notable perſonages, and the merchants, hee arriuing at Weſtminſter bridge, was there receiued with ſixe lords, conducted into a ſtately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treaſurer, Priuie ſeale, Admirall, biſhop of Elie, and other Counſellers, hee was viſited and ſaluted: and conſequently was brought vnto the Kings and Queenes maieſties preſence, ſitting vnder a ſtately cloth of honour, the chamber moſt richly decked and furniſhed, and moſt honourably preſented. Where, after that hee had deliuered his letters, made his Oration, giuen two timber of Sables, and the report of the ſame made both in Engliſh and Spaniſh, in moſt louing maner embraced, was with much honour and high entertainement, in ſight of a great confluence of people, Lordes and Ladies eftſoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by the aſſignement of the King and Queenes maieſties, repaired and conferred with him ſecretly two graue Counſellers, that is, the lord Biſhop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretary to their Highneſſe, who after diuers ſecret talkes and conferences, reported to their highneſſe their proceedings, the grauitie,

uitie, wiſedome, and ſtately behauiour of the ſayd Ambaſſadour, in ſuch ſort as was much to their maieſties contentations.

A league and articles of amitie concluded and confirmed vnder the great ſeale of England.

Finally concluding vpon ſuch treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes maieſties moſt graciouſly vnder the great ſeale of England to him by the ſayd counſellers deliuered, doth appeare.

The three and twentieth of April, being the feaſt of S. George, wherein was celebrated the ſolemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Weſtminſter, the ſame lord ambaſſadour was eftſoones required to haue audience: and therefore conducted from the ſayd lodging to the court by the right Noble the lords Talbot and Lumley to their maieſties preſence: where, after his Oration made, and thanks both giuen and receiued, hee moſt honourably tooke his leaue with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, he was with ſpecial honour led into the chappell, where before the Kings and Queens maieſties, in the ſight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a ſtately ſeate, wherein he accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lords laſt aboue mentioned, and many other honorable perſonages, was preſent at the whole ſeruice, in ceremonies which were to him moſt acceptable: the diuine ſeruice ended, he eftſoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and ſo repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people vniuerſally, as before.

Foure goodly ſhips of the merchants prouided for Ruſſia, 1557.

The time of the yeere haſting the profection and departure of the Ambaſſador, the merchants hauing prepared foure goodly and well trimmed ſhippes laden with all kinds of merchandiſes apt for Ruſſia, the ſame Ambaſſadour making prouiſion for ſuch things as him pleaſed, the ſame ſhips in good order valed downe the Riuer of Thames, from London to Graueſend, where the ſame Ambaſſadour with his traine and furniture was imbarked towards his voyage homeward, which God proſper in all felicitie.

It is alſo to be remembred, that during the whole abode of the ſayd Ambaſſadour in England, the Agents of the ſayde marchants did not onely proſecute and purſue the matter of reſtitution in Scotland, and cauſed ſuch things to be laden in an Engliſh ſhippe hired purpoſely to conuey the Ambaſſadours goods to London, there to be deliuered to him, but alſo during his abode in London, did both inuite him to the Maior, and diuers worſhipfull mens houſes, feaſting and banquetting him right friendly, ſhewing vnto him the moſt notable and commendable ſights of London, as the kings palace and houſe, the Churches of Weſtminſter and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and ſuch like memorable ſpectacles. And alſo the ſaid 29. day of April, the ſaid merchants aſſembling themſelues together in the houſe of the Drapers hal of London, exhibited and gaue vnto yͤ ſaid Ambaſſador, a notable ſupper garniſhed with muſicke, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of wine being drunke to him in the name and lieu of the whole companie, it was ſignified to him that the whole company with moſt liberal and friendly hearts, did frankly giue to him and his all maner of coſts and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London during his abode there, and vntill ſetting of ſaile aboord the ſhip, requeſting him to accept the ſame in good part as a teſtimonie and witnes of their good hearts, zeale and tenderneſſe towards him and his countrey.

It is to be conſidered that of the Bona Speranza no word nor knowledge was had at this preſent day, nor yet of the arriuall of the ſhips or goods from Scotland.

The third of May the Ambaſſadour departed from London to Graueſend, accompanied with diuers Aldermen and merchants, who in good gard ſet him aboord the noble ſhippe, the Primroſe Admiral to the Fleete, where leaue was taken on both ſides and parts, after many imbracements and diuers farewels not without expreſſing of teares.

The King and Queens ſecōd letters to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

Memorandum, that the firſt day of May the Counſellers, videlicet, the Biſhop of Elye, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes Maieſties repairing to the lorde Ambaſſadour did not onely deliuer vnto him their highnes letters of recommendations vnder the great ſeale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but alſo on their maieſties behalfe gaue and deliuered certaine notable preſents to the Emperours perſon, and alſo gifts for the lord Ambaſſadours proper vſe and behoofe, as by the particulars vnder written appeareth, with ſuch further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly haue not bin heard, whereby it appeareth how well affected their houours be to haue and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their ſubiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes maieſties haue ſhewed of their princely munificences & liberalities, ſo haue likewiſe the merchants and fellowſhip of the Aduenturers, for and to Ruſſia, manifeſted to the world their good willes, mindes and zeales borne to this new commenſed voyage, as by the diſcourſe aboue mentioned, and other the notable actes ouer long to be recited in this preſent memoriall, doeth and may moſt clearely appeare, the like whereof is not in any preſident or hiſtorie to bee ſhewed.

Foraſmuch as it may bee doubted how the ſhip named the Edward Bonauenture ſuffered ſhipwracke, what became of the goods, howe much they were ſpoiled and deteined, how little reſtored, what charges and expenſes enſued, what perſonages were drowned, how the reſt of the ſhips either arriued or periſhed, or howe the diſpoſition of almightie God hath wrought his pleaſure in them, how the ſame ambaſſadour hath bene after the miſerable caſe of ſhipwracke in Scotland vnreuerently abuſed, and conſequently into England receiued and conducted, there intertained, vſed, honoured, and finally in good ſafetie towards his returne, and repaire furniſhed, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly diſmiſſed, to the intent that the trueth of the premiſſes may bee to the moſt mightie Emperour of Ruſſia ſincerely ſignified in eſchewment of all euents and miſfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambaſſadours perſon, traine, and goods, this preſent memoriall is written, and autentikely made, and by the ſayde Ambaſſadour his ſeruants, whoſe names be vnderwritten, and traine in preſence of the Notarie, and witneſſes vndernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Giuen the day, moneth, and yeere vnderwritten, of which inſtrument into euery of the ſayde Shippes one teſtimoniall is deliuered, and the firſt remaineth with the ſayde Companie in London.

Giftes ſent to the King and Queenes Maieſties of England *by the Emperour of Ruſsia, by the report of the Ambaſſadour, and ſpoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.*

1 Firſt, ſixe timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3 Item, foure liuing Sables with chaines and collars.
4 Item, thirtie Luſarnes large and beautifull.
5 Item, ſixe large and great ſkinnes very rich and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for worthineſſe.
6 Item, a large and faire white Jerfawcon for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Gooſe, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of ſiluer, the hoopes gilt, vſed for a lure to call the ſayd Hawke.

Giftes ſent to the Emperour of Ruſsia by the King and *Queenes Maieſties of England.*

1 Firſt, two rich pieces of cloth of Tiſſue.
2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4. Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5 Item, a notable paire of Brigandines with a Murrian couered with Crimſon veluet and gilt nailes.
6 Item, a Male and Female Lions.

Giftes giuen to the Ambaſſadour at his departure, ouer and *aboue ſuch as were deliuered vnto him at his firſt arriuall.*

1 Firſt, a chaine of golde of one hundred pound.
2 Item, a large Baſon and Ewer, ſiluer and gilt.
3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all ſuch Ruſsies as were attendant vpon the *Ambaſſadour, at and before his departure out of England.*

Iſaak Fweſcheneke.
Demetre.
Gorbolones.
Symonde.
Yeroſſia.
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord aboue mentioned, in the houſe of the worſhipfull Iohn Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, ſituate within the famous Citie of London in the Realme of England, the aboue named honourable Oſep Gregorywich Napea Ambaſſadour and Orator aboue mentioned, perſonally conſtituted and preſent, hauing declared vnto him by the mouth of the right worſhipfull maſter Anthonie Huſſie Eſquire, the effect of the cauſes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Beſt his interpreter ſworne, recognized, and knowledged in preſence of me the Notarie & perſonages vnderwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, aſwell for his owne perſon as for his ſeruants aboue named, who did not ſubſcribe their names as is aboue mentioned, but onely recognized the ſame. In witneſſe whereof, I Iohn Incent Notarie Publike, at the requeſt of the ſaid Maſter Anthonie Huſſie, and other of the Marchants haue to theſe preſents vnderwritten ſet my accuſtomed ſigne, with the Subſcription of my name, the day and yeere aboue written, being preſent the right Worſhipfull,

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne. Knights.
William Cheſter. Aldermen of London:
Raſe Greeneaway.
Iohn Merſh Eſquier.
Iohn Dimmock.
Blaſe Sanders.
Hubert Huſſie, and
Robert Beſt aboue mentioned.

The voyage of the foreſaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from *Colmogro to Wardhouſe, which was ſent to ſeeke the Bona Eſperanza, the Bona Con*fidentia, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

23 Vpon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed with the Searchthrift from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compaſſe, 5. degrees, 10. minutes from the North to the Eaſt.

26 Wedneſday we came to the Iland called Pozanka, which Iland is within foure leagues of the barre Berozoua. It floweth here at an Eaſt and by South Moone full ſea.

29 Saturday in the morning we departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berôzoua Gooba, whereupon wee came to anker at a lowe water, and ſounded the ſaid Barre with our two Skiffes, and found in the beſt vpon the ſhoaldeſt of the barre 13. foote water by the rule. It higheth vpon this barre, in ſpring ſtreames 3. foote water: and an Eaſt Moone maketh a full ſea vpon this barre.

30 Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berozoua, and plied along by the ſhoalds in fiue fadome, vntill I had ſight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee caſt about to the Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eaſtwards of Coya Reca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt, and be-

Coia Reca.

tweene them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eaſtwards of Coſcaynos. Coſcaynos & the middes of the Iſland called Mondeuſtoua oſtroue, which is thwart of the barre of Berozoua lieth South and by Eaſt, North and by Weſt, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may ſay from the Seaboord part of the barre to Coſcaynos are 3. leagues and a halfe.

Coſcaynos.

31 Munday at a Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſunne we were thwart of Coſcaynos.

Dogs noſe lieth from Coſcaynos Northnorthweſt, and betweene them are eight leagues: and Dogs noſe ſheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both ſides of it: on the lowe point of Dogs noſe there ſtandeth a croſſe alone.

Iune.

1 FRom Dogs noſe to Forenoſe are three leagues, North and by Weſt.

2 The 2. day of Iune I went on ſhoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs noſe, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a ſhoare at this place, at an Eaſt Moone full ſea, and the ſhippe lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southſoutheaſt moone. So that it is to be vnderſtoode, that when it is a full ſea on the ſhoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compaſſe at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the Eaſt.

Dogs noſe. The variation of the Compaſſe 4. degrees.

3 This day the Northnorthweſt winde put vs backe againe with Dogs noſe, where a ſhip may ride thwart of a ſalt houſe, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and haue Landfange for a North and by Weſt winde: which Salt houſe is halfe a mile to the Southwards of Dogs noſe.

4 Friday at a Southſouthweſt Sunne, wee departed from this Salt houſe. It is to be noted that foure miles to the Northwards of Dogs noſe there growe no trees on the banke by the water ſide: and the bankes conſiſt of fullers earth. Ouer the cliffes there growe ſome trees: ſo that Dogs noſe is the better to be knowen becauſe it is fullers earth, and the like I haue not ſeene in all that Countrey.

A head of Foxe noſe a league from the ſhoare there are 15. fadome: betwixt Foxe noſe and Zolatitſa there are 6. leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Foxe noſe.

Foxe noſe.

6 Sunday I ſounded the barre of Zolatitſa, which the Ruſſes told me was a good harborow, but in the beſt of it I found but 4. foote water.

7 Munday, I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecoſt ſixe leagues South of vs.

Poynt Pentecoſt.

9 Wedneſday I went on land at Croſſe Iſland, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 24. minutes.

Croſſe Iſland.

We being one league Northeaſt of Croſſe Iſland, I ſawe the land on the Eaſtſide, which I iudged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eaſtſoutheaſt of vs 9. leagues.

Cape good fortune.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeaſt from Croſſe Iſland.

Cape grace.

There are 2. Iſlands 5. leagues Northnortheaſt from Cape grace, the Southermoſt of them is a little long Iſland almoſt a mile long, and the Northermoſt a little round Iſland, and they are both hard aboord the ſhore.

Cape Race is from the Southermoſt Iſland North and by Weſt, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that and halfe a league Northnorthweſt, there is another poynt. Betweene which poynt and Cape Race, the Ruſſes haue a Stanauiſh or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Weſtwards of the ſaid poynt, there is a ſhoale bay.

Cape Race.

10 Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, we had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within half a league of the ſhoare in this latitude I found it to be a full ſea at a North and by Eaſt moone. I had where we roade two and twentie fadome, and the tallow which is taken vp is full of great broken ſhels, and ſome ſtones withall like vnto ſmall ſand congealed together.

From a South ſunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by Eaſt, wee driued to the windwards halfe the ebbe, with the ſhips head to the Eaſtwards. And then when we caſt her head to the Weſtwards, we ſounded, and had 22. fadome broken ſhels, and gray ſand; this preſent day was very miſtie, with froſt on the ſhrowds as the miſt fell.

Froſt in Iune.

Friday in the morning at an Eaſt ſunne, the miſt brake vp a little, the winde being at North and by Weſt a ſtiffe gale, our ſhrowdes and roapes ouer head being couered with froſt, and likely to be a ſtorme: I thought it good to ſeeke an harborow, and ſo plied roome with the Iſlands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within theſe Iſlands (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for vs. It higheth at theſe Iſlands two fadome water: it floweth in the

harborow at this place at a Southſoutheaſt moone ful ſea: and a ſea boord it floweth at a Southſouthweſt
Tri Oſtroue. ſouthweſt moone a full ſea. The Ruſſes call this Iſland, Tri Oſtroue.

You may come in betweene the little Iſland and the great Iſland, and keepe you in the mids of the Sound, and if you borrowe on any ſide, let it bee on the greateſt Iſland, and you ſhall haue at a low water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, vntill that you be ſhot ſo farre in as the narroweſt, which is betweene the Northermoſt point of the greateſt Iſland, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right againſt it, and then hale to the Northwards with the croſſe which ſtandeth in the maine, and you ſhall haue at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire ſand. And if you be diſpoſed to goe through the Sound to the Southwards, keepe the Northweſt ſhoare aboorde, for on the Iſland ſide after you be ſhotte ſo farre in as the croſſe, it is a ſhoale of rockes halfe the ſound ouer: which rockes do laſt vnto the Southerly part of the great Iſland, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be conſtrained to ſeeke a harbor for Northerly windes, when you come out of the ſea, hale in with the Southerly part of the great Iſland, giuing the Iſland a faire birth, and as you ſhoote towards the maine, you ſhall finde roade for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, fiue, ſixe and ſeuen fadome, at a lowe water.

Alſo within this great Iſland (if neede bee) you may haue a good place to ground a ſhip in: the great Iſland is almoſt a mile long and a quarter of a mile ouer.

16 This ſtorme of Northerly winde laſted vntill the 16. of this moneth, and then the winde came
Ice. Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on ſhore at the croſſe, and tooke the latitude,
The variation. which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. ſeconds: the variation of the Compaſſe 3. degrees and a
halfe from the North to the Eaſt.

17 Thurſday being faire weather, and the winde at North we plied to the winde-wards with
ſailes and oares: wee ſtopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race,
two miles from the ſhoare, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke ſand, and broken
ſhels. And when the ſlake came wee wayed and made aboord to the ſhoare-wards, and had
18 within two cables length of the ſhoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke ſand: a man
may finde roade there for a North winde, and ſo to the Weſtwards.

Two leagues to the Southward of Corpus Chriſti poynt, you may haue Landfang for a
North and by Eaſt winde, and from that to the Weſtwards in 23. fadome almoſt a mile from
ſhoare, and faire ſand, and amongſt the ſand little yong ſmall limpets, or ſuch like as growe vpon
muſcles: and within two cables length and leſſe of the ſhoare are eighteene fadomes, and the
ſounding aforeſaid, but the yong limpets more plentifull. It was a full ſea where we roade, almoſt
a mile from ſhoare, at a South and by Weſt moone: two leagues to the Southwards of
Corpus Chriſti point is the vttermoſt land, which land and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe
a point to Weſtwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eaſtwards, and betweene them are
ſixe leagues. Riding this day ſixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at Northnorthweſt,
19 with miſt and froſt, at noone the ſunne appeared through the miſt, ſo that I had the
latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

21 Munday we were thwart of Corpus Chriſti point, two leagues and a halfe from ſhoare, or rather
Corpus Chriſti poynt. more, where we ſounded, and had 36. fadoms, and broken cocle ſhels, with brannie ſand, but
the broken ſhels very thicke.

22 Tueſday in the morning we were ſhotte a head of Cape gallant, which the Ruſſes call Sotinoz.
Cape Gallant. And as we were ſhot almoſt halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the wind came
vp at the Northweſt, and after to the Northwards, ſo that we were faine to beare roome to ſeeke
a harbour, where we found good harbour for all windes, and the leaſt 7. fadome water betweene
S. Iohns Iſlands, and the maine.

After that we came to an ancre, we tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees 1. minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of ſnowe.

At a Weſt ſunne there came aboord vs certaine Lappians in a boate, to the number of ſixteene perſons, and amongſt them there were two wenches, and ſome of them could ſpeake the Ruſſe tongue: I asked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the number of 100. men, beſides women and children, but a litle from vs in the riuer Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to ſeeke meate among the rockes, ſaying, If wee get no meate, wee eate none. I ſawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth graſſe when ſhee is hungrie. I ſawe them alſo eate foules egges rawe, and the yong birdes alſo that were in the egges.

I obſerued certaine wordes of their language, which *I thought good to ſet downe for their vſe, that here*after ſhall haue occaſion to continue this voyage.

Cowghtie coteat, what call you this.
Poddythecke, come hither.
Auanchythocke, get thee hence.
Anna, farewell.
Teyrue, good morrowe.
Iomme lemauſes, I thanke you.
Paſſeuellie, a friend.
Olmuelke, a man.
Captella, a woman.
Alke, a ſonne.
Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyuie, a head.
Cyelme, an eye.
Nenna, a noſe.
Nealma, a mouth.
Pannea, teeth.
Neughtema, a tongue.
Seaman, a beard.
Peallee, an eare.
Teappat, the necke.
Voapt, the haire.
Keat, a hand.
Soarme, fingers.
Iowlkie, a legge.
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke, wollen cloth.
Lein, linnen cloth.
Payte, a ſhirt.
Tol, fire.
Kearſe, water.
Murr, wood.
Vannace, a boate.
Ariea, an oare.
Nurr, a roape.
Peyue, a day.
Hyr, a night.
Peyuezea, the Sunne.
Manna, the Moone.
Laſte, ſtarres.
Cozam volka, whither goe you.
Ottapp, ſleepe.
Tallye, that.
Keiedde pieue, a weeke.
Iſckie, a yeere.
Keſſe, Sommer.
Talue, Winter.
Iowkſam, colde.
Parox, warme.
Abrye, raine.
Youghang, yce.
Keatykye, a ſtone.
Sellowpe, ſiluer.
Solda, golde.
Tennae, tinne.
Veſkue, copper.
Rowadt, yron.
Neybx, a knife.
Axſhe, a hatchet.
Leabee, bread.
Ieauegoar, meale.
Pencka, the winde.
Iowte, A platter.
Kemnie, a kettle.
Keeſtes, gloues.
Sapege, ſhoes.
Conde, a wilde Deare.
Poatſa, the labouring Deare.

Their wordes of num*ber are theſe as fol*loweth.

Ofte,	1.
Noumpte,	2.
Colme,	3.
Nellye,	4.
Vitte,	5.
Cowte,	6.
Keydeem,	7.
Kaffts,	8.
Owghchte,	9.
Locke,	10.
Oſtretumbelocke,	11.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	12.
Colmenonbelocke,	13.
Nellynombelocke,	14.
Vittie nombelocke,	15.
Cowtenombelocke,	16.
Keydemnombelocke,	17.
Kaſts nombelocke,	18.
Owghtnombelocke,	19.
Coſſteylocke,	20.
Colmelocke,	30.
Nellylocke,	40.
Vittè locke,	50.
Cowtelocke,	60.
Keydemlocke,	70.
Kaffſtelocke,	80.
Oughchereloke,	90.
Tewet,	100.

25 Friday in the morning we departed from Saint Iohns Iland: to the Weſtwards thereof, a mile from the ſhoare, we ſounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie ſand.

Iuana Creos.

Iuana Creos is from Cape gallant Weſtnorthweſt, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Iſland, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Iuana Creos, Northweſt and by North, and almoſt the 3. part of a point to the Weſtwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

S. Georges Iſlands.

Cape comfort.

The Eaſtermoſt of S. Georges Iſlands, or the 7. Iſlands, lyeth from Iuana Creos Northweſt, & halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues & a halfe. The vttermoſt of the 7. Iſlands, & Cape comfort lieth Northweſt, & by North, Southeaſt, and by South.

Vnder the Southermoſt Iſland you ſhall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northweſt to the Northeaſt. From the Southeaſt part of the 7. Iſlands, vnto the Northweſt part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

S. Peters Iſlands.

From the Northweſt part of the Iſlands aforeſaid, vnto S. Peters Iſlands, are 11. leagues Northweſt.

26 S. Peters Iſlands riſe an indifferent low point, not ſeeming to be an Iſland, and as if it had a caſtle vpon it.

S. Pauls Iſlands.

S. Pauls Iſlands lie from S. Peters Iſlands Northweſt and to the Weſtwards, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within theſe Iſlands there is a faire ſandy bay, and there may be found a good roade for Northerly windes.

Cape Sower beere.

Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Iſlands Northweſt and by Weſt, and betweene them are 5. leagues.

Kildina.

Cape comfort, which is the Iſland of Kildina, lieth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues Weſt Northweſt, and it is altogether a bay betweene them ſeeming many Iſlands in it.

Cape Bonauenture.

From Cape Bonauenture, to Chebe Nauoloche are 10. leagues Northweſt, and a litle to the Weſtwards. Chebe Nauoloche is a faire point, wheron ſtandeth a certaine blacke, like an emptie butte ſtanding a head.

Kegor.

From Chebe Nauoloch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northweſt, and halfe a poynt to the Weſtwards. Kegor riſeth as you come from the Eaſtwards like 2. round homocks ſtanding together, and a faire ſaddle betweene them.

Domshaff.

27 It floweth where we road this Sunday to the Eaſtwards of Kegor, at a Southeaſt and by Eaſt moone, a full ſea: we roade in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the ſhoare: at a Northweſt Sunne the miſt came downe ſo thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre within leſſe then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where we had 33. fadome, and the ſounding like to the ſkurfe of a ſkalde head.

Wardhouſe.

‖ Which were the Bona Eſperanza, the Bona confidentia and the Philip and Marie. Whereof the two firſt were loſt.

28 Munday at afternoone, wee came into the Sound of Wardhouſe, although it were very miſtie. Then I ſent a man a ſhoare to know ſome newes, and to ſee whether they could heare any thing of our ‖ ſhips.

29 Tueſday I went on ſhoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himſelfe was not as yet come from Bergen: they looked for him euery houre, and they ſaid that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northweſt and by North ſunne we departed from Wardhouſe, toward Colmogro.

‖ Or, Trondon.

The Philip and Marie. The bona Confidentia caſt away.

30 Wedneſday we came to Kegor, where we met with the winde at Eaſt Southeaſt, ſo that we were faine to go in to a bay to the Weſtwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. ſmall ſhips, that ſhall not draw paſt 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an Eaſt Northeaſt winde is the worſt. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds fro the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we ſaw there a barke which was of ‖ Dronton, & three or foure Norway yeaghes, belonging to Northberne: ſo when I came a ſhoare, I met firſt with the Dutchmen, amongſt whom was the Borrow-maſters ſonne of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in March: and withall he ſhewed me that the Confidence was loſt, and that he had bought her ſailes for his ſhip. Then the Dutch-men caried me to their Boothe, and made me good cheere, where I ſawe the Lappians chepen of the ſaid Dutchmen, both ſiluer platters and diſhes, ſpoones, gilt rings, ornaments for girdles of ſiluer & gilt, and certaine things made to hang about the necke, with ſiluer chaines belonging to them.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie ſtrong beere, I am certaine that our Engliſh double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would laſt.

Here I ſawe the Dutchmen alſo haue courſe cloth, both blew, greene and redde, and ſad horſeflesh colour. And hither they bring alſo Otters caſes and foxe caſes, both blacke and redde: our Engliſh foxe caſes are but counterfaits vnto them.

They would not let me vnderſtand any of their priſes, but as I otherwiſe vnderſtood they bartered 2. load of ſiluer for 100 of ſtockfiſh, and 2. loade is a doller. And the Dutchmen told me, that they had made a notable good yeere this preſent yeere 1557. They tolde me that they ſhould be faine to goe to Wardhouſe with one lading, and lay it on land there, and ſo come againe and fetch another. The Borrowmaſters ſonne told me, that he would go to Amſterdam with his lading of ſtockfiſh, who gaue me a barrell of ſtrong beere, and brought it in aboord our ſhip himſelfe.

After this I went among the Ruſſes and Kerils, who offered me fiſh to ſell, and likewiſe the Lappians deſired me to looke vpon their fiſh. I made them anſwere, that I had nowe no wares nor money to barter with them, and ſaid that I came only to ſee if I might meete with our Engliſh ſhips. Then they deſired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I ſaid to them, If I ſhould come the next yeere, I thinke here would not be fiſh ynough to ſerue the Dutchmen and vs alſo. They anſwered me, that if more ſhips did reſort thither, there would more people labour to kill and make fiſh: and further they ſaid, that ſome of them came thither a fiſhing 8. weekes iourney with Deere, which Deere will trauaile more ſpeedily then horſes will.

A gainefull trade of fiſhing at Kegor.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils and Lappians, the Emperour of Ruſſia his deputie (who was there to gather the tribute of the Lappians) ſent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar ſalutations, made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our ſhips came thither. I anſwered him, becauſe we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire that was kept there. Then ſaid he, If you will come hither, here would more people reſort to kill fiſh, I thinke it good (ſaid he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one Engliſh ſhip ſhould come thither.

Becauſe I ſawe the ſeruants of the king of Denmarke there alſo gathering the tribute, I asked Vaſilie Pheodorouich the Ruſſie deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to vs, if we ſhould come to this Kegor. And he ſaid, no, they ſhould not: for this land is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

The Kerils and the Lappians ſolde no fiſh, vntill the ſaid deputie had looked vpon it, and had giuen them leaue to ſell. I asked him what wares were beſt for vs to bring thither, and he ſaid, ſiluer, pearles, cloth, blewe, red, and greene, meale, ſtrong beere, wine, pewter, foxe caſes, and gold.

Commodities fit for Kegor.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Ruſſia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He tolde me that the Riuer Cola is little more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we ſhould haue great plentie of ſalmon, if corne were any thing cheape in Ruſſia: for then poore men would reſort thither to kill ſalmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it, becauſe they could not ſell all their fiſh, and that which they ſold was as pleaſed the Dutchmen, and at their own price. I asked the Kerils at what price they ſold their fiſh to the Ruſſes, & they ſaid good cheape: wee ſell 24. fiſhes for 4. altines. I thinke they ſolde little aboue 20. pence, the 25. fiſhes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the beſt ſtockfiſh is made at Kegor. I ſawe at Vaſilies tent 7. or 8. iauelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, with their budgets of arrowes, & likewiſe ſwords with other weapons: Otherwiſe I ſawe no weapons there.

I was alſo conueyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I ſawe a paire of bilbowes: and I asked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they ſaid no, but onely for their owne company if they ſhould chance to be vnruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be truſted, for they will ſteale as well as the Ruſſes, if they may conueniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, becauſe the winde was ſcant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eaſtwards of the poynt Kegor, and ſent to land, and baked two batches of bread in the ouens that the Kerils haue for their prouiſion.

Inſtructions giuen to the Maſters and Mariners to be obſerued in *and about this Fleete, paſsing this yeere 1577. toward the Bay of S. Nicolas in* Ruſsia, for this preſent Race to be made & returne of the ſame by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right diſcharge, as in the Articles enſuing is deduced.

FIrſt, it is accorded and agreed betweene the ſeuerall proprietaries and owners, maſters and companies of the foure ſhips, ſurnamed the Primroſe, the Iohn Euangeliſt, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Conſuls, aſſiſtants and companie of the Marchant aduenturers, that the aboue named foure ſhips ſhall in good order and conduct, ſaile, paſſe, and trauaile together in one flote, ging, and conſerue of ſocietie, to be kept indiſſolubly and not to be ſeuered, but vnited within continuall ſight, ſo farre foorth as (by winde & weather) by poſſibilitie ſhall or may be without any ſeparation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ſhip named the Primeroſe, ſhalbe Admirall of this flote, and that Anthonie Ienkinſon Gentleman, ſhalbe captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ſhips ſhall enſue and folow her in all courſes, and that no courſe nor waying (in harborough eſpecially) ſhall be made without aduice, conſent and agreement of the ſayd Captaine, the Maſter, his mate, and two other officers of the ſaid ſhip, or of three of them at the leaſt.

3 Item, that the ſaid Anthonie is and ſhalbe reputed & taken for Captaine general of the ſaid flote together with all ſuch orders, preeminences, priuiledges and preferments as by the order of ſeas is due and accuſtomed to a Captaine during his abode and exerciſe of the ſame.

4 It is alſo ordeined, that if any one or moe of the ſaid 3. ſhips ſhalbe out of ſight either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the reſt of the ſhips ſhall tacke or take off their ſailes in ſuch ſort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the conſortment exactly in all poynts.

5 It is conſtituted, that if any ſhips ſhalbe ſeuered by miſt or darke weather, in ſuch ſort as the one cannot haue ſight of the other, then and in ſuch caſe the Admiral ſhall make ſound and noiſe by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwiſe or meanes, that the ſhips may come as nigh together, as by ſafetie and good order they may.

6 It is alſo to be obſerued, that euery day once the other three ſhippes ſhall ſend and come aboord the Admirall, and there conſult and determine of ſuch matter and things as ſhall be for the aſſurance of their Nauigation, and moſt expedition of the ſame.

7 Item, that notes & entries be daily made of their Nauigations put in writing & memory, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & cauſed to learne and obſerue the ſame.

8 It is accorded that the ſaid Captaine ſhall haue the principall rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but alſo all other the ſailers, ſhalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reaſon appertaineth.

9 Alſo that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be ſpilt vpon the balaſt, or other place of the ſhip, whereby any anoyance, ſtinke, or other vnſauorineſſe ſhall growe in the ſhippe to the infection or hurt of the perſons in the ſame.

10 Item, that the Captaine by diſcretion ſhall from time to time diſſhip any artificer or Engliſh ſeruingman or apprentice out of the Primroſe into any of the other three ſhips, and in lieu of him or them, take any ſuch apprentice as he ſhall thinke conuenient and moſt meete to ſerue the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great reſpect be had to the Gunners and Cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eſchewed and auoyded.

12 Item, that ſingular care and reſpect be had to the ports of the ſhip, aſwell in Nauigation as in harborow, and eſpecially in lading and vnlading of the ſhippes, that nothing be lacking or ſurcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred and made to agree in eſchuement of ſuch loſſes, as may enſue.

13 Special foreſight is to be had, that at the Wardhouſe no treacherie, inuaſion, or other peril of moleſtation be done or procured to be attempted to our ſhips by any kings, princes, or companies, that do miſlike this new found trade by ſeas to Ruſſia, or would let & hinder the ſame; whereof no ſmall boaſt hath bene made: which giueth occaſion of more circumſpection and diligence.

14 If the winde and weather will ſerue, it is thought good rather to goe by the Wardhouſe then to come in and ancre there, leſt any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted againſt vs, our goods and ſhips as aboue.

15 It is thought good that Richard Iohnſon, late ſeruant to M. Chanceler, ſhall be ſent home in this next returne, to inſtruct the company of the ſtate of the Countrey, and of ſuch queſtions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertiſements and reſolutions, in ſuch doubtes as ſhall ariſe here: and that he ſhall haue the roome of the Captaine in ſuch ſort, as Maſter Ienkinſon is in this preſent rocket aſſigned vnto. And if Iohnſon can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the ſaid place, then any other perſon to be preferred thereunto, as by the diſcretion of our ſaid Captaine, with conſent of our Agents, ſhall be thought meete and apt to ſupply the ſame.

16 Prouided alway, that the ſhips returning be not diſfurniſhed of one ſuch able man, as ſhall occupie the Captainſhip in like order, as is, and hath bene in ſuch caſe appoynted, as reaſon and good order requireth.

17 Item that all other former orders, rules, and deuiſes, made and prouided for the good order of our ſhips, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrary or diuerſe, to theſe articles, and the contents of the ſame, ſhall be, and ſtand in full force and effect, to be in all reſpects obſerued and kept of all and euery perſon and perſons, whom the ſame doth or ſhall touch or concerne.

In witneſſe of the premiſſes faithfully to be obſerued and kept,the owners and Maſters of the ſaid foure ſhips, together with the ſaid Captaine, to theſe ſeuenteene articles, contained in two ſheetes of paper,haue ſubſcribed their hands. Giuen in London, the third of May,in the yeere of our Lord God 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primeroſe.
Andrewe Iudde.
William Cheſter.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Caſteline.
¶ Owners of the Iohn Euangeliſt.
Andrew Iudde.
William Cheſter.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
Iohn Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

A letter of the Company of the Marchants aduenturers to *Ruſsia vnto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane* their Agents there, to be deliuered in Colmogro or els where : ſent in the Iohn Euangeliſt.

After our heartie commendations vnto you and to either of you : your generall letter and other particular letters with two bookes of the ſale and remainders of our goods, and the buying of ware there with you, we receiued about the ende of Nouember out of the Edward, with heauie newes of the loſſe of the ſayde good ſhippe and goods at Petſlego in Scotland, with the death of Richard Chanceler and his Boy, with certaine of the Embaſſadours ſeruants, and he himſelfe with nine of his ſeruants eſcaped very hardly onely by the power of God : but all his goods and ours in maner were loſt and pilfered away by the Scots,and that that is ſaued is not yet come to our hands, but we looke for it daily, and it will ſkant pay the charges for the recouering of it. No remedy but patience : and to pray to God to ſend vs better fortune hereafter. As touching the receiuing and entertaining of the Embaſſadour and his retinewe ſince his comming to England at the king and Queenes Maieſties hands,with the Counſell & Lords of this Realme,and the Marchants that be free in Ruſsia with feaſting and beneuolence giuen him, wee referre it to his report and others. The like we thinke haue not bene ſeene nor ſhewed here of a long time to any Ambaſſadour. The Philip and Marie arriued here tenne dayes paſt : ſhee wintered in Norway. The Confidence is loſt there. And as for the Bona Eſperanza, as yet we haue no newes of her. We feare it is wrong with her. By your billes of lading receiued in your generall letters we perceiue what wares are laden in them both. Your letters haue no date nor mention where they were made, which were written by Henry Lane, and firmed by you George Killingworth and Richard Gray : both it and the other Letters and Bookes came ſo ſore ſpoyled and broken with water that we cannot make our reckoning by them. You ſhall vnderſtand we haue fraighted for the parts of Ruſsia foure good ſhippes to be laden there by you & your order : That is to ſay, The Primeroſe of the burthen of 240. Tunnes, Maſter vnder God Iohn Buckland : The Iohn Euangeliſt of 170. Tunnes, Maſter vnder God Laurence Roundal : The Anne of London of the burthen of 160.tunnes, Maſter vnder God Dauid Philly,and the Trinitie of London of the burthen of 140. Tunnes, Maſter vnder God Iohn Robins, as by their Charter parties may appeare : which you may require to ſee for diuers cauſes. You ſhall receiue, God willing, out of the ſaid good ſhips,God ſending them in ſafety for the vſe of the Company,theſe kinds of wares following,all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth. 25.fardels containing 207.ſorting clothes,one fine violet in graine,and one ſkarlet,and 40. cottons for wrappers, beginning with number 1.and ending with number 52.The ſorting clothes may coſt the firſt peny 5.li.9.s.the cloth,one with the other. The fine violet 18.li.6.s.6.d. The ſkarlet 17.li.13.s.6.d. the cottons at 9.li.10.s.the packe,accompting 7.cottons for a packe.more 500.pieces of Hampſhire kerſies,that is 400.watchets,43.blewes,53.reds,15.greenes,5.ginger colours,and 2.yelowes which coſt the firſt penny 4.li.6.s.the piece,& 3.packes containing 21.cottons at 9.li.10.s. the packe : and part of the clothes is meaſured by Arſhines. More 9.barrels of Pewter of Thomas Haſels making, &c. Alſo the wares bee packed and laden as is aforeſayde , as by an Inuoyce in euery Shippe more plainely may appeare. So that when it ſhall pleaſe

1557.

Wares ſent into Ruſsia out of England.

The Arſhine is a Ruſſe meaſure.

God to ſend the ſaid good ſhips to you in ſafetie, you are to receiue our ſaid goods, and to procure the ſales to our moſt aduantage either for ready money, time or barter: hauing conſideration that you doe make good debts, and giue ſuch time, if you giue any, as you may employ and returne the ſame againſt the next voyage; and alſo foreſeeing that you barter to a profit, and for ſuch wares as be here moſt vendible, as wexe, tallowe, traine oyle, hempe and flaxe. Of furres we deſire no great plentie, becauſe they be dead wares. And as for Felts, we will in no wiſe you ſend any. And whereas you haue prouided tarre, and as as we ſuppoſe, ſome hempe ready bought, our aduiſe is, that in no wiſe you ſend any of them hither vnwrought, becauſe our fraight is 4. li. a tunne or little leſſe: which is ſo deare, as it would not beare the charges: and therefore we haue ſent you 7. ropemakers, as by the copies of their couenants here incloſed ſhall appeare.

7. Ropemakers ſent into Ruſſia.

Whom we wil you ſet to worke with al expedition in making of cables & ropes of al ſorts, from the ſmalleſt rope to xii. inches: And that ſuch tarre and hempe as is already brought to the water ſide, they may there make it out, and after that you ſettle their worke in Vologhda or Colmogro as you ſhall thinke good, where their ſtuffe may be neereſt to them: at which place and places you doe aſſigne them a principall ouerſeer aſwell to ſee the deliuerie of the ſtuffe vnwrought, as alſo to take charge of the ſtuffe wrought, & to foreſee that neither the yarne be burnt in tarring, nor the hempe rotted in the watering; and alſo to furniſh them ſo with labourers, workemen and ſtuffe, as hereafter when theſe workmen ſhall come away, we be not deſtitute of good workmen, and that theſe may diſpatch as much as poſſibly they may, doing it ſubſtancially: for we eſteeme it a principal commoditie, and that the Counſel of England doth well allowe.

Cables and Ropes a principall commoditie.

Let all diligence be vſed, that at the returne of theſe ſhippes we may ſee ſamples of all ropes & cables if it be poſſible, and ſo after to continue in worke, that we may haue good ſtore againſt the next yeere. Therefore they haue neede to haue a place to worke in, in the winter: and at any hand let them haue helpe ynough to ſpinne their ſtuffe: for ſeeing you haue great plentie of hempe there, and at a reaſonable price, we truſt we ſhalbe able to bring as good ſtuffe from thence, and better cheape then out of Danske: if it be diligently vſed, and haue a good ouerſeer.

Danſke the old chiefe place for Cables.

Let the chiefeſt lading of theſe foure ſhippes be principally in wexe, flaxe, tallowe and traine oyle. And if there be any more wares then theſe ſhips be able to take in, then leaue that which is leaſt in valew and groſſeſt in ſtouage vntill the next ſhipping: for wee doe purpoſe to ground our ſelues chiefly vpon theſe commodities, as wexe, cables and ropes, traine oyle, flaxe and ſome linen yarne.

Commodities not bearing the charges of long fraight.

As for Maſts, Tarre, Hempe, Feathers, or any ſuch other like, they would not beare the charges to haue any, conſidering our deere fraight. We haue ſent you a Skinner to be there at our charges for meate, drinke and lodging, to viewe and ſee ſuch furres as you ſhall cheape or buye, not minding neuertheleſſe, that you ſhall charge your ſelues with many, except thoſe which bee moſt vendible, as good marterns, minuers, otherwiſe called Lettis, and Mynkes.

Furres moſt vendible.

Of theſe you may ſend vs plentie, finding them good and at a reaſonable price. As for Sables and other rich Furres, they bee not euery mans money: therefore you may ſend the fewer, vſing partly the diſcretion of the ſkinner in that behalfe.

Steele.

Wee heare that there is great plentie of ſteele in Ruſſia and Tartarie, whereof wee would you ſent vs part for an example, and to write your mindes in it what ſtore is to be had: for we heare ſay there is great plentie, and that the Tartars ſteele is better then that in Ruſſia.

Copper.

And likewiſe we be informed that there is great plentie of Copper in the Emperours Dominions: we would be certified of it what plentie there is, and whether it be in plates or in round flat cakes, and ſend vs ſome for an example.

Wollen cloth of Rie and Reuel, of Poland and Lettowe.

Alſo we would haue you to certifie vs what kinde of wollen cloth the men of Rie and Reuel, and the Poles and Lettoes doe bring to Ruſſia, and ſend the ſkantlings of them with part of the liſts, and a full aduiſe of the lengths and breadths, colours and prices, and whether they be ſtrained or not: and what number of them may be vttered in a yeere, to the intent we may make prouiſion for them for the like ſortes, and all other Flemiſh wares which they bring thither and be moſt vendible there. And to certifie vs whether our ſet clothes be vendible there or not: and whether they be rowed and ſhorne: becauſe ofttimes they goe vndreſt. Moreouer, we will you ſend vs of euery commoditie in that Countrey part, but no great quantitie other then ſuch as is before declared.

Ruſſian lether.

And likewiſe euery kinde of Lether, whereof wee bee informed there is great ſtore bought yeerely by the Eſterlings and Duches for hie Almaigne and Germanie.

Things good to die withall.

More, that you doe ſend vs for proofe a quantity of ſuch earth, hearbes, or what thing ſoeuer it be, that the Ruſſes do die and colour any kinde of cloth linen or wollen, Lether or any other thing withall: and alſo part of that which the Tartars and Turkes doe bring thither, and how it muſt be vſed in dying and colouring. Moreouer, that you haue a ſpeciall foreſight in the chuſing of your Tallowe, and that it may be well purified and tried, or els it will in one yeere putrifie & conſume.

Alſo that you certifie vs the trueth of the waights and meaſures, and howe they doe anſwere with ours, and to ſend vs 3. robles in money, that we may trie the iuſt value of them.

Alſo we doe ſend you in theſe ſhips ten yong men that be bound Prentiſes to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt euery of them as you ſhall there finde moſt apt and meete, ſome to keepe accompts, ſome to buy and ſell by your order and Commiſſion, and ſome to ſend abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for vnderſtanding and knowledge. And we will you ſend vs aduertiſement from time to time aſwell of the demeanours of our Prentiſes which we doe ſend now, as alſo of ſuch other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remiſſe, negligent, or otherwiſe miſuſe themſelues and will not be ruled, that then you doe ſend him home, and the cauſe why.

Ten yong men ſent into Ruſſia.

And becauſe we doe perceiue the Countrey to be large, and that you haue three houſholds, we doe appoynt Henry Lane to be one of our Agents, and to ioyne with you in all your doings, and to haue like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray haue: not doubting but you three will ſo conferre together, as both our Prentiſes and others may be appoynted and diuided euery of them to his office, and to that he can beſt ſkill of: and you alſo ſo diuide your ſelues euery of you to an houſe, as by aduertiſement one from another, our buſineſſe and trafficke may take good ſucceſſe. And for diuers conſiderations, to auoyde many troubles and buſineſſe that might happen, wee haue appoynted that hee which ſhall abide at Colmogro (which we doe thinke to bee moſt meeteſt Henry Lane) ſhall haue with him there ſuch of our yong men, as can beſt ſkill in keeping of accompts after the maner of Marchants, that is, by Debitor and Creditor: And that there ſhall be the place, where our bookes ſhalbe kept: becauſe it is nearer the ſea ſide, where our goods ſhalbe diſcharged and our ſhips laden. And the ſaid Henry Lane to be charged with all ſuch goods as we ſhall diſcharge there out of our ſhips, according to our Inuoyces. Which goods are to be ſent from Colmogro to Vologhda or to Moſco, or to any other place where you three or two of you do apppoynt thē to be ſold, ſo that Henry Lane be one. And ſo frō time to time immediatly as any thing is ſold, doe you certifie the ſame to Henry Lane, that he may enter it into the Bookes as appertaineth: otherwiſe he ſhould be too farre behinde in his Bookes at the comming of our ſhips, when he ſhould ſend vs the accompt of the whole yeere paſſed. And we will alſo that you George Killingworth and Richard Gray doe in the fine of April next ſend either of you vnto Henry Lane a whole, perfit, & iuſt accompt firmed with your owne hands of all the goods you haue ſolde and bought vntill that time, and what remaineth vnſolde: and alſo the accompt of all maner coſts of wares, and charges of you and the yong men vnder you particularly in ſuch ſort as the ſaid accompt may bee with him in Colmogro at the fine of May at the furtheſt: to the intent that hee may make all our accompts perfite againſt the comming of our ſhips: and in any wiſe to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it ſelfe, and not mingle one voyage with another at no hand. And as we will haue you to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it ſelfe, euen ſo wee would haue all the whole coſtes and charges of euery yeere put into the voyage of that yeere. As the charges of all the laſt yeere muſt be put to the accompt of the third voyage: and the charges of this yeere preſent, muſt in the fine of April next, be put to the fourth voyage. Not doubting but your wiſedome is ſuch, that you will not take it in euill part, that wee doe appoynt Henry Lane to take the accompt of the reſt. For we doe it for none other cauſe, but to keepe a good order in our bookes, that his bookes and ours may by this meanes agree: and hee being the yonger man, may beſt take paines: and that you doe keepe accompt of euery kinde of wares by it ſelfe, to the intent wee may perceiue wherein is our moſt gaine. And alſo in the making of your returne, in any wiſe name in your billes of lading, letters, and accompts, what wares doe appertaine to the firſt, ſecond, and third voyage: and that wee may knowe the ſame by the numbers or otherwiſe as you ſhall thinke good by your wiſedomes, putting the charges of the ſaide wares vnto them, as nigh as you can. And all ſuch money as ſhall bee made of your goods in any place, wee referre that to your diſcretion, where it ſhall remaine vntill it bee employed, either at Vologhda, Moſco, or els where. And likewiſe wee will that Henry Lane doe make in a readineſſe about the beginning of Iune euery yeere our whole accompt of the voyage in that yeere paſſed: in ſuch ſort that wee may receiue the ſame by our ſhippes: and that wee may plainely perceiue what ſales are made, and what remaineth of the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth voyage, and what charges haue bene layde out for the ſayd voyages, and what wares bee bought, and laden, and what they coſt, and for what voyage euery parcell thereof is: and to ſend vs a copie of the ſame accompt in euery ſhippe. And alſo foraſmuch as at this time we haue ſent you but ſmall ſtore of wares in compariſon of that we haue hope will bee vttered in ſhort ſpace, and yet neuertheleſſe much more then you wrote for, whereby there ſhall not be ſufficient to make any ample

Henry Lane Agent.

The fourth voyage.

returne

The olde traffike of Ruſſia to Rie, Reuel and Poland turned to Saint Nicholas.

The articles of their firſt Commiſſion giuen 1555.

returne: and vnderſtanding that there is great quantitie of goods ſtayed for our trade there by the Emperour, wee haue mooued the Embaſſador that you may haue credite for ſuch quantitie as ſhall ſeeme good to you to prouide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine, or otherwiſe haue, we would you bought as much Waxe principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey ſo great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the beſt commoditie we may haue: for hauing that wholly in our hands, we may ſerue our owne countrey and others. Therefore ſeeing the Emperour doth minde, that ſuch commodities as bee in his dominions ſhall not paſſe to Rie and Reuel and Poland as they haue done, but bee reſerued for vs: therefore we muſt ſo lay for it, that it may not ly vpon their hands that haue it to ſell, alwayes hauing conſideration in the price and time as our next diſpatch may correſpond. Whereof you may ſend a certaine aduiſe, as well what you ſhall receiue of credit, and to what quantitie, as alſo what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well conſidered, you may aduertiſe vs as well for how many hundreth tonnes we muſt prouide fraight againſt the next yeere, as alſo what ſortes, quantities and qualities of wares we ſhall ſend you, as well to pay your credite, as alſo to furniſh the next aduenture after. Of this we would be anſwered largely. For we truſt by this time you are able to giue full inſtructions of the ſtate of the countrey: according to the articles of your firſt Commiſſions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewiſe what of our cõmodities haue moſt vtterance there, and what prices will be giuen for them there: and all other things requiſite and neceſſary to be knowen.

Leonard Brian ſent to ſearch out Yewe in the North parts of Ruſſia.

2. Coopers ſent into Ruſſia.

Alſo we doe vnderſtand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the riuer of Pechora is great quantitie of Yewe, and likewiſe in the Countrey of Vgory, which we be deſirous to haue knowledge of, becauſe it is a ſpeciall commoditie for our Realme. Therefore wee haue ſent you a yong man, whoſe name is Leonard Brian, that hath ſome knowledge in the wood, to ſhew you in what ſorte it muſt be cut and clouen. So our minde is if there be any ſtore, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe prouide a good quantitie againſt the next yeere for the comming of our ſhippes: and if there can bee found none that will ſerue for our purpoſe, then you may ſet the ſayd Leonard Brian to any other buſineſſe that you ſhall finde moſt fitteſt for him, vntill the returne of our ſhips the next yeere. For he is hired by the yeere onely for that purpoſe. We doubt not but that hee ſhall doe you good ſeruice there. For hee hath good knowledge of wares of that Countrey: for his bringing vp hath bene moſt in Danske, and hath good vnderſtanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Alſo we doe ſend you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readineſſe all ſuch caſke as ſhalbe needfull for traine oyle, tallowe, or any thing elſe. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleue ſuch Yewe as he ſhall like there. And becauſe we be not ſure what timber they ſhall finde there to make Caſke, we haue laden in theſe ſhips 140. tunnes emptie Caſke, that is 94. tunnes ſhaken Caſke and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thouſand hoopes, & 480. wrethes of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can prouide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They haue an example with them of the bigneſſe of the Caſke they ſhall make. Neuertheleſſe, all ſuch Buttes and Hoggeſheads as may be found to ſerue we will ſhalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

Alſo we charge you that you ſuffer no goods nor marchandies of any perſons being not free of the Company, and of the accompt of the Company to be laden in any wiſe in our ſhips either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Embaſſadour minde to ſend any thing to the King and Queenes Maieſties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Companie: Nor likewiſe that you ſuffer any goods that goe in theſe ſhips to be brought on land there, except the Ambaſſadours goods, and the Phyſitions & Apothecaries, and others that hee hath with him, who carie no Marchandiſe. And becauſe our ſhips be freighted by the great, it ſhalbe very needefull that you do appoynt certaine to ſee the romaging of the ſhips, and to giue the maſter or Boatſwaine, or him that will take vpon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to ſee the goods well romaged. If it be iii. d. or iiii. d. the tunne, it ſhall not be amiſſe. For if it be not ſubſtantially well looked vnto, it may bee a great deale of money out of our wayes.

Alſo becauſe we reckon that from the Moſco will bee alwayes better conueyance of letters to vs by land: our minde is that from time to time as occaſion ſhall ſerue, our Agents ſhall write to him that ſhall lie at Moſco of all things that ſhall paſſe, that hee may giue vs large inſtructions, aſwell what is ſolde and bought, as alſo what lading we ſhall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we ſhall ſend. For hitherto we haue had but a ſlender aduiſe, more like a bill to ſerue a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to ſerue a kingdome. For we muſt procure to vtter good quantitie of wares, eſpecially the commodities of our Realme, although we afford a good penyworth, to the intent to make other that haue traded thither, wearie, and ſo to bring our ſelues and our commodities in eſtimation, and likewiſe to procure to haue the chiefe commodities of that countrey in our hands, as waxe and ſuch others, that other nations may bee ſerued by vs and at our hands. For wee doe vnderſtand that the greateſt quantitie of waxe that commeth to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, commeth out of Ruſſia. Therefore if wee ſhould buy part, and they alſo buy, it would raiſe the price there, and would bee litle worth here. And all ſuch letters of importance and ſecrecie as you doe ſend by land for any wares or otherwiſe, you muſt write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke ſent you in the ſhippes: alwayes taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may vnderſtand them by the ſame booke heere, and to ſend them in ſuch ſort, that we may haue them here by Chriſtmas or Candlemas, if it be poſſible. And becauſe you cannot ſo certainly aduertiſe vs by letters of your doings, but ſome doubt may ariſe, whereof we would moſt gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with theſe ſhips you ſend vs home one ſuch yong man as is moſt expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can beſt certifie vs in ſuch queſtions as may be demaunded, whome we will remit vnto you againe in the next ſhips. We thinke Arthur Edwards wilbe fitteſt for that purpoſe: neuertheleſſe vſe your diſcretion in that matter.

The marchants letters ouer land written in cyphers.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfered out of our ſhips at Colmogro and Vologda we truſt by this time they are reſtored againe, and the malefactors ſo puniſhed that other may take example for doing the like, otherwiſe it will be an euill preſident. Moreouer, wee doe perceiue that Richard Gray doeth buy maſtes to ſend into England, they will not quit the coſtes, except we had a ſhip of purpoſe for them. And likewiſe that Steuen Burrow is returned from his diſcouerie with the Serchthrift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to ſet forth in the beginning of Iune next to ſeeke the riuer of Ob. We pray God to ſpeede him well, and truſt to haue him here in England this yeere to bring vs good newes.

The voyag of Steuen Burrowe for the diſcouerie of the riuer of Ob.

We doe perceiue there is a riuer found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteen foot vpon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will bee a great pleaſure vnto vs. We will that Steuen Burrowe doe proceed on his voiage to diſcouer. Alſo we haue ſent you one Anthonie Ienkinſon Gentleman, a man well trauelled, whom we mind to vſe in further trauelling, according to a Commiſſion deliuered him, ſubſcribed by maſter Anthonie Huſe and others. Wherefore we will you deliuer him one or more of ſuch painfull young men as he ſhal thinke meeteſt for his purpoſe; and likewiſe ſuch money and wares as he ſhal think beſt to take with him. He muſt haue fourty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he wil demaund it of you, ſo let him haue it from Eaſter laſt. Alſo the prices of wares here at this preſent are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, towe flaxe twentie eight pound the hundred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, waxe at foure pound the hundred, tallow at ſixteene ſhillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no ſhippes come out of Danske.

M. Anthonie Ienkinſon his firſt trauaile intended for Cathay by the Caſpian ſea and Boghar.

Kept vntill the tenth day of this preſent. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recouered out of the Edward Bonauenture; and nowe we doe perceiue that the caſke that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our minde is, that you ſhall lade it all in ſuch barrels of the bigger ſort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrels nor ſmall. And that caſke that wee haue ſent may ſerue for the Tallowe or anie other ware that is not leakage. Neuertheleſſe, this voyage you muſt take ſuch as you can get.

Good caſke made in Ruſſia.

Alſo if the Emperour bee minded to deliuer you any ſumme of money, or good Ware at as reaſonable a price as you may buye for readie money, wee will that you ſhall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our aduenture, and hee to bee payed at the returne of the ſhippes in Veluets, Sattens, or any other kinde of ſilke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tiſſue, or according as his Commiſſion ſhall bee that hee ſhall ſende vs in the ſhippes, and according to ſuch paternes as hee ſhall ſend. Wee doe not finde the Ambaſſadour nowe at the laſt ſo conformable to reaſon as wee had thought wee ſhoulde. Hee is very miſtruſtfull, and thinketh euerie man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you haue to doe with him or with any ſuch, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to ſet them downe in writing. For they bee ſubtill people, and doe not alwaies ſpeake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themſelues. Therefore we would haue none of them to ſend any goods in our ſhippes at any time, nor none to come for paſſengers, vnleſſe the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you, as is aforeſaid, for his owne perſon.

Alſo we charge you not to ſuffer any of our nation to ſend any wares to their wiues or friends in any of our ſhips; but to take their money there to be paied heere by the companie and not otherwiſe: and to haue conſideration how you doe take the roble. For although we doe rate it after ſixteene ſhillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not worth paſt 12, or 13. ſhillings ſterling.

returne: and vnderſtanding that there is great quantitie of goods ſtayed for our trade there by the Emperour, wee haue mooued the Embaſſador that you may haue credite for ſuch quantitie as ſhall ſeeme good to you to prouide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine, or otherwiſe haue, we would you bought as much Wexe principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey ſo great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the beſt commoditie we may haue: for hauing that wholly in our hands, we may ſerue our owne countrey and others. Therefore ſeeing the Emperour doth minde, that ſuch commodities as bee in his dominions ſhall not paſſe to Rie and Reuel and Poland as they haue done, but bee reſerued for vs: therefore we muſt ſo lay for it, that it may not ly vpon their hands that haue it to ſell, alwayes hauing conſideration in the price and time as our next diſpatch may correſpond. Whereof you may ſend a certaine aduiſe, as well what you ſhall receiue of credit, and to what quantitie, as alſo what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well conſidered, you may aduertiſe vs as well for how many hundreth tonnes we muſt prouide fraight againſt the next yeere, as alſo what ſortes, quantities and qualities of wares we ſhall ſend you, as well to pay your credite, as alſo to furniſh the next aduenture after. Of this we would be anſwered largely. For we truſt by this time you are able to giue full inſtructions of the ſtate of the countrey: according to the articles of your firſt Commiſſions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewiſe what of our cōmodities haue moſt vtterance there, and what prices will be giuen for them there: and all other things requiſite and neceſſary to be knowen.

The olde traffike of Ruſſia to Rie, Reuel and Poland turned to Saint Nicholas.

The articles of their firſt Commiſſion giuen 1555.

Alſo we doe vnderſtand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the riuer of Pechora is great quantitie of Yewe, and likewiſe in the Countrey of Vgory, which we be deſirous to haue knowledge of, becauſe it is a ſpeciall commoditie for our Realme. Therefore wee haue ſent you a yong man, whoſe name is Leonard Brian, that hath ſome knowledge in the wood, to ſhew you in what ſorte it muſt be cut and clouen. So our minde is if there be any ſtore, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe prouide a good quantitie againſt the next yeere for the comming of our ſhippes: and if there can bee found none that will ſerue for our purpoſe, then you may ſet the ſayd Leonard Brian to any other buſineſſe that you ſhall finde moſt fitteſt for him, vntill the returne of our ſhips the next yeere. For he is hired by the yeere onely for that purpoſe. We doubt not but that hee ſhall doe you good ſeruice there. For hee hath good knowledge of wares of that Countrey: for his bringing vp hath bene moſt in Danske, and hath good vnderſtanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Alſo we doe ſend you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readineſſe all ſuch caſke as ſhalbe needfull for traine oyle, tallowe, or any thing elſe. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleue ſuch Yewe as he ſhall like there. And becauſe we be not ſure what timber they ſhall finde there to make Caſke, we haue laden in theſe ſhips 140. tunnes emptie Caſke, that is 94. tunnes ſhaken Caſke and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thouſand hoopes, & 480. wrethes of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can prouide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They haue an example with them of the bigneſſe of the Caſke they ſhall make. Neuertheleſſe, all ſuch Buttes and Hoggeſheads as may be found to ſerue we will ſhalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

Leonard Brian ſent to ſearch out Yewe in the North parts of Ruſſia.

2. Coopers ſent into Ruſſia.

Alſo we charge you that you ſuffer no goods nor marchandies of any perſons being not free of the Company, and of the accompt of the Company to be laden in any wiſe in our ſhips either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Embaſſadour minde to ſend any thing to the King and Queenes Maieſties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Companie: Nor likewiſe that you ſuffer any goods that goe in theſe ſhips to be brought on land there, except the Ambaſſadours goods, and the Phyſitions & Apothecaries, and others that hee hath with him, who carie no Marchandiſe. And becauſe our ſhips be freighted by the great, it ſhalbe very needefull that you do appoynt certaine to ſee the romaging of the ſhips, and to giue the maſter or Boatſwaine, or him that will take vpon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to ſee the goods well romaged. If it be iii.d. or iiii.d. the tunne, it ſhall not be amiſſe. For if it be not ſubſtantially well looked vnto, it may bee a great deale of money out of our wayes.

Alſo becauſe we reckon that from the Moſco will bee alwayes better conueyance of letters to vs by land: our minde is that from time to time as occaſion ſhall ſerue, our Agents ſhall write to him that ſhall lie at Moſco of all things that ſhall paſſe, that hee may giue vs large inſtructions, aſwell what is ſolde and bought, as alſo what lading we ſhall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we ſhall ſend. For hitherto we haue had but a ſlender aduiſe, more like a bill to ſerue a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to ſerue a kingdome. For we muſt procure to vtter good quantitie of wares, eſpecially the commodities of our Realme, although we afford a good penyworth, to the intent to make other that haue traded thither, wearie, and ſo to bring our ſelues and our commodities in eſtimation, and likewiſe to procure to haue the chiefe commodities of that countrey in our hands, as waxe and ſuch others, that other nations may bee ſerued by vs and at our hands. For wee doe vnderſtand that the greateſt quantitie of waxe that commeth to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, commeth out of Ruſſia. Therefore if wee ſhould buy part, and they alſo buy, it would raiſe the price there, and would bee litle worth here. And all ſuch letters of importance and ſecrecie as you doe ſend by land for any wares or otherwiſe, you muſt write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke ſent you in the ſhippes: alwayes taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may vnderſtand them by the ſame booke heere, and to ſend them in ſuch ſort, that we may haue them here by Chriſtmas or Candlemas, if it be poſſible. And becauſe you cannot ſo certainly aduertiſe vs by letters of your doings, but ſome doubt may ariſe, whereof we would moſt gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with theſe ſhips you ſend vs home one ſuch yong man as is moſt expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can beſt certifie vs in ſuch queſtions as may be demaunded, whome we will remit vnto you againe in the next ſhips. We thinke Arthur Edwards wilbe fitteſt for that purpoſe: neuertheleſſe vſe your diſcretion in that matter.

The marchãts letters ouer land written in cyphers.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfered out of our ſhips at Colmogro and Vologda we truſt by this time they are reſtored againe, and the malefactors ſo puniſhed that other may take example for doing the like, otherwiſe it will be an euill preſident. Moreouer, wee doe perceiue that Richard Gray doeth buy maſtes to ſend into England, they will not quit the coſtes, except we had a ſhip of purpoſe for them. And likewiſe that Steuen Burrow is returned from his diſcouerie with the Serchthrift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to ſet forth in the beginning of Iune next to ſeeke the riuer of Ob. We pray God to ſpeede him well, and truſt to haue him here in England this yeere to bring vs good newes.

The voyag of Steuen Burrowe for the diſcouerie of the riuer of Ob.

We doe perceiue there is a riuer found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteen foot vpon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will bee a great pleaſure vnto vs. We will that Steuen Burrowe doe proceed on his voiage to diſcouer. Alſo we haue ſent you one Anthonie Ienkinſon Gentleman, a man well trauelled, whom we mind to vſe in further trauelling, according to a Commiſſion deliuered him, ſubſcribed by maſter Anthonie Huſe and others. Wherefore we will you deliuer him one or more of ſuch painfull young men as he ſhal thinke meeteſt for his purpoſe; and likewiſe ſuch money and wares as he ſhal think beſt to take with him. He muſt haue fourty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he wil demaund it of you, ſo let him haue it from Eaſter laſt. Alſo the prices of wares here at this preſent are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, towe flaxe twentie eight pound the hundred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, waxe at foure pound the hundred, tallow at ſixteene ſhillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no ſhippes come out of Danske.

M. Anthonie Ienkinſon his firſt trauaile intẽded for Cathay by the Caſpian ſea and Boghar.

Kept vntill the tenth day of this preſent. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recouered out of the Edward Bonauenture: and nowe we doe perceiue that the caſke that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our minde is, that you ſhall lade it all in ſuch barrels of the bigger ſort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrels nor ſmall. And that caſke that wee haue ſent may ſerue for the Tallowe or anie other ware that is not leakage. Neuertheleſſe, this voyage you muſt take ſuch as you can get.

Good caſke made in Ruſſia.

Alſo if the Emperour bee minded to deliuer you any ſumme of money, or good Ware at as reaſonable a price as you may buye for readie money, wee will that you ſhall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our aduenture, and hee to bee payed at the returne of the ſhippes in Veluets, Sattens, or any other kinde of ſilke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tiſſue, or according as his Commiſſion ſhall bee that hee ſhall ſende vs in the ſhippes, and according to ſuch paternes as hee ſhall ſend. Wee doe not finde the Ambaſſadour nowe at the laſt ſo conformable to reaſon as wee had thought wee ſhoulde. Hee is very miſtruſtfull, and thinketh euerie man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you haue to doe with him or with any ſuch, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to ſet them downe in writing. For they bee ſubtill people, and doe not alwaies ſpeake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themſelues. Therefore we would haue none of them to ſend any goods in our ſhippes at any time, nor none to come for paſſengers, vnleſſe the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you, as is aforeſaid, for his owne perſon.

Alſo we charge you not to ſuffer any of our nation to ſend any wares to their wiues or friends in any of our ſhips; but to take their money there to be paied heere by the companie and not otherwiſe: and to haue conſideration how you doe take the roble. For although we doe rate it after ſixteene ſhillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not worth paſt 12, or 13, ſhillings ſterling.

Moreouer, you had neede to ſende newe accomptes, for them that came in the Edward bee marred and torne, ſo that we can make no reckoning by them: and likewiſe to write vs a perfect note of all the goodes which you receiued the laſt voyage out of the Edward, and heerein not to faile.

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne.
Anthonie Huſe.
William Garrard.
William Cheſter.

A Letter of Maſter *Thomas Hawtrey* to the worſhipfull Maſter *Henrie Lane* Agent at *Colmogro*, written in *Vologda* the 31. of Ianuarie 1557.

1557

Iohn Sedgewick at Nouogrode.

Maſts of 30. yards.

An Arſhine is 3. quarters of a yard or more.

A rope houſe erected at Colmogro.

A tarre houſe.

Robert Auſten.

WOrſhipfull Sir, heartie commendations premiſed. Theſe may bee to aduertiſe you, that yeſterday the thirtieth of this preſent came hither Robert Beſt, and brought with him two hundred robles, that is, one hundred for this place, and one hundred for you at Colmogro. As for hempe which is here at two robles and a halfe the bercouite, maſter Gray hath written to buy no more at that price: for Iohn Sedgewicke hath bought for ſixe or ſeuen hundred robles worth at Nouogrode for one roble and a halfe the bercouite, and better cheape: and white Nouogrode flaxe is there at three robles the bercouite. I truſt hee will doe much good by his going thither. As I doe vnderſtand, Richard Iohnſon is gone to Nouogrode with money to him, I doubt not but Maſter Gray hath aduertiſed you of all their doings, both at the Moſco and at Nouogrod. And touching our doings heere, you ſhall perceiue that wee haue ſolde wares of this fourth voyage for one hundred and fourtie robles, beſides fiftie robles of the ſecond and third voyage ſince the giuing vp of my laſt account, and for wares of the Countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand that I haue bought tried and vntried for 77. robles foure hundred podes of tried tallowe, beſides foure hundred podes that I haue giuen out money for, whereof God graunt good receipt when the time commeth, which is in Lent. And in browne flaxe and hempe I haue bought ſeuenteene bercouites, ſixe podes and ſixteene pound, which coſt 28. robles, eleuen altines two pence. And as for other kindes of wares I haue bought none as yet. And for maſtes to bee prouided, you ſhall vnderſtand that I wrote a letter to Totma the 28. of this preſent for fiftie maſtes, to wit, for 25. of fifteene fathoms, and 25. of foureteene fathoms, to be an arſhine and a halfe at the ſmall ende. And more, I haue written for 30. great trees to be two arſhines and a halfe at the ſmall end, and for the other that were prouided the laſt yeere, I truſt they ſhall be ſent downe in the ſpring of the yeere. And as concerning the Ropemakers, you ſhall vnderſtand that their abiding place ſhall bee with you at Colmogro, as I doe thinke Maſter Gray hath aduertiſed you. For, as Roger Bontinge Maſter of the workes doeth ſay, there is no place more meete for their purpoſe then with you: and there it will be made with leſſer coſt, conſidering that the pale is the one halfe of it: which is to ſet one pale more to that, and ſo for to couer it ouer, which as they ſay, will be but little coſt. They doe pray that it may bee made ſixeteene foote broade, and one hundred and eightie fathoms long: and that in the midde way twentie foote from the pale towarde the water ſide there may be a houſe made to tarre in, ſtanding alone by it ſelfe for danger of fire. The Tarre houſe that they woulde haue made, is to bee fifteene fathoms long, and ten fathoms broade, and they would that houſe ſhould be made firſt: for I thinke they will not tarre before they come there. And farther they deſire that you will prouide for as much tarre as you may, for heere wee haue ſmall ſtore, but when the time commeth that it ſhoulde be made, I will prouide as much as I can here, that it may bee ſent downe when the Naſade commeth. The ſtuffe that they haue readie ſpunne is about fiue thouſand waight, and they ſay that they truſt to haue by that time they come downe yarne ynough to make 20. cables. As concerning a copie of the Alphabet in ciphers Maſter Gray hath written hither that Robert Auſten had one, which he willed that he ſhoulde deliuer to you. Thus I ſurceaſe, beſeeching God to preſerue you in health, and to ſend you your hearts deſire.

By yours to command to his power,
Thomas Hawtrey.

A Letter of Maſter *Richard Gray* one of the firſt Agents of the *Moſcouie* companie to Maſter *Henrie Lane* at *Moſco*, written in *Colmogro* the 19. of Februarie 1558.

1558

WOrſhipfull Sir, after heartie commendations &c. You ſhall vnderſtand that this Lent commeth to Lampas ſuch a number of men of diuers nations with wares, as hath not bene ſeene theſe ten yeeres. Thither come many out of Vgori: therefore I would haue bene there my ſelfe, and alſo haue receiued ſuch money as is owing vs in wares by Kerill his brother and Oſep Boſcouo. For as you well know, thence they will goe with their wares to the Moſco, and make vs payment with delayes, as they haue done theſe other yeeres paſt. Colobone and his partner be departed towards Lampas with ſeuen ſleddes laden with victuals. Others alſo are gone to that Mart. As touching the bringing of money with you, it will bee good, for I aſſure you ſince our comming to this countrey haue not ſo many perſons gone to the Sea, as will doe this yeere. Truſting that God will ſend good ſtore of traine oyle, I will cauſe as much caſke to bee in a readineſſe as I can, if you ſhall thinke it meete to ſend ſome money before. All our olde hempe is ſpunne and wrought in tenne cables from fifteene ynches to ten the leaſt, and thirteene Hauſers from ſixe ynches to three ynches: and all may weigh white eight and twenty thouſande pounde weight and vpwarde. There is in hempe ockam fiue thouſand pound two hundred weight in twelue ſackes at the leaſt: the flaxe that came downe in the Naſſadaes with thoſe ſeuen podes that came laſt is all ſpunne with a good part of that hempe that came laſt. God ſend more ſhortly, for all that is here and that is comming in the three other ſleddes, will bee diſpatched by the fourth weeke in Lent. Within theſe few dayes I bought thirteen podes, ſeuen pound of hempe that coſt two robles, twenty eight altines, foure pence, which together with that that was bought before, ſhall bee laide in dipping and ſounding lines, for it is very good.. There are ſpent aboue fiftie barrels of tarre alreadie: you ſhall vnderſtand that theſe eight workemen will ſpinne and lay aboue fourescore and tenne thouſand pound of hempe, ſo it bee dreſſed readie to their hands, hauing two to turne the wheeles, and two to winde vp. Therefore I haue agreed with theſe two boyes to ſerue the worſhipfull companie foure yeeres a piece. One of them windeth vp and is very apt to ſpinne: therefore I will haue two other young men Ruſſes to ſpinne, if they can finde good ſureties for their trueth. I haue bene in hand with theſe two yong men that came out of the Trinitie, and they with me, but vnder ſeuen pound a yeere they will not ſerue, nor Thomas Bunting that was Roger Bunting his ſeruant. Therefore I would haue three Ruſſes at the leaſt to ſpinne, fiue of them will be as good as theſe three, and will not be ſo chargeable all, as one of theſe would be. I thinke it were good that our Naſſada were ſomewhat ſtrengthened in her floore on both ſides with plankes of fiue or ſixe ynches thicke, from the ſtemme to the ſterne, as I haue written to Thomas Hawtrey at Vologda. Alſo if you ſhall ſo thinke meet, your waxe and tallowe ſhall bee laden in two Doſnickes, for they bee meete to goe aboord the ſhippes: I doe intend to ſet vp an houſe at Boroſeua ouer againſt the place whereas the ſhippes ſhall ride, your aduiſe therein I expect, it ſhall not coſt aboue three robles, and yet if we will, there ſhall be two warme roomes in it. As for other matter at this preſent I haue not to trouble you withall, and if it would pleaſe you I would be glad to heare ſome good newes of Maſter Ienkinſon. Thus Ieſus be with you and be his guide.

Lampas a great mart for the Samoeds in the North.

What quantitie of hempe 8. workmen will worke in a yeere.

Poſtſcriptum.

As for theſe our Hawkes they bee not white, but white and mayled, but indeede are Iarfawkons. Theſe dayes paſt our Olen died. So this yeere our Maſters of the companie are like to haue none, nor any white beares. Neither may any paſſe out of the realme without a ſpecial licence from the Emperour.

White hawks & white beares prohibited without licence.

I intend God willing to goe to Lampas, if I doe I will take foure or fiue kerſeys with me, but as for money there is ſmall ſtore here to carie.

Maſter Grayes iourney to Lampas.

Yours, Richard Gray.

A Letter of *Thomas Alcocke* to the worſhipfull *Richard Gray*, and *Henrie Lane* Agents in *Moſcouia* from *Tirwill* in *Polonia*, written in *Tirwill* the 26. of Aprill 1558.

1558

MY duety premiſed vnto your worſhips, with cõmendations &c. It may pleaſe you to be aduertiſed, ẏ my laſt I ſent frõ Smolẽſco, which I truſt you haue receiued wͭ other letters to diuers of our Engliſh men, wherein I certified you of my long retayning there, as alſo of my departure from thence, and howe that I had hired a Totar to bring mee to Danske. We came to a certaine village on Satterday the ſixe and twentieth of Februarie, and there remained that night and Sunday to refreſh our horſes, intending to haue gone away on Munday early. But on Saterday at night one of his neighbours departed to Tirwill, and there declared to the Captaine howe that at ſuch a place there was a Dutch man that was come from the Moſco, and woulde ride to Danske, ſaying, for the one, I cannot tell what he is. The Captaine incontinent ridde to the King to ſhewe him thereof, ſo that without any delay there was ſent out for mee one of the Gentlemen of the Kings houſe, and one of the Meſnickes of the Towne with ſixe Officers to take mee. They came thither in the night about midnight, and there apprehended mee and tooke all that I had from me: they left mee nothing but my clothes to put on my backe, and ſo brought mee to Tirwill to the Captaines houſe, where before I dyned, I had a payre of fetters clapped on my legges, wherewithall I ſate vntill it was Munday in the Eaſterweeke. On which day, after long and earneſt calling to the Captaine as hee ridde by the windowe, hee commaunded the Marſhall that mine yrons ſhoulde be taken off, but no worde I could heare when I ſhould be deliuered out of captiuitie till it was Saint George his day: on which day I was had before the Marſhall, who declared vnto me that the Kings Maieſtie had ſhewed his mercie and goodneſſe towardes mee: for his pleaſure was that I ſhould be deliuered out of priſon to depart into England, but no way elſe. So after I had giuen thankes for the Kings Maieſties goodneſſe ſhewed vnto me, I deſired him that he woulde be a meane that I might haue the remaynder of ſuch thinges as were taken from me reſtored vnto me againe. Hee made me anſwere, that I might thanke God that I eſcaped with my head, and that if euer there came any more of vs through the land, they ſhould not ſo doe. The weeke before Eaſter they deliuered mee my Corobia againe with all thinges that were therein. They tooke from mee in money nine Hungers gylderns in golde, fiue ſhillings foure pence in Lettoes money, fourtie Altines in Ruſſe money, whereof twentie and more were for tokens, halfe an angell and a quarter of Maſter Doctour Standiſhes, with his golde ring. Your two pieces of money (Maſter Gray) that you ſent to your wife and daughter, with my two pieces of Boghary money. Of all this I had eight Hungers gilderns deliuered mee the thirde weeke of mine impriſonment to paye for my charges, which ſtoode mee in a Doller a weeke. So that at the day of my deliuerie I had but three gyldernes left me. For the reſt I made a ſupplication to the Captaine and had the like anſwere giuen mee as the Marſhall gaue me. So that all the reſt of the thinges before written are loſt, and no recouerie to bee had, which grieueth me more for the tokens ſakes then doeth mine eight weeks impriſonment. They haue alſo my ſword, my bootes, my bowe and arrowes that I bought at Smolenſco, which coſt me foure marks, my ſled, my felt, the comhold, a booke of the Flowres of godly prayers, and my booke wherein my charges were written. Of all theſe I can get nothing againe, not ſo much as my two bookes.

Doctor Standiſh the Emperours Phiſition.

After I had remayned there fiue and thirtie dayes, I was had before the Captaine vp into a great chamber to bee examined for letters and of the cauſe of my comming through the Countrey. In the Captaines companie was one of the Lordes of Danske. They demaunded of mee where my letters were, I declared vnto them that I had none: your Officers (ſayd I) tooke me when I was in my bedde, they ſearched mee and tooke all that I had from mee, if there be any they ſhall finde them among my ſtuffe which they haue. They aſked mee then, for what cauſe I went home home ouer lande: I declared vnto them, that the Winter beeing a warme ſeaſon, and hauing intelligence that The frozen Sea was not much frozen, and ſuppoſing this Sommer it would be nauigable, I was onely ſent to prouide a Shippe to bee ſent to paſſe the ſayde Seas to diſcouer Cataia: which if God graunted wee might doe, it woulde not onely bee a commoditie to the Realme of Englande, but vnto all Chriſtian landes, by the riches that might bee brought from thence, if the hiſtories bee true that are written thereof. Much other communication I had with them concerniug the ſame voyage. Then he demaunded of mee what wares wee brought into Ruſſia, and what wee carried from thence. I declared the ſame vnto them. Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thouſandes of ordinance, as alſo of harneis, ſwordes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them anſwere, that wee had brought thither about one hundred ſhirtes of maple, ſuch olde thinges newe ſcowred as no man in Englande woulde weare. Other talke they had with mee concerning the trade of Moſcouia too long to commit to writing.

At my comming hither heere were Ambaſſadours from the townes of Danske, Lubeck, and Hamburgh, as alſo out of Liefland to deſire this king to bee their Captaine and head in their intended voyage, which was to ſtoppe all ſuch ſhippes as ſhoulde goe out of England for Moſcouia. Whereunto the King graunted, and immediatly they departed to prepare their ſhippes. So that I am afraide that either theſe our enemies, or the great warres that we haue with France and Scotland will be an occaſion that you ſhall haue no ſhippes at Colmogro this yeere.

An attempt to hinder our trade to Moſcouia by the Hans townes & Eaſterlings.

To conclude, although I haue no tokens to deliuer them, that the tokens taken from me were ſent vnto, yet I will declare vnto them that I had tokens for them, with the miſchance. And thus I commit you to Amightie God with the reſt of the companie, who keepe you in health to his holy will and pleaſure.

By yours to commaund

Thomas Alcocke.

A Letter of Maſter *Anthonie Ienkinſon* vpon his returne from *Boghar* to the worſhipful Maſter *Henrie Lane* Agent for the *Moſcouie* companie reſident in Vologda, written in the *Moſco* the 18. of September, 1559.

1559

Worſhipfull Sir, after my heartie commendations premiſed with moſt deſire to God of your welfare and proſperous ſucceſſe in all your affaires. It may pleaſe you to bee aduertiſed that the fourth of this preſent I arriued with Richard Iohnſon and Robert Iohnſon all in health, thankes bee to God. Wee haue bene as farre as Boghar, and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, had it not bene for the vnceſſant and continuall warres, which are in all theſe brutall and wilde countreys, that it is at this preſent impoſſible to paſſe, neither went there any Carauan of people from Boghar that way theſe three yeeres. And although our iourney hath bene ſo miſerable, dangerous, and chargeable with loſſes, charges and expenſes, as my penne is not able to expreſſe the ſame: yet ſhall wee bee able to ſatiſfie the woorſhipfull Companies mindes, as touching the diſcouerie of The Caſpian Sea, with the trade of merchandiſe to bee had in ſuch landes and countreyes as bee thereabout adiacent, and haue brought of the wares and commodities of thoſe Countries able to anſwere the principall with profite: wiſhing that there were vtterance for as great a quantitie of kerſies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the ſales of a ſmall quantitie, (all ſuch euill fortunes beeing eſcaped as to vs haue chaunced this preſent voyage,) for then it woulde be a trade woorthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I truſt you will be here ſhortly (which I much deſire) I will deferre the diſcourſe with you at large vntill your comming, as well touching my trauel, as of other things. Sir, Iohn Lucke departed from hence toward England the ſeuenth of this preſent, and intendeth to paſſe by the way of Sweden, by whom I ſent a letter to the worſhipfull Companie, and haue written that I intend to come downe vnto Colmogro to be readie there at the next ſhipping to imbarke my ſelfe for England, declaring that my ſeruice ſhal not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to ſerue their worſhips in greater affaires then they haue heere to doe, ſo farre as I perceiue. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Chriſtopher Hudſons letters, for that I am but newly arriued. Hauing here but litle buſineſſe to doe, I ſend you Richard Iohnſon to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giuing you moſt heartie thanks for my wench Aura Soltana, I commend you to the tuition of God, who ſend you health with hearts deſire.

Maſter Ienkenſons voyage intended for Cathay.

The diſcouery of the Caſpian ſea.

Paſſage to and from Moſcouia by Sweden.

This was a yong Tartar girle which he gaue to the Queene afterward.

Your aſſured to command,

Anthonie Ienkinſon.

A Letter of the *Moſcouie* companie to their Agents in *Ruſsia*, Maſter *Henrie Lane*, *Chriſtopher Hudſon*, and *Thomas Glouer* ſent in their ſeuenth voyage to Saint *Nicholas* with three ſhips, the *Swallowe*, the *Philip* and *Marie*, and the *Ieſus* the fifth of May, 1560.

After our heartie commendations to you. The twelfth day of the laſt moneth here arriued in ſafety, thanks be to God, our two ſhips, & by them we receiued your letters & inuoices very

Tallowe.

Waxe.

Traine oyles.

Sables.

Wolverings.
Luſerns.
Lettes.
Ermines.

Squirels.

Flaxe.
Cables and ropes.

A proclamation againſt forren Furres.

3000. podes of Tallow a yere.

500. Loſh hides.

Note.

well perceiuing what you haue laden in them. The tallowe came euill conditioned and broken, by reaſon it came in Corrobias, wee loſe and ſpoyle more then the Caske will coſt, and much of this tallowe is verie euill, blacke, ſoft and putrified. Touching the Waxe, as yet wee knowe not howe the weight will riſe, by reaſon that ſome of it was loſt in the barkes. The weight of the laſt yeeres waxe did not riſe ſo well as the other yeeres before it did. There had neede good heede to bee taken in the weighing. Alſo much of this Waxe had a great foote and is not ſo faire waxe as in times paſt wee haue had. You muſt cauſe the foote to bee taken off before you doe weigh it, or elſe you muſt ſeeke to haue a good allowance for it. The traine Oyles which you laded this yeere came well conditioned, and the caſke was good and of a good ſiſe. But if they were made a little bigger it were the better, for they be not hogſheads. You haue written to vs to ſend you caſke which is not heere to be had, ueither doe wee thinke it ſo beſt if it were heere, conſidering it muſt goe either ſhaken and bounde vp, or elſe emptie, which will bee peſterable, and likewiſe will ſhrinke and drie, and not be fitte to lade oyles in. Therefore our minde is, you ſhall cauſe ſo much caſke to bee made there of the ſiſe of hogſheads as will ſerue both for your oyles and tallowe, and let them be well trimmed with pitch on the heads and ſeames, and ſtand full of water three or foure dayes before you put Oyles in them. Your Cowper may bee ouerſeer to them that make them, that they be well hooped and cleere tymber without knottes, the worſt caſke you may put the tallowe in. Hee that ſeeth the filling of the oyles had neede to looke well to it, for there was much water in this that came nowe. Wee perceiue you haue bought and haue in a readineſſe one hundred and fourtie tunnes of oyles, and that if neede be you may haue more ſtore. Wherefore we doe minde to ſend you ſhipping for three hundred tunnes and vpwards, becauſe we would haue this next Sommer as great a returne as you can of the commodities of that Countrey, as alſo ſuch of our wares as you haue that are not vendible, or will not be ſolde or bartered, becauſe we would haue a ful knowledge and ſtate of our accounts. The Sables which you ſent this yeere be very baſe, among them all we could not make one principall timber: we haue alwayes written vnto you to ſend them that bee good or elſe none. The Wolverings were indifferent, and ſome of the wolues, the reſt verie baſe, the Luſernes but meane, the Lettes not ſo large ſkinnes as we haue had: the beſt is, they were of a new death. As for the Ermines, they coſt more there with you, then we can ſell them for here. Therefore buy no more of them, nor of Squirels, for wee loſt the one halfe in the other. The wares that we would haue you prouide againſt the comming of the ſhippes are, Waxe, Tallowe, trayne Oyles, Flaxe, Cables and Ropes, and Furres, ſuch as we haue written to you for in our laſt letters by the ſhippes: and from henceforth not to make any great prouiſion of any rich Furres except principall Sables & Lettes: for now there is a Proclamation made that no furres ſhall be worne here, but ſuch as the like is growing here within this our Realme. Alſo we perceiue that there might be a great deale of tallowe more prouided in a yeere then you ſend. Therefore our minde is, you ſhould enlarge ſomewhat more in the price, and to ſend vs if you can three thouſand podes a yeere: for we doe moſt good in it. And likewiſe the Ruſſes, if you would giue them a reaſonable price for their wares, woulde be the willinger to buy and ſell with you, and not to carie ſo much to Nouogrode as they doe, but woulde rather bring it to Vologda to you, both Waxe, Tallowe, Flaxe, Hempe, and all kinde of other wares fitte for our Countrey. Our minde is you ſhould prouide for the next ſhips fiue hundred Loſh hides, of them that be large and faire, and thickeſt in hand, and to be circumſpect in the chooſing, that you buy them that bee killed in ſeaſon and well dryed and whole. If they bee good we may ſell them here for ſixteene ſhillings and better the piece, wee would haue the whole ſkinnes, that is, the necke and legges withall, for theſe that you ſent now lacke their neckes and legges. Neuertheleſſe for this time you muſt ſende them as you may get them: if you coulde finde the meanes that the haire might bee clipped off them, they woulde not take ſo much roome in the ſhippes as they doe. We perceiue by your letters that the prices of Waxe doe riſe there with you, by reaſon that the Poles and Lifelanders doe trade into Ruſſia by licence: which, if there ſhoulde bee peace betweene them, woulde bee an occaſion that all other commodities in Ruſſia woulde riſe to a bigger price, and not bee ſufficient to ſerue them and vs too, and likewiſe woulde bring downe there the prices of our commodities. Therefore we thinke it good you ſhoulde make a ſupplication to the Emperour in the name of The Companie to returne the trade from Rye and Reuel to vs, eſpecially for ſuch wares as wee doe buy: promiſing that wee will bee bounde to take them at a reaſonable price, as wee haue bought them in times paſt: and likewiſe that wee will bring to them ſuch wares of ours, as are thought fitte for the Countrey, and to ſell them at ſuch reaſonable prices as wee haue done. If this ſhoulde not come to paſſe, wee might be out of hope of doing any good by the trade there: but that we haue a further hope of ſome good trade to be found out by Maſter Aptonie Ienkinſon: by reaſon we doe perceiue by your letters, that raw ſilke is as plentifull in Perſia, as flaxe is in Ruſſia: beſide other commodities that may come from thence. Wee vnderſtand by your letters that you be at a point with the Ruſſe for the Waxe, Tallow, and Traine oyles that he ſhipped the laſt yere for 311 robles 20 altines, which is well: although much be not gotten by it, but becauſe they ſhould not vnderſtand our reckonings We much maruel what you mean to buy Seale ſkins and tanne them. All that you haue ſent in times paſt lie here vnſold, and will yeelde no money. If you ſend 100 of them tawed with the haire on, they will bee ſolde, or elſe not. In our ſhippe we will ſend you ſuch things as you write to haue for the ropers: and wee would they ſhould make more ſtore of ſmall cables and ropes, as cables of 7,8,9,10.11,12. inches. For theſe great cables be not for euery man; and the greateſt cables bee not beſt laden: and likewiſe ſmall ropes for ſhroudes, ſholes, and other ſmall tackeling: and that you looke better to the ſpinning of their yarne that it be euen and well tarred. The ſables that you doe mind to ſend vs let them be principall and fayre, and not paſt foure or fiue timbars. For they will not be ſo commonly worne here as they haue bin with noble men: and likewiſe of Luſerns ſend fewe and principal good. We mind to ſend you in our ſhippes 100 tunnes of ſalte. And becauſe we perceiue that balaſt is hardly to be had at our lading place there with you, we would you ſhould haue in a readineſſe 100 tunnes of the white ſtones whereof you ſent vs home an example two yeres paſt. And likewiſe to haue in a readineſſe maſtes of all ſortes for our ſhippes: for we know not what neede wee ſhall haue of them. The bringer hereof is Thomas Alcock, he could not be ſuffered the the laſt yeare to paſſe through Poland. And as we wrote vnto you in our ſhippes, hee is our ſeruant for yeares: And for that we know him to be honeſt, true and painefull, our mind is he ſhalbe placed where he may do beſt ſeruice. He doth know the commodities ond diſcommodities of all kinde of wares which you doe ſend vs. Therefore we would you ſhould credite his ſayings both in quantitie of wares and goodnes, as alſo wherin is moſt our profit. We ſee by your letters that your opinion is that the ropemakers ſhould remaine there two yeres more; and that you haue prouided great plentie of hempe, which we are content withall. But as yet we haue ſolde none of our cables nor halſers, neither is the proofe of them knowen; becauſe the firſt you ſent vs were made of flaxe, which are worth no money: for after they be once wet they will rotte and moulder away like moſſe. And thoſe which you ſent vs now laſt, by miſfortune there with you at the lading were wette and fretted in many places, and haue loſt their colour: by meanes whereof they be not ſo vendible as if they had come well conditioned. Of an hard beginning we truſt God will ſend vs a good ending. We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Maſter Antonie Ienkinſon. We perceiue by his letters that Aſtracan is not ſo good a Mart towne as the fame hath gone of it: and maruell much that round pewter ſhould be ſo good, and good chepe there, and from whence it ſhould come. And whereas you write that you wil come for England in our next ſhippes, we would gladly haue you to remaine there vntill the next yere following, for the better inſtruction of our ſeruants there; who haue not had ſo long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey, and wares as you haue had. Neuertheleſſe if you will needs come away, we haue no doubt, but that you will leaue good order with our ſeruants there, namely with Chriſtopher Hodſon and Thomas Glouer, whom we appoint to remaine there as Agents in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will vſe themſelues ſo diſcreetely and wiſely in all their doings, as ſhall be to the worſhip and benefite of this company. And as we haue a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: ſo haue we no leſſe hope in all the reſt of our ſeruants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (conſidering what roome they be in) but alſo will be carefull, painefull, diligent, and true euery one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the company: That hereafter in the abſence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elſewhere. And if you find any to be diſobedient and ſtubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you ſhall ſend him home in our ſhippes: who ſhall find ſuch ſmall fauour and friendſhip during the time that he hath to ſerue, as by his diſobedience and euill ſeruice hee hath deſerued. And whereas Chriſtopher Hodſon hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cauſe, conſidering the death of his father and mother: yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife were his ſpecial friends in his abſence, we doubt not but that he wil remain in the roome, which we haue appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his ſeruice and paines hee ſhall be conſidered, as reaſon is, as friendly as if his friends were liuing. Thus we truſt you will take ſuch order the one to remaine at the Moſco, and the other at Colmogro, or elſewhere, as moſt neede is. Thomas Alcocke is deſirous to be in the Moſco: neuertheleſſe you ſhall find him reaſonable to ſerue where he may doe moſt good. The

Hope of trade to be found by maſter Antoni Ienkinſon.

Seale ſkinnes tawed.

Small cables beſt vendible.

Maſts of all ſorts to be prepared.

Aſtracan no great good marte.

Chriſtopher Hodſon and Thomas Glouer appointed Agents 1560.

62 robles which you receiued of Iohn Boucher we haue payed him here, and alſo the 8 robles, which you receiued the yere before of Chriſtopher Roſe, and the money which you receiued more of George Burton, for the which we haue you our debtors. Thus we reſt, referring that which is here omitted to the report of the bringer: and ſo God haue you in his keeping. Alſo we would that you ſhould ſend vs in our ſhippes 200 horſe-clothes more. The things before written wee would that you ſhould let our ſeruants ſee and reade, to the intent they may perceiue our mindes.

Another letter to the foreſaid parties. 1560.

This letter before written is the copie of one ſent you by Thomas Alcock, truſting that hee was with you long ſince. The 26 day of the laſt moneth we receiued a letter from him, dated in Stockholme in Sweden the 14 day of Ianuary, and we perceiue by his letter that hee had talked with a Dutchman that came lately from the Moſco, who informed him that our friend Maſter Antony Ienkinſon was returned to the Moſco in September laſt paſt, but how farre he had beene, or what he had done, he could not tell. Alſo he wrote that one Iohn Lucke a Ioyner was taken by the Liefelanders, and put in priſon. As yet wee haue not heard from the ſayd Iohn Lucke, nor know not whether he be releaſed out of priſon or not. We ſuppoſe that by him you wrote ſome letter which as yet is not come to our hands: ſo that we thinke hee is yet in priſon, or otherwiſe diſpatched out of the way. The fifteenth day of December wee receiued a letter from Chriſtopher Hodſon, dated in the Moſco the 29 of Iuly, by the way of Danske: which is in effect a copie of ſuch another receiued from him in our ſhippes. You ſhal vnderſtand that we haue laden in three good ſhippes of ours theſe kind of wares following: to wit, in the Swallowe of London, Maſter vnder God Steuen Burrow, 34 fardels N° 136 broad ſhort clothes, and foure fardels N° 58 Hampſhire Kerſies: and 23 pipes of baſtards and ſeckes, and 263 pieces of raiſins and 4 hogſheds N° 154 pieces of round pewter, and ten hogſheds and poncheons of prunes, and one dryfatte with Almonds. And in the Philip and Marie, Maſter vnder God Thomas Wade, 25 fardels N° 100 broad clothes, and three fardels N° 42 Hampſhire Kerſies, and thirtie pipes of ſeckes and baſtards, and 100 pieces of raiſins. And in the Ieſus of London, Maſter vnder God Arthur Pette, 10 fardels N° 40 broade ſhorte clothes, and twenty ſeuen pipes of baſtards and ſeckes, as by the Inuoices herewith incloſed may appeare: Alſo you ſhall receiue ſuch neceſſaries as you did write to bee ſent for the rope makers: truſting that you ſhall haue better ſucceſſe with them which you ſhall ſend vs in theſe ſhips, then with the reſt which you haue ſent vs yet: for we as yet haue ſold none of them. And whereas we wrote vnto you in our former letter, that we would ſend you a hundred tunnes of ſalte, by reaſon it is ſo deare here we doe ſend you but nine tunnes and a halfe, for it coſt here ten pence the buſhell the firſt penie: namely in the Swallow 6 tunnes and a halfe, in the Philip and Marie one tunne and a halfe, and in the Ieſus one tunne and a halfe. The 4 hogſheds of round pewter goe in the Swallow and in the Philip and Marie N° 154 pieces, as is aforeſaid. We ſend you three ſhips, truſting that you haue prouided according to our former writing good ſtore of lading for them. If yee haue more wares then will lade the ſhips, let it be Traine oyles that you leaue behinde: the price is not here ſo good as it was: it is worth here 9 pound the tunne. We thinke it good you ſhould let the ſmaller ſhip bring as much of the traine as ſhe can cary: And that the maſters of the ſhips do looke wel to the romaging, for they might bring away a great deale more then they doe, if they would take paine in the romaging: and beſtowe the traine by it ſelfe, and the ware and tallowe by it ſelfe: for the leakage of the traine doth fowle the other wares much. As for Allard the ſkinner, if you thinke good, he may come home in theſe ſhippes. We haue no doubt but that you Henrie Lane, if you minde to come home now in theſe ſhips as you requeſted, will leaue ſuch good order there with our ſeruants as ſhall bee for our moſt profite and their preferment, if they doe their dueties diligently and truely. If our friend Maſter Antonie Ienkinſon bee returned, and meane to come away in theſe ſhips to declare his mind and opinion of his trauaile, if need require and he be ſo minded he may returne thither by land and be there by the fine of Ianuarie or before. But as we be vncertaine whether he be returned or not: ſo we know not what he hath done, nor what benefite may riſe hereafter of his trauaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to his and your good diſcretions. Wee ſend you Thomas Hawtrey which is our ſeruant for yeeres: our minde is he ſhould be placed, where he may doe beſt ſeruice.

Stockholme.

Iohn Luck taken priſoner in Lieflande.

The Swallow.

The Philip and Marie.

The Ieſus.

Alſo we ſend you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres: our minde is hee ſhould be ſet about ſuch buſineſſe as he is moſt fit for: he hath been kept at writing ſchoole long: he hath his Algoriſme, and hath vnderſtanding of keeping of bookes of reckonings. We ſend you now but 100 Kerſies: but againſt the next yeere, if occaſion ſerue, wee will

Nicholas Chancelour.

ſend you a greater quantitie, according as you ſhal aduiſe vs: One of the pipes of ſeckes that is in the Swallow, which hath 2 round compaſſes vpon the bung, is to be preſented to the Emperour: for it is ſpecial good. The nete waight of the 10 puncheons of prunes is 4300. 2 thirds 1 pound. It is written particularly vpon the head of euery puncheon: and the nete weight of the fatte of almonds is 500 li. two quarters. The raiſins, prunes, and almonds you were beſt to diſpatch away at a reaſonable price, and principally the raiſins. for in keeping of them will be great loſſe in the waight, and the fruit will decay. We thinke it good that you prouide againſt the next yeere for the comming of our ſhippes 20 or 30 bullockes killed and ſalted, for beefe is very deare here. Therefore you were beſt to ſaue ſome of this ſalt that we doe ſend you in theſe ſhips for the purpoſe. The ſalte of that countrey is not ſo good. In this you may take the opinion of the maſters of the ſhippes. Fore ſkins, white, blacke, and ruſſet will be vendible here. The laſt yere you ſent none: but there were mariners that bought many. If any of the mariners doe buy any trifling furres or other commodities, we will they ſhall be regiſtred in our purſers bookes, to the intent we may know what they be. We deſire to know how the Emperour tooke the letter which we ſent in our ſhips, as an anſwere to the letter that came in his name and vnder his ſeale for the ſixe thouſand dallers. Thus wee reſt, committing you to God, from London the fift day of May 1560.

The ſalt of Ruſſia is not ſo good as Bay ſalte.

Fore ſkinnes white, blacke, and ruſſet vendible in England

May 5. 1560.

For lacke of time the gouernours haue not firmed this letter: which is the copie of the other two letters firmed by them.

Yours, William Mericke.
Yours, Blaſe Sanders.

The maner of Iuſtice by lots in *Ruſsia*, written by Maſter *Henrie Lane*, and executed in a controuerſie betweene him and one *Sheray Coſtromitskey* in *Moſco*. 1560.

After the comming home into Ruſſia of Ioſeph Napea the firſt ambaſſadour to Queene Marie, I remaining the Agent there, ſundrie Ruſſian marchants by Ioſephs procurement obtained letters from the Emperour to freight goods and paſſe in our ſhips for England: which thing vpon good conſideration I anſwered and refuſed. They were then driuen to credite vs and compound in value vntill the next returne. At which time, notwithſtanding good accompt in the value of 600 robles, there grewe queſtion by their double demand. So in April Anno 1560. before my comming from Moſcouia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to haue their ſumme double, or as I proffered 600 robles. For combatte I was prouided of a ſtrong willing Engliſhman, Robert Beſt, one of the companies ſeruants: whome the Ruſſes with their Champion refuſed. So that we had the words of our priuiledge put in effect, which were to drawe lots. The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperour at his caſtle in his palace and high Court of Moſcouia was thus. The Emperours two Treaſurers, being alſo Chancelours and chiefe Iudges, ſate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, & the other, through the great preſſe within the rayle or barre, and permitted me to ſit downe ſome diſtance from them: the aduerſe parties being without at the barre. Both parties were firſt perſwaded with great curteſie, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Ruſſes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithſtanding that I proteſted my conſcience to be cleere, and their gaine by accompt to bee ſufficient, yet of gentlenes at the magiſtrates requeſt I made proffer of 100 robles more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintifes not accepted. Then ſentence paſſed with our names in two equall balles of waxe made and holden vp by the Iudges, their ſleeues ſtripped vp. Then with ſtanding vp and wiſhing well to the trueth attributed to him that ſhould be firſt drawen, by both conſents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, ſaying: Thou with ſuch a coate or cap, come vp: where roome with ſpeede was made. He was commanded to hold his cappe, wherein they put the balles, by the crowne vpright in ſight, his arme not abaſing. With like circumſpection, they called at aduenture another tall gentleman, commanding him to ſtrip vp his right ſleeue, and willed him with his bare arme to reach vp, and in Gods name ſeuerally to take out the two balles: which he did, deliuering to either Iudge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball firſt taken out was mine: which was by open ſentence ſo pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true parte. The chiefe plaintifes name was Sheray Coſtromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the ſumme by me appointed. Out of which for their wrong or ſinne, as it was termed, they payd tenne in the hundred to the Emperor. Many dayes after, as their maner is, the people tooke our nation to be true and vpright dealers, and talked of this iudgement to our great credite.

Triall by combat or lot.

Note.

The former letters dated 1558, 1559, and 1560, ſhould *all followe M.* Ienkinſons *voyage to* Boghar.

The firſt voyage made by Maſter *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, from the Citie of *London* toward the land of *Ruſsia*, begun the twelfth of May, in the yeere 1557.

FIrſt by the grace of God, the day and yeere aboue menticned, I departed from the ſayd Citie, and the ſame day at Grauesend embarked my ſelfe in a good ſhippe, named the Primeroſe, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe captaine of the ſame, and alſo of the other 3 good ſhips, to ſay, the Iohn Euangeliſt, the Anne, and the Trinitie, hauing alſo the conduct of the Emperour of Ruſsia his ambaſſadour named Oſep Nepea Gregoriwich, who paſſed with his company in the ſayde Primeroſe. And thus our foure tall ſhippes being well appointed, aſwell for men as victuals as other neceſſarie furniture, the ſaide twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the ſaide Graueſend, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Eaſterly, and fayre weather, the 13 day we came a ground with the Primeroſe, vpon a ſand called the blacke taile, where we ſate faſt vntill the 14 day in the morning, and then God be prayſed, ſhe came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Eaſterly, & there remayned vntill the 20 day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balſey ſlade, and ſo into Orwel wands, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the ſayd Goldemore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the ſaid gate, and was like to be bilged and loſt. But by the aide of God, at the laſt ſhe came off againe, being very leake: and the 21 day the Primeroſe remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three ſhippes bare into Orwel hauen, where I cauſed the ſayd Trinitie to be grounded, ſearched, and repaired. So we remayned in the ſaid hauen, vntill the 28 day: and then the winde being Weſterly, the three ſhippes that were in the hauen, weyed and came forth, and in comming forth the Iohn Enangeliſt came on ground vpon a ſand, called the Andros, where ſhe remained one tide, and the next full ſea ſhe came off againe without any great hurt, God be praiſed.

The 29 day in the morning all foure ſhips weied in the Wands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordneſſe, where we came to an anker, becauſe the wind was Northerly: And about ſixe of the clock at night, the wind vered to the Southweſt, and we weyed anker, and bare cleere of the neſſe, and then ſet our courſe Northeaſt & by North vntill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth ſands. Then we winded North and by Weſt, and Northnorthweſt, vntill the firſt of Iune at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued ſo vntill the ſecond day at noone: then the winde came at Northweſt, with a tempeſt, and much raine, and we lay cloſe by, and caped Northnortheaſt, and Northeaſt and by North, as the winde ſhifted, and ſo continued vntill the third day at noone: then the wind vered Weſterly againe, and we went North our right courſe, and ſo continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the wind vered to the Northweſt againe and blew a freſh gale, and ſo continued vntill the ſeuenth day in the morning, we lying with all our ſhippes cloſe by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the wind vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coaſt of England againe, and fell ouerthwart Newcaſtle, but went not into the hauen, & ſo plied vpon the coaſt the eight day & the ninth.

Iune.

The tenth day the winde came to the Northnorthweſt, & we were forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntill the ſeuenteenth day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and ſet our courſe North and by Eaſt, and ſo continued the ſame with a mery winde vntill the 21 at noone, at which time we tooke the ſunne, and had the latitude in ſixty degrees. Then we ſhifted our courſe, and went Northnorth eaſt, and Northeaſt and by North, vntil the 25 day. Then we diſcouered certaine Iſlands, called Heilick Iſlands, lying from vs Northeaſt, being in the latitude of ſixtie ſixe degrees, 40 minutes. Then we went north and by Weſt, becauſe we would not come too nigh the land, and running that courſe foure houres, we diſcouered, and had ſight of Roſt Iſlands, ioining to the main land of Finmarke. Thus continuing our courſe along the coaſt of Norway and Finmark, the 27 day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre ſhot as Lofoot, and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the ſame day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a rainebow, like a ſemicircle, with both ends vpwarde. Note that

Heilick Iſlãds in 66 degrees 40 minutes.

Roſt Iſlands.

there is between the ſaid Roſt Iſlands & Lofoot, a whirle poole called Maleſtrand, which from halfe ebbe vntill halfe flood, maketh ſuch a terrible noiſe, that it ſhaketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitants houſes of the ſayd Iſlands tenne miles off. Alſo if there commeth any Whale within the current of the ſame, they make a pitifull crie. Moreouer, if great trees be caried into it by force of ſtreams, and after with the ebbe be caſt out againe, the ends and boughs of them haue bene ſo beaten, that they are like the ſtalkes of hempe that is bruiſed. Note, that all the coaſte of Finmarke is high mountaines and hils, being couered all the yere with ſnow. And hard aboord the ſhoare of this coaſt, there is 100 or 150 fadomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and ſailing forward, we fell with an Iſland called Zenam, being in the latitude of 70 degrees. About this Iſland we ſaw many Whales, very mõſtrous, about our ſhips, ſome by eſtimation of 60 foot long: and being the ingendring time they roared and cried terriblie. From thence we fell with an Iſland, called Kettelwicke.

Maleſtrand a ſtrange whirle poole.

Zenam Iſland.

Kettelwike Iſland.

This coaſt from Roſt vnto Lofoot lieth North and ſouth, and from Lofoot to Zenam Northeaſt and ſouthweſt, and from Zenam to Kettelwike Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt. From the ſaid Kettelwike we ſailed Eaſt and by North 10 leagues, and fell with a land called Inger ſound, where we fiſhed, being becalmed, and tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coaſt, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermoſt land that wee paſſe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71 degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger ſound Eaſt, and to the Northwards 15 leagues. And being at this North Cape the ſecond day of Iuly, we had the ſunne at North 4 degrees aboue the Horizon. The third day wee came to Wardhouſe, hauing ſuch miſts that we could not ſee the land. This Wardhouſe is a Caſtle ſtanding in an Iſland 2 miles from the maine of Finland, ſubiect to the king of Denmarke, and the Eaſtermoſt land that he hath. There are two other Iſlands neere adioining vnto that, whereon the Caſtle of Wardhouſe ſtandeth. The inhabitants of thoſe three Iſlands liue onely by fiſhing, and make much ſtockefiſh, which they dry with froſt: their moſt feeding is fiſh; bread and drinke they haue none, but ſuch as is brought them from other places. They haue ſmall ſtore of cattell, which are alſo fed with fiſh. From Wardhouſe we ſailed Southſoutheaſt ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called Kegor, the Northermoſt part of the lande of Lappia. And betweene Wardhouſe, and the ſaid Cape is a great Bay, called Dommes haff, in the South part whereof is a Monaſterie of Monkes of the Ruſſes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and ſayling along the coaſt of the ſaid land of Lappia, winding Southeaſt, the fourth day through great miſts and darkenes we loſt the company of the other three ſhips, and met not with them againe, vntill the ſeuenth day, when we fell with a Cape or headland called Swetinoz, which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great ſtone, to the which the barkes that paſſed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that vnleſſe they did ſo, their barkes or veſſels ſhould there periſh, as it hath bene oftentimes ſeene: and there it is very darke and miſtie. Note that the firſt day we paſſed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his company periſhed, which is called Arzina reca, that is to ſay, the riuer Arzina.

Inger ſound.

The North Cape.

Wardhouſe.

Cattell fed with fiſh.

The Monaſtery of Pechinchow.

Arzina reca the riuer where ſir Hugh Willoughbie was frozen.

The land of Lappia is an high land, hauing ſnow lying on it commonly all the yere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the ſummer time neere the ſea ſide, and vſe to take fiſh, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remoue vp into the countrey into the woods, where they vſe hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Foxes, and other beaſts, with whoſe fleſh they be nouriſhed, and with their ſkinnes apparelled in ſuch ſtrange faſhion, that there is nothing ſeene of them bare but their eies. They haue none other habitation, but onely in tents, remouing from place to place, according to the ſeaſon of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely ſhooting, which they exerciſe dayly, as well men as women, and kill ſuch beaſts as ſerue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coaſt from Swetinoz aforeſaid, the ninth day of Iuly wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66 degrees and 45 minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land there is 20 or 30 fadoms water, and ſundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southweſt and Northeaſt. From this Cape wee proceeded along vntill we came to Croſſe Iſland, which is ſeuen leagues from the ſayd Cape Southweſt: and from this Iſland, wee ſet ouer to the other ſide of the Bay, and went Southweſt, and fell with an headland called Foxenoſe, which is from the ſayd Iſland 25 leagues. The entring of this Bay from Croſſe Iſland to the neereſt land on the other ſide is ſeuen leagues ouer. From Foxenoſe proceeding forward the twelfth day of the ſayd moneth of Iuly, all our foure ſhips arriued in ſafetie at the road of Saint Nicholas in the land of Ruſſia, where we ankered, and had ſailed from London vnto the ſaid roade ſeuen hundred and fifty leagues. The Ruſſian ambaſſadour and his company with great ioy got to

The Lappians couered all ſauing their eies.

The current at Cape Grace.

The entering of the Bay of S. Nicholas is ſeuen leagues broad at the leaſt.

ſhore

Auguſt.

Pinego riuer.

The towne of Yemps.

Vſtiug.

The deſcription of their Naſſades.

ſhore, and our ſhips here forthwith diſcharged themſelues: and being laden againe, and hauing a faire winde, departed toward England the firſt of Auguſt. The third of the ſayd moneth I with other of my company came vnto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verſtes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64 degrees 25 minutes. I tarried at the ſaid Colmogro vntill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate vp the great riuer of Dwina, which runneth very ſwiftly, and the ſelfe ſame day paſſed by the mouth of a riuer called Pinego, leauing it on our lefte hand fifteene verſtes from Colmogro. On both ſides of the mouth of this riuer Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alablaſter, great woods, and Pineapple trees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lien there ſince Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a town called Yemps, an hundred verſtes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and aſhes of Aſpen trees. From thence I came to a place called Vſtiug, an ancient citie the laſt day of Auguſt. At this citie meete two riuers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforeſaid riuer of Dwina. The riuer Iug hath his ſpring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, ioining to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Vſtiug, and paſſing by the riuer Succana, we came to a towne called Totma. About this place the water is verie ſhallow, and ſtonie, and troubleſome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they call Naſſades, and Doſneckes, to paſſe that way: wherein marchandiſe are tranſported from the aforeſayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. Theſe veſſels called Naſſades, are very long builded, broade made, and cloſe aboue, flatte bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none iron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde ſerueth, they are made to ſayle. Otherwiſe they haue many men, ſome to hale and drawe by the neckes with long ſmall ropes made faſt to the ſayd boats, and ſome ſet with long poles. There are many of theſe barks vpon the riuer of Dwina: And the moſt part of them belongeth vnto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the ſaid boates with carying of ſalte from the ſea ſide vnto the ſayd Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came vnto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the riuer paſſeth through the midſt of the ſame. The houſes are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioyned one with another, and round without: the houſes are foure ſquare without any iron or ſtone worke, couered with birch barkes, and wood ouer the ſame: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery pariſh, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer.

On the toppes of their houſes they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are ſore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59 degrees, eleuen minutes, and is from Colmogro, 1000 verſtes.

Good counſell for trauellers.

All the way I neuer came in houſe, but lodged in the wilderneſſe, by the riuers ſide, and caried prouiſion for the way. And he that will trauell thoſe wayes, muſt carie with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and ſeethe meate, when he hath it: for there is ſmall ſuccour in thoſe parts, vnleſſe it be in townes.

December.

The firſt day of December, I departed from Vologhda in poſte in a ſled, as the maner is in Winter. And the way to Moſcua is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27 verſtes, ſo to Olmor 25 verſtes, ſo to Teloytske 20 verſtes, ſo to Vre 30 verſtes, ſo to Voſhansko 30 verſtes, then to Yeraſlaue 30 verſtes, which ſtandeth vpon the great riuer Volga, ſo to Roſtoue, 50 verſtes, then to Rogarin 30 verſtes, ſo to Peraſlaue 10 verſtes, which is a great towne, ſtanding hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnay 30 verſtes, ſo to Godoroke 30 verſtes, ſo to Owchay 30 verſtes, and laſt to the Moſco 25 verſtes, where I arriued the ſixt day of December.

There are 14 poſtes called Yannes betweene Vologhda and Moſco, which are accompted 500 verſtes aſunder.

The 10 day of December I was ſent for to the Emperors Caſtle by the ſayd Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretary, who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were tranſlated, I was anſwered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I deſired.

The 25 day, being the day of the natiuitie, I came into the Emperors preſence, and kiſſed his hand, who ſate aloft in a goodly chaire of eſtate, hauing on his heade a crowne moſt richly decked, and a ſtaffe of gold in his hand, all apparelled with golde, and garniſhed with precious ſtones.

There ſate diſtant from him about two yardes his brother, and next vnto him a boy of twelue yeares of age, who was inheritor to ẏ Emperor of Caſan, conquered by this Emperor 8 yeares paſt. Then ſate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with gold and ſtone. And after I had done obeiſance to the Emperour, he with his own mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and ſo I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at ſixe of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a fayre great hall, in the midſt whereof was a pillar foure ſquare, very artificially made, about which were diuers tables ſet, and at the vppermoſt part of the hall, ſate the Emperour himſelfe, & at his table ſate his brother, his Vncles ſonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Caſan, and diuers of his noble men, all of one ſide. There were diuers Ambaſſadors, & other ſtrangers, as well Chriſtians as heathens, diuerſly apparelled, to the number of 600 men; which dined in the ſayd hall, beſides 2000 Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themſelues to the Emperour, & were appointed to ſerue him in his wars againſt the Lieflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was ſet at a litle table, hauing no ſtranger with me, directly before the Emperors face. Being thus ſet and placed, the Emperour ſent me diuers bowles of wine, and meade, & many diſhes of meat from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table ſerued all in gold and ſiluer, and ſo likewiſe on other tables, there were ſet bowles of gold, ſet with ſtone, worth by eſtimation 400 pounds ſterling one cup, beſides the plate which ſerued the tables.

There was alſo a Cupbord of plate, moſt ſumptuous and rich, which was not vſed: among the which, was a piece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with towers, and dragons heads, alſo diuers barrels of gold and ſiluer, with Caſtles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the hall throughout was ſerued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called me by name, & gaue me drinke with his own hand, & ſo I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the company ſtand vp, and at euery time he drinketh or taſteth of a diſh of meate he bleſſeth himſelfe. Many other things I ſawe that day, not here noted.

The 4 of Ianuary, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all moſt richly apparelled with gold, pearles, precious ſtones, and coſtly furres, with a crowne vpon his head, of the Tartarian faſhion, went to the Church in proceſſion, with the Metropolitan, and diuers biſhops and prieſts. That day I was before the Emperour again in Ruſſe apparell, and the Emperour aſked if that were not I, and his Chancelor anſwered yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came he out of the church, and went with the proceſſion vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there ſtanding bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great ſolemnitie and ſeruice, and did caſt of the ſayd water vpon the Emperors ſonne and the Nobility. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the ſaid water to carie home to their houſes, and diuers children were throwen in, and ſicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars chriſtened: all which the Emperour beheld. Alſo there were brought the Emperours beſt horſes, to drink at the ſayd hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his palace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and ſate in a woodden houſe, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue 300 ſtrangers, and I ſate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread and drinke ſent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Moſco is great, the houſes for the moſt part of wood, and ſome of ſtone, with windowes of yron, which ſerue for ſummer time. There are many faire Churches of ſtone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperors lodging is in a faire and large caſtle, walled foure ſquare of bricke, high, and thicke, ſituated vpon a hill, 2 miles about, and the riuer on the Southweſt ſide of it, and it hath 16 gates in the walles, & as many bulwarks. His palace is ſeparated from the reſt of the Caſtle, by a long wall going north and ſouth, to the riuer ſide. In his palace are Churches, ſome of ſtone and ſome of wood, with round towers fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the ſayd Caſtle, and for ſundry things ſundry markets, and euery ſcience by it ſelfe. And in the winter there is a great market without the caſtle, vpon the riuer being frozen, and there is ſold corne, earthen pots, tubs, ſleds, &c. The caſtle is in circuit 2900 paſes.

The countrey is ful of mariſh ground, & plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as wel of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as alſo of the Tartars, & Gentiles, called Samoeds, hauing thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great ſubiection: all matters paſſe his iudgement, be they neuer ſo ſmall. The law is ſharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himſelfe liſteth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. They vſe the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worſhip many images painted on tables, and ſpecially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Prieſts be maried, but their wiues being dead, they may not marie the ſecond time, and ſo become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrofetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many ſortes of meats and drinkes, when they banket and delight in eating of groſſe meates, and ſtinking fiſhe. Before they drinke they vſe to blowe in the cup: their greateſt friendſhip is in drinking: they are great talkers and lyers, without any faith or truſt in their words, flatterers and diſſemblers. The women be there very obedient to their huſbands, & are kept ſtraightly from going abroad, but at ſome ſeaſons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperors tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impawned himſelfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the high way, and beates him vpon the legges: then they that paſſe by, knowing the cauſe, and hauing peraduenture compaſſion vpon him, giue the money, and ſo he is ranſomed.

In euery good towne there is a drunken Tauerne called a Curſemay, which the Emperour ſometime letteth out to farme, & ſometimes beſtoweth for a yeare or two on ſome duke or gentleman, in recompenſe of his ſeruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the towne, robbing and ſpoiling, and doing what pleaſeth him: and then he being growen rich, is taken by the Emperor, and ſent to the warres againe, where he ſhall ſpend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: ſo that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vſe ſadles made of wood & ſinewes, with the tree gilded with damaſke worke, & the ſeat couered with cloth, ſometimes of golde, and the reſt Saphian leather, well ſtitched. They vſe little drummes at their ſadle bowes, by the ſound whereof their horſes vſe to runne more ſwiftly.

The Ruſſe is apparelled in this maner: his vpper garment is of cloth of golde, ſilke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of ſiluer, or els laces of ſilke, ſet on with brooches, the ſleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Under that he hath another long garment, buttoned with ſilke buttons, with a high coller ſtanding vp of ſome colour, and that garment is made ſtraight. Then his ſhirt is very fine, and wrought with red ſilk, or ſome gold, with a coller of pearle. Under his ſhirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legs, a paire of hoſe without feete, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of ſiluer, gold, pearle, or ſtone, and vnder it a blacke Foxe cap, turned vp very broad.

When he rideth on horſebacke to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a ſword of the Turkiſh faſhion, and his bowe and arrowes of the ſame maner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of kniues, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a fiſh, called the Morſe.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with ſleds, in towne and countrey, the way being hard, and ſmooth with ſnow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horſe with a ſled, will draw a man vpon it 400 miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and trauelling is very ill.

The Ruſſe, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his houſe in the winter, but vpon his ſled, and in Summer vpon his horſe: and in his ſled he ſits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares ſkinne: the ſled is drawen with a horſe well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tailes at his necke, & is conducted by a litle boy vpon his backe: his ſeruants ſtand vpon the taile of the ſled &c.

The voyage, wherein Oſep Napea the Moſcouite Ambaſſadour returned home into his countrey, with his entertainement at his arriuall, at *Colmogro*: and a large deſcription of the maners of the Countrey.

The twelfth of Maye, in the yeare of our Lorde 1557 there departed from Graueſend, foure good ſhippes well appointed for Marchants, which were preſently bound into the Baye of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia: with which ſhippes was tranſported, or caried home, one Oſep Gregoriwich Napea, who was ſent Meſſenger from the Emperour and great Duke of Moſcouia. The foure ſhips were theſe, whoſe names follow, viz.

The Primeroſe Admirall.
The Iohn Euangeliſt Uiceadmirall.

The Anne and the Trinitie Attendants.

The 13 of Iuly, the foreſayd foure ſhippes came to an anker in the Baye of S. Nicholas, before an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the ſayde Meſſenger, Oſep Gregoriwich Napea went a ſhoare, and as many Engliſh men as came to ſerue the Emperour remained with him at the Abbey for the ſpace of ſixe daies, vntill he had gotten all his things a ſhoare, and laden the ſame in barkes, to goe vp the riuer Dwina, vnto Vologhda, which is by water 1000 verſtes, and euery verſte is about three quarters of an Engliſh mile.

The 20 of Iuly, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24 of the ſame, we came to Colmogro, where we remained eight daies: and the ſayd Meſſenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had preſents innumerable ſent vnto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke. Some ſent white bread, ſome rie bread, and ſome buttered bread & pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fiſhes, ſwannes, geeſe, duckes, hennes, and all maner of victuals, both fiſh and fleſh, in the beſt maner, that the rude people could deuiſe: for among them, theſe preſents are highly eſteemed.

Preſents vſed in Ruſſia are all for the moſt part of victuals.

The 29 of Iuly, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14 of Auguſt we came to Vſtiug, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes or boates.

The 27 of Auguſt, we came to Vologhda, where we remained 4 daies vnlading the barkes, and lading our cheſtes and things in ſmall waggons, with one horſe in a piece, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with theſe Telegoes they caried our ſtuffe from Vologhda vnto the Moſco, which is 500 verſtes: and we were vpon the ſame way 14 daies: for we went no faſter then the Telegoes.

There are three great townes betweene the Moſco and Vologhda, that is to ſay, Yeraſlaue, Roſtaue, & Pereſlaue. Vpon one ſide of Yeraſlaue runneth a famous riuer, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caſpian ſea, and it deuideth it ſelfe before it come into the Mare Caſpium, in 50 parts or more, and neere vnto the ſame ſea there ſtands a great Citie, called Boghar, the inhabitants of the which are called by the ſame name.

The citie of Boghar.

The people of the ſaid Citie doe traffique vnto the Citie of Moſco: their commodities are ſpices, muſke, ambergreeſe, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring alſo many furres which they buy in Siberia comming towards the Moſco: the ſayd people are of the ſect of Mahomet.

The 12 of September we came vnto the citie of Moſco, where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large houſe, where euery one of vs had his chamber appointed.

They arriued at Moſco.

The 14 of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediatly after our comming we were brought into his preſence, vnto whom each of vs did his duetie accordingly, and kiſſed his right hand, his maieſtie ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, with his crowne on his head, and a ſtaffe of goldſmiths worke in his left hand well garniſhed with rich and coſtly ſtones: and when we had all kiſſed his hand and done our dueties, his maieſtie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, & therupon willed vs to dine with him: that day we gaue thanks vnto his maieſtie, and ſo departed vntill the dinner was readie.

When dinner time approched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were ſet on one ſide of a table that ſtoode ouer againſt the Emperours table, to the end that he might wel behold vs al: and when we came into the foreſayd chamber, we found there readie ſet theſe tables following.

Firſt at the vpper end of one table were ſet the Emperour his maieſtie, his brother, & the Emperour of Cazan, which is priſoner. About two yardes lower ſate the Emperour of Cazan his ſonne, being a child of fiue yeeres of age, and beneath him ſate the moſt part of the Emperors noble men.

And at another table neere vnto the Emperours table, there was ſet a Monke all alone, which was in all points as well ſerued as the Emperour. At another table ſate another kind of people called Chirkaſſes, which the Emperour entertaineth for men of warre to ſerue againſt his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforeſayde were couered onely with ſalt and bread, and after that we had ſitten a while, the Emperour ſent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were giuen and deliuered vnto euery man ſeuerally by theſe words: The Emperour and great Duke giueth the bread this day, and in like manner three or foure times before dinner was ended, he ſent vnto euery man drinke, which was giuen by theſe words, The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee to drinke. All the tables aforeſayd were ſerued in veſſels of pure and fine golde, as well baſons and ewers, platters, diſhes and ſawcers, as alſo of great pots, with an innumerable ſorte of ſmall drinking pottes of diuers faſhions, whereof a great number were ſet with ſtone. As for coſtly meates

I haue many times ſeene better: but for change of wines, and diuers ſorts of meads, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time ſo much void roome on the table, that one cuppe more might haue bin ſet, and as far as I could perceiue, all the reſt were in the like maner ſerued.

In the dinner time there came in ſixe ſingers which ſtood in the midſt of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperour, who ſang there before diner was ended three ſeuerall times, whoſe ſongs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer putteth morſell of meate in his mouth, but he firſt bleſſeth it himſelfe, & in like maner as often as he drinketh: for after his maner he is very religious, & he eſteemeth his religious men aboue his noble men.

This dinner continued about the ſpace of fiue houres, which being ended, and the tables taken vp, we came into the midſt of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperors maieſtie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his own hands a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantity thereof, we were licenced to depart, & ſo ended that dinner. And becauſe the Emperour would haue vs to be mery, he ſent to our lodging the ſame Euening three barrels of meade of ſundry ſortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogſhed.

The 16 day of September the Emperour ſent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horſe to ride from place to place as we had occaſion, for that the ſtreetes of Moſco are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

M. Standiſh doctor of Phiſicke.

The 18 of September there were giuen vnto maſter Standiſh doctor in Phiſick, and the reſt of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and gold, and ſome of red damaſke, of which maſter Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the reſt were furred ſome with white Ermine, and ſome with gray Squirel, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beauer.

The 1 of October in the morning we were commanded to come vnto the Emperors court, and when we came thither, we were brought vnto the Emperor vnto whom we did our duties accordingly: wherupon he willed vs to dine with him that day, and ſo with thanks vnto his maieſtie, we departed vntill dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables couered with bread and ſalt as at the firſt: & after that we were all ſet vpon one ſide of the table, the Emperors maieſtie according to his accuſtomed maner ſent vnto euery man a piece of bread by ſome of the Dukes which attended on his highneſſe.

And whereas the 14 of September we were ſerued in veſſels of gold, we were now ſerued in veſſels of ſiluer, and yet not ſo abundantly as was the firſt of gold: they brought drinke vnto the table in ſiluer boles which conteined at the leaſt ſixe gallons a piece, and euerie man had a ſmal ſiluer cuppe to drinke in, & another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with meade, which when we had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whenſoeuer the Emperors pleaſure is that any ſtranger ſhall dine with him, he doth ſend for them in the morning, and when they come before him, he with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwaies obſerueth.

The 10 of October the Emperour gaue vnto M. Standiſh 70 rubles in money, and to the reſt of our men of occupations 30 rubles apiece.

The 3 of Nouember we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were ſerued as before.

Long dinners

The 6 of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feaſts which the Moſcouites hold: we were ſerued in ſiluer veſſels and ordered in all points as before, and it was paſt 7 of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

Ordinance in Ruſsia.

The Emperors maieſtie vſeth euery yeare in the moneth of December, to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of Moſco caried into the field which is without the Suburbs of the citie, and there to haue it planted and bent vpon two houſes of Wood filled within with earth: againſt which two houſes there were two faire white markes ſet vp, at which markes they diſcharge all their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may ſee what his Gunners can doe. They haue faire ordinance of braſſe of all ſortes, baſes, faulcons, minions, ſakers, culuerings, cannons double and royall, baſiliſkes long and large, they haue ſixe great pieces whoſe ſhot is a yard of heighth, which ſhot a man may eaſily diſcerne as they flee: they haue alſo a great many of morter pieces or potguns, out of which pieces they ſhoote wild fire.

A perely triumph.

The 12 of December the Emperors Maieſtie and all his nobility came into the field on horſebacke, in moſt goodly order, hauing very fine Iennets & Turkie horſes garniſhed with gold & ſiluer abundantly. The Emperors maieſtie hauing on him a gowne of rich tiſſue, & a cap of ſkarlet on his head, ſet not only with pearles, but alſo with a great number of rich and coſtly ſtones: his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. and before them there went 5000 harquebuſiers, which went by 5 and 5 in a rank in very good order, euery of them carying his gun vpon his left ſhoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foreſayd ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperors maieſtie came into the field, there was a certaine ſtage made of ſmall poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about threeſcore yardes off from the ſtage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foot thicke, and ſixe foote high ſet vp, which ranke of ice was as long as the ſtage of poles, and as ſoone as the Emperors maieſtie came into the field, the harquebuſiers went vpon the ſtage of poles where they ſetled themſelues in order. And when the Emperors maieſtie was ſetled where he would be, and where he might ſee all the ordinance diſcharged and ſhot off, the harquebuſiers began to ſhoot off at the banke of ice, as though it had bin in any ſkirmiſh or battel, who ceaſed not ſhooting, vntill they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they ſhot off their wild fire vp into the aire, which was a goodly ſight to behold. And after this, they began to diſcharge the ſmal pieces of braſſe, beginning with the ſmalleſt and ſo orderly bigger and bigger, vntill the laſt and biggeſt. When they had ſhot them all off, they began to charge them againe, and ſo ſhot them al off 3 times after the firſt order, beginning with the ſmalleſt, and ending with the greateſt. And note that before they had ended their ſhooting, the 2 houſes that they ſhot vnto were beaten in pieces, & yet they were very ſtrongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the leaſt 30 foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the ſame order that he came foorth into the field. The ordinance is diſcharged euery yeare in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Chriſtmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Maieſtie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were ſerued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, we neuer ſaw the like or ſo much before. There dined that day in the Emperors preſence aboue 500 ſtrangers, and two hundred Ruſſes, and all they were ſerued in veſſels of gold, and that as much as could ſtand one by another vpō the tables. Beſides this there were foure cupbords garniſhed with goodly plate both of gold & ſiluer. Among the which there were 12 barrels of ſiluer, conteining aboue 12 gallons a piece, and at each end of euery barrell were 6 hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about ſixe houres.

The hallowing of the riuer of Moſco.

Euery yeare vpon the 12 day they vſe to bleſſe or ſanctifie the riuer Moſcua, which runneth through the citie of Moſco, after this maner.

Firſt, they make a ſquare hole in the ice about 3 fadoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the ſides & edges with white boords. Then about 9 of the clocke they come out of the church with proceſſion towards the riuer in this wiſe.

Firſt and foremoſt there goe certaine young men with waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the croſſe, then the images of our Lady, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carie vpon their ſhoulders: after the images follow certaine prieſts to the number of 100 or more: after them the Metropolitane who is led betweene two prieſts, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne vpon his head, and after his maieſtie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the proceſſion vnto the water, & when they came vnto the hole that was made, the prieſts ſet thēſelues in order round about it. And at one ſide of the ſame poole there was a ſcaffold of boords made, vpon which ſtood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was ſet, but the Emperours maieſtie ſtood vpon the ice.

After this the prieſts began to ſing, to bleſſe and to ſenſe, and did their ſeruice, and ſo by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being ſanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a litle thereof in his hands, and caſt it on the Emperour, likewiſe vpon certaine of the Dukes, & then they returned againe to the church with the prieſts that ſate about the water: but that preaſſe that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was wōderful to behold, for there came aboue 5000 pots to be filled of that water: for that Moſcouite which hath no part of that water, thinks himſelfe vnhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the preaſe was a litle gone, the Emperours Iennets and horſes were brought to drinke of the ſame water, and likewiſe many other men brought their horſes thither to drinke, and by that means they make their horſes as holy as themſelues.

All theſe ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were ſerued in veſſels of ſiluer, and in all other points as we had bene beforetime.

The Ruſſes Lent.

The Ruſſes begin their Lent alwaies 8 weekes before Eaſter: the firſt weeke they eate egs, milke, cheeſe & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and ſuch other things, one friend viſiting another, & from the ſame Sunday vntil our Shroueſunday there are but few Ruſſes ſober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accompted for no reproch or ſhame among them.

The next weeke being our firſt weeke of Lent,or our clenſing weeke, beginning our Shrofeſunday, they make and keepe a great faſt. It is reported,and the people do verily beleeue that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, and they ſay that there are many religious men which doe the like.

The Emperors Maieſtie eateth but one morſel of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke,and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houſes during that time, ſo that the ſtreetes are almoſt void of company, ſauing a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other ſixe weekes they keepe as we do ours,but not one of them will eate either butter,cheeſe,egs or milke.

On Palme ſunday they haue a very ſolemne proceſſion in this maner following.

Firſt,they haue a tree of a good bigneſſe which is made faſt vpon two ſleds, as though it were growing there,and it is hanged with apples,raiſins,figs and dates,and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midſt of ẏ ſame tree ſtand 5 boyes in white veſtures, which ſing in the tree before the proceſſion: after this there followed certaine yong men with waxe tapers in their hands burning,& a great lanterne that al the light ſhould not go out: after them followed two with long banners,& ſixe with round plates ſet vpon long ſtaues: the plates were of copper very ful of holes and thin: then followed 6 carying painted images vpon their ſhoulders,after the images followed certaine prieſts to the number of 100 or more,with goodly veſtures,wherof 10 or 12 are of white damaſke, ſet and imbrodered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as peaſe, and among them certaine Saphires and other ſtones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then commeth the Emperors maieſtie and the Metropolitane,after this maner.

Firſt,there is a horſe couered with white linnen cloth down to ẏ ground,his eares being made long with the ſame cloth like to an aſſes eares. Vpon this horſe the Metropolitane ſitteth ſidelong like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke,with a crucifix of Goldſmiths worke vpon the couer, which he holdeth faſt with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a croſſe of gold, with which croſſe he ceaſeth not to bleſſe the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30 men which ſpread abroad their garments before the horſe, and as ſoone as the horſe is paſt ouer any of them,they take them vp againe and run before, and ſpred them againe,ſo that the horſe doth alway go on ſome of them. They which ſpred the garments are all prieſts ſonnes,and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

The Emperor leadeth ẏ Metropolitans horſe in proceſsion.

One of the Emperors noble men leadeth the horſe by the head, but the Emperour himſelfe going on foote leadeth the horſe by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands,and in the other of his hands he had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the reſt of the Emperours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the caſtle,about the diſtance of two flights ſhot: and ſo returned againe to the Emperours Church,where they made an end of their ſeruice. Which being done,the Emperours maieſtie and certaine of his noble men went to the Metropolitane his houſe to dinner,where of delicate fiſhes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The reſt of this weeke vntill Eaſter day they kept very ſolemnely, continuing in their houſes for the moſt part, and vpon Munday or Thurſday the Emperour doth alwayes vſe to receiue the Sacrament, and ſo doe moſt of his nobles.

Vpon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vſe euery yere on good Friday to let looſe a priſoner in the ſtead of Barrabas. The night following they go to the Church where they ſleepe vntill the next morning, & at Eaſter they haue the reſurrection,& after euery of the Lents they eat fleſh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Eaſter which they alwaies obſerue,and that is this: euery yere againſt Eaſter to die or colour red with Brazell a great number of egs, of which euery man and woman giueth one vnto the prieſt of their Pariſh vpon Eaſter day in the morning. And moreouer the common people vſe to carie in their hands one of their red egs, not onely vpon Eaſter day,but alſo three or foure dayes after,and gentlemen and gentlewomen haue egs gilded which they cary in like maner. They vſe it as they ſay for a great loue,and in token of the reſurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meete during the Eaſter holy dayes,they come & take one another by the hand: the one of them ſayth, the Lord or Chriſt is riſen, the other anſwereth, it is ſo of a truth,and then they kiſſe and exchange their egs both men and women, continuing in kiſſing 4 dayes together.

Kiſſing vſed in the Greeke church.

The 12 of Aprill being Tueſday in the Eaſter weeke, maſter Ienkinſon and maſter Graie, and certayne other of vs Engliſh men dined with the Emperor, where we were ſerued as we had bin before time. And after diner the Emperours maieſtie gaue vnto maſter Ienkinſon and vnto M.Gray,and ſo orderly vnto euery one of vs a cup of Mead, according to his accuſtomed maner which when euery man had receiued and giuen thanks, M. Ienkinſon ſtepped into the midſt of the chamber before the Emperours maieſtie, and gaue thankes to his highneſſe for his goodneſſe vnto him extended, deſiring his grace to licence him to depart, and in like maner did Maſter Gray. His maieſtie did not onely licence them to depart, but alſo graunted vnto maſter Ienkinſon his letters vnder his great ſeale, vnto all princes through whoſe dominions maſter Ienkinſon ſhould haue occaſion to paſſe, that he might the ſooner and quietlier paſſe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, maſter Ienkinſon and Gray lowly ſubmitted themſelues, thanking his maieſtie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cuppe of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleaſure in Gods peace.

With theſe letters M. Ienkinſon tooke his voyage the ſame Aprill to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were ready to depart towards England, the Chancellors ſent vnto vs and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they ſhewed vs a great number of the Emperors iewels, and rich robes, willing vs to marke and beholde them well, to the end that at our arriuall into England, we might make report what we had ſeene there.

The Emperours wardrobe.

The chiefeſt was his maieſties crowne, being cloſe vnder the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workmanſhip of ſo much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious ſtones abundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which ſtood a handfull higher then the top of the crown vpon a ſmall wier, it was as big as a good beane: the ſame crown was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. robles.

Wee ſawe all his maieſties robes which were very richly ſet with ſtones, they ſhewed vs manie other great ſtones of diuers kindes, but the moſt part of them were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they doe more eſteeme the greatneſſe of ſtones, then the proportion of them.

We ſaw two goodly gownes which were as heauie as a man could eaſily carrie, all ſet with pearles ouer and ouer: the gards or borders round about them were garniſhed with ſaphires and other good ſtones abundantly. One of the ſame gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round and orient: as for the reſt of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tiſſue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had ſufficiently peruſed all theſe things, they willed maſter Gray at his arriuall in England, to prouide if he could, ſuch iewels and rich clothes as he had ſeene there, and better if he could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly beſtow his money vpon ſuch things.

So we tooke our leaue the ſame time, and departed towards Vologda immediatly.

The maners, vſages, and ceremonies of the Ruſſes.

Of the Emperour.

THe Emperours name in their tongue is Iuan Vaſiliuich, that is as much to ſay, as Iohn the ſonne of "Vaſilie and by his princely ſtate hee is called Oteſara, as his predeceſſors haue bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word Oteſara his maieſties interpreters haue of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, ſo that now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Ruſſia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but onely Rueſe Velike, that is to ſay, great Duke. And as this Emperor which now is Iuan Vaſiliuich, doeth exceede his predeceſſors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen ſo much by report he doeth exceede them in ſtoutneſſe of courage and valiantneſſe, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larks.

" Or, Baſilius.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the moſt part are theſe: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Lifland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a ſtoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vſeth great familiaritie, as wel vnto all his nobles and ſubiects, as alſo vnto ſtrangers which ſerue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleaſure is that they ſhall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his preſence, and beſides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloued of his nobles and commons, but alſo had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, ſo that I thinke no prince in Chriſtendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he giue any euil or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maieſties preſence againe of a long time if he be not ſent for, but will faine him to be very ſicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or ſhauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperors diſpleaſure: for when they be in their proſperity, they account it a ſhame to weare long haire, in conſideration whereof, they vſe to haue their heads ſhauen.

Note. His maieſty heareth all complaints himſelfe, and with his owne mouth giueth ſentence, and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly vnto the Metropolitane.

His maieſtie retaineth and well rewardeth all ſtrangers that come to ſerue him, and eſpecially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other paſtime nor in hearing inſtruments or muſicke, but ſetteth all his whole delight vpon two things: Firſt, to ſerue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuoute in his religion, and the ſecond, howe to ſubdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and ſiluer in his owne handes or treaſurie: but the moſt part of his know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are ſo much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth 2.3.or 4.grotes, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

The Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Lady and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperors maieſty iudgeth & affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himſelfe; for that, ſaith he, he is Gods ſpiritual officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his maieſtie ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horſe vpon Palme ſunday, and giuing him leaue to ſitte on a chaire vpon the 12. day, when the riuer Moſco was in bleſſing, his maieſtie ſtanding on the yce.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitane, he heareth the cauſes and giueth ſentence as himſelfe liſteth, and is authorized ſo to doe, whether it be to whip, hang or burne, his will muſt needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monks, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great & rich monaſteries, they keepe great hoſpitalitie, and doe relieue much poore people day by day. I haue bene in one of the monaſteries called Troietes, which is walled about with bricke very ſtrongly like a caſtle, and much ordinance of braſſe vpon the walles of the ſame. They told me themſelues that there are ſeuen hundred brethren of thē which belong vnto that houſe. The moſt part of the lands, towns, and villages which are within 40. miles of it, belong vnto the ſame. They ſhewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the Church round about, and euen the roofe of the church was painted ful of images. The chiefe image was of our Ladie, which was garniſhed with gold, rubies, ſaphirs and other rich ſtones abundantly. In the midſt of the church ſtood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathom about in bigneſſe, & there ſtands a kettle full of waxe with about 100. weight, wherein there is alwayes the wieke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They ſhewed me a coffin couered with cloth of gold which ſtoode vpon one ſide within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate or dranke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (ſuppoſing that I had beleeued them) that he healeth many diſeaſes, and giueth the blind their ſight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of belief becauſe I ſaw him worke no miracle whileſt I was there.

After this they brought me into their ſellers, and made me taſte of diuers kinds of drinks, both wine and beere, mead and quaſſie, of ſundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of drink as they haue in their ſellers, I doe ſuppoſe few princes haue more, or ſo much at once.

Their barrels or veſſels are of an vnmeaſurable bignes & ſiſe: ſome of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads: they conteine 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they haue none in their ſellers of their owne making that are leſſe then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vautes which are full of thoſe barrels which are ſeldome remooued: for they haue trunks which come downe through the roofe of the vautes in ſundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, hauing the caſke right vnder it to receiue the ſame, for it ſhould be a great trouble to bring it all downe the ſtayres.

The hoſpitalitie of their monaſteries.

They giue bread, meat and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but alſo when they depart, to ſerue them by the way.

There are a great number of ſuch monaſteries in the Realm, and the Emperors maieſty rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. daies together.

The ſame monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Ruſſia, and doe occupy buying and ſelling as much as any other men, and haue boats which paſſe too and fro in the riuers with merchandize from place to place where any of their countrey do traffike.

They eate no fleſh during their liues as it is reported: but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tueſday, Thurſday and Saturday it is lawful for them to eate egges, butter, cheeſe and milke, and at all times to eate fiſh, and after this ſort they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and ſo doe none other in all the lande, but at that abbey onely.

They haue no preachers no not one in al the land to inſtruct the people, ſo that there are many, & the moſt part of the poore in the country, who if one aſke them how many gods there be, they wil ſay a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the countrey and the Emperours maieſty himſelfe wil bleſſe and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in ſo much that they will crie earneſtly vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. Al men are bound by their law to haue thoſe images in their houſes, and ouer euery gate in all their townes and cities are images ſet vp, vnto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads againſt the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or croſſe they do in like maner. And when they come to any houſe, they bleſſe themſelues 3. or 4. times before they will ſalute any man in the houſe.

Want of preachers cauſe of great ignorãce and idolatry.

They reckon and hold it for great ſinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keep them very daintily, and rich men deck them ouer and about with gold, ſiluer and ſtones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The prieſtes are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcaps, which is cloth of ſome ſad colour, being round, & reacheth vnto the eares: their crownes are ſhauen, but the reſt of their haire they let grow, as long as nature will permit, ſo that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their ſhoulders: their beards they neuer ſhaue: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They miniſter the Communion with bread and wine after our order, but he breaketh the bread and putteth it into the cup vnto the wine, and commonly ſome are partakers with them: and they take the bread out againe with a ſpoon together with part of the wine, and ſo take it themſelues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the ſame maner.

Their ceremonies are al as they ſay, according to the Greeke Church vſed at this preſent day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their ſacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they aſſemble, doe bowe and knocke their heads, as I haue before ſaid, that ſome will haue knobbes vpon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

All their ſeruice is in the Ruſſe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other praiers but this, Ghoſpodi Ieſus Chriſtos eſine voze ponuloi naſhe. That is to ſay, O Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, ſonne of God haue mercy vpon vs: and this is their prayer, ſo that the moſt part of the vnlearned know neither Paſter noſter, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor ſcarcely vnderſtand the one halfe of their ſeruice which is read in their Churches.

All their ſeruice is in their mother tongue.

Of their Baptiſme.

When any child is borne, it is not baptized vntil the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it muſt tary vntil the ſecond Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth formoſt, carying the childe, & the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midſt of the Church, where there is a ſmall table ready ſet, and on it an earthen pot ful of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, ſettle themſelues: then the clearke giueth vnto euery of them a ſmal waxe candle burning, then commeth the prieſt, and beginneth to ſay certaine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers muſt anſwere word for word, among which one is, that the childe ſhal forſake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they muſt all ſpit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he bleſſeth the water which is in the pot, and doth breathe ouer it: then he taketh al the candles which the goſſeps haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe, and when the water is ſanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a ſmall tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the childs head.

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as anoynting eares and eyes with ſpittle, and making ceraine croſſes with oyle vpon the backe, head, and breſt of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Ladie, &c. and ſpeaketh vnto the images, deſiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Chriſtian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a a paire of ſheares and clippeth the yong and tender haires of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, whereunto euery of the Godfathers & Godmothers lay a hand: then the prieſt chargeth them, that the childe be brought vp in the faith & feare of God or Chriſt, and that it be inſtructed to clinege and bow to the images, and ſo they make an end: then one of the Godfathers muſt hang a croſſe about the necke of the childe, which he muſt alwayes weare, for that Ruſſe which hath not a croſſe about his necke they eſteeme as no Chriſtian man, and thereupon they ſay that we are no Chriſtians, becauſe we do not weare croſſes as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

Their matrimonie is nothing ſolemnized, but rather in moſt points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wiſe following.

Firſt, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man ſendeth vnto the woman a ſmall cheſt or boxe, wherein is a whip, needles, threed, ſilke, linnen cloth, ſheares, and ſuch neceſſaries as ſhee ſhall occupie when ſhe is a wife, and perhaps ſendeth therwithall raiſins, figs or ſome ſuch things, giuing her to vnderſtand, that if ſhe doe offend, ſhe muſt be beaten with the whip, & by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that ſhe ſhould apply her ſelfe diligently to ſowe, and do ſuch things as ſhee could beſt doe, and by the raiſins or fruites he meaneth if ſhe doe well, no good thing ſhalbe withdrawn from her, nor be too deare for her: and ſhe ſendeth vnto him a ſhirt, handkerchers, and ſome ſuch things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they ſhall goe towardes the Church, the bride will in no wiſe conſent to go out of the houſe, but reſiſteth and ſtriueth with thē that would haue her out, and faineth her ſelfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered cloſe, becauſe of her diſſimulatiō, that it ſhould not be openly perceiued: for ſhe maketh a great noiſe, as though ſhe were ſobbing and weeping, vntil ſhe come at the Church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they cary with them to the church a great pot with wine or mead: then the prieſt coupleth them together much after our order, one promiſing to loue and ſerue the other during their liues together, &c. which being done, they begin to drinke, and firſt the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, haſting immediatly to tread vpon it, and ſo doth ſhe, and whether of them tread firſt vpon it muſt haue the victorie and be maſter at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readieſt to ſet his foot on it, becauſe he letteth it fall himſelfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face beeing vncouered. The boyes in the ſtreetes crie out and make a noyſe in the meane time, with very diſhoneſt wordes.

When they come home, the wife is ſet at the vpper end of the table, and the huſband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they bee all drunke, they perchance haue a minſtrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church daunce naked a long time before all the companie. When they are wearie of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certain money both golde and ſiluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and then ſitteth down in the chamber, croſſing his legges, and then the bride muſt plucke off one of his boots, which ſhe will, and if ſhe happen on the boote wherein the money is, ſhe hath not onely the money for her labor, but is alſo at ſuch choyſe, as ſhe need not euer from that day forth to pul off his boots, but if ſhe miſſe the boot wherein the money is, ſhe doth not onely looſe the money, but is alſo bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three daies following, being accompanied with certaine of their friends, and during the ſame three daies he is called a Duke, & ſhee a dutches, although they be very poore perſons, and this is as much as I haue learned of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongſt them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, ſhe will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, & the women ſay, that if their huſbands did not beate them, they ſhould not loue them.

They vſe to marry there very yong, their ſonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or yonger: they vſe to keepe their wiues very cloſely, I meane thoſe that be of any reputation, ſo that a man ſhall not ſee one of them but at a chance, when ſhe goeth to church at Chriſtmas or at Eaſter, or els going to viſite ſome of her friends.

The moſt part of the women vſe to ride a ſtride in ſaddles with ſtyrops, as men do, and ſome of them on ſleds, which in ſummer is not commendable.

The women of Ruſsia paint their faces.

The huſband is bound to finde the wife colours to paint her withall, for they vſe ordinarily to paynt themſelues: it is ſuch a common practiſe among them, that it is counted for no ſhame: they greaſe their faces with ſuch colours, that a man may diſcerne them hanging on their faces almoſt a flight ſhoote off: I cannot ſo well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of meale, but their eye browes they colour as blacke as ieat.

The beſt propertie that the women haue, is that they can ſowe well, and imbroder with ſilke and golde excellently.

Of their buriall.

VVhen any man or woman dieth, they ſtretch him out, and put a new paire of ſhooes on his feete, becauſe he hath a great iourney to goe: then doe they winde him in a ſheet, as we doe, but they forget not to put a teſtimonie in his right hand, which the prieſt giueth him, to teſtifie vnto S. Nicholas that he died a Chriſtian man or woman. And they put the coarſe alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the friends and kinſemen of the partie departed carrie in their hands ſmall waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or ſuch like, haue no teſtimonie with them: how they are receiued into heauen, it is a wonder, without their paſport.

Bread made of ſtraw.

The vnmercifulneſſe of the Ruſſes toward the poore.

There are a great number of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of ſuſtenance, which is a pitifull caſe to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a ſmall time, within theſe two yeeres, aboue 80. perſons young and old, which haue died onely for lacke of ſuſtenance: for if they had had ſtraw and water enough, they would make ſhift to liue: for a great many are forced in the winter to drie ſtraw and ſtampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the leaſt they eate it in ſtead of bread. In the ſummer they make good ſhift with graſſe, herbes and rootes: barks of trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I ſuppoſe, that liue ſo miſerably as do the pouerty in thoſe parts: and the moſt part of them that haue ſufficient for themſelues, and alſo to relieue others that need, are ſo vnmerciful that they care not how many they ſee die of famine or hunger in the ſtreets.

Stooues or baths vſuall with the Moſcouites.

It is a countrey full of diſeaſes, diuers, and euill, and the beſt remedie is for anie of them, as they holde opinion, to goe often vnto the hote houſes, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which hee heateth commonly twiſe euery weeke, and all the houſholde ſweate, and waſh themſelues therein.

The names of certaine ſortes of drinkes vſed in *Ruſsia, aud commonly drunke in the Emperours* Court.

Reported by Thomas Bulley.

The firſt and principall meade is made of the iuice or liccour taken from a berrie called in Ruſsia, Malieno, which is of a marueilous ſweete taſte, and of a carmoſant colour, which berry I haue ſeene in Paris.

The ſecond meade is called Viſnoua, becauſe it is made of a berry ſo called, and is like a black gooſeberrie: but it is like in colour and taſte to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, ſhort, of a ſmall berry much like to the ſmall rezin, and groweth in great plentie in Ruſsia.

The fourth meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is alſo a delicate drinke drawn from the root of the birch tree, called in the Ruſſe tongue Berozeuites, which drinke the noble men and others vſe in Aprill, May, and Iune, which are the three moneths of the ſpring time: for after thoſe moneths, the ſappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

The

The voyage of Maſter *Anthony Ienkinſon*, made from the citie of *Moſco* in *Ruſſia*, to the citie of *Boghar* in *Bactria*, in the yeere 1558: written by himſelfe to the Merchants of London of the Moſcouie companie.

The 23. day of April, in the yeere 1558. (hauing obtained the Emperor of Ruſsia his letters, directed vnto ſundry kings and princes, by whoſe dominions I ſhould paſſe) I departed from Moſco by water, hauing with mee two of your ſeruants, namely, Richard Iohnſon, & Robert Iohnſon, and a Tartar Tolmach, with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a town called Collom, diſtant from the Moſco 20. leagues, & paſſing one league beyond the ſaide Collom, we came vnto a riuer called Occa, into the which the riuer Moſco falleth, and looſeth his name: and paſſing downe the ſaid riuer Occa 8. leagues, we came vnto a caſtle called Terreuettisko, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the ſecond day of May, we came vnto another caſtle called Peroſlaue, diſtant 8. leagues, leauing it alſo on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where olde Rezan was ſituate, beeing now moſt of it ruined and ouergrowen, and diſtant from the ſaid Peroſlaue, 6. leagues: the 4. day we paſſed by a caſtle called Terrecouia, from Rezan 12. leagues, & the 6. day we came to another caſtle called Caſſim, vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named Vtzar Zegoline, ſometime Emperour of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now ſubiect vnto the Emperour of Ruſsia. But leauing Caſſim on our left hand, the 8. day we came vnto a faire town called Morom, from Caſsim 20. leagues, where we took the ſonne, and found the latitude 56. degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came vnto another faire town & caſtle called Nyſe Nouogrod, ſituated at the falling of the foreſaid riuer Occa into the worthie riuer of Volga, diſtant from the ſaide Moron 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minutes. Frō Rezan to this Nyſe Nouogrod, on both ſides the ſaid riuer of Occa, is raiſed the greateſt ſtore of waxe and hony in all the land of Ruſsia. We tarried at the foreſaid Nyſe Nouogrod vntil the 19. day, for the comming of a captain which was ſent by the Emperour to rule at Aſtracan, who beeing arriued, and hauing the number of 500. great boates vnder his conduct, ſome laden with victuals, ſouldiers, and munition: and other ſome with merchandiſe, departed altogether the ſaid 19. day from the ſaid Nyſe Nouogrod, and the 22. we came vnto a caſtle called Vaſiliagorod, diſtant 25. leagues, which we left vpon our right hand. This towne or caſtle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vaſilius, and gorod in the Ruſſe tongue is as much to ſay as a caſtle, ſo that Vaſiliagorod is to ſay, Vaſilius caſtle: and it was the furtheſt place that the ſaid Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this preſent Emperour his ſonne, called Iuan Vaſiliwich, hath had great good ſucceſſe in his warres, both againſt the Chriſtians and alſo the Mahometiſts and Gentiles, but eſpecially againſt the Tartars, inlarging his Empire euen to the Caſpian ſea, hauing conquered the famous riuer of Volga, with all the countreis thereabout adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25. day of May aforeſaide, wee came to another caſtle called Sabowſhare, which wee left on our right hand, diſtant from Vaſiliagorod 16. leagues. The countrey heereabout is called Mordouits, and the habitants did profeſſe the law of the Gentiles: but nowe beeing conquered by this Emperour of Ruſsia, moſt of them are chriſtened, but lie in the woods and wilderneſſe, without towne or habitation.

Cazan.

The 27. day we paſſed by another caſtle called Swyasko, diſtant from Shabowſhare aforeſaid 25. leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29. came vnto an Iſland one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a riuer called Cazanka reca, & entreth into the foreſaide Volga. Cazan is a faire town after the Ruſſe or Tartar faſhion, with a ſtrong caſtle, ſituated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber & earth, but now the Emperour of Ruſsia hath giuen order to plucke downe the old walles, and to builde them againe of free ſtone. It hath bene a citie of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars it was a kingdome of it ſelfe, and did more vexe the Ruſſes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9. yeres paſt, this Emperour of Ruſsia conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but young is nowe baptiſed, and brought vp in his court with two other princes, which were alſo kings of the ſaid Cazan, and being ech of thē in time of their raignes in danger of their ſubiects through ciuil diſcord, came and rendred themſelues at ſeuerall times vnto the ſaid Emperor, ſo that at this preſent there are three princes in the court of Ruſsia, which had bene Emperours of the ſaid Cazan, whom the Emperour vſeth with great honour.

We remained at Cazan till the 13. day of Iune, and then departed from thence: and the ſame

day

The Iſland of merchants.

day paſſed by an Iſland called the Iſland of merchants, becauſe it was woont to be a place where all merchants, as well Ruſſes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and diuers other nations did reſort to keepe mart for buying and ſelling, but nowe it is forſaken, and ſtandeth without any ſuch reſort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Moſco vnto Mare Caſpium.

The riuer of Cama.

Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we paſſed by a goodly riuer called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This riuer falleth out of the countrey of Permia into the riuer of Volga, and is from Cazan 15. leagues: and the countrey lying betwixt the ſaid Cazan and the ſaid riuer Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitants be Gentiles, and liue in the wilderneſſe without houſe or habitation: and the countrey on the other ſide of Volga ouer againſt the ſaid riuer Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the land on the left hand of the ſaid Volga from the ſaid riuer vnto Aſtracan, and ſo following the North and Northeaſt ſide of the Caſpian ſea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whoſe inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all deſtroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Aſtracan, through ciuill warres among them, accompanied with famine, peſtilence, and ſuch plagues, in ſuch ſort that in the ſaid yeere there were conſumed of the people, in one ſort and another, aboue one hundred thouſand: the like plague was neuer ſeen in thoſe parts, ſo that the ſaid countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great paſture, remaineth now vnrepleniſhed to the great contentation of the Ruſſes, who haue had cruel warres a long time together.

Nagay Tartars

The Nagayans when they flouriſhed, liued in this maner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murſe. Towne or houſe they had none, but liued in the open fields, euery Murſe or King hauing his Hords or people about him, with their wiues, children and cattell, who hauing conſumed the paſture in one place, remooued vnto another: and when they remooue they haue houſes like tents ſet vpon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, & therin their wiues, children, and all their riches, which is very litle, is caried about, and euery man hath at the leaſt foure or fiue wiues beſides concubines. Vſe of money they haue none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other neceſſaries. They delight in no arte nor ſcience, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the moſt part they be paſturing people, and haue great ſtore of cattel, which is all their riches. They eate much fleſh, and eſpecially the horſe, and they drinke mares milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are ſeditious & inclined to theft and murther. Corne they ſowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Chriſtians for the ſame, and diſabling our ſtrengths, ſaying we liue by eating the top of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the ſame, allowing their great deuouring of fleſh, and drinking of milke to be the increaſe of their ſtrength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney.

Hords.

The Crimme Tartars.

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer againſt the riuer Cama vnto the towne of Aſtracan, is the land of Crimme, whoſe inhabitants be alſo of the lawe of Mahomet, and liue for the moſt part according to the faſhions of the Nagayes, hauing continual wars with the Emperour of Ruſsia, and are valiant in the fielde, hauing countenance, and ſupport from the great Turke.

The riuer of Samar.

The 16. day of Iune we paſſed by certaine fiſhermens houſes called Petowſe twenty leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fiſhing for ſturgeon, ſo continuing our way vntill the 22. day, and paſſing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforeſaide countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the ſaide riuer of Volga. The 28. day wee came vnto a great hill, where was in times paſt a caſtle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iuſt midway betweene the ſaid Cazan and Aſtrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minutes. Vpon all this ſhore groweth abundance of Licoris, whoſe root runneth within the ground like a vine.

Licoris in great plentie.

Thus going forward the ſixt day of Iuly we came to a place called Perouolog, ſo named becauſe in times paſt the Tartars caried their boates from Volga vnto the riuer Tanais, otherwiſe called Don, by land, when they would robbe ſuch as paſſed downe the ſaid Volga to Aſtracan, and alſo ſuch as paſſed downe by the riuer Tanais, to Aſou, Caffa, or any other towne ſituated vpon Mare Euxinum, into which ſea Tanais falleth, who hath his ſprings in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this ſtreight of Perouolog from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not ſo euill as it hath bene, by reaſon of the Emperour of Ruſsia his conqueſts.

Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wilderneſſe on both ſides, wee ſawe a great heard of Nagayans, paſturing, as is aboueſaid, by eſtimation aboue a thouſand Camels drawing of cartes with houſes vpon them like tents, of a ſtrange faſhion, ſeeming to bee a farre off a towne: that Hord was belonging to a great Murſe called Smille, the greateſt prince in all Nagay, who hath ſlaine and driuen away all the reſt, not ſparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of Ruſſia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone: ſo that now the Ruſſes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to haue mortall warres together.

Aſtracan.

The 14. day of Iuly paſſing by an old caſtle, which was Old Aſtracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Aſtracan, which this Emperour of Ruſſia conquered ſixe yeeres paſt, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Moſco vnto Aſtracan ſixe hundreth leagues, or thereabout. The towne of Aſtracan is ſituated in an Iſland vpon a hill ſide, hauing a caſtle within the ſame, walled about with earth and timber, neither faire nor ſtrong: The towne is alſo walled about with earth: the buildings and houſes (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) moſt baſe and ſimple. The Iſland is moſt deſtitute and barren of wood and paſture, and the ground will beare no corne: the aire is there moſt infected, by reaſon (as I ſuppoſe) of much fiſh, and ſpecially Sturgion, by which onely the inhabitants liue, hauing great ſcarſitie of fleſh and bread.

Store of Sturgions.

They hang vp their fiſh in their ſtreets and houſes to dry for their prouiſion, which cauſeth ſuch abundance of flies to increaſe there, as the like was neuer ſeene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the ſayd Aſtracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and ſpecially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the ſame time came thither in great numbers to render thēſelues to the Ruſſes their enemies, & to ſeeke ſuccour at their hands, their countrey being deſtroyed, as I ſaid before: but they were but ill entertained or relieued, for there died a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iſland through in heapes dead, and like to beaſts vnburied, very pitifull to behold: many of them were alſo ſold by the Ruſſes, and the reſt were baniſhed from the Iſland. At that time it had bene an eaſie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Chriſtian faith, if the Ruſſes themſelues had bene good Chriſtians: but how ſhould they ſhew compaſſion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne: At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thouſand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to ſay, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread worth ſixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any ſuch merchandiſe. This Aſtracan is the furtheſt hold that this Emperour of Ruſſia hath conquered of the Tartars towards the Caſpian ſea, which he keepeth very ſtrong, ſending thither euery yere prouiſion of men, and victuals, and timber to build the caſtle.

There is a certaine trade of merchandiſe there vſed, but as yet ſo ſmall and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come merchants thither from diuers places. The chiefeſt commodities that the Ruſſes bring thither are redde hides, redde ſheepes ſkinnes, wodden veſſels, bridles, and ſaddles, kniues, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with diuers kindes of wrought ſilkes: and they that come out of Perſia, namely from Shamacki doe bring ſowing ſilke, which is the courſeſt that they vſe in Ruſſeland, Craſko, diuers kinds of pide ſilkes for girdles, ſhirts of male, bowes, ſwords, and ſuch like things: and ſome yeeres corne, and wallnuts, but all ſuch things in ſuch ſmall quantitie, the merchants being ſo beggerly and poore that bring the ſame, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all thoſe parts worth the folowing.

The length of the Iſland of Aſtracan.

This foreſaid Iſland of Aſtracan is in length twelue leagues, and in bredth three, & lieth Eaſt and Weſt in the latitude of fortie ſeuen degrees, nine minutes: we taried there vntil the ſixt day of Auguſt, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in company with certaine Tartars and Perſians, we laded our goods and imbarked our ſelues, and the ſame day departed I, with the ſaid two Iohnſons hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation downe the ſayd riuer Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof.

They enter into the Caſpian ſea.

We entred into the Caſpian ſea the tenth day of Auguſt at the Eaſterly ſide of the ſayd riuer, being twentie leagues from Aſtracan aforeſayd, in the latitude of fortie ſix degrees, twentie ſeuen minutes.

Volga hath ſeuentie mouthes or fals into the ſea: and we hauing a large wind, kept the Northeaſt ſhore, and the eleuenth day we ſailed ſeuen leagues Eaſtnortheaſt, and came vnto an Iſland hauing an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the ſea. From thence Eaſt tenne leagues, we fell with another Iſland called Bawhiata, much higher then the other.

The blew ſea.

Within theſe two Iſlands to the Northwards, is a great Baie called the Blew ſea. From thence wee ſailed Eaſt and by North ten leagues, and hauing a contrary wind, we came to an anker in a fadome water, and ſo rid vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great ſtorme at Southeaſt, being a moſt contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and we weyed, and ſet our courſe Southeaſt, and that day ſailed eight leagues.

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17. day wee loſt ſight of land, and the ſame day ſailed thirtie leagues, and the 18. day twentie leagues winding Eaſt, and fell with a land called Baughleata, being 74. leagues from the mouth of the ſaid Volga, in the latitude of 46. degrees 54. minutes, the coaſt lying neereſt Eaſt and by South, and Weſt and by North. At the point of this land lieth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their law, where great deuotion is vſed of all ſuch Mahometiſts as doe paſſe that way.

Baughleata being 74. leagues from Volga.

The nineteenth day the winde being Weſt, and we winding Eaſtſoutheaſt, we ſailed tenne leagues, and paſſed by a great riuer called Iaic, which hath his ſpring in the lande of Siberia, nigh vnto the foreſaid riuer Cama, and runneth through the lande of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caſpium. And vp this riuer one dayes iourney is a Towne called Serachick, ſubiect to the aforeſaid Tartar prince called Murſe Smille, which is nowe in friendſhip with the Emperour of Ruſſia. Here is no trade of merchandize vſed, for that the people haue no vſe of money, and are all men of warre, and paſturers of cattel, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker againſt this riuer Iaic, and all our men being on land; ſauing I, who lay ſore ſicke, and fiue Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, becauſe he came from Mecka, there came vnto vs a boate with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded vs, and began to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiuing that, aſked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that theſe rouers ſtaied, declaring that they were Gentlemen, baniſhed from their countrey, and out of liuing, & came to ſee if there were any Ruſſes or other Chriſtians (which they call Caphars) in our barke: To whom this Azi moſt ſtoutly anſwered, that there were none, auowing the ſame by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rouers beleeued, and vpon his words departed. And ſo through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were ſaued, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding Eaſt and Southeaſt, that day being the 20. of Auguſt ſailed 16. leagues.

Iaic riuer.

Serachick.

The 21. day we paſſed ouer a Bay of 6. leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of land, hauing two Iſlands at the Southeaſt part thereof, being a good marke in the ſea: & doubling that Cape the land trended Northeaſt, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the great riuer Yem, ſpringing out of the land of Colmack.

The Countrie of Colmack.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an anker.

The 25. the winde came faire, and wee ſailed that day 20. leagues, and paſſed by an Iſland of lowe land, and thereabout are many flats and ſands: and to the Northward of this Iſland there goeth in a great Bay, but we ſet off from this Iſland, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with ſhoalds & flats, and ran that courſe 10. leagues, then Eaſt Southeaſt 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and paſſing along the coaſt 20. leagues, the further we ſailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we croſſed ouer a Bay, the South ſhore being the higher land, and fel with a high point of land: & being ouerthwart the Cape, there roſe ſuch a ſtorme at the Eaſt, that we thought verily we ſhould haue periſhed: this ſtorme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we paſſed to a port called Manguſlaue. The place where we ſhould haue arriued at the Southermoſt part of the Caſpian ſea, is 12. leagues within a Bay: but we being ſore tormented and toſſed with this foreſaid ſtorme, were driuen vnto another land on yͤ other ſide the Bay, ouerthwart the ſayd Manguſlaue being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the hauen, as of thoſe brute field people, where neuer barke nor boate had before arriued, not liked of vs.

The port of Manguſlaue.

But yet here we ſent certaine of our men to land to talke with the gouernour and people, as well for our good vſage at their handes, as alſo for prouiſion of camels to carry our goods from the ſayd ſea ſide to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing fiue and twentie dayes iourney. Our meſſengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promiſes of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. we diſcharged our barke, and I with my companie were gently entertained of the Prince & of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to be very bad and brutiſh people, for they ceaſed not daily to moleſt vs, either by fighting, ſtealing or begging, raiſing the priſe of horſe and camels, & victuals, double that it was woont there to be, and forced vs to buy the water that we did drinke: which cauſed vs to haſten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the priſe of ſuch as wee bought, with other prouiſion, according to their owne demaund: So that for euery camels lading, being but 400. waight of ours, we agreed to giue three hides of Ruſſia, and foure wodden diſhes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the ſayd people, one ninth, and two ſeuenths: Namely, nine ſeuerall things, and twiſe ſeuen ſeuerall things: for money they vſe none.

They got on land.

The countrey of Manguſlaue.

And thus being ready, the foureteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Carauan of a thouſand camels. And hauing trauailed fiue dayes iourney, we came to another Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine Tartars on horſeback, being well armed, and ſeruants vnto the ſaide Prince called Timor Soltan, gouernour of the ſaid countrey of Manguſlaue, where wee meant to haue arriued and diſcharged our barke, if the great ſtorm aforeſayd had not diſappointed. Theſe aforeſaid Tartars ſtayd our Carauan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and tooke ſuch things as they thought beſt for their ſaide prince without money, but for ſuch things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth (after much diſſenſion) I ridde vnto the ſame Prince, and preſented my ſelfe before him, requeſting his fauour, and paſport to trauaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor ſpoiled of his people: which requeſt he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commaunding me to be well feaſted with fleſh and mares milke: for bread they vſe none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue mee for ſuch things as he tooke of mee, which might be of value in Ruſſe money, fifteene rubbles, but he gaue me his letter, and a horſe woorth ſeuen rubbles. And ſo I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderſtoode his commaundement was, that I ſhould haue beene robbed and deſtroyed.

This Soltan liued in the fieldes without Caſtle or towne, and ſate, at my being with him, in a litle rounde houſe made of reedes couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Country, eſteemed of the people, as the Biſhop of Rome is in moſt parts of Europe, with diuers other of his chiefe men. The Soltan with this Metropolitan demanded of me many queſtions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as alſo the cauſe of my comming into thoſe parts, with my further pretence. To whom I anſwered concerning all things, as vnto me ſeemed beſt, which they tooke in good part. So hauing leaue I departed and ouertooke our Carauan, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauailed 20. dayes in the wildernes from the ſea ſide without ſeeing towne or habitation, carying prouiſion of victuals with vs for the ſame time, and were driuen by neceſſity to eate one of my camels and a horſe for our part, as other did the like: and during the ſaid 20. daies we found no water, but ſuch as we drew out of old deepe welles, being very brackiſh and ſalt, and yet ſometimes paſſed two or three dayes without the ſame. And the 5. day of October enſuing, we came vnto a gulfe of the Caſpian ſea againe, where we found the water very freſh and ſweete: at this gulfe the cuſtomers of the king of Turkeman met vs, who took cuſtome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the ſaide king and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remained there a day after to refreſh our ſelues.

20. dayes trauaile in the wilderneſſe, with ſcarcitie of water.

Another gulfe of the Caſpian ſea.

Note that in times paſt there did fal into this gulf the great riuer Oxus, which hath his ſprings in the mountains of Paraponiſus in India, & now cõmeth not ſo far, but falleth into another riuer called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, & conſumeth himſelf in the ground paſſing vnder ground aboue 500. miles, and then iſſueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.

Will. de Rubricis deſcribeth this riuer of Ardok, cap. 4.

We hauing refreſhed our ſelues at the foreſaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the ſeuenth day arriued at a caſtle called Sellizure, where yͤ king called Azim Can, remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his preſence, to whom I deliuered the Emperors letters of Ruſſia: and I alſo gaue him a preſent of a ninth, who entertained me very well, and cauſed me to eate in his preſence as his brethren did, feaſting me with fleſh of a wilde horſe, and mares milk without bread. And the next day he ſent for me again, and aſked of me diuers queſtions, as wel touching the affaires of the Eemperour of Ruſſia, as of our countrey and lawes, to which I anſwered as I thought good: ſo that at my departure he gaue me his letters of ſafe conduct.

Sellizure, or Shayzure.

Letters of ſafe-conduct.

This Caſtle of Sellizure is ſituated vpon an high hill, where the King called the Can lyeth, whoſe palace is built of earth very baſely, and not ſtrong: the people are but poore, and haue litle trade of marchandiſe among them. The South part of this Caſtle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where grow many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bigneſſe and full of moyſture, which the people doe eate after meate in ſteade of drinke. Alſo there growes another fruite called a Carbuſe of the bigneſſe of a great cucumber, yellow and ſweete as ſugar: alſo a certaine corne called Iegur, whoſe ſtalke is much like a ſugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluſter of grapes; the water that ſerueth all that countrey is drawen by ditches out of the riuer Oxus, vnto the great deſtruction of the ſaid riuer, for which cauſe it falleth not into the Caſpian ſea as it hath done in times paſt, and in ſhort time all that land is like to be deſtroied, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the riuer of Oxus ſhal faile.

The

Vrgence.

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Caſtle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the ſame we arriued at a citie called Vrgence, where we paid cuſtome as wel for our own heads, as for our camels and horſes. And hauing there ſoiourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauaile, the king of that countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azym Can, returned from a towne called Coraſan, within the borders of Perſia, which he lately had conquered from the Perſians, with whom he and the reſt of the kings of Tartaria haue continuall warres. Before this king alſo I was commanded to come, to whom I likewiſe preſented the Emperors letters of Ruſſia, and he intertained me wel, and demanded of me diuers queſtions, and at my departure gaue me his letters of ſafeconduct.

The countrey of Turkeman.

This city or towne of Vrgence ſtandeth in a plaine ground, with walles of the earth, by eſtimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are alſo of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long ſtreet that is couered aboue, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and loſt 4. times within 7. yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not ſell aboue 4. kerſeis. The chiefeſt commodities there ſold are ſuch wares as come from Boghar, and out of Perſia, but in moſt ſmal quantity not worth the writing. All the land from the Caſpian ſea to this Citie of Vrgence is called the land of Turkeman, & is ſubiect to the ſaid Azim Can, and his brethren which be fiue in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little obeyed ſauing in his owne Dominion, and where he dwelleth: for euery one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother ſeeketh alwayes to deſtroy another, hauing no natural loue among them, by reaſon that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of ſlaues, either Chriſtians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and euery Can or Sultan hath at the leaſt 4. or 5. wiues, beſides yong maidens and boyes, liuing moſt viciouſly: and when there are warres betwixt theſe brethren, (as they are ſeldome without) he that is ouercome if he be not ſlaine, flieth to the field with ſuch companie of men as will followe him, and there liueth in the wilderneſſe reſorting to watering places, and ſo robbeth and ſpoileth as many Carauans of Marchants and others as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this ſort his wicked life, vntil ſuch time as he may get power and aide to inuade ſome of his brethren againe. From the Caſpian ſea vnto the Caſtle of Sellizure aforeſaid, and all the Countreis about the ſaid Sea, the people liue without towne or habitation in the wilde fields, remouing from one place to another in great companies with their cattel, whereof they haue great ſtore, as camels, horſes, and ſheepe both tame and wilde. Their ſheepe are of great ſtature with great buttocks, weighing 60. or 80. pound in weight. There are many wild horſes which the Tartars doe many times kil with their hawkes, and that in this order.

The hawkes are lured to ſeaſe vpon the beaſts neckes or heads, which with chafing of themſelues and ſore beating of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter following his game doeth ſlay the horſe with his arrow or ſword. In all this lande there groweth no graſſe, but a certaine bruſh or heath, whereon the cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars neuer ride without their bow, arrowes, and ſword, although it be on hawking, or at any other pleaſure, and they are good archers both on horſebacke, and on foote alſo. Theſe people haue not the vſe of golde, ſiluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other neceſſaries, they barter their cattell for the ſame. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor ſow: they be great deuourers of fleſh, which they cut in ſmal pieces, & eat it by handfuls moſt greedily, & eſpecially the horſefleſh. Their chiefeſt drink is mares milke ſowred, as I haue ſaid before of the Nagayans, & they wilbe drunk with the ſame. They haue no riuers nor places of water in this countrey, vntil you come to the foreſaid gulf, diſtant from the place of our landing 20. dayes iourney, except it be in wels, the water wherof is ſaltiſh, & yet diſtant the one from the other two daies iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, ſitting with their legs double vnder them, and ſo alſo when they pray. Art or ſcience they haue none, but liue moſt idlely, ſitting round in great companies in the fields, deuiſing, and talking moſt vainely.

The riuer of Ardock falleth into the lake of Kitay.

The 26. day of Nouember, we departed from the towne of Vrgence, and hauing trauailed by the riuer Oxus, 100. mile, we paſſed ouer another great riuer called Ardock, where we paid a certaine pety cuſtome. This riuer Ardock is great, and very ſwift, falling out of the foreſaid Oxus, and paſſing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then conſumeth it ſelfe in the ground, and paſſing vnder the ſame about 500. mile, iſſueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I haue before declared.

The caſtle of Kait.

The 7. of December following, we arriued at a Caſtle called Kait, ſubiect to a Soltan called Saramet Soltan, who meant to haue robbed all the Chriſtians in the Carauan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Vrgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefeſt counſellers, who willed vs to make him a preſent, which he tooke, and deliuered: beſides we paid at the ſaid caſtle for cuſtome, of euery camel one red hide of Ruſsia, beſides pety gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at reſt, and our watch ſet, there came vnto vs foure horſemen, which we tooke as ſpies, from whom wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confeſſed that they had ſeene the tract of many horſemen, and no footing of camels, & gaue vs to vuderſtand, that there were rouers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Carauan, where there be many camels: and horſefeeting new without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we conſulted & determined amongſt our ſelues, and ſent a poſte to the ſaid Soltan of Kayte, who immediatly came himſelfe with 300. men, and mette theſe foure ſuſpected men which we ſent vnto him, and examined them ſo ſtreightly, and threatned them in ſuch ſort, that they confeſſed, there was a baniſhed Prince with 40. men 3. daies iourney forward, who lay in wait to deſtroy vs, if he could, and that they themſelues were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore vnderſtanding, that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the Soltan himſelfe returned backe againe, taking the foure theeues with him. Theſe ſouldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, conſuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely they ſet out before our Carauan, and hauing ranged the wildernes for the ſpace of foure houres, they mette vs, comming towards vs as faſt as their horſe could runne, and declared that they had founde the tract of horſes not farre from vs, perceiuing well that we ſhould meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoiut our ſelues for them, and aſked vs what wee would giue them to conduct vs further, or els they would returne. To whom we offered as we thought good, but they refuſed our offer, and would haue more, and ſo we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went back to their Soltan, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conſpiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (becauſe they had bene at Mecha) cauſed the whole Carauan to ſtay, and would make their prayers, and deuine howe wee ſhould proſper in our iourney and whether we ſhould meet with any ill company or no: To which, our whole Carauan did agree. And they tooke certaine ſheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the ſame, and firſt ſodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the ſaid ſheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the ſaide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the ſaide blood, vſing many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the ſame deuined and fonnd, that wee ſhoulde meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but ſhould ouercome them, to which ſorcerie, I and my companie gaue uo credit, but we found it true: for within 3. honres after that the ſouldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December, in the morning, we eſcried farre off diuers horſemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rouers) gathered our ſelues together, being 40. of vs wel appointed, and able to fight, and we made our prayers together euery one after his lawe, profeſſing to liue and die one with another, and ſo prepared our ſelues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in number 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and ſwords, and the captaine a prince baniſhed from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our ſelues, or els to be ſlaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they ſhotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and ſo continued our fight from morning vntil two houres within night, diuers men, horſes and camels being wounded and ſlaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunnes which I and my companie had and vſed, we had bene ouercome and deſtroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were alſo better archers then we; But after wee had ſlaine diuers of their men and horſes with our gunnes, they durſt not approch ſo nigh, which cauſed them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our ſelues vpon a hill, and made the faſhion of a Caſtle, walling it about with packes of wares, and laide our horſes and camels within the ſame to ſaue them from the ſhotte of arrowes: and the theeues alſo incamped within an arrowe ſhotte of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great diſcomfort, becauſe neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. dayes before.

Diuination by ſorcerie.

Handguns very profitable.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was ſpent, the Prince of the theeues ſent a meſſenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Carauan Baſha, who anſwered the meſſenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will ſweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I ſend a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderſtanding as well himſelfe as his company, ſwore ſo loude that we might all heare. And then we ſent one of our company (reputed a holy man) to talke with the ſame meſſenger. The meſſage was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demaundeth of the Carauan Baſha, and of all you that be Buſſarmans, (that is to ſay circumciſed) not deſiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his hands as many Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers (meaning vs the Chriſtians) as are among you with their goods, and in ſo doing, hee will ſuffer you to depart with your goods in quietneſſe, and on the contrary, you ſhall be handled with no leſſe cruelty then the Caphars, if hee ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Carauan Baſha anſwered, that he had no Chriſtians in his company, nor other ſtrangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that we were not afraide of his threatnings, and that ſhould he know when day appeared. And ſo paſſing in talke, the theeues (contrary to their othe) caried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victory, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith we were much diſcomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confeſſe any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had ſlaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was ſpent, in the morning we prepared our ſelues to battel againe: which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement & aſked much of vs: And to be briefe, the moſt part of onr companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing litle to looſe, & ſafecõduct to paſſe, we were compelled to agree, and to giue the theeues 20 ninths (that is to ſay) 20 times 9 ſeuerall things, and a camell to cary away the ſame, which being receiued, the theeues departed into the wildernes to their old habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the riuer Oxus, where we refreſhed our ſelues, hauing bene 3. dayes without water and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making mery with our ſlaine horſes and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the ſaid theeues againe or ſuch like, we left the high way which went along the ſaid riuer, and paſſed through a wildernes of ſand, and trauelled 4 dayes in the ſame before we came to water: and then came to a wel, the water being very brackiſh, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horſes and camels to eate.

Buſſarmans, Caphar.

The riuer of Oxus.

A wildernes of ſande.

In this wildernes alſo we had almoſt fallen into the hands of theeues: for one night being at reſt, there came certaine ſcoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a litle ſeparated from the Carauan, wherewith there was a great ſhoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and droue ſore till we came to the riuer Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the ſaid riuer: & whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the ſame theeues were far from vs when the ſcouts diſcouered vs, we knowe not, but we eſcaped that danger.

So vpon the 23 day of December wee arriued at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is ſituated in the loweſt part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers gates into the ſame: it is diuided into 3 partitions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3 part is for Marchants and markets, and euery ſcience hath their dwelling and market by themſelues. The Citie is very great, and the houſes for the moſt part of earth, but there are alſo many houſes, temples and monuments of ſtone ſumptuouſly builded, and gilt, and ſpecially bathſtoues ſo artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the maner whereof is too long to rehearſe. There is a little riuer running through the middeſt of the ſaid Citie, but the water thereof is moſt vnholſome, for it breedeth ſometimes in men that drinke thereof, and eſpecially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge betwixt the fleſh and the ſkinne, and is pluckt out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practiſed therein, and if ſhee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day ſhe commeth out about an inch, which is rolled vp, and ſo worketh till ſhe be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & mares milke, and whoſoeuer is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten moſt cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the ſame, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans houſe, to ſearch if he haue either Aquauitæ, wine, or brage, and finding the ſame, doe breake the veſſels, ſpoile the drinke, and puniſh the maſters of the houſe moſt cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he ſhall not eſcape their hands.

Boghar a citie of Bactria.

A ſtrange worme in mens legs.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who cauſeth this law to bee ſo ſtreightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depoſe the king, and place another at his will and pleaſure, as he did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predeceſſour, by the meanes of the ſayd Metropolitan: for he betrayed him, and in the night ſlewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Chriſtians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was ſometime ſubiect to the Perſians, & do now ſpeake the Perſian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it ſelfe, and hath moſt cruel warres continually with the ſayd Perſians about their religion, although they be all Mahometiſts. One occaſion of their wars is, for that the Perſians will not cut the haire of their vpper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great ſinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers, as they doe the Chriſtians.

The coyne of Boghar.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but ſmall, and he is moſt mainteined by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there ſolde, as well by the craftſmen as by the marchants, to the great impoueriſhment of the people, whom he keepeth in great ſubiection, and when he lacketh money, he ſendeth his officers to the ſhoppes of the ſayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for 19 pieces of Kerſey. Their money is ſiluer and copper, for gold there is none currant: they haue but one piece of ſiluer, & that is worth 12 pence Engliſh, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120 of them goeth the value of the ſaid 12. pence, and is more common paiment then the ſiluer, which the king cauſeth to riſe and fall to his moſt aduantage euery other moneth, and ſometimes twiſe a moneth, not caring to oppreſſe his people, for that he loketh not to reigne aboue 2 or 3 yeres before he be either ſlaine or driuen away, to the great deſtruction of the countrey and merchants.

The 26 day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the ſaid king, to whom I preſented the Emperour of Ruſſia his letters, who interteined vs moſt gently, and cauſed vs to eate in his preſence, and diuers times he ſent for me, and deuiſed with me familiarly in his ſecret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as alſo of our countries, lawes, and religion, and cauſed vs to ſhoote in handguns before him, and did himſelfe practiſe the vſe thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he ſhewed himſelfe a very Tartar: for he went to the wars owing me money, and ſaw me not payd before his departure. And although indeede he gaue order for the ſame, yet was I verie ill ſatiſfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the reſt contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better paiment I could not haue, and glad I was ſo to be paid and diſpatched.

But yet I muſt needs praiſe & commend this barbarous king, who immediately after my arriuall at Boghar, hauing vnderſtoode our trouble with the theeues, ſent 100 men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either ſlaine or taken the ſayd theeues. Who according to their cõmiſſion ranged the wildernes in ſuch ſort, that they met with the ſaid company of theeues, and ſlew part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were ſore wounded in our ſkirmiſh with our gunnes: And after the king had ſent for me to come to ſee them, he cauſed them all 4 to be hanged at his palace gate, becauſe they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of ſuch goods as were gotten againe, I had part reſtored me, and this good iuſtice I found at his hands.

There is yerely great reſort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which trauaile in great Carauans from the countries thereabout adioining, as India, Perſia, Balgh, Ruſſia, with diuers others, and in times paſt from Cathay, when there was paſſage: but theſe Marchants are ſo beggerly and poore, and bring ſo little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3 yeeres to ſell the ſame, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of theſe foreſayd Countreys, are theſe following.

Marchandiſe of India.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, & al other kinds of whites, which ſerue for apparell made of coton wooll and craſko, but golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, and ſpices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all ſuch trade paſſeth to the Ocean ſea, and the vaines where all ſuch things are gotten are in the ſubiection of the Portingals. The Indians carie from Boghar againe wrought ſilkes, red hides, ſlaues, and horſes, with ſuch like, but of Kerſeis and other cloth, they make little accompt. I offered to barter with Marchauts of thoſe Countreis, which came from the furtheſt parts of India, euen from the countrey of Bengala, & the riuer Ganges, to giue them Kerſies for their commodities, but they would not barter for ſuch commoditie as cloth.

Marchandiſe of Perſia.

The Perſians do bring thither Craska, wollen cloth, linnen cloth, diuers kindes of wrought pide ſilkes, Argomacks, with ſuch like, and doe carie from thence redde hides with other Ruſſe wares, and ſlaues, which are of diuers countreies, but cloth they will by none, for that they bring thither themſelues, and is brought vnto them as I haue inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie.

Marchandiſe of Ruſſia.

The Ruſſes doe carie vnto Boghar, redde hides, ſheepeſkinnes, wollen cloth of diuers ſorts, woodden veſſels, bridles, ſaddles,. with ſuch like, and doe carie away from thence diuers kindes of wares made of cotton wooll, diuers kinds of ſilkes, Craſca, with other things, but there is but ſmal vtterance. From the Coutreis of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace, Marchandiſe of Cathay.

and when the way is open, muſk, rubarbe, ſatten, damaſke, with diuers other things. At my being at Boghar, there came Carauans out of all theſe foreſaid Countries, except from Cathay: and the cauſe why there came none from thence was the great warres that had dured 3 yeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countries & cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the ſaid Boghar and the ſaid Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles a Mahometiſts bordering to the ſaid Cities. The cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that warre againſt Taskent are called Caſſaks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the ſayd countrey of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters. Theſe 2 barbarous nations are of great force liuing in the fields without houſe or towne, & haue almoſt ſubdued the foreſaid cities, & ſo ſtopped vp the way, that it is impoſſible for any Carauan to paſſe vnſpoiled: ſo that 3 yeres before our being there, no Carauan had gone, or vſed trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is 9 moneths iourney.

Taskent & Caſcar.

To ſpeake of the ſaid countrey of Cathay, and of ſuch newes as I haue heard thereof, I haue thought it beſt to reſerue it to our meeting. I hauing made my ſolace at Boghar in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquiſition, the trade thereof, as alſo of all the other countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and alſo the king being gone to the warres, and newes come that he was fled, and I aduertiſed by the Metropolitan himſelfe, that I ſhould depart, becauſe the towne was like to bee beſieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney ſome way, and determined to haue gone from thence into Perſia, and to haue ſeene the trade of that countrey, although I had enformed my ſelfe ſufficiently thereof, as well at Aſtracan, as at Boghar: and perceiued well the trades not to be much vnlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I ſhould haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occaſions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the waies were deſtroyed: and there was a Carauan deſtroied with rouers & theeues, which came out of India and Perſia, by ſafe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part ſlaine. Alſo the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperors letters of Ruſſia from me, without which I ſhould haue bene taken ſlaue in euery place: alſo all ſuch wares as I had receiued in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, & other his Nobles, in paiment of money due vnto me, were not vendible in Perſia: for which cauſes, and diuers others, I was conſtrained to come backe againe to Mare Caſpium, the ſame way I went: ſo that the eight of March 1559, we departed out of the ſaid Citie of Boghar, being a Carauan of 600 Camels: and if we had not departed when we did, I and my company had bene in danger to haue loſt life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an armie, & beſieged the ſaid Citie of Boghar, the king being abſent, and gone to the wars againſt another prince, his kinſman, as the like chanceth in thoſe Countries once in two or three yeres. For it is maruell, if a King reigne there aboue three or foure yeres, to the great deſtruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

He returneth the eight of March 1559.

Vrgence.

The 25 of March, we came to the foreſayd towne of Vrgence, and eſcaped the danger of 400 rouers, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the moſt of them of kindred to that company of theeues, which we met with going foorth, as we perceiued by foure ſpies, which were taken. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambaſſadors, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were ſent vnto the Emperor of Ruſſia. And after hauing taried at Vrgence, and the Caſtle of Sellyſure, eight daies for the aſſembling, and making ready of our Carauan, the ſecond of Aprill we departed from thence, hauing foure moe Ambaſſadors in our companie, ſent from the king of Vrgence, and other Soltans, his brethren, vnto the Emperor of Ruſſia, with anſwere of ſuch letters as I brought them: and the ſame Ambaſſadors were alſo committed vnto my charge by the ſayde Kings and princes: to whome I promiſed moſt faithfully, and ſwore by our law, that they ſhould be well vſed in Ruſland, and ſuffered to depart from thence againe in ſafetie, according as the Emperor had written alſo in his letters: for they ſomewhat doubted, becauſe there had none gone out of Tartaria into Ruſſia, of long time before.

The king of Balke, or Balgh.

The 23 of Aprill, we arriued at the Mare Caſpium againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke, nor saile: neuertheleſſe wee brought hempe with vs, and ſpunne a cable our ſelues, with the reſt of our tackling, and made vs a ſaile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barke as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time being deuiſing to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arriued a barke, which came from Aſtracan, with Tartars and Ruſſes, which had 2 ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we ſet ſaile and departed, I, and the two Iohnſons being Maſter and Mariners our ſelues, hauing in our barke the ſaid ſixe ambaſſadors, and 25 Ruſſes, which had bene ſlaues a long time in Tartaria, nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and theſe ſlaues ſerued to rowe when neede was. Thus ſailing ſometimes along the coaſt, and ſometimes out of ſight of lande, the 13. day of May, hauing a contrary winde, wee came to an anker, being three leagues from the ſhoare, & there roſe a ſore ſtorme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne ſpinning, brake, and loſt our anker, and being off a lee ſhoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoyſed our ſaile, and bare roomer with the ſaid ſhoare, looking for preſent death: but as God prouided for vs, we ranne into a creeke ful of oze, and ſo ſaued our ſelues with our barke, & liued in great diſcomfort for a time. For although we ſhould haue eſcaped with our liues the danger of the ſea, yet if our barke had periſhed, we knew we ſhould haue bene, either deſtroyed, or taken ſlaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beaſts, without houſe or habitation. Thus when the ſtorme was ſeaſed, we went out of the creeke againe: and hauing ſet the land with our Compaſſe, and taken certaine markes of the ſame, during the time of the tempeſt, whileſt we ridde at our anker, we went directly to the place where we ridde, with our barke againe, and found our anker which wee loſt: whereat the Tartars much marueiled, how we did it. While we were in the creeke, we made an anker of wood of cart wheeles, which we had in our barke, which we threw away, when wee had found out yron anker againe. Within two dayes after, there aroſe another great ſtorme, at the Northeaſt, and we lay a trie, being driuen far into the ſea, and had much ado to keepe our barke from ſinking, the billowe was ſo great: but at the laſt, hauing faire weather, we tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the land lay from vs, we fel with the Riuer Yaik, according to our deſire, wherof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee ſhould haue bene driuen to the coaſt of Perſia, whoſe people were vnto them great enemies.

The Engliſh flag in the Caſpian ſea.

Note, that during the time of our Nauigation, wee ſet vp the redde croſſe of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Chriſtians, which I ſuppoſe was neuer ſeene in the Caſpian ſea before. We paſſed in this voyage diuers fortunes: notwithſtanding the 28. of May we arriued in ſafetie at Aſtracan, and there remained till the tenth of Iune following, as well to prepare vs ſmall boates, to goe vp againſt the ſtreame of Volga, with our goods, as alſo for the companie of the Ambaſſadours of Tartarie, committed vnto me, to bee brought to the preſence of the Emperour of Ruſſia.

A notable deſcription of the Caſpian ſea.

This Caſpian ſea (to ſay ſome thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth 150. without any iſſue to other ſeas: to the Eaſt part whereof, ioyneth the great deſert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the Weſt, the countreyes of the Chyrcaſſes, the mountaines of Caucaſus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the ſaid Caſpian Sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part ioyne the countreys of Media and Perſia. This ſea is freſh water in many places, and in other places as ſalt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly Riuers falling into it, and it auoideth not it ſelfe except it be vnder ground. The notable Riuers that fall into it, are firſt the great Riuer of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which ſpringeth out of a lake in a marriſh or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Nouogrode in Ruſſia, and it is from the ſpring to the Sea, aboue two thouſande Engliſh miles. It hath diuers other goodly Riuers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic, and Yem: Alſo out of the mountaines of Caucaſus, the Riuers of Cyrus and Araſh, and diuers others.

As touching the trade of Shamaky in Media and Tebris, with other townes in Perſia, I haue enquired, and do well vnderſtand, that it is euen like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little vtterance, and ſmall profite: and I haue bene aduertiſed that the chiefe trade of Perſia is into Syria, and ſo tranſported into the Leuant ſea. The fewe ſhippes vpon the Caſpian Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Aſtracan there were merchants of Shamaky, with whom I offered to barter, and to giue them kerſies for their wares, but they would not, ſaying, they had them as good cheape in their countrey, as I offred them, which was ſixe rubbles for a kerſie, that I aſked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Perſia, Cloth, and diuers commodities of our countries, which were ſold as good cheape, as I might ſell ours.

The tenth day of Iune, we departed from Aſtracan towards the Mosco, hauing an hundred gunners in our company at the Emperors charges, for the ſafe conduct of the Tartar Ambaſſadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of Iuly folowing, wee arriued at the citie of Cazan, hauing bene vpon the way from Aſtracan thither, ſixe weekes and more, without any refreſhing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

The ſeuenth of Auguſt folowing, wee departed from Cazan, and tranſported our goods by water, as farre as the citie of Morum, and then by land: ſo that the ſecond of September, we arriued at the citie of Moſco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, kiſſed his hand, and preſented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Alſo I brought before him all the Ambaſſadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Ruſſe ſlaues: and that day I dined in his Maieſties preſence, and at dinner, his Grace ſent me meate by a Duke, & aſked me diuers queſtions touching the lands and countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Moſco about your affaires, vntil the 17. day of February that your wares were ſent downe: and then hauing licence of the Emperors Maieſtie to depart, the 21. day I came to your houſe at Vologhda, and there remained vntil the breaking vp of the yere: and then hauing ſeene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the ſame, and arriued withall in ſafetie at Colmogro the 9. of May 1560. And here I ceaſe for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large diſcourſe, which by reaſon of the varietie of matter, I could make no ſhorter, and I beſeech God to proſper all your attempts.

His arriual at Moſco the 2. of September.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Ruſſia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Moſco in	55	10
Nouogrod the great	58	26
Nouogrod the leſſe	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologhda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Aſtracan	47	9
At the entrance into the Caſpian ſea.	46	72
Manguſlaue beyond the Caſpian ſea.	45	00
Vrgence in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō the Caſpian ſea.	42	18
Boghar a citie in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō Vrgence.	39	10

Certaine notes gathered by *Richard Iohnſon* (which was at Boghar with *M. Anthony Ienkinſon*) of the reports of Ruſſes and other ſtrangers, of the wayes of *Ruſſia* to *Cathaya*, and of diuers and ſtrange people.

The firſt note giuen by one named *Sarnichoke* a *Tartarian* ſubiect to the Prince of *Boghar*, which are alſo *Tartars* bordering vpon *Kizilbaſh* or *Perſia*, declaring the way from *Aſtracan*, being the furtheſt part of *Ruſſia*, to *Cathaya* as foloweth.

First from Aſtracan to Serachick by land, trauailing by leyſure as Merchants vſe with wares, is 10. dayes iourney.

From Serachick to a towne named * Vrgenſhe, 15. dayes.

*Or, Vrgence.

From Vrgenſhe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

From Boghar to Caſcar, 30. dayes.

From Caſcar to Cathaya, 30. dayes iourney.

By the ſame partie a note of another way more ſure to traueile, as he reporteth.

From Aſtracan to Turkemen by the Caſpian ſea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From Turkemen by lande ſpecially with Camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Vrgenſhe.

From Vrgenſhe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

Note. At this Citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of thoſe parts and the Cathayans.

Alſo the toll there is the 40. part to be payed of Merchandizes or goods.

From thence to Caſcar is one moneths iourney, and from Caſcar (being the frontier of the great Can, hauing many townes and fortes by the way) is alſo a moneths trauel for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further, as he hath heard (not hauing bene in thoſe parts himſelfe) ſhips may ſaile from the dominions of Cathaia vnto India. But of other waies, or how the ſeas lie by any coaſt hee knoweth not.

The inſtruction of another Tartarian merchant dwelling in the citie of *Boghar*, as he hath learned by other his countreymen which haue bene there.

First from Aſtracan by ſea to Serachick is 15 daies: affirming alſo that a man may trauell the other way before written by Turkemen.

From Serachick to Vrgence is 15 dayes.

From Vrgence to Boghar alſo 15 dayes.

Note. Theſe laſt 30 daies iourney is without habitation of houſes: therefore trauellers lodge in their owne tents, carying with them to eate, their ſeuerall prouiſions: and for drineſſe there bee many wels of faire water at equall baiting places not farre diſtant dayly to be had.

From Boghar to Taskent eaſie trauelling with goods, is 14 dayes by land.

From Taskent to Occient 7 dayes.

From Occient to Caſcar 20 daies. This Caſcar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reſhit can.

From Caſcar to Sowchick 30 daies iourney, which Sowchick is the firſt border of Cathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5 daies iourney, and from Camchick to Cathay is 2 moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate, & wel repleniſhed with innumerable fruits, & the chiefe citie in that whole land is called Cambalu, which is yet 10 daies iourney from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay, which they praiſe to be ciuill & vnſpeakeably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay, the moſt part therof ſtretching to the ſunne riſing, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion alſo, as the Tartars report, is chriſtian, or after the maner of Chriſtians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in trauelling through the waies aforeſaid, but wolues white and blacke. And becauſe that woods are not of ſuch quantitie there, as in theſe parts of Ruſſia, but in maner rather ſcant then plentiful, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but ſome other beaſts (as namely one in Ruſſe called Barſe) are in thoſe coaſts. This Barſe appeareth by a ſkinne of one ſeene here to ſell, to be nere ſo great as a big lion ſpotted very faire and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Angrim.

Mandeuille ſpeaketh hereof.

Or Kitay.

Small people.

Note that 20 daies iourney from Cathay is a countrey named Angrim, where liueth the beaſt that beareth the beſt Muske, & the principall therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are taunie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion from women, they haue certaine tokens of iron, that is to ſay: the men weare the ſunne round like a boſſe vpon their ſhoulders, and women on their priuie parts. Their feeding is raw fleſh in the ſame land, and in another called * Titay: the Duke there is called Can. They worſhip the fire, and it is 34 dayes iourney from great Cathay, and in the way lyeth the beautifull people, eating with kniues of golde, and are called Comorom, and the land of ſmall people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

The inſtructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and alſo another way neere the ſea coaſt, as foloweth, which note was ſent out of Ruſſia from *Giles Holmes*.

Pechora but ſix dayes iourney by land or water from Ob.

First from the prouince of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora traueiling with Olens or hartes, is ſixe dayes iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of Ob.

The Ob is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Ruſſe miles ouer. And from thence three dayes iourney on the right hand is a place called Chorno-leſe, to ſay in Engliſh, blacke woods, and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his deſcription after the Iriſh faſhion.

From Pechey-cony to Ioult Calmachey three dayes iourney, & from thence to Chorno Calachay three dayes tending to the Southeaſt.

Theſe two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, *and vpon the ſea coaſts beyond the ſame, taken out of the Ruſſe tongue* word by word, and trauailed by a Ruſſe borne in *Colmogro*, whoſe name was *Theodor Towtigin*, who by report, was ſlaine in his ſecond voyage in one of the ſaid countreys.

Vpon the Eaſt part beyond the countrey of Vgori, the riuer Ob is the moſt Weſtermoſt part thereof. Vpon the ſea coaſt dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomſey, whoſe meate is fleſh of Olens, or Harts, and Fiſh, and doe eate one another ſometimes among themſelues. And if any Marchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their children for their ſakes to feaſt them withall. And if a Marchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and ſo doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewiſe. They be euill of ſight, and haue ſmall noſes, but they be ſwift and ſhoote very well, and they trauaile on Harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts ſkinnes. They haue no Marchandiſe but Sables onely.

Trauelling on dogs & harts.

2 Item, on the ſame coaſt or quarter beyond thoſe people, and by the ſea ſide alſo doth dwell another kinde of Samoeds in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they liue in the ſea, and doe not come or dwell on the dry land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond theſe people, on the ſea coaſt, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is fleſh and fiſh, and their merchandiſe are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Ruſſes call Pſelts) and Harts ſkinnes, and Fawnes ſkinnes.

The relation of *Chaggi Memet* a Perſian Marchant, to *Baptiſta Ramuſius*, and other notable citizens of *Venice*, touching the way from *Tauris* the chiefe citie of *Perſia*, to *Campion* a citie of *Cathay* ouer land: in which voyage he himſelfe had paſſed before with the Carauans.

	dayes iourney.
From Tauris to Soltania.	6
From Soltania to Casbin.	4
From Casbin to Veremi.	6
From Veremi to Eri.	15
From Eri to Boghara.	20
Frō Boghara to Samarchand.	5
From Samarchand to Caſcar.	25
From Caſcar to Acſu.	20

	dayes iourney.
From Acſu to Cuchi.	20
From Cuchi to Chialis.	10
From Chialis to Turfon.	10
From Turfon to Camul.	13
From Camul to Succuir.	15
From Succuir to Gauta.	5
From Gauta to Campion.	6

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the prouince of Tangut, from whence the greateſt quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

A letter of *Sigiſmond* king of *Polonia*, written in the 39. yeere of his reigne to *Elizabeth* the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie of *England*, &c.

1559

Sigiſmudus Auguſtus by the grace of God king of Polonia, great Duke of Lituania, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Maſſouia, and Samogetia, &c. Lord and heire &c. to the moſt Noble Princeſſe Ladie Elizabeth by the ſame grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. our deare ſiſter and kinſewoman, greeting and increaſe of all felicitie. Whereas your Maieſtie writeth to vs that you haue receiued two of our letters, wee haue looked that you ſhould haue anſwered to them both. Firſt to the one, in which we intreated more at large in forbidding the voyage to Narue, which if it had bene done, we had bene vnburdened of ſo often writing of one matter: and might haue anſwered your Maieſtie much better to the purpoſe. Now we thus anſwere to your Maieſtie to thoſe matters of the which you writte to vs the 3 of October from Windſore. Firſt, foraſmuch as your Maieſtie at the requeſt of our letters hath diſcharged the arreſt of Marchants goods, and of the names of the men of Danſke our ſubiects, which was ſet vpon them by the commandement of your Maieſtie: and alſo haue reſtored the olde and ancient libertie of traffique, we acknowledge great pleaſure done vnto vs in the ſame: and alſo thinke it to bee done according to common agreement made in times paſt. Neither were we euer at any time of any other opinion touching your Maieſtie, but that wee ſhould obtaine right and reaſon at your hands. Foraſmuch as we likewiſe ſhall at all times be ready to grant to your Maieſtie, making any requeſt for your ſubiects, ſo farre as ſhall ſtand with iuſtice, yet neither will we yeeld any thing to your Maieſtie in contention of loue, beneuolence, and mutuall office, but that we iudge euery

The trade to Narue forbidden by the K. of Poland.

The ancient couenants of trafficke betweene England & Pruſſia.

The olde libertie of trafficke.

The meanes of increaſe of the power of the Moſcouite.

euery good turne of yours to be recompenſed by vs to the vttermoſt: and that ſhall we proue as occaſion ſhall ſerue. Therefore we ſhall commaund the arreſts, if any be made by our ſubiects (as it is vnknowen to vs) of merchants goods and Engliſh names to be diſcharged: and ſhall conſerue the olde libertie of trafficke, and all other things which ſhall ſeeme to apperteine to neighbourhood betweene vs and your Maieſty: ſo that none of the ſubiects of your Maieſty hereafter preſume to vſe the nauigation to the Narue forbidden by vs, and full of danger not onely to our parts, but alſo to the open deſtruction of all Chriſtians and liberall nations. The which as we haue written afore, ſo now we write againe to your Maieſty that we know and feele of a ſurety, the Moſcouite, enemy to all liberty vnder the heauens, dayly to grow mightier by the increaſe of ſuch things as be brought to the Narue, while not onely wares but alſo weapons heeretofore vnknowen to him, and artificers & arts be brought vnto him: by meane whereof he maketh himſelfe ſtrong to vanquiſh all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narue is vſed, can not be ſtopped. And we perfectly know your Maieſty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the ſaid enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he vſeth on his ſubiects, and in what ſeruile ſort they be vnder him. We ſeemed hitherto to vanquiſh him onely in this, that he was rude of arts, and ignorant of policies. If ſo be that this nauigation to the Narue continue, what ſhall be vnknowen to him: Therefore we that know beſt, and border vpon him, do admoniſh other Chriſtian princes in time, that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their ſubiects to a moſt barbarous and cruell enemy, as we can no leſſe do by the duty of a Chriſtian prince. For now we do foreſee, except other prnices take this admonition, the Moſcouite puffed vp in pride with thoſe things that be brought to the Narue, and made more perfect in warlike affaires with engines of warre and ſhippes, will make aſſault this way on Chriſtendome, to ſlay or make bound all that ſhall withſtand him: which God defend. With which our admonition diuers princes already content themſelues, and abſtaine from the Narue. The others that will not abſtaine from the ſayd voyage ſhalbe impeached by our nauie, and incurre the danger of loſſe of life, liberty, wife and children. Now therfore if the ſubiects of your Maieſty will forbeare this voyage to Narue, there ſhalbe nothing denied to them of vs. Let your Maieſty well weigh and conſider the reaſons & occaſions of our ſtopping of ſhips going to the Narue. In which ſtopping, our ſubiects of Danske be in no fault, as we haue already written to your Maieſty, neither vſe we their counſell in the ſame. In any other matter, if there be any fault in them againſt your Maieſty or your ſubiects, we will gladly do iuſtice vpon them, that your Maieſty may well vnderſtand that we be carefull of you and your ſubiects. Neither thinke we it meet to take Hamburgh, or any other place to iudge the matter: for we haue our councell & iudgement ſeat at Rie, where your Maieſty & your ſubiects, or any other, ſhal haue iuſtice adminiſtred vnto them, with whom we haue had ancient league and amity. And thus much we haue thought good to let your Maieſty vnderſtand. Fare ye well. Dated the ſixt of December the 39 of our reigne.

Sigiſmundus Auguſtus Rex.

The Queenes Maieſties Letters to the Emperour of *Ruſsia*, requeſting licence, and ſafe conduct for M. *Anthony Ienkinſon* to paſſe thorow his *kingdome of* Ruſſia, *into* Perſia, *to the Great Sophie.* 1561.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, ſereniſſimo & potentiſſimo principi, D. Ioanni Baſiliuich, Imperatori totius Ruſſiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, & omnium rerum proſperarum fœliciſſimum incrementum. Potentiſſime Princeps, res eſt nobis ad memorandum longè gratiſſima, illa veſtræ Maieſtatis erga nos & noſtros amicitia. Quæ tempore fœliciſſimæ memoriæ Regis Edwardi ſexti, fratris noſtri chariſſimi, Dei benignitate incepta, deinceps verò veſtra non ſolùm ſingulari humanitate alta atque fota, ſed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus beneuolentiæ veſtræ officijs ſic firmata eſt atque conſtabilita, vt iam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam vtriuſque noſtrum, ad publicam noſtrorum vtrobique regnorum immenſam commoditatem, ad priuatam ſingulorum vtrinque ſubditorum optatam ſpem, certámque fœlicitatem multis ſit deinceps ſeculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc veſtra bonitas, pleniſſimè ſeſe effudit in omnes noſtros ſubditos, qui ſeſe in vllas imperij veſtri partes vnquam receperunt, (pro qua ingentes noſtras, vt par eſt, gratias veſtræ Maieſtati habemus, veſtríſque viciſſim in omni opportunitatis loco libentiſſimè feremus) tamen abundantia benignitatis veſtræ, in accipiendo, támque humanitèr tractando noſtrum fidelem & perdilectum famulum Antonium Ienkinſon, qui has perfert literas, ſeorſim nobis gratiſſima exiſtit. Nam præterquam quòd nul-

lis non locis veſtri Imperij & magna libertate, & ſumma humanitate veſtræ ſerenitatis non permiſſu ſolùm, ſed iuſſu etiam frueretur, veſtra bonitas tamen non in hac domeſtica benignè faciendi ratione conquieuit, ſed perlibentèr & vltró eundum noſtrum hunc perdilectum famulum, varijs exteris principibus, quoquouerſus ipſe iter ſuum inſtituerat, literis ſuis, ſuo magno Imperiali ſigillo conſignatis commendauit. Quod beneficium illi vbiuis gentium, & viam ſine vllo periculo, propter publicam veſtram fidem, & aduentum cum magno fauore, propter veſtram commendationem, optatè quidem & fœliciter communiuit. Itaq; quemadmodum gemina hæc veſtra beneuolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in veſtro regno negotiantibus ſubditis noſtris vniuerſis, tum iſta ſeorſim præſtita huic Antonio Ienkinſon, perfideli noſtro famulo, nobis in mente non ſolùm ad gratam perpetuámque memoriam, verùm etiam ad mutuam, vel opportunam compenſationem, firmiſſimè defixa eſt: ita, petimus a veſtra Maieſtate vt vtramque beneuolentiæ veſtræ rationem & communem noſtris vniuerſis, & priuatam huic noſtro dilecto famulo, vtriſque deinceps dignetur tueri, atq; conſeruare. Neque nos quidem diffidimus, quin quem fauorem veſtra Maieſtas anteà ſua ſponte Antonio Ienkinſon, tum quidem priuato oſtendit, eundem nunc noſtro rogatu eidem Antonio in noſtrum iam famulatum cooptato benignè velit denuò declarare. Et propterea petimus à veſtra Maieſtate, vt dignetur iterum concedere eidem noſtro famulo, literas ſuas commeatus, publicæ fidei, ac ſaluiconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præſidio, ſit illi, familiaribus ſuis, & ſeruis, tutum, liberumque, cum mercibus, ſarcinis, equis, & bonis ſuis vniuerſis, inuehendis euehendíſque, per veſtra regna, domicilia, atque prouincias, proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere quandocunque illi aut ſuis libitum fuerit. Et ſicut non dubitamus, quin veſtra Maieſtas hæc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immenſa bonitate ſuæ naturæ benignè & largiter huic famulo noſtro ſit conceſſura, ita valdè optamus, adeóque petimus, vt veſtra Maieſtas eodem noſtrum famulum, vnà cum omnibus ſuis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris alijs principibus literis ſuis dignetur commendare, præſertim verò atque ſeorſim Magno Sophi, Perſarum Imperatori, in cuius etiam imperia & ditiones idem noſter famulus gratia potiſſimè experiundi peregrina commercia, proficiſci vnà cum ſuis conſtituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia noſtra poſtulata pro famuli ſpe, pro noſtra expectatione, pro veſtra bonitate, pro noſtrorum vtrinque ſubditorum commoditate, fauſta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam veſtræ Maieſti, & noſtris vtrobíque perquam vtilia euaſura. Deus veſtræ Maieſtatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima noſtra Ciuitate Londini, anno mundi 5523. Domini ac Dei noſtri Ieſu Chriſti 1561, regnorum verô noſtrorum tertio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lord Iohn Baſiliwich, Emperour of all Ruſſia, &c. greeting, and moſt happie increaſe in all proſperitie. Right mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maieſtie towards vs and our ſubiects is very pleaſant to vs to be remembred, which being begun by the goodneſſe of God in the reigne of our moſt deare brother of happie memorie, King Edward the ſixt, and afterwards, through your not onely ſingular humanitie, fed, and nouriſhed, but alſo through your incredible goodneſſe increaſed, and augmented, is now firmed and eſtabliſhed, with all maner of tokens of your beneuolence, that now we doubt not, but that from henceforth, during many ages, the ſame ſhall endure to the praiſe of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate deſired hope, and certeine felicitie of all our ſubiects. And although that this your goodneſſe hath bene abundantly extended to all our ſubiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reaſon is) your Maieſtie right heartie thanks, and will againe ſhew the like vnto yours, right willingly, whenſoeuer opportunitie ſhall require: yet the abundance of your benignitie both in receiuing, and alſo in enterteining our faithfull and beloued ſeruant, Anthonie Ienkinſon, the bringer of theſe our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankefull. For beſides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Maieſties ſufferance, but alſo by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendſhip, your goodneſſe not ceaſing in this your domeſticall diſpoſition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne abundant grace, commend the ſame our welbeloued ſeruant, by your letters ſealed with your Imperiall ſeale, to ſundrie forren Princes, vnto whom he was minded to iourney; which your magnificence did purchaſe vnto him happily, according to his deſire, both paſſage without all perill, through your notable credit, and alſo atchieuing of his iourney through your commendation. Therefore like as theſe your duplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our ſubiects frequen-

ting that your Realme, and alſo this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull ſeruant Anthonie Ienkinſon, is right aſſuredly faſtened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall and gratefull memoriall, but alſo for a mutuall and meet compenſation: ſo we deſire of your Maieſtie, to vouchſafe from hencefoorth to conſerue and continue the geminate diſpoſition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our ſubiects, and alſo priuately to this our beloued ſeruant. And we doubt not, but that at our requeſt, you will againe graciouſly ſhew vnto the ſame Anthony, now admitted into our ſeruice, the like fauor as heretofore your Maieſty of your meere motion did exhibite vnto him, being then a priuate perſon. And therefore we deſire your Maieſty eftſoones to grant to the ſame our ſeruant, your letters of licence, paſport, & ſafe conduct, through the tenour, authority, and helpe whereof, he, his ſeruants, together with their merchandiſes, baggages, horſes, and goods whatſoeuer, that ſhall be brought in, or carried out, by or thorow all your empire, kingdome, dominions, and prouinces, may ſurely and freely iourney, go, paſſe, repaſſe, depart, and there tary ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him: and from thence returne whenſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to him or his: and as we doubt not, but that your Maieſty in the goodneſſe of your nature will graciouſly and abundantly grant all theſe good offices of humanity, ſo we do heartily deſire that your Maieſty wil likewiſe vouchſafe to commend the ſame our ſeruant, together with all his goods, by your letters to other forren Princes, and ſpecially to the great Sophy, and Emperour of Perſia, into whoſe empire and iuriſdictions the ſame our ſeruant purpoſeth with his for to iourney, chiefly for triall of forren merchandiſes.

We therefore doe truſt that all theſe our demands ſhall tend, and haue effect, according to the hope of our ſeruant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commodity of both our ſubiects, lucky to him, thankefull to vs, acceptable to your Maieſty, and very profitable to our ſubiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maieſty long and happy felicity in earth, and euerlaſting in heauen. Dated in our famous city of London the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yeere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Jeſus Chriſt 1561, and of our reigne the third.

The Queenes Maieſties Letters to the Great Sophy of *Perſia*, ſent by M. *Anthonie Ienkinſon.* 1561.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, &c. Potentiſſimo & inuictiſſimo Principi, Magno Sophi Perſarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis & vltrà Tygrim fluuium, & omnium intra Mare Caſpium, & Perſicum ſinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori ſalutem, & rerum proſperarum fœliciſſimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum eſt, vt quas gentes, non ſolum immenſa terrarum ſpacia, & inſuperabiles marium vaſtitates, ſed & ipſi etiam cœlorum cardines longiſſimè diſiunxerunt, ipſæ tamen literarum bono & mentis certa cogitata, & humanitatis grata officia, & intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda facilè inter ſe & opportunè poſſint communicare. Itaque cùm perdilectus, & fidelis noſter famulus Antonius Ienkinſon, qui has literas noſtras perfert, cum bona venia, fauore, & gratia noſtra hoc Angliæ noſtræ regnum excedere, & in Perſiam vſque, veſtráſque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare conſtituerit, hoc illius inſtitutum perlaudabile quidem grato noſtro fauore proſequi, & promouere ſtuduimus: id quod eo nos libentiùs facimus, quoniam hoc eius propoſitum ex honeſto ſtudio commercij conſtituendi potiſſimum cùm veſtris ſubditis, alijſque peregrinis hominibus, ad veſtra regna confluentibus, omninò exortum ſit. Propterea nobis & ſcribendum ad veſtram Maieſtatem, ab eaque petendum eſſe duximus, vt noſtro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo noſtro Antonio Ienkinſon literas publicæ fidei, & ſalui conductus, quarum authoritate atque præſidio, licitum, liberúmque ſit illi, vnà cum ſuis familiaribus, ſeruis, ſarcinis, mercibus & bonis vniuerſis, per veſtra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque prouincias liberè, & ſine impedimento proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel ſuis lubitum fuerit. Si hæc ſancta hoſpitalitatis iura & dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, noſtra regna, noſtróſque ſubditos libentèr conſtitui, ſincerè coli, & conſtantèr conſeruari queant, ſperamus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, vt ab hijs paruis initijs, grandiora rerum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, noſtris ad ſumma commoda atque vſus, aliquando ſint oritura: ſiquidem, vt non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longiſſimè ſeperandos, quàm diuina ratio communis humanitatis, & mutuæ beneuolentiæ ad nos firmiſſimè coniungendos plus virium habuiſſe videatur. Deus ſalutem omnem, & fœlicem in terris, & perpetuam in cœlis, veſtræ concedat Maieſtati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri noſtra vrbe Londino, 25 die menſis Aprilis, anno mundi, 5523, Domini ac Dei noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, 1561, regnorum verò noſtrorum tertio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

This letter was alſo written in Hebrew, and Italian.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Perſians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this ſide, and beyond the riuer of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caſpian ſea, and the gulfe of Perſia, greeting, and moſt happie increaſe in all proſperitie. By the goodneſſe of the Almightie God it is ordeined, that thoſe people, which not onely the huge diſtance of the lands, and the inuincible wideneſſe of the ſeas, but alſo the very quarters of the heauens do moſt farre ſeparate, and ſet aſunder, may neuertheleſſe through good commendation by writing, both eaſe, and alſo communicate betweene them, not onely the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but alſo many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloued ſeruant Anthonie Ienkinſon, bearer of theſe our letters, is determined with our licence, fauour, and grace, to paſſe out of this our Realme, and by Gods ſufferance to trauell euen into Perſia, and other your iuriſdictions: we minde truely with our good fauour, to ſet forward, and aduance that his right laudable purpoſe: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterpriſe is onely grounded vpon an honeſt intent, to eſtabliſh trade of merchandiſe with your ſubiects, and with other ſtrangers traffiking in your realmes. Wherfore we haue thought good, both to write to your Maieſtie, and alſo to deſire the ſame, to vouchſafe at our requeſt, to grant to our ſayd ſeruant, Anthonie Ienkinſon, good paſports, and ſafe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, ſeruants, cariages, merchandiſe, and goods whatſoeuer, thorow your Realmes, Dominions, Iuriſdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, go, paſſe, repaſſe, and tary ſo long as he ſhall pleaſe, and from thence to returne whenſoeuer he or they ſhall thinke good. If theſe holy dueties of entertainment, and ſweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, ſincerely embraced, and firmely obſerued betweene vs, and our Realmes, and ſubiects, then we do hope that the Almightie God will bring it to paſſe, that of theſe ſmall beginnings, greater moments of things ſhall hereafter ſpring, both to our furniture and honours, and alſo to the great commodities, and vſe of our peoples: ſo it will be knowen that neither the earth, the ſeas, nor the heauens, haue ſo much force to ſeparate vs, as the godly diſpoſition of naturall humanity, and mutuall beneuolence haue to ioyne vs ſtrongly together. God grant vnto your Maieſtie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yere of the creation of the world, 5523, and of our Lord and God Ieſus Chriſt, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the company of Merchants trading into *Ruſſia*, the eight day of May 1561, to our truſtie friend *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, at his departure towards *Ruſſia*, and ſo to *Perſia*, in this our eight iourney.

First you ſhall vnderſtand that we haue laden in our good ſhip, called the Swallow, one Cheſt, the keyes whereof we doe heere deliuer you, and alſo a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the ſayd Cheſt, and what euery thing did coſt: and becauſe, as you know, the ſayd Cheſt is of charge, we deſire you to haue a ſpeciall regard vnto it, and when God ſhall ſend you vnto Moſco, our mindes and will is, that you, with the aduiſe of our Agents there, doe appoint ſome ſuch preſents for the Emperour and his ſonne, either wine, cloth of golde, ſcarlet, or plate, as to your good diſcretion ſhall be thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto him the Queenes Maieſties Letters, and our ſayd preſent in the name of the Company, we thinke it good that you make your humble ſute vnto his Highneſſe in our name, to get his licence or ſafe conduct for you and all other our ſeruants or Agents at all times hereafter with ſuch wares and merchandiſe as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times ſhall thinke good to paſſe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Perſia, or other places, and alſo to returne vnto Moſco with ſuch wares and merchandiſes as you ſhall bring or ſend from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there to make compoſition with the emperor or his officers for ſome certeine cuſtome or tole vpon ſuch goods as we ſhall paſſe that way, to the intent we might be the better fauored, we refer it to your deſcretion,foreſeeing that yͤ opening of this matter be not preiudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the ſale of our cloth of gold,plate,pearles,ſaphyres,and other iewels,we put our truſt and confidence in you principally to ſell them for ready mony,time to good debters, or in barter for good wares, ſo that you make our other Agents priuy how and for what price you ſell any of the premiſſes, and alſo deliuer ſuch ſummes of money, billes or wares, as you ſhall receiue, vnto our ſaid Agents : thinking good further,that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels,or any part thereof will not be ſold for profit before your departure from the Moſco,that then you cauſe them to be ſafe packed,and ſet order they may be ſent hither againe in our ſhippes the next yeere,except you perceiue that there may be ſome profit in carrying ſome part of them into Perſia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We haue alſo laden in the ſayd Swallow and the other two ſhips 80 fardles, conteining 400 kerſies,as by yͤ inuoice doth appeare, which fardles be packed, & appointed to be caried into Perſia : neuertheleſſe,if you chance to finde good ſales for them in the Moſco,we thinke it were good to ſell part of them there, and to cary the leſſe quantity with you, becauſe we be vncertaine what vent or ſale you ſhall finde in Perſia or other places where you ſhall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to paſſe out of his dominions, and to returne,as aforeſaid, & that you perceiue you may ſafely do the ſame,our minde is, that at ſuch time as you thinke beſt and moſt conuenient for that purpoſe, you do appoint ſo many, and ſuch of our hired ſeruants or apprentiſes as you thinke neceſſary & meet for our affaires,and may beſt be ſpared,to go with you in your ſaid voyage,whereof we would one to be ſuch as you might make priuy of all your doings for diuers conſiderations and cauſes that may happen : which ſeruants and apprentiſes, we will and command, by this our remembrance,to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs,not onely to goe with you, and to doe ſuch things as you command them in your preſence,but alſo to goe vnto ſuch countreys or places as you ſhall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares,& there to remaine and continue ſo long as you ſhall thinke good,and if they or any of them will refuſe to do ſuch things as you do appoint them,as aforeſaid,or that any of them (be he hired ſeruant or apprentiſe) do miſuſe himſelfe by any maner of diſobedience or diſorder,and will not by gentle and faire meanes be reformed,we will that you ſend him backe to the Moſco,with ſtraight order that he may be ſent from thence hither, & let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauior,to the intent that if he be a hired ſeruant we may pay him his wages according to his ſeruice, and if he be an apprentiſe we may vſe him according to his deſerts.

We will alſo that you take with you ſuch karſies, ſcarlet, and other clothes, or any other ſuch wares of ours, as you ſhall thinke good, and ſo in the name of God to take your iourney towards Perſia,either by the way of Aſtracan and Mare Caſpium,or otherwiſe,as you ſhall ſee cauſe : and when God ſendeth you into Perſia, our minde is,that you repaire vnto the great Sophy with the Queenes Maieſties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caſpian ſea for you to trauell,and that you make him ſuch a preſent as you ſhall thinke meet,and if you paſſe by any other kings,princes, or gouernors, before or after you come to the preſence of the Sophy,likewiſe to make them ſome preſent, as you ſee cauſe, according to their eſtate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of priuilege or ſafeconduct of the ſayd Sophy or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can,for the ſure eſtabliſhing of further trade in merchandiſe by vs heereafter to be made,frequented and continued in thoſe parts,not onely that we may freely ſell in all places within his dominions ſuch wares as we cary thither,but alſo buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandiſe whatſoeuer it be , that is for our purpoſe and commoditie within his dominions, with free paſſage alſo for vs at all times, to paſſe as often as we will with our goods and merchandiſe into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adioyning, and in like maner to returne thorow his dominions into Ruſſia or elſwhere.

And for the ſale of our kerſies or other wares that you ſhall haue with you, as our truſt is that you will doe for our moſt profit and commoditie : euen ſo we referre all vnto your good diſcretion, aſwell in the ſale of our ſayd goods , as to make our returne in ſuch things as you ſhall finde there , and thinke beſt for our profit. But if paſſage cannot be had into Perſia by Aſtracan, or otherwiſe,the next Summer,which ſhalbe in the yeere 1562, then our minde is,that you procure to ſell our kerſies,& other ſuch wares as are appointed for Perſia,in the Moſco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may ſell them for any reaſonable price , and then to employ your ſelfe with ſuch other of your ſeruants , as you ſhall thinke meet for the ſearch of the paſſage by Noua Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Prouided alwayes, that if you do perceiue or vnderſtand,that paſſage is like to be had into Perſia the Summer folowing,which

The paſſage of Noua Zembla.

ſhalbe in the yere 1563, and that you can not ſell our kerſies in the Emperours dominions, as aforeſayd, at a reaſonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the ſaid Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards Perſia as aforeſayd. If paſſage into Perſia cannot be obteined the next yeere, neither good hope of paſſage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time good ſale of our kerſies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to ſee if you can practiſe to cary your ſaid wares by ſafe conduct thorow Polonia, or any other wayes vnto Conſtantinople, or els where you thinke beter ſale may be had, then in Ruſſia.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderſtand our meanings in this intended aduenture: but foraſmuch as we do conſider and know, that if we ſhould preſcribe vnto you any certeine way, or direct order what you ſhould doe, we might ſo worke cleane contrary to our purpoſe and intent: therefore knowing your approued wiſedome with youre experience, and alſo your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and bringing to good ſucceſſe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affaires concerning the ſaid aduenture wholly vnto your good diſcretion, praying God ſo to proſper you, as may be firſt for his glory, ſecondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increaſe of your good name for euer.

And yet further deſiring, and alſo moſt earneſtly requiring you, as you tender the ſtate of our company, that you will haue a ſpeciall regard vnto the order of our houſes & our ſeruants, aſwell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Moſco, and to ſee and conſider if any miſorder be amongſt our ſeruants or apprentiſes, wherby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or loſſe of any part of our goods or priuilege there, that you doe not onely ſee the ſame reformed, but alſo to certifie vs thereof by your letter at large, as our truſt is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnes of ſuch things as we do partly ſuppoſe you ſhall finde in the partes of Ruſsia, we doe heerewith deliuer you a quantitie of certeine drugges, wherby you may perceiue how to know the beſt, and alſo there are noted the prices of ſuch wares and drugges as be heere moſt vendible: alſo we deliuer you heerewith one pound and one ounce weight in braſſe, to the end, that you may therby, & with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth here. As for the knowledge of ſilks, we need not to giue you any inſtructions thereof, other then you know.

Waights and drugs deliuered to M. Ienkinſon.

And if you vnderſtand that any commoditie in Ruſsia be profitable for vs to haue with you into Perſia or other places, our minde is that our Agents ſhall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make prouiſion your ſelfe. And becauſe the Ruſſes ſay that in traueiling Eaſtwardes from *Colmogro* thirty or forty dayes iourney, there is the maine ſea to be found, we thinke that Richard Iohnſon might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Moſco time enough to goe with you into Perſia: for if it be true that he may trauell to the ſea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the Eaſt from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the ſtraight and paſſage that way, if any be there to be had.

The maine ſea within thirtie dayes Eaſtward of Colmogro.

William Gerard. } Gouernors. { William Merike.
Thomas Lodge. } Gouernors. { Blaſe Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. *Anth. Ienkinſon*, from the famous citie of *London* into the land of *Perſia*, paſſing in this ſame iourney thorow *Ruſſia*, *Moſcouia*, and *Mare Caſpium*, aliâs *Hircanum*, ſent and imployed therein by the right worſhipfull Societie of the *Merchants Aduenturers*, for diſcouerie of Lands, Iſlands, &c. Being begun the foureteenth day of May, *Anno 1561*, and in the third yere of the reigne of the Queenes Maieſtie that now is: this preſent declaration being directed and written to the foreſayd Societie.

1561

FIrſt imbarking my ſelfe in a good ſhippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Graueſend, hauing a faire and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of our God, hauing in our ſailing diuerſitie of windes, & thereby forced to direct and obſerue ſundry courſes (not here rehearſed, becauſe you haue bene thereof heretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of Iuly, the yere aforeſayd I arriued in the bay of S. Nicholas in Ruſsia: and the ſixe and twentieth day of the ſame moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worſhips affaires, I departed from thence, paſſing thorow the countrey of Vago, and on the eight day of Auguſt then following, I came to Vologda, which is diſtant from Colmogro, ſeuen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boats, The Queenes letters to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

wherein was laden a cheſt of iewels with the preſent, by your worſhips appointed for the Emperors Maieſty: which being arriued, and the cheſt receiued, I therewith departed toward the city of Moſco, and came thither the twentith day of the ſame moneth, where I immediatly cauſed my comming to be ſignified vnto the Secretary of the Imperiall Maieſty, with the Queenes Highneſſe letters addreſſed vnto the ſame his Maieſtie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his Highneſſe hauing great affaires, and being at that preſent ready to be married vnto a Ladie of Chircaſsi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no ſtranger, Ambaſſadour, nor other, ſhould come before him for a time, with further ſtreight charge, that during the ſpace of three dayes that the ſame ſolemne feaſt was celebrating, the gates of the citie ſhould be ſhut, and that no perſon, ſtranger or natiue (certeine of his houſhold reſerued) ſhould come out of their ſaid houſes during the ſaid triumph, the cauſe thereof vnto this day not being knowen.

The ſixt of September following, the Emperour made a great feaſt, whereunto were called all Ambaſſadours and ſtrangers being of reputation, and hauing affaires: amongſt whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretary firſt to come, and to ſhew him the Queenes Maieſties letters, I refuſed ſo to doe, ſaying I would deliuer the ſame vnto the Emperours owne hands, and not otherwiſe: which heard, the Secretarie anſwered, that vnleſſe he might firſt peruſe the ſayd letters, I ſhould not come into the Emperors preſence, ſo that I was not at the feaſt. Neuertheleſſe, I was aduertiſed by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maieſtie, although the cauſe of my abſence was to his Maieſtie vnknowen. The next day following, I cauſed a ſupplication to be made, and preſented it to his Highneſſe owne hands, and thereby declared the cauſe of my comming, ſignified by the Queenes Maieſties letters, and the anſwere of his ſayd Secretary, moſt humbly beſeeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the ſame her Highneſſe letters, with ſuch honour and friendſhip, as his letters ſent by Oſep Napea were receiued by the hands of our late Soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, or els that it would pleaſe his Highnes to diſmiſſe me, ſaying that I would not deliuer the ſaid letters but vnto his owne hands, for that it is ſo vſed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my ſupplication well diſgeſted, I was foorthwith commaunded to come with the ſaid letters before his Maieſtie, and ſo deliuered the ſame into his owne hands (with ſuch preſents as by you were appointed) according to my requeſt, which were gratefully accepted, & the ſame day I dined in his Graces preſence, with great entertainment. Shortly after, I deſired to know whether I ſhould be licenced to paſſe thorow his Highneſſe dominions into the land of Perſia, according to the Queenes Maieſties requeſt: hereunto it was anſwered, that I ſhould not paſſe thither, for that his Maieſtie meant to ſend an armie of men that way into the land of Chircaſsi, whereby my iourney ſhould be both dangerous & troubleſome, and that if I ſhould periſh therein, it would be much to his Graces diſhonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not expreſſed. Thus hauing receiued his anſwere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yere, hauing in that time ſolde the moſt part of your kerſies and other wares appointed for Perſia, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I deſired paſport, and poſt horſes for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my paſport, ready to depart, there came vnto our houſe there Oſep Napea, who perſwaded me that I ſhould not depart that day, ſaying that the Emperor was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardneſſe of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the ſame Secretary and Oſep Napea together, after many allegations and obiections of things, and perceiuing that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maieſtie were ſpoken with againe touching my paſſage: wherewith I was content, & within three dayes after ſending for me, he declared that the Emperours pleaſure was, that I ſhould not onely paſſe thorow his dominions into Perſia, but alſo haue his Graces letters of commendations to forren princes, with certaine his affaires committed to my charge, too long here to rehearſe: whereupon I appointed my ſelfe for the voyage, & the 15 day of March, the yeere aforeſaid, I dined againe in his Maieſties preſence in company of an Ambaſſadour of Perſia and others, and receiuing a cup of drinke at his Maieſties hands, I tooke my leaue of his Highneſſe, who did not onely giue me letters, as aforeſayd, but alſo committed matter of importance and charge vnto me, to be done when I ſhould arriue in thoſe countreys whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readineſſe for the ſame voyage, I departed from the city of Moſco the 27 day of April 1562, downe by the great riuer of Volga, in company of the ſaid Ambaſſadour of Perſia, with whom I had great friendſhip and conference all the way downe the ſame riuer vnto Aſtracan, where we arriued all in health the 10 day of Iune.

Requeſt to paſſe into Perſia thorow Moſcouie.

Oſep Napea' Ambaſſadour from the Emperor of Ruſſia to Q. Mary.

An ambaſſador of Perſia.

Aſtracan.

And as touching the ſituations of the cities, townes, caſtles and countreys, aſwell of Mahometans as alſo of Gentils adioyning to the ſame, whereby I paſſed from Moſco vnto Aſtracan, I omit in this breuiat to rehearſe, for that I heretofore haue declared the ſame moſt amply vnto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arriued at Aſtracan, as is aforeſayd, I repaired vnto the captaine there, vnto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maieſty, with great charge that he not only ſhould ayd and ſuccor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but alſo to ſafeconduct me with 50 gunners wel appointed in two ſtroogs or brigantines into the Caſpian ſea, vntil I had paſſed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rouers do accuſtome to haunt, and hauing prepared my barke for the ſea, the Ambaſſador of Perſia being before departed in a barke of his owne the 15 day of Iuly, the yeere aforeſayd, I and my company tooke our voyage from the ſayd Aſtracan, and the next day at a Weſt ſunne, paſſed the mouth of the ſaid riuer being twenty miles diſtant, lying next Southeaſt. The 18 at a Southweſt ſunne, we paſſed by three Iſlands being diſtant nine miles from the ſaid mouth of Volga, and Southſouthweſt from thence, ſailing Southſouthweſt the next day, at a Weſt & by North ſun we fel with the land called Challica Oſtriua, being foure round Iſlands together, diſtant from the ſaid three Iſlands forty miles. From thence ſailing the ſaid courſe the next day, we had ſight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tumen, where pirats and rouers do vſe: for feare of whom we haled off into the ſea due Eaſt forty miles, and fell vpon ſhallowes out of the ſight of land, and there were like to haue periſhed, eſcaping moſt hardly: then the 22 day we had ſight of a goodly Iſland called Chatalet, diſtant from the ſaid Challica Oſtriua an hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a ſtiffe gale, we were not able to ſeize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the ſame ſixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being diſtant from the maine land to the Weſtward of vs, which was called Skafcayl or Connyk a countrey of Mahometans, about miles, and ſo riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouiſion, we loſt one of them, the ſtorme and ſea being growen very ſore, and thereby our barke was ſo full of leaks, that with continuall pumping we had much adoe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with loſſe of our boat, and our ſelues thereby in great danger like to haue periſhed either in the ſea or els vpon the lee ſhore, where we ſhould haue fallen into the hands of thoſe wicked infidels, who attended our ſhipwracke: and ſurely it was very vnlike that we ſhould haue eſcaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the ſtorme continued ſeuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtieth day of the ſame moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the Weſt with faire weather, our anker weyed, and our ſaile diſplayed, lying South, the next day haling to the ſhore with a Weſt ſunne, we were nie a land called by the inhabitants Shyruanſha, and there we came againe to an anker, hauing the winde contrary, being diſtant from the ſaid Chatalet 150 miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of Auguſt, then hauing a faire winde, winding Southſoutheaſt, and ſailing threeſcore miles, the next day at a Southeaſt ſunne we arriued at a city called Derbent in the king of Hircans dominion, where comming to land, and ſaluting the captaine there with a preſent, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking freſh water I departed.

M. Ienkinſons voyage to Boghar.

He paſſeth the Caſpian ſea.

The countrey of Tumen.

The Iſland of Chatalet.

The land of Shiruanſha.

Derbent.

This city of Derbent is an ancient towne hauing an olde caſtle therein, being ſituated vpon an hill called Caſtow, builded all of free ſtone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was firſt erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred againſt the Perſians and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a woonderfull height and thickneſſe, extending from the ſame city to the Georgians, yea vnto the principall city thereof named Tewfliſh, which wall though it be now raſed, or otherwiſe decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, & the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the ſaid Alexander ſhould not lightly flee, nor his enemies eaſily inuade. This city of Derbent being now vnder the power of the Sophy of Perſia, bordereth vpon the ſea, adioyning to the foreſaid land of Shalfcall, in the latitude of 41 degrees. From thence ſailing Southeaſt and Southſoutheaſt about 80 miles, the ſixt day of Auguſt, the yere aforeſaid, we arriued at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke diſcharged: the goods layd on ſhore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouers, wherof there is great plenty, being field people, the gouernor of the ſaid countrey named Alcan Murcy, comming vnto me, entertained me very gently, vnto whom giuing a preſent, he appointed for my ſafegard forty armed men to watch & ward me, vntil he might haue newes from the king of Shiruan. The 12 day of the ſame moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I ſhould repaire vnto him with all ſpeed: and for expedition, aſwell camels to the number of fiue and forty to cary my goods, as alſo horſes for me and my company were in readineſſe, ſo that the goods laden, and taking my iourney from thence the ſaid twelft day, on the 18 of the ſame moneth I came to a city called Shamaky, in the ſaid countrey of Hircan, otherwiſe called Shiruan, and there the king hath a faire place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were diſcharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was ſent for to come to the king, named

A mighty wall.

Or Tiphlis.

Fortie one degrees.

Shabran.

Alcan Murcy the gouernour.

Obdolowcan,

King Obdolowcan.

The maieſty & attire of king Obdolowcan.

The Queenes letters to the Sophy.

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, diſtant from the ſayd Shamaki twentie miles, to auoyd the iniury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his preſence, who gently interteined me, and hauing kiſſed his hands, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to ſit downe not farre from him. This king did ſit in a very rich pauillion, wrought with ſilke & golde, placed very pleaſantly, vpon a hill ſide, of ſixteene fathom long, and ſixe fathom broad, hauing before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: whereof he & his nobility did drinke, he being a prince of a meane ſtature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparelled with long garments of ſilke, and cloth of gold, imbrodred with pearles and ſtone: vpon his head was a tolipane with a ſharpe end ſtanding vpwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India ſilke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left ſide of his tolipane ſtood a plume of fethers, ſet in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and ſet with precious ſtones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, ſet in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pauilion was couered with rich carpets, & vnder himſelfe was ſpred a ſquare carpet wrought with ſiluer & golde, and therupon was layd two ſutable cuſhions. Thus the king with his nobility ſitting in his pauillion with his legs a croſſe, and perceiuing that it was painfull for me ſo to ſit, his highneſſe cauſed a ſtoole to be brought in, & did will me to ſit thereupon, after my faſhion. Dinner time then approching, diuers clothes were ſpred vpon the ground, and ſundry diſhes ſerued, and ſet in a ranke with diuers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 diſhes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others ſpred, a banket of fruits of ſundry kindes, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 diſhes, were brought in: ſo that two ſeruices occupied 290 diſhes, and at the end of the ſayd dinner & banket, the king ſaid vnto me, Quoſhe quelde, that is to ſay, Welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and taſting thereof, did deliuer me the reſt, demanding how I did like the ſame, and whether there were ſo good in our countrey or not: vnto whom I anſwered in ſuch ſort, that he was therewith contented: then he proponed vnto me ſundry queſtions, both touching religion, and alſo the ſtate of our countreys, and further queſtioned whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of Ruſsia, or the great Turke, were of moſt power, with many other things too long here to rehearſe, to whom I anſwered as I thought moſt meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cauſe of my comming: vnto that I anſwered, that I was ſent with letters from the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty of England vnto the great Sophy, to intreat friendſhip and free paſſage, and for his ſafeconduct to be granted vnto Engliſh merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like alſo to be granted to his ſubiects, when they ſhould come into our countreys, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commodity of both their ſubiects, with diuers other words, which I omit to rehearſe. This ſayd king much allowing this declaration ſayd, that he would not onely giue me paſſage, but alſo men to ſafeconduct me vnto the ſayd Sophy, lying from the foreſayd citie of Shamaki thirtie dayes iourney, vp into the land of Perſia, at a caſtle called Casbin: ſo departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentieth day of Auguſt the yere aforeſaid, he ſent for me againe: vnto whom I repaired in the morning, and the king not being riſen out of his bed (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being an hundred and forty in number, he ſleepeth moſt in the day) did giue one commandement that I ſhould ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they ſhould ſhew me ſo much game and paſtime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone: the king then riſen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his ſight, two gentlemen incountered me with two garments of that countrey faſhion, ſide, downe to the ground, the one of ſilke, and the other of ſilke and golde, ſent vnto me from the king, and after that they cauſed me to put off my vpper garment, being a gowne of blacke veluet furred with Sables, they put the ſayd two garments vpon my backe, and ſo conducted me vnto the king, before whom doing reuerence, and kiſſing his hand, he commanded me to ſit not farre from him, and ſo I dined in his preſence, he at that time being very mery, and demanding of me many queſtions, and amongſt other, how I like the maner of their hawking. Dinner ſo ended, I required his highneſſe ſafeconduct for to depart towards the Sophy, who diſmiſſing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambaſſadour (which returned out of Ruſsia) and others, to ſafeconduct me, he gaue me at my departure a faire horſe with all furniture, and cuſtome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki againe, where I remained vntill the ſixt of October, to prouide camels, horſes, and other neceſſaries for my ſayd intended iourney.

The deſcription of Hircania.

But now before I proceed further, I purpoſe to write ſomething of this countrey of Hircan, now called Shiruan, with the townes and commodities of the ſame. This countrey of Hircan in times paſt was of great renowme, hauing many cities, townes, and caſtles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquity were of great power, able to make wars with the Sophies of Perſia: but now it is not onely otherwiſe (for that the cities, townes, and caſtles be decayed) but alſo the king is ſubiect to the ſayd Sophie (although they haue their proper king) and be at the commandement of the ſayd Sophy, who conquered them not many yeeres paſſed, for their diuerſity in religion, and cauſed not onely all the nobility & gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but alſo ouer and beſides, raſed the walles of the cities, townes, and caſtles of the ſaid realme, to the intent that there ſhould be no rebellion, and for their great terror, cauſed a turret of free ſtone and flints to be erected in the ſayd city called Shamaki, and in a ranke of flints of the ſayd turret, did ſet the heads of the ſayd nobility and gentlemen, then executed. This city is diſtant from the ſea ſide, with camels, ſeuen dayes iourney, but now the ſame being much decayed, & chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another city called Arraſh, bordering vpon the Georgians, is the chiefeſt and moſt opulent in the trade of merchandiſe, & thereabouts is nouriſhed the moſt abundant growth of raw ſilke, and thither the Turks, Syrians, and other ſtrangers do reſort and trafficke. There be alſo diuers good and neceſſary commodities to be prouided & had in this ſayd realme: viz. galles rough and ſmooth, cotton wooll, allome, and raw ſilke of the naturall growth of that countrey: beſides, nere all kinde of ſpices and drugges, and ſome other commodities, which are brought thither from out of Eaſt India, but in the leſſe quantity, for that they be not aſſured to haue vent or vtterance of the ſame: but the chiefeſt commodities be there raw ſilks of all ſorts, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the ſayd city of Shamaki, there was an olde caſtle called Gulliſtone, now beaten downe by this Sophy, which was eſteemed to be one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles in the world, and was beſieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could win it. And not farre from the ſayd caſtle was a Nunry of ſumptuous building, wherein was buried a kings daughter, named Ameleck Channa, who ſlew herſelfe with a knife, for that her father would haue forced her (ſhe profeſſing chaſtity) to haue married with a king of Tartarie: vpon which occaſion the maidens of that countrey do reſort thither once euery yere to lament her death.

Danger by diuerſitie in religion.

Barbarous crueltie

The citie of Arraſh or Erex.

The commodities of this countrey.

The ſtrong caſtle of Gulliſtone defaced.

Alſo in the ſayd countrey there is an high hill called Quiquiſs, vpon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoſte, hauing vpon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a Horſe, and a taile like a Cow. It is further ſayd, that this monſter kept a paſſage thereby, vntill there came an holy man, termed Haucoir Hamſhe, a kinſeman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the ſayd hill, and combating with the ſayd Giant, did binde not onely him in chaines, but alſo his woman called Lamiſache, with his ſonne named After: for which victory they of that countrey haue this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is bruited) ſauoureth ſo ill, that no perſon may come nigh vnto it: but whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the diſcourſe of the proceeding in my voyage towards the great Sophie. The 6 of October in the yeere aforeſayd, I with my company departed from Shamachi aforeſaid, and hauing iourneyed threeſcore miles, came to a towne called Yauate, wherein the king hath a faire houſe, with orchards and gardens well repleniſhed with fruits of all ſorts. By this towne paſſeth a great riuer called Cor, which ſpringeth in the mountaines of the Georgians, & paſſing thorow the countrey of Hircania aforeſayd, falleth into the Caſpian or Hircan ſea, at a place betweene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bachu, ſituate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence iſſueth further, paſſing thorow a fruitfull countrey, inhabited with paſturing people, which dwell in the Summer ſeaſon vpon mountaines, and in Winter they remooue into the valleyes without reſorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remooue, they doe iourney in carrauans or troops of people and cattell, carrying all their wiues, children and baggage vpon bullocks. Now paſſing this wilde people ten dayes iourney, comming into no towne or houſe, the ſixteenth day of October we arriued at a citie called Ardouill, where we were lodged in an hoſpitall builded with faire ſtone, and erected by this Sophies father named Iſmael, onely for the ſuccour and lodging of ſtrangers and other trauellers, wherein all men haue victuals and feeding for man and horſe, for three dayes and no longer. This foreſayd late prince Iſmael lieth buried in a faire Meſkit, with a ſumptuous ſepulchre in the ſame, which he cauſed to be made in his life time. This towne Ardouill is in the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderraugan, wherein the Princes of Perſia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the great did keepe his Court when he inuaded the Perſians. Foure dayes iourney to the Weſtward is the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greateſt citie in Perſia, but not of ſuch trade of merchandiſe as it hath bene, or as others be at this time, by meane of the great inuaſion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almoſt to the ſayd citie of Tauris, which the ſayd Turke once ſacked, and thereby cauſed the Sophie to forſake

The towne of Yauate.

The city of Ardouill.

The city Tebris or Tauris.

the ſame, and to keepe his court ten dayes iourney from thence, at the ſayd citie of Casbin.

M. Ienkinſons arriuall at the Sophies court. 2. Nouember, 1562.

The 21 day we departed from Ordowil aforeſayd, trauelling for the moſt part ouer mountaines all in the night ſeaſon, and reſting in the day, being deſtitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vſe for fewell the dung of horſes & camels, which we bought deare of the paſturing people. Thus paſſing ten dayes iourney the yere aforeſayd, the ſecond day of Nouember we arriued at the foreſayd citie of Casbin, where the ſayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shalli Murzey, ſonne to Obdolowcan king of Shiruan aforeſayd, to ſend for me to his houſe, who aſked me in the name of the ſaid Sophy how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and inuited me to dinner, whereat I had great enterteinment, and ſo from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I ſent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our moſt gracious Soueraigne lady the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie of the Realme of England, vnto the ſayd Sophy, and that the cauſe of my comming was expreſſed in the ſame letters, deſiring that at conuenient time I might come into his Maieſties preſence, who aduertiſing the Sophy thereof, ſhortly after anſwered me that there were great affaires in hand: which being finiſhed, I ſhould come before his preſence, willing me in the meane time to make ready my preſent if I had any to deliuer.

The Turkes Ambaſſadour to the Sophy.

At this time, the great Turkes Ambaſſadour arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was ſent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the ſame great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a preſent in golde, and faire horſes with rich furnitures, and other gifts, eſteemed to be worth forty thouſand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with ioyfull feaſts, triumphs and ſolemnities, corroborated with ſtrong othes, by their law of Alkaron, for either to obſerue the ſame, and to liue alwayes after as ſworne brethren, ayding the one the other againſt all princes that ſhould warre againſt them, or either of them. And vpon this concluſion the Sophy cauſed the great Turkes ſonne named Baiſet Soltan, a valiant Prince (who being fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remained in his Court the ſpace of foure yeeres) to be put to death. In which time the ſayd Turkes ſonne had cauſed mortall warres betwixt the ſayd Princes, and much preuailed therein: the Turke demanded therefore his ſonne to be ſent vnto him, & the Sophy refuſed thereunto to conſent. But now being ſlaine according to the Turks will, the Sophy ſent him his head for a preſent, not a litle deſired, and acceptable to the vnnaturall father. Diſcourſing at my firſt arriuall with the king of Shiruan of ſundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the ſayd king named Obdolocan, demaunding whether that we of England had friendſhip with the Turks or not: I anſwered, that we neuer had friendſhip with them, and that therefore they would not ſuffer vs to paſſe thorow their countrey into the Sophy his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre diſtant from vs, which are in great league with the ſayd Turks, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the ſame for raw ſilks, which (as we vnderſtand) come from thence: and that if it would pleaſe the ſayd Sophy and other Princes of that countrey, to ſuffer our merchants to trade into thoſe dominions, and to giue vs paſport and ſafe conduct for the ſame, as the ſayd Turke hath granted to the ſayd Venetians, I doubted not but that it ſhould grow to ſuch a trade to the profit of them as neuer before had beene the like, and that they ſhould be both furniſhed with our commodities, and alſo haue vtterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perſwading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king vnderſtanding the matter liked it marueilouſly, ſaying, that he would write vnto the Sophy concerning the ſame: as he did in very deed, aſſuring me that the Sophy would graunt my requeſt, and that at my returne vnto him he would giue me letters of ſafe conduct, and priuileges. The Turks Ambaſſadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to haue furthered my purpoſe, but it chanced otherwiſe. For the Turks Ambaſſadour being arriued, and the peace concluded, the Turkiſh merchants there at that time preſent, declared to the ſame Ambaſſadour, that my comming thither (naming me by the name of Franke) would in great part deſtroy their trade, and that it ſhould be good for him to perſwade the Sophy not to fauour me, as his Highneſſe meant to obſerue the league and friendſhip with the great Turke his maſter, which requeſt of the Turkiſh merchants the ſame Ambaſſadour earneſtly preferred, and being afterwards diſmiſſed with great honour, he departed out of the Realme with the Turks ſonnes head as aforeſayd, and other preſents.

The Turkes merchaunts withſtand M. Ienkinſon.

Shaw Thomas the Sophies name.

The 20 day of Nouember aforeſayd, I was ſent for to come before the ſayd Sophy, otherwiſe called Shaw Thomas, and about three of the clocke at afternoone I came to the Court, and in lighting from my horſe at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the

Sophies owne ſhoes termed in the Perſian tongue Baſmackes, ſuch as hee himſelfe weareth when he ariſeth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feet, for without the ſame ſhoes I might not be ſuffred to tread vpon his holy ground, being a Chriſtian, and called amongſt them Gower, that is, vnbeleeuer, and vncleane: eſteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which do not beleeue as they do, in their falſe filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the ſayd Court gate the things that I brought to preſent his Maieſtie with, were deuided by ſundry parcels to ſundry ſeruitors of the Court, to cary before me, for none of my company or ſeruants might be ſuffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his Maieſtie with ſuch reuerence as I thought meete to be vſed, I deliuered the Queenes Maieſties letters with my preſent, which hee accepting, demaunded of mee of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to doe: Vnto whom I anſwered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble Realme of England, and that I was ſent thither from the moſt excellent and gracious ſoueraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of the ſaide Realme for to treate of friendſhip, and free paſſage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subiects, with other wordes here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I anſwered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well ſaid he, we haue none within our Realme that vnderſtand thoſe tongues. Whereupon I anſwered that ſuch a famous and worthy prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the ſame. Then he queſtioned with me of the ſtate of our Countreys, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of moſt power: whom I anſwered to his contentation, not diſpraying the great Turke, their late concluded friendſhip conſidered. Then he reaſoned with mee much of Religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to ſay, an vnbeleeuer, or a Muſelman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Vnto whom I anſwered, that I was neither vnbeleeuer nor Mahometan, but a Chriſtian. What is that, ſaid he vnto the king of the Georgians ſonne, who being a Chriſtian was fled vnto the ſaid Sophie, and he anſwered that a Chriſtian was he that beleeueth in Ieſus Chriſtus, affirming him to be the Sonne of God, and the greateſt Prophet. Doeſt thou beleeue ſo, ſaid the Sophie vnto me: Yea that I do, ſaid I: Oh thou vnbeleeuer, ſaid he, we haue no neede to haue friendſhip with the vnbeleeuers, and ſo willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after me followed a man with a Baſanet of ſand, ſifting all the way that I had gone within the ſaid pallace, euen from the ſaid Sophies ſight vnto the court gate.

The Queenes letters deliuered.

The Sophies queſtions.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the ſaid night Shally Murzey ſonne to the king of Hircan aforeſaid, who fauoured me very much for that I was commended vnto him from his father, willed mee not to doubt of any thing, putting mee in hope that I ſhould haue good ſucceſſe with the Sophie, and good intertainment.

The curteſie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I continued for a time, dayly reſorting vnto me diuers gentlemen ſent by the Sophie to conferre with me, eſpecially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Ruſſia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and ſo with the Portingals ſhips. Vnto whom I anſwered, that I durſt not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friendes, fully perceiuing their meaning: for I was aduertiſed that the ſaide Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged mee that I had bene come for a ſpie to paſſe through his dominions vnto the ſaide Portingals, thinking them and vs to be all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented.

Warres intended againſt the Portingals.

After this the ſaid Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counſel concerning me, who perſwaded that he ſhould not entertaine me wel, neither diſmiſſe me with letters or gifts, conſidering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemie to the great Turke his brother, perſwading that if he did otherwiſe, and that the newes thereof ſhould come to the knowledge of the Turke, it ſhould be a meane to breake their new league and friendſhip lately concluded: diſſwading further becauſe he had no neede, neither that it was requiſite for him to haue friendſhip with vnbeleeuers, whoſe Countreys lay farre from him, and that it was beſt for him to ſend me with my letters vnto the ſaid great Turke for a preſent, which he was fully determined to haue done at ſome meet time, meaning to ſend his Amballadour vnto the ſaid great Turke very ſhortly after.

But the king of Hircanes ſonne aforeſaide, vnderſtanding this deliberation, ſent a man in poſt vnto his father, for to declare and impart the purpoſe vnto him, who as a gracious prince, conſidering that I had paſſed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie al that which he vnderſtood of his ſaid determination, & that it ſhould not ſtand with

The king of Hircans ſecond letters in M. Ienkinſons behalfe.

his Maieſties honour to doe mee any harme or diſpleaſure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, ſeeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by conſtraint, and that if hee vſed mee euil, there would few ſtrangers reſort into his countrey, which would bee greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perſwaſions: which after that the ſaide Sophie had well and throughly pondered and diſgeſted (much eſteeming the ſame king of Hircane, being one of the valianteſt princes vnder him and his nigh kinſeman) changed his determined purpoſe, and the twentieth of March 1562. he ſent to me a rich garment of cloth of golde, and ſo diſmiſſed me without any harme.

Conference with Indian Merchants.

During the time that I ſoiourned at the ſayde City of Casbin, diuers merchants out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of ſpices: whereunto they anſwered that they would bring of all ſorts ſo much as we would haue, if they were ſure of vent, whereof I did promiſe to aſſure them, ſo that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had.

M.Ienkinſons returne.

The ſame twentieth day of March I returned from the ſaide Citie of Casbin where I remayned all the Winter, hauing ſent away all my Camels before, and the thirtieth day I came to the ſaide Citie of Ardouil, and the fifteenth of April vnto Zauat aforeſayd, where king Obdolowcan was at that preſent, who immediatly ſent for me, and demaunding of me many queſtions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene vtterly caſt away, and ſent to the great Turke for a preſent by the Sophie, through the euill perſwaſion of his wicked counſell, that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principal procurers and moouers thereof: but the Sophie himſelfe ment mee much good at the firſt, and thought to haue giuen me good entertainement, and ſo had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to haue bene cōcluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuertheleſſe, ſayd he, the Sophie hath written vnto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my Countrey, and ſo he intreated mee very gently, in whoſe Court I remained ſeuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of ſafe conductes and priuiledges in your names to bee free from paying cuſtome, which I deliuered vnto your ſeruants Thomas Alcocke and George Wrenne, at their departure towards Perſia for your affaires: and his highneſſe did giue mee two garments of ſilke, and ſo diſmiſſed me with great fauour, ſending with me his Ambaſſadour againe vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia, and committed the chiefeſt ſecret of his affaires vnto me, to declare the ſame vnto the Emperours Maieſtie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of April, I came to the City of Shamachi, and there remayning certaine dayes for prouiſion of Camels downe to the Sea ſide, I ſent from thence before men to repaire my Barke, and to make her in a readineſſe. And during my abode in Shammachi, there came vnto me an Armenian ſent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable eſtate of the ſame king, that being encloſed betwixt thoſe two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the ſaid great Turke and the Sophie, hee had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Chriſt and as I was a Chriſtian, that I would ſend him comfort by the ſaid Armenian, and aduiſe how he might ſend his Ambaſſadour to the ſayd Emperour of Ruſſia, and whether I thought that he would ſupport him or no: and with many other wordes required me to declare his neceſſitie vnto the ſame Emperour at my returne: adding further that the ſaid king would haue written vnto me his minde, but that hee doubted the ſafe paſſage of his meſſenger. Unto whom I did likewiſe anſwere by word of mouth, not onely perſwading him to ſende his Ambaſſadour to Ruſſia, not doubting but that hee ſhould finde him moſt honourable and inclined to helpe him, but alſo I directed him his way how the ſayde king might ſend by the Countrey of Chircaſſi, through the fauour of Teneruk king of the ſayd Countrey, whoſe daughter the ſaid king had lately married. And thus diſmiſſing the ſaide Armenian, within two dayes after I ſent Edward Cleark your ſeruaunt vnto the Citie of Arraſh, where the moſt ſtore of Silkes is to be had, giuing him Commiſſion to haue paſſed further into the ſaide Countrey of Georgia, and there to haue repaired vnto the ſayde king. And after my commendations premiſed, and my minde declared to haue purſued for ſafeconduct of the ſame Prince for our Merchants to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to haue returned againe with ſpeede. The ſame your ſeruaunt iourneying to the ſayd Citie of Arraſh, and there finding certaine Merchants Armenians, which promiſed to goe to the ſayd City of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Chriſtian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and vnderſtanding that he could not paſſe further without great ſuſpition, anſwered that he came thither to buy Silkes, and ſhewed the king of Hircanes letters which hee had with him, and ſo returned backe againe, and the fifteenth of April came to Shamachi: from whence I departed the ſixteene of the ſame moneth, and the one and twentie thereof comming to the Sea ſide, and finding my barke in a readineſſe, I cauſed your goods to be laden, and there attended a faire winde.

Priuiledges obtained of Obdolowcan, which are hereafter annexed.

An Armenian ſent to M.Ienkinſon from the king of Georgia.

Teneruk king of Chircaſſi.

But before I proceede any further to ſpeake of my returne, I intend with your fauours ſomewhat to treate of the countrey of Perſia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

The deſcription of Perſia.

The chiefe Cities of Perſia.

This land of Perſia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as Gillan, Coraſan, Shiruan, and many others hauing diuers Cities, townes and caſtles in the ſame. Euery prouince hath his ſeuerall King, or Sultan, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefeſt Cities be theſe: Teueris, Casbin, Keſhan, Yeſſe, Meskit, Heirin, Ardouill, Shamachi, Arraſh with many others. The countrey for the moſt part toward the ſea ſide is plaine and full of paſture, but into the land, high, full of mountaines, and ſharpe. To the South it bordereth vpon Arabia and the Eaſt Ocean. To the North vpon the Caſpian ſea and the lands of Tartaria. To the Eaſt vpon the prouinces of India, and to the Weſt vpon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes lands. All within theſe dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, ſonne to Iſmael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth is nothing valiant, although his power be great, and his people martiall: and through his puſillanimitie the Turke hath much inuaded his countreys, euen nigh vnto the Citie of Teueris, wherein hee was wont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forſaken the ſame, is chiefly reſident at Casbin aforeſaide, and alwayes as the ſaid Turke purſueth him, he not being able to withſtand the Turke in the fielde, truſting rather to the mountaines for his ſafegard, then to his fortes and caſtles, hath cauſed the ſame to bee raſed within his dominions, and his ordinance to be molten, to the intent that his enemies purſuing him, they ſhould not ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſame.

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reaſonable ſtature, hauing fiue children. His eldeſt ſonne he keepeth captiue in priſon, for that he feareth him for his valiantneſſe and actiuitie: he profeſſeth a kinde of holyneſſe, and ſaith that hee is deſcended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezalli: and although theſe Perſians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartars bee, yet honour they this falſe fained Murtezalli, ſaying that hee was the chiefeſt diſciple that Mahomet had, curſing and chiding dayly three other diſciples that Mahomet had called Oucar, Vſiran, and Abebeck, and theſe three did ſlay the ſaide Murtezalli, for which cauſe and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartars mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or leſſe Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I ſhall not need at this preſent. Theſe perſons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, eſteeming themſelues to bee beſt of all nations, both for their religion and holineſſe, which is moſt erroneous, and alſo for all other their faſhions. They be martial, delighting in faire horſes and good harneſſe, ſoone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treate of this nation, and nowe I returne to diſcourſe the proceeding of the reſt of my voyage.

The difference of religion.

The 30. of May 1563.

My barke being ready at the Caſpian ſea as aforeſaide, hauing a faire winde, and committing our ſelues vnto God the 30. day of May 1563, we arriued at Aſtracan, hauing paſſed no leſſe dangers vpon the Sea in our returne, then wee ſuſtained in our going foorth, and remayning at the ſaid Aſtracan, vntill the tenth day of Iune, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto mee for my ſafegard vp the riuer Volga, the fifteenth of Iuly I arriued at the Citie of Cazan, where the Captaine entertained me well, and ſo diſmiſſing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the Citie of Moſco, where I arriued the twentieth day of Auguſt 1563. in ſafetie, thankes bee to God, with all ſuch goods, merchandizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours ſtocke and accompt, as alſo of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treaſurie before it was opened, which I did, and deliuered thoſe parcels of wares which were for his Maieſties accompt, videlicet, precious ſtones, and wrought ſilkes of ſundry colours and ſortes, much to his highneſſe contentation, and the reſidue belonging to you, viz. Crasko, and rawe ſilkes, with other merchandizes, (as by accompt appeareth) were brought vnto your houſe, whereof part there remained, and the reſt was laden in your ſhippes lately returned.

Shortly after my comming to the Moſco, I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, and preſented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie, whoſe highneſſe conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge: and my proceedings therein it pleaſed him ſo to accept, that they were much to his contentation, ſaying vnto mee, I haue perceiued your good ſeruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the ſame, wiſhing that I would trauell againe in ſuch his other affaires, wherein hee was minded to employ mee: to whom I anſwered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my ſeruice was ſo acceptable vnto his highneſſe, acknowledging all that I had done to bee but of duetie, humbly beſeeching his grace to continue his goodneſſe vnto your worſhips, and euen at that inſtant I humbly reque-

New priuileges obtained hereafter following.

ſted his Maieſtie to vouchſafe to graunt vnto you a newe priuiledge more ample then the firſt, which immediately was graunted, and ſo I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a briefe note howe I meant to haue the ſame priuiledges made, I repaired dayly to the Secretary for the perfecting of the ſame, and obtained it vnder his Maieſties broade ſeale, which at my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the cuſtody of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copy whereof, and alſo of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of Hircan, I haue already deliuered vnto you. Soiourning all that winter at Moſco, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours Maieſtie, I ſent away your ſeruant Edward Clarke hither ouerland with aduiſe, and alſo made preparation for ſending againe into Perſia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your ſeruants Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of Iune laſt, I departed in poſte from the ſaid Moſco, and comming to Colmogro and ſo downe to the Sea ſide, I found your ſhips laden and ready to depart, where I embarked my ſelfe in your good ſhip called the Swallow, the 9. of Iuly, one thouſand fiue hundred ſixtie foure, and hauing paſſed the Seas with great and extreme dangers of loſſe of ſhippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September laſt (God be praiſed) we arriued here at London in ſafetie.

28. Septemb. 1564.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiant ſouldier, which aduentureth both fame, member and life, to ſerue faithfully his ſoueraigne, eſteemeth not the perils and dangers paſſed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon deſireth any thing more, then that his ſeruice bee well taken of him for whom he enterpriſed it: So I perceiuing your fauourable beneuolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, do thinke my ſelfe therewith in great part recompenſed: beſeeching Almightie God ſo to proſper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no ſmall dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enioy the ſame, to the illuſtrating of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, the honour and commoditie of this her highneſſe Realme, and to the ample benefit and abundant enriching of you and your ſucceſſion, & poſteritie for euer.

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by *Obdolowcan* King of *Hircania*, to the company of Engliſh merchants Aduenturers for *Ruſſia*, *Perſia*, and *Mare Caſpium*, with all the lands and countreys adioyning to the ſame, obtained by *M. Anthonie Ienkinſon* at his being there about the affaires of the ſaid company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shiruan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of our fauoured and welbeloued Anthonie Ienkinſon Ambaſſadour, haue giuen and graunted vnto the right worſhipfull Sir William Garret, ſir William Cheſter, ſir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their company of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, ſafe conduct, and licence to come or ſende their factors in trade of merchandize into our countreys, and to buy and ſell with our merchants and others, either for ready money or barter, and to tary and abide in our countrey, ſo long as they will, and to goe away when they liſt, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of body or goods.

And further our commaundement and pleaſure is, that the ſaid Engliſh merchants with their company, ſhall pay no maner of cuſtome for wares, which they or their factors ſhal buy or ſel within our dominions. And if at any time our cuſtomers or other officers, or any of them, doe diſturbe, miſuſe, force or conſtraine the ſaid Engliſh merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of cuſtome or duetie for any wares they bring in or cary out of our dominions contrary to this our commandement, and the ſame be knowen vnto vs, then we will that the ſaide cuſtomers and officers ſhall looſe & be put out of their ſaid offices, with our further diſpleaſure, and the ſaide Engliſh merchants to haue reſtored all ſuch money & wares as our cuſtomers haue taken of them for our ſaid cuſtome. And whenſoeuer the ſaide Engliſh merchants or their factors ſhall bring any maner of wares meete for our treaſurie, then our treaſurer ſhall take the ſaid wares into our treaſurie, and ſhall giue vnto the ſaid Engliſh merchants, either ready money or raw ſilkes, to the value of their ſaide wares. And whereſoeuer this our letter of priuiledges ſhall bee ſeene and read within our dominion, we ſtraightly wil and command that it take effect, and be obeyed in al points.

Dated at our place of Iauat, the day and yere aboue written, and ſealed with our princely ſeale, and firmed by our Secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

The ſecond voiage into *Perſia* made by *Tho. Alcock*, who was ſlaine there, and by *George Wrenne*, & *Ric. Cheinie* ſeruants to the worſhipfull companie of *Moſcouie* merchants in Anno 1563. written by the ſaid *Richard Cheinie*.

IT may pleaſe your worſhips to vnderſtand, that in the yere 1563. I was appointed by M. Antho. Ienkinſon, and M. Thomas Glouer your Agent in Ruſſia, to goe for Perſia in your worſhips affaires, one Thomas Alcock hauing the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worſhips ſeruants being ioyned with him in your buſines, hauing with vs, as they ſaid 1500. rubbles. And if it ſhall pleaſe you I cannot tell certainly what ſumme of money we had then of the Emperors: for I receiued none, nor diſburſed any of it in wares for the voyage. Alſo, God I take to record, I could not tell what ſtocke your worſhips had there, for the bookes were kept ſo priuily that a man could neuer ſee them. The 10. of May anno 1563, we departed from a towne called Yeraſlaue vpon our voyage toward Perſia. The 24. of Iuly we arriued at Aſtracan: and the ſecond of Auguſt wee departed from Aſtracan, and the 4. of the ſame moneth we came to the Caſpian ſea, and the 11. day of the ſaid moneth we arriued at our port in Media: and the 21. of the ſaid Auguſt wee arriued at Shammaki, whereas the king Obdolocan lay in the fielde. We were wel entertained of heathen people, for the thirde day after our arriuall at Shammaki wee were called before the king: we gaue him a preſent, and he entertained vs very well.

A rubble is a marke Engliſh.

At our comming to the Court wee were commaunded to come before the king, who ſate in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a croſſe, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being couered with carpets: wee were commaunded to ſit downe, the King appointing euery man his place to ſit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Ruſſelands Merchants to riſe vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcock departed from Shammaki towards Casbin, leauing mee at Shammaki to recouer ſuch debts as the dukes of Shammaki ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there I could recouer but little. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arriued at a towne called Leuuacta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes iourney from the towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriuing there, departed from Shammaki, finding him there in ſafetie with all ſuch goods as he had with him. During his abode there for ſeuen dayes he made ſuite to the king for ſuch money as the dukes ought him. But the king was diſpleaſed for that the Emperour of Ruſſelands merchant had ſlaine a Boſerman at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke ſeeing the king would ſhewe vs no fauour, and alſo hearing from Shammaki, that the Ruſſes ſent their goods to the ſea ſide, for that they feared that the king of Perſia ſhould haue knowledge of the death of the Boſerman, willed mee to depart to Shammaki with all ſuch goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leauing him at the Court.

Casbin.

Leuuacta.

A Boſerman is a Renegado.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at Shammaki, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was ſlaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan vnderſtanding of his death, demaunded whether he had euer a brother. Some ſaid I was, ſome ſaide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worſhips had no other ſeruant there but mee among thoſe heathen people. Who hauing ſuch a ſumme of goods lying vnder my handes, and ſeeing howe the Ruſſes ſent their goods with as much haſt as they might to the ſea ſide, and hauing but foure men to ſende our wares to the ſea ſide, I vſed ſuch diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was ſlaine, I ſent in company with the Ruſſes goods, all your worſhips goods with a Mariner, William Auguſt, and a Swethen, for that they might the ſafer arriue at the ſeaſide, being ſafely layd in. All which goods afterwards arriued in Ruſſeland in good condition, Maſter Glouer hauing the receipt of all things which I ſent then out of thoſe parties into Ruſſeland. Concerning my ſelfe, I remained after I had ſent the goods into Ruſſeland ſixe weekes in Shammaki, for the recouery of ſuch debts as were owing, and at laſt with much trouble recouered to the ſumme of fiftene hundreth rubbles or there about, which M. Glouer receiued of me at my comming to Moſco, and all ſuch goods as I brought with me out of Keſelbaſh, as by a note of my hand that hee hath ſhall appeare. Alſo he hauing the receipt of all ſuch goods as I ſent into Ruſſeland by theſe two aboue named, he then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubbles, one Richard Iohnſon twentie rubles, one Thomas Pette fiftie rubles, one Euan Chermiſin a Tartar ſeuentie rubles. All theſe had their returne: M. Glouer allowed himſelfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Perſia in your worſhips affaires.

Thomas Alcocke ſlaine in the way betweene Leuuacta and Shammaki.

Keſelbaſh, or Ieſelbaſh.

And whereas he ſaith, the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can ſee, knowing what the wares coſt in thoſe partes, hee had treble. If they gaue him ſo much wares, all charges turned to your worſhips, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I haue ſowen the ſeede, and other men haue gathered the harueſt: I haue trauailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a ſorrowfull heart, aſwell for the ſafegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the beſt, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God, to deliuer mee out of thoſe miſeries which I ſuffered for your ſeruice among thoſe heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetie which I haue done, as a true ſeruant ought to do, I beſeech your worſhips (although I haue but ſmall recompence for my ſeruice,) yet let me haue no wrong, and God will proſper you the better.

Gillan in Perſia.

Alſo, to informe your worſhips of your Perſian voyage what I iudge: it is a voyage to bee followed. The king of Gillan, whereas yet you haue had no traffique, liueth al by marchandiſe: and it is neere Caſbin, and not paſt ſix weekes trauaile from Ormus, whither all the ſpices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may be eſtabliſhed: But your worſhips muſt ſend ſuch men as are no riotous liuers, nor drunkards. For if ſuch men goe, it wil be to your diſhonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Iohnſon went to Perſia, whoſe iourney had bene better ſtayed then ſet forward. For whereas before wee had the name among thoſe heathen people to be ſuch marchants as they thought none like in all reſpects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be compted worſe then the Ruſſes.

Againe, if ſuch men trauaile in your affaires in ſuch a voyage, you ſhall neuer know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can ſuch men imploy themſelues to ſeeke the trade, that are inclined to ſuch vices? or howe can God proſper them in your affaires? But when a trade is eſtabliſhed by wiſe and diſcreet men, then wil it be for your worſhips to traffique there, and not before: for a voiage or market made euil at the firſt, is the occaſion that your worſhips ſhal neuer vnderſtand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

1565.

The thirde voyage into *Perſia*, begun in the yeere 1565. by *Richard Iohnſon*, *Alexander Kitchin*, and *Arthur Edwards*.

A letter of *Arthur Edwards* to *M. Thomas Nicols*, Secretarie to the worſhipful company trading into *Ruſſia* and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into *Perſia*.

Ieraſlaue a towne vpon the riuer of Volga.

MAſter Nicols, my bounden duetie remembred, with deſire of God for the preſeruation of you and yours: you ſhall vnderſtand that the ſecond of March I was ſent by M. Thomas Glouer (your Agent) vnto Ieraſlaue, appointed to receiue ſuch goods as ſhould come from Vologhda, as alſo ſuch kinde of wares as ſhould be bought and ſent from Moſco by your Agent, and M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Perſia. And further, I was to prouide for biſcuit, beere, and beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needful according to aduiſe. Thus I remained here vntil the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to ſee vs ſet forwards on our voyage, and then he departed towards Colmogro, hauing appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Perſia) Richard Iohnſon. For my part I am willing, as alſo haue bene & ſhalbe content to ſubmit my ſelfe vnder him, whom the Agent ſhall appoint, although he were ſuch a one as you ſhould thinke in ſome reſpects vnmeete. Thirtie two packes of carſeis are all of that kinde of cloth that we ſhall haue with vs. The other 18. packs that ſhould haue gone, were ſold in Moſco. What other goods are ſhipped for our voyage, you ſhall vnderſtand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honeſt man) was appointed Agent for Perſia, as one for thoſe parts more fit then any I do know here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this preſent life the 16. of March laſt paſt. I wiſhed of God for my part he had liued: for my deſire was in his company to haue traueiled into Perſia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of Volga and the Caſpian ſea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the moſt. It is handſomly made after the Engliſh faſhion: but I thinke it too litle for your goods and prouiſion of victuals. If the worſhipful company would ſend hither a Shipwright, being ſkilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but ſixe foote water at the moſt when it is laden, I thinke it ſhould be profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the ſame, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to giue great fraight to lade their goods with vs, whereby your charges would be much leſſened: And ſo it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be ſaued, and your ſeruants and goods in farre greater aſſurance: for their boates here are dangerous to ſaile with and to paſſe the Caſpian ſea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough hauing one to inſtruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for thoſe that goe for your voyage of Perſia are yet vnknowen vnto me: wherefore I cannot (as I would at this preſent) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you do know)

Richard Iohnſon chiefe of the third voyage into Perſia.

A barke of 30. tunnes made at Ieraſlaue 1564. to paſſe the Caſpian ſeas.

it was the Gouernors mind I ſhould be acquainted with greater affaires then theſe. Howbeit I doubt not but I ſhall be informed of them that are appointed, and all things ſhall be bought when they ſhall ſee time and haue more laiſure. Thus in haſt (as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of almightie God; who preſerue you in perfect health with increaſe of worſhip. From Ieraſlaue the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to command here or elſewhere
during life. *Arthur Edwards.*

Another letter of the ſaid M. *Arthur Edwards*, written the 26. of April 1566. in *Shamaki* in *Media*, to the right worſhipful Sir *Thomas Lodge* Knight and Alderman: and in his abſence to M. *Thomas Nicols*, Secretarie to the right worſhipfull companie trading into Ruſſia, Perſia, and other the North and Eaſt partes, touching the ſucceſſe of *Richard Iohnſon* in the third voiage into *Perſia*.

1566

WOrſhipfull Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preſeruation of you and yours in perfect health with increaſe of worſhip. It may pleaſe you that my laſt letter I ſent you was from Aſtracan the 26 of Iuly 1565. From whence Richard Iohnſon, my ſelfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30 of the ſame. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23 of Auguſt before we came to our deſired port named Nazauoe. There, after we had gotten your goods on land, with much labour and ſtrength of men, as alſo windleſſes deuiſed and made, we haled your barke ouer a barre of beach or peeble ſtones into a ſmall Riuer, ſending your ſhips apparell with other things to an houſe hired in a village thereby. And as ſoone as we might get camels, being the fift of September we departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamaki the 11. of the ſame: and the 17. day folowing, we preſented vnto Abdollocan the king of this countrey, one timber of Sables, one tunne or neſt of ſiluer cups parſill gilt, three Morſes teeth, 4. Arſhines of ſkarlet, 3. pieces of karſeis, with 40. red foxes.

They departed from Aſtracan the 30. of Iuly 1565.

September.

Preſents to the king Obdolowcan.

He receiued our preſents with giuing vs thanks for our good wils, demanding if M. Ienkinſon were in good health, and whether he would returne into theſe parts againe. He willed vs alſo himſelfe to ſit downe before him the diſtance of a quoits caſt from his tent, where he ſate with diuers of his counſaile and nobilitie, ſending vs from his table ſuch meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with vs, he ſayd, if he might perceiue or know any maner of perſon to doe vs any wrong, he would puniſh them in example of others, whereby we ſhould liue in quietneſſe, and haue no cauſe to complaine, giuing vs a litle houſe for the time, vntill a better might be prouided in ſuch place as we ſhould thinke moſt meete, neuer willing vs to riſe or depart, vntill ſuch time as we of our ſelues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, hee willed vs to put our whole minds and requeſts in writing, that he might further vnderſtand our deſires. But while we were about to doe ſo, God tooke this good king our friend out of this preſent life the 2. of October paſt. The want of him hath bene the cauſe that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but we ſhall recouer all ſuch ſummes of money as are owing vs for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are paſt hope of recouerie, which had not bene loſt if the king had liued. We truſt in the place of him, God will ſend as friendly a king towards vs: who by report (and as we be credibly informed,) ſhall bee his ſonne named the Murſay: who ſince the death of his father, at our being with him, promiſed to ſhew vs more friendſhip then euer we found: God grant the ſame.

A houſe giuen our men in Shamaki by the king.

The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565.

Murſay the new king of Media.

Great troubles haue chanced in theſe parts. Of thoſe which were of the old kings counſell or bare any rule about him in theſe quarters, ſome are in priſon, ſome are pinched by the purſe, and other ſent for vnto the Shaugh. Theſe troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not ſold as they might, to more profite. Your Agent Richard Iohnſon bought foure horſes, minding to haue ſent to Casbin Alexander Kitchin, whom God tooke to his mercy the 23. of October laſt: and before him departed Richard Dauis one of your Mariners, whoſe ſoules I truſt the Lord hath receiued to his mercy. We are now deſtitute of others to ſupply their roumes. Foure Mariners were few enough to ſaile your barke, whereof at this preſent we haue but one, whoſe name is William Smith, an honeſt yong man, and one that doeth good ſeruice here. For want and lacke of Mariners that ſhould know their labours, we all were like to be caſt away in a ſtorme. For all the broad ſide of our barke lay in the water, and we had much adoe to recouer it, but God of his mercy deliuered vs. Mariners here may doe you good ſeruice all the winter otherwayes: and merchants here will be gladder to ſhip their goods in vs giuing good fraight. One merchant at this preſent is content to pay 20. rubbles for twentie camels lading fraight to Aſtracan. Such barkes as muſt paſſe theſe ſeas, may not draw aboue fiue foote of water, becauſe that in many pla-

The death of Alexander Kitchin the 23. of October 1565.

The Caſpian ſea very ſhoald in diuers places.

ces are very ſhallow waters. Wee mind hereafter to make the Ruſſian boates more ſtrong, and they ſhall ſerue our turnes very well.

And whereas ſome in times paſt tooke great paines, trauell and care, and could not haue their deſire in the getting of the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: Now, I truſt (with Gods helpe) they may be obtained: which being had, will be beneficiall to the company, and great quietnes to thoſe that ſhal remaine here, although heretofore things haue chanced ill, as the like in other countries hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, we ſhall liue in quietneſſe and reſt, and ſhall ſhortly grow into a great trade for ſilkes both raw and wrought, with all kind of ſpices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to M. Anthonie Ienkinſon is well knowen, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly aduertiſed the Companie thereof.

The murthering of Thomas Alcock.

The trueth of the ſlaughter of Thomas Alcock your ſeruant, is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whom your ſayd ſeruant was earneſt in demanding of your debts: vpon whoſe words he was ſo offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, falſe knaues lay in waite, thinking he had much about him, and ſo ſlew him. I doubt not though this miſfortune hath chanced, that things ſhall come well to paſſe, and that we ſhall be better beloued when we ſhall be more knowen.

Honeſt merchants are glad of our being here, and ſeeke to grow in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, & haue ſpoken in our fauours to the chiefeſt of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whom your Agent and I are entred into friendſhip, who is at this time in great fauour with the Shaugh. He hath here and in other places of theſe parts ſet a good ſtay in things ſince the kings death: he is well knowen to M. Ienkinſon, his name is Cozamomet. Alſo another Duke named Ameddin-beck is our great friend: And his ſiſter is the Shaughes wife. Theſe two haue promiſed your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priuiledge, but alſo that I ſhall haue the debts paied me of thoſe that went from hence to Casbin, if we would ſend one with them. In conſideration whereof, I was vpon ſhort warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent M. Richard Iohnſon, all excuſes laied apart, preſently to put my ſelfe in readineſſe, and to depart in company with theſe noblemen: with charge, when God ſhould ſend me to Casbin, to vſe my diſcretion with their aduiſe, for the recouering of your debts and priuiledge. I ſhall haue with mee one interpreter and two bought ſeruants: one of which partly vnderſtandeth this tongue, and may be put in truſt whatſoeuer ſhould become of me. I haue receiued 6. tumens in ready money, 200. ſhaughs is a tumen, reckoning euery ſhaugh for ſixe pence Ruſſe. I haue further receiued two timbers of Sables, one to be ſold, the other to bee giuen to Thomas the Shaugh: and haue order further to giue as I ſhall ſee good to thoſe that ſhall further my ſuite, and as occaſion ſerueth. And forasmuch as I am commanded to go, I ſhall willingly do my beſt, putting my truſt in God that he will ſend me well to ſpeed in this iourney.

Cozamomet a noble man that fauoured our nation.

The value of a tumen.

For all kind of wares bought or ſold, you ſhal throughly be aduertiſed by your Agent Richard Iohnſon, whoſe reckonings or accompts at no hands I might ſee or be priuie vnto. Your karſeis were good and well ſorted, they are and will be ſold from 150. ſhaughs, to 160. the piece. Two hundred pieces were ſold vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece but more would haue bene giuen, if circumſpection had bene vſed. They were ſold to thoſe noble men aforeſayd, when as yet it was not knowen that I ſhould haue gone with them. They may ſtand vs much in ſtead, as they haue promiſed vs their good wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England, 11. packes of rawe ſilke, 25. and 26. batmans being in euery packe: The batman being 7. pound, which may be 6. pound and a halfe of Engliſh waight, being bought here from 66. to 70. ſhaughes the batman. It is fine and good, litle courſe at this time was to be had. And where courſe ſilke might be had being at Groſin, we could not ſend thither: for that time was neglected at the firſt. When wee ſhall haue lidgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may buy it at the firſt hand of the countrey people that bring it to ſell hither, and to other places. I would to God the Companie could find the meanes to haue a vent to make ſales for the one halfe that we may buy here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thouſand pounds yeerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, he and others ſawe there ſo great abundance, that by report of diuers, you may beſtow (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thouſand pounds: beſides ſilke of all colours died in graine, bound vp in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here ſold for 23. ſhaughs, at 6. d. the ſhaugh, may be 11. s. 6. pence.

What a batman is.

Varas a great mart for ſilke.

Gilan 7. dayes ſailing from Aſtracan. Alom.

From Aſtracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may ſaile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) ſhall ſerue our purpoſe beſt to goe vnto. Alom is there good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamaki, and ſold here for two biſts their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and ſo I haue bought to bee ſent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe ſilke enough for the companies ſtocke. I beleeue, if any great ſtore of wares be ſent from you, that muſt be the place; & from thence a man may trauell in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better ſales, at which place your commodities are to be ſold. For there be the chiefe and beſt merchants, and diuers other cities round about, to wit, Teueris, Ardouil, and Caiſhan, being the heart of the countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and merchants are better vſed. Concerning this point I haue inquired of diuers merchants both Ruſſes and others that haue bene in thoſe parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceiue the ſame to be true, and that all kind of wares come from thence into theſe parts. And from Casbin to Ormus, is about 30. daies trauelling with camels. I haue written the prices of wares in my letter to the gouernour both for ſpices and ſome drugs which I do know.

Gilan 4. dayes iourney from Caſbin.

From Caſbin to Ormus a moneths trauel with camels.

Alſo you ſhall vnderſtand here is plentie of yew for bowſtaues. I cauſed three horſe loades to be bought vs for to know the trueth: but they were cut out of ſeaſon this moneth of April, the ſap being in them. Three moneths I neuer left ſpeaking to the Countrey men to bring ſome. Your Agent will ſend ſome home for example.

This day being the 26. of Aprill I departed towards Casbin: God giue me a good houre and well to ſpeed, with a mery heart in returning againe, as my hope is I ſhall. I haue written my mind to M. Glouer your Agent, what Ruſſian wares I thinke beſt to be bought for this Countrey, and to ſend ſome one hither that hath the Ruſſe tongue, for we haue need. And the companie ſhall do well hereafter in taking of ſeruants to be ſent hither, to ſee that they be ſuch as haue diſcretion, and be ſomething broken in the world, and ſeene in the trade of merchandiſe, and one (if they can get ſome ſuch) as can ſpeake the Portingall tongue, may do them as good ſeruice, as thoſe that ſhall be here two yeeres before him: for then we may buy a ſlaue that can ſpeake this language and the Portingal tongue alſo, which ſhall then interprete vnto vs in all your ſecret doings, not making the Ruſſes priuy: for they are ſory that we doe trade into theſe partes, for we are better beloued then they are: becauſe they are giuen to be drunkards, they are much hated of theſe people. It is to be wiſhed that none ſhould ſerue your worſhips in theſe parts that be giuen to that kind of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor ſhould be able to rule and gouerne himſelfe, that no diſhoneſtie ſhould be imputed to him and vs. By his euill vſage he paied here 24. rubbles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy, that he was charged to haue conueied away from a Teſicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to ſweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he ſhould not pay it. If he were honeſt he might do your worſhips good ſeruice becauſe of his Ruſſian tongue.

The ſecret doings of the Moſcouie company.

Your London reds are not to be ſent hither, for they will not giue aboue 18. ſhaughes their arſhine. Here be reds of more orient colour, being Venice die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common people ſpecially weare karſeis, and the merchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You ſhall doe well to ſend fiue or ſixe broad clothes, ſome blackes, pukes, or other ſad colours, that may be affoorded at 20. ſhaughes the arſhine, and not aboue. It is here reported that King Philip hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrow at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe captains.

Orient reds of Venice die.

Thus wiſhing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my ſcribled letter, and after you haue red it, that M. Nicols may haue a ſight thereof.

By your ſeruant to command,
Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Perſia, *with their prizes there.*

1 Karſeis are ſold there for 180. Shaughes: ſo that a karſey is ſold there in Perſia for foure pound ten ſhillings: for euery ſhaugh is ſixe pence Engliſh, and euery Biſt is two pence halfepeny Engliſh, and in Ruſſe money three pence.

A ſhaugh is 6. d. Engliſh.

2 Tinne is ſold in Perſia for 14. and 18. ſhaughes the batman. The batman containing as I haue mentioned before.

3 Braſil is at 10. and 12. ſhaughes the batman.

4 Red cloth fine, at 25. and 30. ſhaughes the yard.

5 Copper at 20, and 25. ſhaughes the batman.

Commodities

Commodities to be brought out of Perſia for England.

1 Raw ſilke at 60. ſhaughs yͤ batman.
2 Pepper at 32. ſhaughs yͤ batman.
3 Ginger at 18. & 20. ſhaughs yͤ batman.
4 Nutmegs at 30. ſhaughs the batman.
5 Brimſtone at 4. ſhaughs the great batman. The great batman is 12. li. Engliſh.
6 Allom at 2. biſts and a halfe the batman and leſſe.
7 Rice at halfe a biſt the batman.
8 Gals at halfe a biſt the batman.
9 Cloues at 40. ſhaughs the batman.
10 Yew for bow ſtaues, at

A letter of M. *Arthur Edwards*, written the 8. of Auguſt 1566. from the towne of *Shamaki* in *Media*, to the right worſhipfull the Gouernours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and generalitie of the companie of Ruſſia, &c. Shewing his acceſſe vnto the Emperour of Perſia, his conference with him, his obtaining of a priuiledge, with diuers other good obſeruations.

His arriual at Caſbin the 25. of May.

Conference & demands of the Shaugh.

All ſorts of cloth to be ſent, ſpecially Weſterne dozens died into ſkarlet.

Londō clothes much talked of in Perſia. Much Venice cloth worne in Perſia.

Right worſhipfull Sirs, my bounden dutie remembred, with moſt humble commendations and like requeſt to God for the preſeruation of your good healths, with the reſt of the companie, &c. It may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that the laſt letter which I ſent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this preſent yeere by Richard Iohnſon at my departure towards Casbin : to which citie I came the 25. of May folowing, not ſlacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the ſpeedie bringing me before the preſence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the ſame moneth brought before him, with whoſe maieſtie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twiſe to come neerer him, demanding what were my requeſts: and hauing heard them, he promiſed me his gracious letters. Afterwards he called me twiſe againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes maieſtie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we deſired: and then of other countries adioyning to vs and their commodities, as alſo of king Philip, what ouerthrow he gaue the Turks at the ſiege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Ruſſeland and Moſcouia, and in what ſpace we might ſaile out of England into Ruſſeland, & how many weekes trauell it is from Colmogro to Aſtracan: and then came to diſcourſe of Ruſſeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring vnto me himſelfe moſt of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worſhips ſhould ſend him of all ſorts of clothes, but of one eſpecially which maidens do make (as he ſayd:) He named it Karengi, I thinke it is Weſterne dozens died into ſcarlets. Time will not permit mee to write at large the conference which I had with his maieſty. It was ſtrange to his people (knowing our religion) to ſee me ſo long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was deſirous of: to wit, of London clothes, three or foure of all ſorts for example, being well ſhorne and dreſt. Violets in graine and fine reds be moſt worne, but other good colours will away, when they ſhall ſee them. I wore a garment of London ruſſet, being much eſteemed. You ſhall doe well to ſend ſuch ſorts as be liuely to the ſight, and ſome blacks for womens garments, with ſome Orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes, and they that know the wearing, are deſirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they find it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the threed, it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being crompliſted a yard and a halfe broad, and ſold here from 24. to 30. ſhaughes their arſhine, being longer by two inches then the Ruſſe arſhine is. I wiſh alſo that you ſend ſome good chamlets & veluets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds: becauſe theſe are moſt worne. Alſo ſome blacks with other colours: ſome cloth of gold, tiſſue & botky, ſome veluets wrought with gold, with ſattins and damaſkes, moſt purple, and reds of all ſorts. You may not forget to ſend ſome Weſtern karſeis, to wit, dozens, which be thicked well, and cloſe ſhut in the weauing, being died into fine reds, and ſome ſkarlets : for I thinke there is no ſuch cloth for their caps.

The ſecond admiſſion to the Shaughs preſence, the 29. of Iune 1566. at which time he receiued the priuiledge.

Your worſhips ſhall vnderſtand, that after my firſt departure from the preſence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priuiledge in writing, that I might haue it in readineſſe at ſuch time as I ſhould againe bee called before the preſence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of Iune laſt. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments to mine interpreter, and one of your ſeruants, and then I receiued your letters or priuiledge, according to my deſire, ſealed and firmed with the Shaughs owne hand. Prayſed bee God who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The 29. of Iune is one of their chiefe feſtiuall daies, ſo that all his nobilitie was there preſent, with two Ambaſſadors in companie with his maieſtie, who ſayd vnto me that if my letters were not to my mind, in time to come they ſhould be mended. Whereupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his highneſſe moſt humble and heartie thanks, ſaying, that with as much ſpeed as might bee, our Queenes Maieſtie ſhould vnderſtand of his goodneſſe towardes her Merchants, which I thought would write their letters of requeſt vnto his Highnes, in ſuch forme & order as by them ſhould be thought meete and requiſite for their good aſſurance in the trade of merchandizes: who replied with theſe wordes; when wee ſhall ſee their reaſonable requeſts, we will ſhew them our farther good will, and ſo I departed.

The Shaughs promiſe to increaſe the priuiledge.

Since the receiuing of the Shaughs letters, I haue eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who before would not come neere me. And euery day ſome would come to my Shop, and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne diſh. Likewiſe in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I ſate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with mee vnbidden, when I wiſhed them further off: for I ſpared them that, which gladly I would haue eaten my ſelfe. I doubt not but we ſhall liue here from henceforth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly vſed with the beſt.

I was aſked by the Shaugh if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thouſand pieces of kerſies, and clothes. And I anſwered him, ſaying, your worſhips were able to furniſh his countrey with two hundred thouſand. Whereat his Highneſſe reioyced: for the Turkes Ambaſſador the laſt yere, as diuers haue told me, did put the Shaugh in deſpaire, ſaying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his countrey.

Aleppo a citie of great trade.

Armenians barter with the Venetians.

The diſtance from Shamaky to Aleppo.

There is a citie in Syria named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, beſides other that come yeerely and there buy wools, gals, tallow, ſaffron, ſkins, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great ſtore of ſpices. Alſo the Armenians yeerly receiue at the Venetians hands, karſies in barter for rawe ſilks, giuing ſometimes 60. pieces of karſies for 70. batmans of ſilke of this countrey, and 40. pieces for Grosin ſilke. And karſies ſold commonly for ready money in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the piece, (the ducket being here worth 12. ſhillings) may coſt the firſt peny 132. and 144. Shaughs a karſie. By report it is one moneths trauel from this towne of Shamaky to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, ſix dayes iourney: and from Tripoils to Venice by water, a moneth or fiue weekes ſailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice may eaſily be trauelled in leſſe then three moneths. Therefore I wiſh your worſhips to procure ſome truſtie and aſſured friend there, to whom from hence letters may be ſent. For I can haue them here to put in ſureties to deliuer my letters, and to bring anſwere. If I had any other here with me, I would nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

Armenians and other, deſirous to barter ſilke and ſpices for karſies.

The Armenians and other are deſirous to barter with vs, giuing ſilke for karſies, and alſo will ſerue vs of all kind of ſpices, we giuing them ſufficient warning to fetch it in the Indies, and will deliuer it vs in Shamaky at theſe prizes.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughs, euery Shaugh is ſixepence.
Maces large for 40. Shaughs, and 45. the batman.
Cloues for 40. Shaughs the batman.
Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughs the batman.
Sinamom for 40. Shaughs the batman. I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in ſpices, with drugs and other like in time.

From Casbin to Ormus is ſix weeks trauel, and from hence to Casbin is 16. dayes with camels laden: but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in ſeuen or eight dayes. And I thinke to Ormus and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion, with cattel vnladen. But here in all places as men trauel, they muſt carie their owne prouiſion on horſes, which they are to buy, and thus they trauell but a footepaſe.

The Shaugh deſirous to bargaine for our commodities.

The Shaugh himſelfe is deſirous to bargaine with you, who will giue money, ſilke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may afoord them, willing me himſelfe to bring ſuch wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceiue, bring from Aleppo yeerely, foure, fiue, and ſix thouſand pieces of karſies and clothes, beſides thoſe which other men bring. If your Worſhips might procure and find vent or ſales for rawe ſilke, and ſilke died in graine, beſides other ſilkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made: then you might ſend a great ſubſtance of wares hither. But I feare you ſhall be hindered by the Venetians if they may: for I know it will grieue them that you doe trade into theſe partes: for in ſhort time it ſhall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the ſales of their clothes in Aleppo and other places adioyning. You ſhall vnderſtand that 60. batmans of ſilke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yerely carieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of ſilke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thouſand Mules laden with karſies & Venice clothes. And 18.

pieces

2000.pieces of karſies to be ſent into Perſia.

pieces of karſies are a Mules lading. But I wiſh you not to ſend aboue 2000. pieces of karſies, although I haue bene willed to write for more . If I might haue had any vnderſtanding what your Worſhips had written for in your letters ſent this yeere, I ſhould in this my letter haue bene better able to haue anſwered you. They which be now in Aſtracan, might haue written ſome thing vnto me hither, if it had pleaſed them, or elſe haue ſent me ſuch letters of mine, as I hope ſome of my friends haue written to me: for here are arriued eight weekes paſt, two boates with wares and Ruſſes, by whom they might haue written, had it bene but 3.or 4.lines. They promiſed the Ruſſes to write, but promiſe was not kept. I would be ſory that any boat ſhould depart out of theſe partes, and not write vnto them, waying how all things ſtand. I heare they haue bought a boat, which coſt 40.rubbles, and ſhipped certaine wares to come hither. God ſend them in ſafetie. I do tarie their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to Aſtracan in thoſe boates which departed hence lately.

He departed from Caſbin the 15.of July.

Rich. Johnſons great negligence.

Cozomomet was Arthur Edwards friend to the Shaugh.

Victuals and all things dear at Caſbin.

The fifteenth of July laſt, I departed from Casbin, and came to this towne the 29.of yͤ ſame. And the fourth of Auguſt I found meanes to arreſt the falſeſt knaue in this countrey, to wit, the Cuſtomer for 22.tumens, and 100.ſhaughs, (200.ſhaughs is a tumen.) I haue cauſed him to put in ſuerties for his foorthcomming at all times, what ende I ſhall haue with him, God knoweth, the debt will be recouered, but not yet, for he muſt pay the Shaugh 1000.rubbles. Theſe partes as yet are in no ſtay for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule , which I thinke ſhall bee the Murſey. Within 5.or 6.dayes we ſhall know, for it is time, becauſe men are in feare to trauell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I ſhould ſoone get in your debts, for they dare not diſobey the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts ſhall be paied, but alſo that we ſhall be taken heed to, ſo as we need not to doubt (God willing) in time to come, to be here as wel vſed as we are in Ruſſeland. The bils of debts that Rich.Iohnſon left with me, had neither the parties name nor ſumme of mony in two of them, and in other bils but his own name. If I had not vſed diſcretion in cauſing to be written in our priuiledge, that ſuch debtes as are owing, ſhould be paied any of vs in the abſence of the other, ſome men would not haue paied one penie, but onely to Richard Iohnſon, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bils. I receiued in Casbin of Forackan in part of 29. tumens, 300.ſhaughs in money: the reſt he will deliuer me here in ſilke, and this is all that I haue receiued to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelue tumens, I make accompt, that if I could ride to ſpeake with him, I ſhould be paid in money and wares. Touching Ackons money, by meanes of Duke Ameddinbeck, who firſt owed the debt, becauſe they meant not to pay a penie, he did rather ſeeke to hinder my ſute then to further mee, but I found out a preſent remedie: for God ſent me friends that were alwayes about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my ſute, and brought mee to the preſence of the Shaugh before that Cozomomet ſawe the Shaughs eyes . But Cozomomet in the end was my friend: for he was ſent for, and declared vnto the Shaugh what good merchants we were, vſing trueth in all our doings, and how we were in great fauour with the Emperour of Ruſſia, and what good commodities wee might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was ſent for to the Shaugh about the affaires in thoſe partes, for no man was able to aduiſe the Shaugh of the ſtate and affaires of thoſe Countreys ſo much as hee was. He owed your Worſhips ſeuen tumens and 48.ſhaughs, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands: for hee was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giuing great gifts ſince his comming, which he twiſe declared vnto me. I feeling his griefe became Phyſicion to eaſe his paine, and forgaue him his debt abouesayd, in recompence of ten pieces of karſies, that were promiſed him by Richard Iohnſon and me, to giue him at the comming of our goods, in conſideration that he ſhould with ſpeed doe what lay in him, to diſpatch me away: for I perceiue hee procured other that did helpe me in my ſute to delay me of, till time he had his purpoſe. I neuer was in quiet, till I had the Princes priuiledge, and had got mee out of Casbin : for victuals, and all other things are very deare there, becauſe they are brought thither from farre off. As for all other ſmal debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Merchants are come hither, we ſhall ſeeke to get them in as we may. I wiſh your Worſhips to ſend ſome bullion to bee coyned here, it will pleaſe the prince there, and be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by two or three ſhaughs the batman, then it was the laſt yeere. You ſhall vnderſtand that I haue written two letters of all my proceedings, which I ſent from Casbin long ſince: to wit, the 24.and 29.of June laſt, by one of your ſeruants to Gilan, there to take ſhip and to goe to Aſtracan, and to deliuer the ſame vnto your Factors, which might haue bene to their quietnes and mine, long agoe. But I am right ſorie to heare ſince my comming hither, that he hath plaied the loitering merchant in Gilan, not going in thoſe boats that went firſt, but taried for the laſt boats. But I will teach him, to the example of other, how he ſhall make haſte hereafter in ſuch affaires. The karſies which you ſent laſt, being bought of M. Quarles, were good and full lengths and well ſorted. The Princes Ambaſſador of Gilan was in Casbin, at my being there. I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may goe to Gilan, to obtaine for your worſhips the like priuiledge at the kings hand there alſo. For I haue ſomthing moued the matter, being put in ſuch comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with ſmall charges, which I had done at this time if I had had other here with me to put in truſt: for from Casbin to Gilan is but 5. dayes riding, which Countrey may be profitable to your Worſhips. There is in that Prouince good ſtore of ſilke, better cheape, & better in goodneſſe then this countrey ſilke is. Alſo great ſtore of Alom, being there ſold this townes batman, for one biſt and a halfe. I haue made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to Colmogro, & from thence fraight into England at three pounds the tunne, al charges accounted, will not ſtand you in aboue 18. and 20. ſhillings the hundreth. You haue yeerly by report two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England I heare not of. As for gals here to bee bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from Aleppo, and ſold here not vnder 3. or 4. ſhaughs their batman, being ſix pounds Engliſh waight. Graine that you die ſcarlet withall is worth the batman ready mony, 200. ſhaughs, reckoning the ſhaugh for 6. pence Ruſſe, it may be 6. rubbles their batman. Your worſhips may ſend ſome portion of mony, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13. s. a pound the berries, ſo you ſhall gaine both in the price and waight. If one Engliſhman more had bene here with me, to whom I might haue deliuered our bils of debts and other things, whatſoeuer ſhould haue chanced of me, I would then haue become ſeruant to mine Interpreter, and ſo haue gone to Ormus and Aleppo, which both ioyne on the borders of this countrey, being the chiefe Mart townes, whereunto from all places merchants reſort. And thus would I haue ſpent 4. or 5. months in trauelling for further knowledge of things for to haue certified your worſhips of. I hope in God to vſe things in ſuch order, that yeerly you ſhall haue returne of your goods from hence, as you haue forth of Ruſſeland, and in thoſe ſhips. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, prouide to make ſales in time, and with ſpeed receiue ſilke at the Shaughs hand, and other mens, that it may be ſent from hence to be in Aſtracan at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be ſent to Colmogro in three moneths and leſſe, and there to be ready with the reſt of your goods by the end of Iune for your ſhips to receiue, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to paſſe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly ſetled in theſe parts, and better knowen. Moreouer you ſhall vnderſtand, that at my laſt being in the preſence of the Shaugh, it was ſayd to mee that M. Anthonie Ienkinſon did proffer to take all the rawe ſilke in thoſe parties, deliuering cloth and other commodities for the ſame. I aſſure you there is in thoſe parts to be had three or foure thouſand horſes lading, euery horſe load being 50. or 60. batmans, beſide ſilke of Groſin. Great abundance of ſilke at times is ſent out of theſe parts, to wit, 4. or 5. hundred horſe lodes at a time by the Turkes, who bring great ſtore of ſiluer to be coined, to wit, Dollars at ten ſhaughs the piece. The Hungarie Ducket is at 12. ſhaughs. And hauing money in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy ſilke the better cheape, when the countrey men bring it firſt to be ſold. If your worſhips may bargaine with the Venetians to take ſilke at your hands, or otherwiſe deale with them, I doe not miſtruſt but to haue at the Shaughs hand ſixe batmans of ſilke for two pieces and a halfe of karſies. Your good aduiſe herein, and in other matters, I truſt you will write with conuenient ſpeed. Maſter Anthonie Ienkinſon hath deſerued great commendation at all your worſhips hands: for the good report of his well and wiſe doings in thoſe parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and ſome good helpe to me in my proceedings. To this day I neuer heard from any of our merchants. God graunt me in health to ſee your worſhips, for I haue had a carefull trauell, with many a ſorowfull day and vnquiet ſleepes. Neither had I the company of one Engliſh perſon, to whom ſometimes I might haue eaſed my penſiue heart, as God well knoweth, who hath deliuered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God graunt you in health and wealth long to liue.

The Ambaſſador of yͤ prince of Gilan.

Gilan but fiue dayes riding from Casbin.

Gals.

Graine.

Ormus.
Aleppo.

M. Anthonie Ienkinſons offer to the Perſian.

M. Anthonie Ienkinſon commended.

Your humble ſeruant at commandement
during life, *Arthur Edwards.*

Another letter of *Arthur Edwards* written in Aſtracan the 16. of *Iune*, 1567. *at his returne in his firſt voiage out of Perſia, to the right worſhipfull Com*panie trading into Ruſſia, Perſia, and other the North and Northeaſt partes.

IT may pleaſe your Worſhips that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your priuiledge, but alſo the Gouernours names, with the Conſuls, Aſſiſtants and generalitie. Alſo ſuch commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters directed to your Worſhips to be ſent him, with other notes which I thought good to be remem-

The Shaughs letters to the Moſcouy companie.

bred,as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written,graunted, and giuen in the names of theſe ſixe perſons following: to wit,ſir William Garrard,ſir William Cheſter,gouernours,ſir Thomas Lodge,maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, maſter Thomas Nicols and Arthur Edwards.

1 Firſt,it is granted that you ſhall pay no maner of cuſtomes or tols, any kinde of wayes, now,nor in time comming,vnto his heires after him. And that all Engliſh merchants, ſuch as you ſhall appoint now and hereafter, ſhall and may paſſe and repaſſe into all places of his dominions and other countries adioining in the trade of merchandize, to buy and ſell all maner of commodities,with all maner of perſons.

2 Item,that in all places where any of our merchants ſhall haue their reſort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours,Rulers and Iuſtices ſhall take heed vnto vs,being our aide & defence againſt all euil perſons,puniſhing thoſe that ſhall do vs any wrong.

3 Item,that for all ſuch debts as ſhall be owing by any maner of perſon,iuſtice ſhal be done on the partie,and we paid at the day.

4 Item,that no maner of perſons of whatſoeuer eſtate or degree they be of,ſhall be ſo hardie as to take any kind of wares,or any gifts,without any leaue and good will.

5 Item,if by chance medley any of our merchants or ſeruants,as God forbid,ſhould kill any of his ſubiects,that no part of your goods ſhall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour,and true iuſtice to bee miniſtred, and being any of vs,not to ſuffer without the Princes knowledge and aduiſe.

6 Item,that all ſuch debts as are now owing, or hereafter ſhall be,are to be paied vnto any of vs,in the abſence of the other,be the partie dead or aliue.

7 Item,that no perſon returne any kind of wares backe againe,being once bought or ſold.

8 Item,that when God ſhall ſend your goods to ſhore,preſently his people ſhall helpe vs on land with them.

Theſe articles before written,I truſt in God wil content your minds,vntill your farther letters be hitherto written vnto the Prince, who I am aſſured will graunt your farther reaſonable requeſts,which his maieſtie hath promiſed.For I moued the queſtion,declaring vnto him that I thought your Worſhips would write your letters of requeſts,to craue his farther good will, as ſhould be thought meet for your better aſſurance in the trade of merchandize: you will hardly beleeue what long and gracious talke he had with mee, which I aſſure you continued two houres, which was ſtrange vnto the people & other merchant ſtrangers. For betwixt euery queſtion that his maieſtie moued,when I had anſwered him, hee would talke with his Nobles and other his ſeruants,hauing ſome knowledge of our Weſterne parts & commodities, and then againe would demaund other queſtions.He cauſed his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in all of his foure letters giuen me(whereof two as I required,are in the Turkiſh tongue to be ſent you.) On the backe ſide of one,hee hath written what wares his Maieſtie would haue you to ſend him. He held me one houre within night before I departed from him.

Theſe bee the names of the wares or commodities which on the *backe ſide of one of his letters the* Shaugh *hath written to you to be ſent him.*

First, ſome cloth of Gold,with cloth of Tiſſue, and cloth of Botky,as Veluets wrought with gold.

Item,good veluets,to wit,crimoſins,purples,reds,greenes and blackes. Theſe colours his maieſtie requireth,for they are moſt worne.And though there be ſome of theſe wares made in his citie of Caſſan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to thoſe that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in theſe wares: yet for diuers conſiderations,as alſo to ſatiſfie the Princes mind,I wiſh you to ſend ſome,and thoſe that be eſpeciall good.

Item,good damaſks and ſattins of all ſortes,with an hundred pieces of good chamlets, which are worth here 80. ſhaughs the piece,at ſixe pence the ſhaugh,and thoſe ſilkes to bee of thoſe colours aboue written,to wit,crimoſins, purples,reds,greenes, blackes, with ſome light watchet colours.

Item,three or foure complete harneſſes that wil abide the ſhot of a handgun with 10.or 12.targets of ſteele,being good.

Item,ten or twelue good ſhirts of male being very good or elſe none, that may abide the ſhot of an arrow,and two buffe ierkins.

Item,ten or twelue pieces of Weſterne karſies, being thicked well and cloſe ſhut in the weauing,and died into ſcarlets and fine reds.I thinke there wil be no ſuch cloth for noblemens caps.

The prince named them *karangies, ſaying, that maidens did make them, & is deſirous of them.

Item, ſix pieces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with ſome other for noblemen, of a lower price.

Item, twentie handguns being good, ſome of them with fire locks, and alſo ſix good dags, with locks to trauel withall.

Item 100. bruſhes for garments (none made of ſwines haire,) for gifts, and otherwiſe to be ſold.

Item, ſix ſtone bowes that ſhoot lead pellets.

Item, a mill to grind corne in the field as they goe, finely deuiſed: for Cozomomet willed me to write for one to be ſent, to giue the Prince.

Item, the Prince requireth of all ſortes and colours of London clothes. I wiſh you to ſend no leſſe then 40. or 50. for I know they will be ſold to profit, eſpecially ſuch cloth as may be affoorded for 20. ſhaughs the arſhine, which is longer by two of mine inches then Ruſſia arſhine is. Let there be fine ſkarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blacks, browne blewes, foure or fiue of euery ſort, for the prince and other lords: the reſt of other colours liuely to the ſight, as London ruſſets, tawnies, lion colours, good liuely greenes, with other, as you ſhall thinke good: for the prince deſireth to ſee of all ſorts, which will be an occaſion that the Venetians and Turkes ſhall bee in leſſe eſtimation then they are: for they themſelues do feare, and ſecretly ſay the ſame. And truely the Princes ſubiects intend to enter into trade with vs for ſpices and other commodities that they were woont to ſell vnto the Venetians and Turkes.

* By the word Karangies, I thinke they meane karſies.

Thus I commit you all to God, who ſend you health with increaſe of worſhip. Written in Aſtracan the 16. of Iune, 1567.

By your ſeruant during life to command,

Arthur Edwards.

Diſtances of certaine places in Ruſſia.

The way from Saint Nicholas *Baie to Moſco.*

	verſts
To Colmogro	100
To Vſtiug	500
To Totma	250
To Vologhda	250
All by the riuer of Dwina	1100
To Yeraſlaue	180
To Roſtoue	60
To Peraſlaue	60
To Mosko	120
By land Eaſt and Weſt	440

The way from Mosko to Smolensko.

To Moram	300
To Smolensko	200

The way from Mosko to Nouogrod.

To Ottuer	180
To Torzhoke	60
To Wiſnouolloko	60
To Nouogrod	150
Southeaſt and Northweſt	450

The way from Nouogrod to Narue.

To Teſeua	50
To the Friers	60
To Yria Niagorod	40
To Narue	15
Southweſt and Northeaſt	165

verſts

From Nouogrod to Vobsky, is 180. verſts by Eaſt.

The way from Vobski to Ry in Liefland.

To Newhouſe	50
To Gouen on yͤ borders.	Al is 200. verſts
To Wenden	
To Trecado	
To Newſlot	
To Rie	

The way from Moſco to Aſtracan.

To Coſtrom

To Niſnouogrod

To Cazan

To Aſtracan in all is 2800. verſts

The way from Vologhda to Narue.

To Belozerco	140
To Batag	80
To Witergen	40
To Ladiski	60
To Onega lake	80
To Oher	90
To Narue	180
Southweſt and Northeaſt	770. verſts

To go with a ſmall boat within the land from S. Nicholas *to Wardhouſe.*

To Newnox riuer

To Ouſca Gouba

To Lobſhanga

To Ouſt Nauelocki

To Orlouanos

To Solufca Monaſterie.
To Candelox
To Ouſt Colla
To Zhemaker
To Poganna Volocki
To Chibe Nauolocke
To Kegor

To Wardhouſe in all 800.verſts Northweſt and Southeaſt.

The way from Colmogro to Mizemske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keep their Mart.

To Vſt Pinnego
To Palango
To Leunona

To Velcom
To Soyaua
To Coula
To Nendega
To Lampas
To Sloboda

Al is 230. verſts

The way to Vromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the Loſh hides are gotten.

To Lampas
To Pogorel
To Zapolle
To Vromo

Al is 115. verſts Northeaſt and Southweſt.

The way and diſtances from Saint Nicholas, *to the Caſpian Sea.*

IF you goe ſtraight from Saint Nicholas to the Caſpian Sea, you muſt goe to Vologhda by water, as by the eaſieſt paſſage, and that is accompliſhed, paſſing day and night, in foureteene dayes and foureteene nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100. verſts it is.

By horſe and ſleds in 8. dayes you may paſſe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous by meanes of mariſhes and bogs, and not ſafely then to be paſſed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraſlaue, 180. verſts ouer land. This Yeraſlaue ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Volga, 180. verſts I ſay diſtant from Vologhda.

To the Caſpian ſea are 2700. verſts from Yeraſlaue.

So from S. Nicholas to the Caſpian ſea, are } 3800. 80. verſts.

The iourney from S. Nicholas to Yeraſlaue is accompliſhed in foureteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. } 16. dayes.

From thence to Aſtracan men trauell by water in 30. dayes and 30. nights.

So between S. Nicholas and the Caſpian ſea, are } 46. dayes iourney.

There paſſe downe Volga euery Summer, 500. boats great & ſmal, from all the vpper parts of the riuer, whereof ſome be of 500. tunne. They go for Minerall ſalt and for Sturgeon.

The ſalt lieth in rocks (and is whitiſh red, and in fine ſand) as it were 30. miles from Aſtracan toward the Caſpian ſea. They dig it themſelues and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a peny a pood, viz. 40. pound waight.

The Sturgeon which they call Ocetera is taken fiftie miles on this ſide Aſtracan. Along the riuer the ſpace of 20. miles, they make their booties in plaine grounds, & fiſh for the ſpace of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of Auguſt, and hauing ſalt they vſe to ſalt them.

Fiſhing for Sturgeon for 3. moneths.

The riuer is there 5. or 6. miles broad, but with ſome Iſlands.

The riuer below Yeraſlaue, where it is moſt narow, is a mile broad from ſide to ſide.

The riuer runneth vpon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the riuer ſides, ſaue about the townes of the fiſhing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Vſtiug runneth all on chalke and ſand: the fiſh are ſweete & fat.

The Mene a fiſh with a great head a foot long breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Between Vobsko and Nouogrod, the ſpace of an 180. miles, groweth flaxe: the whole ſoile in length is ſo imploied, and as much in breadth: this is vpon a flat ſoile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko vpon the Poliſh border, 300. miles in compaſſe: much of the ſoile is ſo imploied.

Of this hempe they bring in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we ſet in worke in making of cables aboue 100. men.

The Engliſhmen in making of cables, ſet on worke a 100. men in Ruſſia.

The Ruſſians do ſpin and hachell it, and the Engliſh tarre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of thoſe is worth two of Danzick, becauſe the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten ſtuffe, which in fowle weather is found of no ſtrength.

Soſnoua, a tree that cureth the wolfe with the ſhauings of the wood, groweth in theſe parts, and of the barks they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boats.

Soſnoua tree, excellent for the cure of the wolfe.

The Samoeds lacking linnen make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree.

The wood of this tree is as heauie as hollie, and the ſhauings tough.

Roſe Iſland in S. Nicholas Baie is full of Roſes damaſke and red, of violets and wild Roſemarie: This Iſland is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good paſture, and hath the name of the roſes.

The deſcription of Roſe Iſland.

The ſnow here about the midſt of May is cleared, hauing bin two moneths in melting, then the ground is made dry within 14. dayes after, and then the graſſe is knee high within a moneth. Thē after September the froſt commeth in, the ſnow is a yard deepe vpon plaine ground. The Iſland hath Firre and Birch, and a faire freſh ſpring neere the houſe built there by the Engliſh.

The way diſcouered by water by vs *Thomas Southam* & *Iohn Sparke*, *from the towne of Colmogro, by the Weſterne bottome of the Baie of S.* Nicholas, vnto the citie of Nouogrod in Ruſſia, containing many particulars of the way, and diſtance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. *Anno 1566.*

WE departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coaſt to a place called Soroka, & in the ſayd barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct vs to the place before rehearſed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or thereabout, wherewith we valed downe the riuer of Dwina, the winde being then calme, vnto a monaſterie called S. Michael where we were conſtrained to anker becauſe of a contrary wind which there met vs.

From Colmogro to this monaſterie are 50. verſts or miles of Ruſſia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind ſomewhat faire, we ſet ſaile and departed thence.

A verſt is but 3. quarters of an engliſh mile.

21 We departed from the monaſterie of S. Michael, hauing the wind ſomwhat faire, and arriued at Roſe Iſland, ouer and againſt the monaſterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles diſtant from the monaſterie of S. Michael. By reaſon of contrary wind and tide we were conſtrained to tary there all that day.

23 We departed from the monaſterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the euening, & came to an anker at the Beacons, & continued there vntil halfe an houre paſt 10. of the clocke, and then ſet from thence, the wind being South: our courſe was Weſt vntil 5. of the clock in the morning, when as we came to an anker againſt Newnox towne, where we continued vntil the 25. day.

The ſayd towne of Newnox is from the Monaſterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

At this towne Newnox Richard Chanceller in his firſt voyage, with his companie aſhipboard were relieued.

25 We departed frō Newnox hauen at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeaſt, and our courſe Northweſt and by Weſt.

The point of Tolſtick which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox hauen, and the headland of Seuſemski lie next Southeaſt and by South, Northweſt and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in yͤ afternoone, being from Newnox hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth, by reaſon of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Seuſemski in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at Eaſt and by North, and our courſe Northweſt and by Weſt.

The ſaid land of Seuſemski & the headland going into Owna riuer lieth Eaſt and by South, weſt and by North, and between them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne ſet we came to an Iſland called Sogiſney paſſing betwixt it & the maine, with the wind at South and by Eaſt, our courſe was Weſt and by South, being 85. miles from Owna riuer.

Being paſt the ſaid Iſland 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupen we returned to the Iſland of Sogiſney, where we remained vntil the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogiſney aforeſayd, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at Eaſt northeaſt, & our courſe was Southweſt & by weſt, paſſing by an Iſland called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogiſney, and keeping on our courſe, we came by the headland of an Iſland called Abdon, being from the Iſland of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rocks: and if the great prouidence of God had not preſerued vs, wee had there periſhed, being fallen amongſt them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfecteſt, which was contrary to his profeſſion as we found it.

But whoſoeuer will trauell that way muſt either keepe hard aboord the ſhore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coaſt within the rocks, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the leaſt, and ſo goe a ſeaboord all: for there are ledges of rocks that lie fiue miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithſtanding there lay two rockes two miles to ſea boord of vs, ſo that we were incloſed with them, and ſate vpon the higheſt of them: but it pleaſed God to make it calme, and giue vs the day alſo, or els we had miſcaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Iſland of Abdon, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our courſe Weſt, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, we arriued at a monaſterie named Solofky, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monaſterie we continued vntill the 31. day of this moneth. We had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monaſterie, their letter and houſe ſeale, and a ſeruant of theirs to conduct vs ſafely through the dangerous riuer of Owiga.

The people of all thoſe parts are wild, and ſpeake another kind of language, & are for the moſt part all tenants to the monaſterie. The effect of the letter was, that they ſhould be ready to helpe and aſſiſt vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needfull, as in deed they did, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monaſterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then choſen: for 15. dayes before our arriual there, the Abbot was ſent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is. The number of monkes belonging to the monaſterie are at the leaſt 200.

31 Wee departed from the monaſterie of Solofky, as is aforeſayde, to a faire ſtone houſe of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monaſterie, lying from it South and by Weſt.

August.

1 We departed from the Stone houſe at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our courſe was Weſt for 60. verſts, and then paſſing betwixt diuers and ſundry rocks, with many ſmall Iſlands round about vs for the ſpace of 20. miles, keeping moſt commonly the ſame courſe ſtill, we then ſhaped a new courſe, and yet ſundry times ſhifting, but we alwayes kept the Southweſt, and neereſt of all South ſouthweſt, vntil we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer Owiga, where we were to beare in, Weſt and by North.

The riuer Owiga.

From the riuer Owiga, to the Iſlands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles.

We arriued about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the riuer of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forſooke our barke or Lodia, & continued there in making prouiſion for ſmall boates to carie vs vp the riuer vntill the 3. day of the ſame.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boats and 12. men to rowe, and ſet the foreſaid boates vp the riuer of Owiga, which we hired.

The fall of a riuer.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Oſtroue, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka, at a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came ſteepe downe from a mountain, we were conſtrained to take out our goods and wares out of the ſaid boats, and cauſed them to be caried a mile ouer land, and afterwards alſo had our boates in like ſort caried or drawen ouer land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monaſterie aforeſaid.

And when our boats were come to the place where our wares were laid, we lanched our boats and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where we continued and remained that night.

We departed from Oſtroue in the morning before Sunne riſing, rowing and ſetting vp the riuer 5. miles, where we came to a place whereas we were againe conſtrained to take out our wares, and to carie them and our boats three miles ouer land, ſo that with rowing, drawing and ſetting, we went this day 7. miles more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne riſing, and at ſixe of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday 30. miles, where wee remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and all that day what with ſetting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for we twiſe vnladed our wares, & drew our boats ouerland; in one place a mile & an halfe, in another place as it were the eight part of a mile, and ſo we came to a place called Voyets, where we taried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the clocke in the morning, & ſo came to an Ozera or lake, called after the name of the riuer, & vnto a place called Quequenich, wee rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clock in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there we remained all night to hire men and boats to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the ſeruant which we had at the Monaſterie, being ſent by the monkes to go thus far with vs. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that ſhould conduct vs, & giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in ſafetie, at a place being a litle towne called Pouenſa, then hee departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines, for ſo he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8 We departed from Quequenich at ſunne riſing, & all that day rowed vpon the lake amongſt

many Iſlands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Iſlands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the euening we came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich.

A lake very full of Iſlands.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and ſo entring into a riuer, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouer land 3. miles. At euening we came to a place called Oreiche na maelay, where we lay all night.

10 Wee departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and ſo rowing, came to a place where the riuer ended, being 20. miles diſtant from the place where wee lay all night, at which place wee forſooke our boates and vnladed our wares, and ſent a man to the towne of Pouenſa, which was ſeuen mile off, for horſes to cary vs and our wares to the ſaid place. The horſes came, and we laded our goods, and at ſixe of the clocke in the afternoone wee arriued at the towne of Pouenſa, with all things in ſafetie.

This towne of Pouenſa ſtandeth within one mile of the famous lake or Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in ſome places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narroweſt it is 25. miles ouer, being fed with many goodly riuers which fall into it. Hard aboord the ſhore within 6. miles, you ſhall haue 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

The famous lake of Onega.

Here it is to bee noted that from this place of Pouenſa vnto the village of Soroka downe thoſe dangerous riuers which wee came through, at no time of the yeere can or may any man cary or tranſport any goods that come from Nouogrod, or the Narue, and ſuch other places: for in the Sommer it is impoſſible to cary downe any wares by reaſon of the great fals of water that doe deſcend from the rockes. Likewiſe in the Winter by reaſon of the great force and fall of waters which make ſo terrible raiſes, that in thoſe places it neuer freezeth, but all ſuch wares as come from Nouogrod to Pouenſa, are tranſported by land to a place called Some in the Winter, which Some ſtandeth on the ſea ſide, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Pouenſa by land to this place of Some, with the diſtance of miles I will ſhew hereafter.

12 We departed from Pouenſa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. ſmal boats which we hired to cary vs to a place called Toluo vpon the lake of Onega, being 50. miles from Pouenſa, where we arriued the 13. day in the morning, where wee bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the Citie of Nouogrod.

14 We departed from Toluo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the euening arriued at a certaine Iſland named Salaſalma, vpon the ſaid lake 7. miles from Toluo, and by reaſon of contrary windes we there taried vntill the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salaſalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Iſland the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where wee continued by reaſon of contrary winds, vntill the 21. day of the ſaid moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salaſalma.

21 We departed from Vorronia Iſland two houres before day, and arriued at S. Clements Monaſterie at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorronia 48. miles.

S. Clement his Monaſterie.

22 We departed from S. Clements Monaſterie at the breake of the day, hauing a faire wind all along the lake: we ſailed without ſtriking of ſaile vntil two houres within night, and then entred into a riuer called Swire, at a Monaſterie called Voſneſſino Chriſto, fiue miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we taried al night. It is from S. Clements Monaſtery 160. miles: the ſtreame of that riuer went with vs.

23 Wee departed from Voſneſſino Chriſto before Sunne riſing, and valed downe the riuer ſometime ſailing, and ſometime rowing, ſo that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vaſſian.

24 Wee departed from Vaſſian at the breake of the day, and came to a place called ‖ Selucax, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vaſſian.

‖ Or, Sermaxe.

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and entred vpon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the winde being calme al that day ſauing 3. houres, and then it was with vs, ſo that we ſailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along vpon the ſaid lake, and entred into the riuer of Volhuſki, which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue Nouogrod, and runneth through the moſt of the Citie, and ſo falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega, but it is not ſo broad. This lake falleth into the ſea that commeth from the Sound: where any veſſel or boat, hauing a good pilot, may goe through the Sound into England.

The riuer of Volhuski.

The lake of Ladeskai.

As ſoone as we were entred into the riuer, we came to a Monaſterie called S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

26 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medued, at fiue of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another Monaſterie called Goſnopoli, which is 30. miles from S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

The Monaſterie of Goſnopoli.

27 We departed from Goſnopoli at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at euening came to a place called Moiſlaue, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the Monaſterie of Goſnopoli.

28 We departed from Moiſlaue, and the ſaide day at night came to a place called Gruſſina, 35. miles from Moiſlaue where we lodged.

29 Wee departed from Gruſſina in the morning, and the ſame day at euening came to a place called Petroe Suetoe, where we lay all night, being 40. miles from Gruſſina.

The Citie of Nouogrod.

30 We departed from Petroe Suetoe in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone we arriued at the Citie of Nouogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Suetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there ſtayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Moſco, by reaſon that the plague was then in the Citie of Nouogrod. Unto him we deliuered all the wares that wee brought from Colmogro, for by the way we ſold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey euery where be ſo miſerable.

The right way to bring and tranſport wares from Nouogrod to Roſe Iſland into S. Nicholas bay, where our Ships yeerely lade, with the diſtance of miles from place to place, is as followeth:

20 Miles from Nouogrod to Petroe Suetoe.
40 Miles from thence to Gruſina.
35 Miles from thence to Moiſlaue.
46 Miles from thence to the Monaſterie Goſnopoli.
15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.
15 Miles from thence to Selunaz ouer the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.
180 Miles from Ladega towne vp the riuer of Swire, vnto the Monaſterie of Voſneſſino Chriſto, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer: for within euery fiue or ſixe miles you ſhall haue villages or ſmall townes.
160 Miles from Voſneſſino Chriſto to S. Clements Monaſtery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.
48 Miles from thence to Voronia.
67 Miles from thence to Toluo towne: and there are diuers villages al along the lake where the carriers may lie, and haue meate for man and horſe.
50 Miles from thence to Pouenſa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from *Pouenſa* to *Some* towne is this:

30 Miles from Pouenſa to Maſtelina.
10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.
30 Miles from thence to Toluich.
35 Miles from thence to Carraich.
20 Miles from thence to Varnich.
10 Miles from thence to Oſtrouo.
15 Miles from thence to Lapina.
20 Miles from thence to Some it ſelfe.

Note, that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto the towne of Some is 936. miles, and from the towne of Some vnto the Monaſterie of S. Nicholas or Roſe Iſland, ouer and againſt where our Ships do ride, is iuſt as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Ruſſes doe accompt it, as alſo we do iudge it, namely 325. miles. So that from Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our accompt 1261. miles or verſts.

Trauel by Sleds.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all ſuch wares as ſhall be bought at Nouogrod, and ſent to Some towne, muſt be ſent by ſled wey in the Winter: for if any ware ſhould be ſent from Nouogrod by water in the ſpring of the yeere after the yce is gone, then muſt the ſaid wares remaine at Pouenſa towne al that Summer, by reaſon that in the Summer there is no way to goe from Pouenſa vnto Some towne.

At Pouenſa there are many warehouſes to be hired, ſo that if there were as much goods as ten ſhips could cary away, you might haue warehouſes to put it in: but if there ſhould remaine much ware all the Summer, to be caried in the Winter to Some towne, then horſes are not eaſily to be gotten at that place to cary it thither: ſo that your wares once bought at Nouogrod, you muſt haue cariers there to cary it to the towne of Some by Sleds, whereof you may there haue 2000. if you will, by the report of the Ruſſes.

2000. Sleds belonging to one towne.

For from Nouogrod yerely there go many Sleds in the Winter to fetche ſalt from Some, with carriers and emptie Sleds there to buy it, and to bring it to Nouogrod to ſell it in the market or otherwiſe.

From Nouogrod vnto Some towne you may haue a pood of wares carried for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wiſe your wares muſt bee ſent from Nouogrod by the firſt of Ianuary, ſo that the wares may bee at Some by Candlemas, or ſoone after: for if your wares ſhould tary by the way vntill the 15. of February when the Sunne is of ſome power, then is it dangerous: for the heate of the Sunne in the day cauſeth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and ſpecially of Onega to cleaue: and if there ſhould come then a ſudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doeth, then doe theſe lakes open and breake, whereby many men are loſt, and both men and horſe drowned, although other riuers do remaine frozen a long time after.

A good caueat for ſeaſonable trauell.

In the towne of Some alſo there are many warehouſes, whereof we cannot be deſtitute for the repoſing of our wares, as alſo as many barkes as you wil to tranſport your wares from thence to S. Nicholas road, and that for three pence a poods caryage: ſo that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto S. Nicholas road you may haue wares caried for two altines. The pood commeth vnto 23. altines the tunne.

Prouided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your ſelfe, and ſend it thence: for there is no hope that the natiues will bring their wares from Nouogrod to Some, in hope to ſell vnto vs, conſidering the great trade that they haue at the Narue, which is within 180. miles off them.

Nouogrod within 180. miles of the Narue.

Written by *Thomas Southam* a ſeruant
to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants aduenturers for the diſcouering of new trades, made in the eight yeere of Queene *Elizabeth*. Anno 1566.

Whereas diuers very good Subiects of this Realme of England in the latter ende of the reigne of the late right high and mightie prince our Soueraigne Lord king Edward the ſixt, at the gracious incouragement, and right good liking of the ſaid king, and by his Maieſties liberall example, did at their aduenture, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increaſe of the reuenues of the Crowne, and the common vtilitie of the whole Realme of England, ſet forth three ſhips for the diſcouery by Sea, of Iſles, lands, territories, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by the Subiects of the ſayd late king not commonly by ſeas frequented: and after that Almightie God had called to his mercie the ſaid king, who died before the finiſhing and ſealing of his moſt ample and gracious letters of priuiledges promiſed to the ſaid Subiects, as wel in conſideration of the ſaid enterpriſe, as for diuers other reſpects it pleaſed our late ſouereigne Q. Mary, at the humble ſuites of the ſame ſubiects, to graunt by her letters Patents vnder the great Seale of England, bearing date at Weſtminſter the 26. day of February, in the ſecond yeere of her raigne, for the conſiderations mentioned in the ſaid letters Patents, to the ſaide ſubiects being ſpecially named in the ſaide letters Patents, and to their ſucceſſors, that they by the name of Merchants aduenturers of England, for the diſcouerie of lands, territories, Iſles, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and not before their late aduenture or enterpriſe, by ſeas or Nauigations cōmonly frequented, ſhould be from thenceforth one body, and perpetual felowſhip and communaltie of themſelues, both in deed and in name, and that the ſame felowſhip and communaltie from thenceforth ſhould and might haue one or two gouernours, foure Conſuls, and 24. aſſiſtants, of the ſaid felowſhip and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, and that they by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, felowſhip, and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, for the diſcouery of lands, territories, Iſles, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, by the ſeas and Nauigations, and not before their ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe, by Seas frequented, ſhould or might be able in the lawe to implead and to bee impleaded, to anſwere and to be anſwered, to defend and to be defended, before whatſoeuer Iudge or Iuſtice temporall or ſpiritual, or other perſons whatſoeuer, in whatſoeuer court or courts, and in all actions, real, perſonal, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of Nouel deſeiſon, and alſo in all plaints, ſutes, quarrels, affaires, buſineſſe, and demaunds whatſoeuer they be, touching and concerning the ſaid felowſhip and comminaltie, and the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſame, only in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this Realme might doe, giuing alſo, and granting vnto them by the ſaid letters Patents, diuers authorities, powers, iuriſdictions, preheminences, franchiſes, liberties and priuiledges, as by the ſame letters Patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the ſaid letters Patents, whereas one of the three ſhips, by the ſaid fellowſhip before that time ſet foorth for the voyage of diſcouery aforeſaid, named the Edward Bonauenture, had arriued within the Empire and dominion of the high and mightie Prince Lord Iohn Vaſiliwich, Emperour of all Ruſſia, Volodimersky, great duke of Musky, &c. who receiued the Captaine and Merchants of the ſaide ſhippe very graciouſly, granting vnto them freely to traffique with his ſubiects in all kinde of merchandizes, with diuers other gracious priuiledges and liberties: therefore the ſaid late Queene by the ſame letters Patents, for her, her heires and ſucceſſors, did graunt that all the maine lands, Iſles, ports, hauens, creeks and riuers of the ſaid mighty Emperour of all Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſco, &c. and all and ſingular other lands, dominions, territories, Iſles, ports, hauens, creeks, riuers, armes of the ſeas, of al and euery other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or gouerner whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſaid late aduenture or enterpriſe not knowen, or by the aforeſaid merchants and ſubiects of the ſaid king and Queene, by the ſeas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcell thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeaſtwards, or Northweſtwards, as in the ſaid letters patents is mentioned, ſhould not be viſited, frequented nor haunted by any the ſubiects of the ſaid late Queene, other then of the ſaid company and fellowſhip, and their ſucceſſors, without expreſſe licence, agreement, & conſent of the Gouerner, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid felowſhip, and communaltie, or the more part of them, in maner & forme, as is expreſſed in the ſaide letters patents, vpon paine of forfeiture and loſſe aſwell of the ſhip and ſhips, with the appurtenances, as alſo of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatſoeuer they be, of thoſe the ſubiects of the ſaid late Queene not being of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, which ſhould attempt or preſume to ſaile to any of thoſe places, which then were, or after ſhould happen to be found and traffiqued vnto, the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of the ſaid late Queene, her heires & ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to be to the vſe of the ſaid felowſhip & communaltie, as by the ſame letters patents more plainly will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patens, the ſaid fellowſhip haue, to their exceeding great coſtes, loſſes and expences, not onely by their trading into the ſaid dominions of the ſaide mightie prince of Ruſſia, &c. found out conuenient way to ſaile into the ſaide dominions: but alſo paſſing thorow the ſame, and ouer the Caſpian ſea, haue diſcouered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Perſia, and other dominions in Aſia minor, hoping by Gods grace to diſcouer alſo the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very cõuenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefite and commodities of the ſame.

This is meant by Alderman Bond the elder.

And foraſmuch as diuers ſubiects of this realme, vnderſtanding the premiſes, and perceiuing that now after the charge and trauel aforeſaid, diuers wares and merchandizes are brought by the ſaide fellowſhip into this Realme, out of the dominions already diſcouered, which bee within this realme of good eſtimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, vtterly to decay the trade of the ſayde fellowſhip, haue contrary to the tenor of the ſame letters patents, in great diſorder traded into the dominions of the ſaid mightie prince of Ruſſia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the ſaide felowſhip is incorporated by the letters patents aforeſaid, is long, & conſiſteth of very many words: Therfore be it enacted by the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, & the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by authoritie of the ſame, that the ſaid felowſhip, company, ſociety & corporation made or created by the ſaid letters patents, ſhal at al time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called onely by the name of the fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, and by the ſame name for euer ſhall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deede and name, and onely by the ſame name from henceforth, ſhall implead, and be impleaded, anſwere and be anſwered, defend and be defended, ſue and bee ſued, in whatſoeuer courts and places, and ſhall and may by the ſame name bee inabled to purchaſe, haue, holde, poſſeſſe, reteine, and enioy whatſoeuer manors, landes, tenements, rents, reuerſions, ſeruices, & hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes maieſtie, her heires, or ſucceſſors by knights ſeruice in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatſoeuer, and ſhall and may by the ſame name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and alſo ſhall haue and enioy all and ſingular the liberties, priuiledges, iuriſdictions, franchiſes, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and things in the ſayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wiſe conteined. And that no part nor parcell of the maine lands, Iſles, ports, hauens, roades, creekes, riuers, armes of the ſeas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or gouernor whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſaid firſt enterpriſe made by the merchants of the ſaide corporation, not knowen by the merchants and ſubiects of this Realme, or by them not commonly by ſeas frequented, and lying from the City of London Northwards, Northweſtwards, or Northeaſtwards, nor any part or parcel of the maine lands, dominions, iſles, ports, roades, hauens, creeks, armes of the Seas, that now be ſubiect to the ſaid high and mightie prince Lord Iohn Vaſiliwich, his heires or ſucceſſours, or to the Emperour, chiefe gouernour or ruler of the ſaid country of Ruſsia for the time being, his heires or ſucceſſors, nor the countries of Armenia maior or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Perſia, or the Caſpian ſea, nor any part of them ſhall be ſailed or traffiqued vnto, viſited, frequented, or haunted by any perſon being or that ſhalbe a ſubiect or de-

English Merchants for diſcouery of new trades.

nizen of this realme, by themſelues, their factor or factors, or any other to their vſe or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, conſent, or ratification of the gouernour, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſaide fellowſhip and comminaltie, or the more part of them, and their ſucceſſors for the time being: vpon paine that euery perſon and perſons offending in this behalfe, ſhall forfeit and looſe, Ipſo facto, euery ſuch ſhip and ſhips, with the appurtenances, and all ſuch goods, Merchandizes, and things whatſoeuer, as by any ſuch perſon or perſons ſhalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, prouided, caried, conducted, brought or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforeſaide, contrary to the true intent of this ſtatute: the one moitie of all which forfeitures to bee to our ſaid ſouereigne Lady the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, and the other moitie thereof to the ſayde fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, and their ſucceſſors, to be ſeized and taken whereſoeuer they may be found, by any perſon or perſons, to the vſe of our ſaid Souereigne Lady, her heires and ſucceſſors, and of the ſaid fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, and of their ſucceſſors, or the ſame or the value thereof to bee demaunded or ſued for by the Queenes highneſſe, her heires and ſucceſſors, or by the ſaide fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, or their ſucceſſors, or their atturney or atturneis, or by any perſon or perſons being of the ſame fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcouery of newe trades, or their ſucceſſors in any court of Record, or in any other Court or courtes within this Realme, or els where, by Action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwiſe: in which ſuite no eſſoine, protection, wager of lawe, or iniunction ſhall be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Prouided alwayes, that whereas diuers Subiects of this Realme being not of the fellowſhip aforeſaid, haue heretofore made aduentures to and from ſome of the places prohibited by the ſaid letters patents, that the ſaid ſubiects, their heires, executors, adminiſtrators and aſſignes, or any of them ſhall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, ſued, nor moleſted for the ſame in their goods or perſons in any maner of wiſe, either by our ſaide ſouereigne Lady, her heires or ſucceſſors, or the ſaid fellowſhip, or their ſucceſſors.

Prouided alſo, that it ſhall be lawfull for any ſubiect of this Realme, hauing preſently any ſhipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the ſaid mighty prince of Ruſſia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be viſited or traffiqued vnto by this ſtatute or the ſaid letters Patents, to fetch, bring, and conuey the ſame, or cauſe the ſame to be brought or conueyed from thence by ſea or otherwiſe, before the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, which ſhalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568, any thing conteined in this ſtatute, or in the ſaid letters Patents to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that it ſhall be lawfull for any of the ſubiects of this Realme, to ſaile to the port, towne, territorie, or caſtle of Wardhouſe, or to any of the coaſtes, townes, hauens, creekes, riuers, Iſlands, and land of Norway for trade of fiſhing, or any other trade there vſed by the ſubiects of this Realme, any thing in this ſtatute to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And for the better maintenance of the Nauie and Mariners of this Realme, be it prouided and inacted, that it ſhall not be lawfull to the ſaide fellowſhip and company, nor to any of them to cary and tranſport, or cauſe to be caried and tranſported any commodie of this Realme to their newe trade, but onely in Engliſh ſhips, and to be ſailed for the moſt part with Engliſh Mariners, nor alſo to bring into this Realme nor into Flanders from their ſaide new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in Engliſh ſhips, and ſailed for the moſt part by the Engliſh Mariners, on paine to forfeit for euery ſuch offence two hundred pounds, whereof the one moitie ſhall be to the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, the other moitie to the head officers of any port towne, hauing any hauen or harborough decayed, by what name ſoeuer they bee incorporate, to the reparation of ſuch harborough, that will ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no eſſoine, protection, or wager of lawe for the defendant ſhall be admitted or allowed.

Prouided alſo, and be it enacted, that no maner of perſon or perſons ſhall from henceforth carrie or tranſport, or cauſe to bee carried or tranſported out of this Realme of England, any maner of clothes or karſies into any of the partes where the ſaid fellowſhip and ſocietie is priuileged to trade by this Act, before the ſame clothes and karſies ſhall be all dreſſed, and for the moſt part died within this Realme, vpon paine of forfeiture for euery ſuch cloth and karſie, otherwiſe caried and tranſported, fiue pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Maieſtie, her heires and ſucceſſors, the other halfe to the Maſter and Wardens of the Clothworkers in the Citie of London for the time being, by what name ſoeuer they be incorporate that wil ſue for the ſame.

Prouided alſo that whenſoeuer the ſaid ſocietie or company ſhall willingly withdraw, and diſcontinue wholy by the ſpace of three yeeres in time of peace, the diſcharging of their merchandizes at the road of S.Nicholas bay in Ruſſia, and doe not diſcharge their ſaid merchandizes at ſome other port or roade lying on that North coaſt of Ruſſia, or other territorie nowe ſubiect to the ſaide mightie prince of Ruſſia, &c. hitherto by the ſubiects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any ſuch diſcontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforeſaid, it ſhalbe lawful to all the ſubiects of this realme to trade to the Narue onely in Engliſh bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that euery of the Queenes Maieſties Subiects inhabiting within the Citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcaſtle vpon Tine, Hull and of Boſton, hauing continually traded the courſe of merchandize by the ſpace of ten yeeres, and which before the 25. of December that ſhalbe in Anno D. 1567. ſhal contribute, ioyne, and put in ſtocke, to, with, and amongſt the ſaid company, ſuch ſumme & ſummes of money, as any of the ſaid company, which hath throughly continued and contributed to the ſaide newe trade, from the yeere 1552. hath done, and before the ſaide 25. of December 1567. ſhall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and intire portion, or ſhare, and do in all things behaue himſelfe as others of the ſaid ſocietie be bound to doe, and hereafter ſhall bee bound to do by the priuiledges, ordinances and ſtatutes of the ſaide company, ſhall from the ſame 25. day of December 1567. be, and be accompted free, and as one of the ſaid ſocietie and company, and ſubiect to the priuiledges, ordinances and ſtatutes of the ſaide company, reaſonably made and to be made, any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by *M. Anthony Ienkinſon*, from *London* to *Moſcouia*, ſent from the Queenes Maieſtie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

The fourth day of May in the yere aforeſaid, I imbarked my ſelfe at Graueſend in the good ſhip called the Harry of London, and hauing had a proſperous voyage arriued at the bay of S.Nicholas in Ruſsia the 10. day of Iuly following, and immediatly I ſent in poſt to the Emperor to aduertiſe of my comming, and traueiling then thorowe the countrey, I with my company came to the Moſco where the Emperour kept his court, the 23. of Auguſt, and foorthwith gaue the Secretarie to vnderſtand of my arriuall, who aduertiſed the Emperours Maieſtie of it, and the firſt day of September, being a ſolemne feaſt among the Ruſſes, I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, ſitting in his ſeate of honour, and hauing kiſſed his hand, and done the Queenes Maieſties commendations, and deliuered her Graces letters and preſent, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honour done vnto me both then and all the time of my abode in Ruſsia.

The Priuiledges graunted by the Emperour of *Ruſsia* to the Engliſh merchants of that company: obteined the 22. of September, Anno 1567. by M. *Anthony Ienkinſon.*

One onely ſtrengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worſhip in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, with the comforter the holy Spirit, and thou which art the ſtrengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, & giue vs health to preſerue our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites, and helper of all Chriſtian beleeuers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke Iohn Vaſiliwich of all Ruſsia, Volodimer, Moſco, Nouogrod, Cazan, Aſtracan, Pleſco, Smolensko, Tweria, Yougorie, Vadika, Bulgar, Sybier and others, Emperour and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land, of Chernygo, Rezan, Polotski, Roſtoue, Yereſlaue, Bealozera, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condenſa, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffe-land.

Whereas our ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to vs her letters, that wee would graunt her merchants, William Gerrard, William Cheſter, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Huſsie, Iohn Marſh, Anthony Ienkinſon, William Rowly, and their company of England, to come in ſhips into this kingdome, and thoſe merchants, William Gerrard and his company haue required of vs that we would graunt and licence them to come into our countrey of Dwina, with all kind of wares at wil, to our city of Moſco, and to all our caſtles in our kingdomes, we for our ſiſters ſake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, haue licenced her merchants, William Gerrard and his company to paſſe in ſhips to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kind of wares to our city of Moſco, and to all caſtles and townes in our kingdome. And ſir William Garrard & his company deſired of vs, that we would grant them licence to paſſe to our inheritance of Cazan and Aſtracan, and into our inheritance of Nouogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Liſland to Narue and Dorpe, and to other our caſtles and townes of Liſland, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without cuſtome, which requeſt we haue granted to ſir William Garrard and his company, and haue giuen them licence to paſſe to our inheritance of Cazan and Aſtracan, and Nouogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Liſland, Narue and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Liſland with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and ſell at will, without cuſtome: and what wares ſoeuer they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or neceſſary, that they ſhall bring all thoſe wares needfull or neceſſary to our treaſury, & thoſe wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the ſame, ſuch wares as ſhalbe needfull for our treaſury, and the reſt being deliuered againe, to ſell and barter at their pleaſure, and to ſell none of the fine wares before they be ſeene by our chancellers, except ſorting clothes, and other wares not meet for our treaſury: and when our chanceller will ſend our treaſure out of our treaſury with them, they ſhall take it with them, and ſo ſell and barter it for wares meet for our treaſury, and bring it to our treaſury, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or ſell with them, nor yet our people to buy or ſell for them their wares: and if thoſe Engliſh merchants do deſire to paſſe out of our kingdome of Aſtracan to Boghar, Shamaky, Chaday, or into any other countreys, or els to go into their owne countrey, then they to take their treaſure with them, and to barter and ſell it for wares neceſſary for our treaſury, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chanceller, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cazan and Aſtracan, or to any other of our caſtles and townes, that then our captaine of Cazan and Aſtracan, and all other our people of charge ſhall not holde them, but with ſpeed let them paſſe without taking cuſtome of them or their wares, and without opening or looking vpon them in any wiſe: and when they haue not our treaſure with them, that then likewiſe no cuſtome ſhalbe taken of them nor their wares to be ſeene of any man.

And likewiſe we haue granted them to buy and ſell in all our kingdomes and caſtles, with all kinde of wares: and we haue alſo licenced them, that when thoſe Engliſh merchants do deſire to buy & ſell with our merchants wholly together, that they ſhall haue liberty ſo to do wholly together: and they that do deſire to ſell their owne wares by retaile in their owne houſe, that then they ſell it in their own houſe by retaile to our people & other ſtrangers, as they can agree: and weights and arſhnids to be kept in their houſe with our ſeale, and they themſelues to barter and ſell their owne wares: and no Ruſſe merchant in Moſco, or any other place in our kingdome to ſell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any ſtrangers goods. And whereas thoſe merchants of England, ſir William Garrard and his company do deſire to ſell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraſlaue, Coſtrum, and in Nouogrod the lower, Cazan, Aſtracan, great Nouogrod, Plesko, Narue, Dorpe, and in other our townes & caſtles, they ſhall haue their will to ſell it: and of their wares of England and Ruſſeland no cuſtome ſhalbe taken, neither they nor their wares ſhalbe ſtayed in any place: and when they depart out of Moſco, to aduertiſe our chancellor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuentory of any kinde of their wares they cary away: and when the Engliſh merchants, ſir William Garrard and his company do come vpon the ſea, and by misfortune haue their ſhips caſt away vpon thoſe coaſts of the North parts, then we will their goods to be ſought out with trueth, and to be deliuered to ſir William Garrard and his company, which as then ſhall be found in our countrey: and if that ſir William Garrards company be not in the Moſco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that thoſe goods of theirs ſhall be layd vp in a place of ſafegard vntill ſuch time as the ſaid ſir William Garrard or his company come to demand the ſame: and then at their comming we will that it ſhall be deliuered. And whereas heretofore we haue giuen ſir William Garrard and his company in this our kingdome of Moſco the new caſtle by the church of S. Maxim behinde the market, they ſhal there ſtill holde their houſe as heretofore we haue giuen them, paying no cuſtome for the ſame: and we alſo do licence them to keepe one Ruſſe porter or two, or els of their owne countrey, and thoſe porters ſhall dwell with them, and not ſell for them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And alſo I haue granted them to buy a houſe at Vologda and at Colmogro, or in any other place where they can chuſe for themſelues any good harbour, and there they to ſet vp thoſe houſes in thoſe places at their owne charges: and in Vologda or the other houſes to keepe two or three porters of their owne, or els two or three Ruſſes, and their wares to be layed vp in thoſe houſes, and to ſell their owne wares at will: and the porters without them to ſell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro and Dwina, and of other our caſtles & townes

Triall by lots.

ſhall not looke ouer their wares, nor take any cuſtome thereof: neither ſhall thoſe Engliſh merchants ſir William Garrard and his company be iudged by any of them. And when the Engliſh merchants ſhall ſend from our kingdome their owne people into their owne countrey by land ouer other kingdomes whatſoeuer the be, they may without ware ſend their owne people at their pleaſure. And when any matter of law doth fall out in their trade of merchandiſe, then they ſhall be iudged by our chancellers, and law ſhalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them: and when they cannot be iudged by law, they then ſhalbe tried by lots, and whoſe lot is firſt taken out, he ſhall haue the right. And if it happen any of thoſe merchants to haue any matter of law in any other part of our dominions for trade of merchants, then our captaines, iudges, and chiefe officers ſhall heare the matter, and adminiſter iuſtice with equity and trueth, and where law can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is firſt taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of law no cuſtome to be payed.

The riuer of Ob traffikable.

Furthermore, we for our ſiſters ſake Elizabeth haue granted, that none beſide ſir William Garrard and his company, out of what kingdome ſoeuer it be, England or other, ſhall not come in trade of merchandiſe nor otherwiſe to Colmogro, nor to the riuer Ob, nor within Wardhouſe, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the abbey of Petchingo, nor to the Iſland of Shallawy, nor to any mouth of the riuer of Dwina, nor to any part of the North countrey of our coaſt. And if any merchant, out of what countrey ſoeuer it be, doe come with ſhip or ſhippes, buſſes, or any other kinde of veſſell to any of our harbours, within all our North parts, we will that then the people and goods, ſhip or ſhips, ſhalbe confiſcate, and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

Giuen in our kingdome and houſe of Moſco, the yeere from the beginning of the world 7076, in the moneth of September, and in the 34 yeere of our reigne, and in our conqueſt of Cazan 16, and in our conqueſt of Aſtracan 15.

Peruſed and allowed by vs:
Anthonie Ienkinſon.
William Rowly.
Thomas Hawtry.
Thomas Sowtham.
Rafe Rutter, tranſlatour hereof out of the Ruſſe tongue.

A letter of M. *Henrie Lane* to M. *Richard Hakluit*, concerning the firſt ambaſſage to our moſt gracious Queene *Elizabeth* from the *Ruſſian* Emperour *anno* 1567, and other notable matters incident to thoſe places and times.

WOrſhipfull ſir, becauſe I finde you haue the ſucceſſe and proceedings of Oſep Napea the firſt ambaſſadour of the Ruſſian Emperour to the Maieſties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Ruſſia, & do not finde that the perfect knowledge of the firſt ambaſſage from thence to this our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whoſe Highneſſe and the ambaſſadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expreſſe it. In Auguſt Anno 1567 arriued at London with their retinue two eſpeciall authoriſed meſſengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and preſents to her Maieſty, at that time being at Otelands, where diuers of the chiefe merchants of the Ruſſian company did aſſociate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Maieſtie gaue them audience. Firſt they rehearſed the long ſtile and Maieſty of their Maſter, with his moſt friendly and hearty commendations to her Highneſſe, and then they teſtified the ſingular great ioy and pleaſure that he conceiued to heare of her moſt princely eſtate, dignitie and health: and laſtly, they deliuered their letters and preſents. The preſents ſent vnto her Maieſty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars, to wit, two times fortie, with Luſerns and other rich furres. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furres was yet in vſe. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, eſpeciall in Court, and among Magiſtrates, not onely for the reſtoring of an olde worſhipfull Art and Companie, but alſo becauſe they be for our climate wholeſome, delicate, graue and comely: expreſſing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with ſmall coſt to be preſerued, then theſe new ſilks, ſhagges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is haſtily conſumed.

The vſe of furres wholeſome, delicate, graue and comely.

Theſe ambaſſadours were appointed lodging and enterteinement by the Moſcouie company at their houſe then in Seething Lane, and were ſundrie times after permitted to be in preſence.

And in May 1568 tooke their leaue at Greenwich, where they vnderſtood and had the Queenes Maieſties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highneſſe conſidering that our trade to Saint Nicholas ſince the beginning had bene offenſiue to diuers princes, ſtates, and merchants Eaſtward, vſed theſe ſpeeches or the like: Who is or ſhall be more touched by detractours, with flying tales and vntrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of loue and vnitie? your Maſter and I in things that paſſe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promiſes. If he heare the contrary of me, let him ſuſpend his iudgement, and not be light of credit, and ſo will I. Theſe words they termed her Maieſties golden ſpeech: and kneeling downe, kiſſed her hand, and departed.

The trade to S. Nicholas offenſiue to diuers princes & ſtates Eaſtward.

The letters that theſe two meſſengers brought, were deliuered to me by my Lord Treaſurour, being then Secretarie, to be tranſlated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Maieſties letter I ſend incloſed herewith vnto your worſhip. I alſo haue ſent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Maieſtie, with other letters from ſome of our nation and factours, declaring the diſpleaſure for our trafficke to the Ruſſes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, eſpecially by the way of the Narue: in which yere of 1566, hauing generall procuration and commiſſion from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amſterdam, and ſometimes in company with Polacks, Danſkers, and Eaſterlings: and by reaſon I had bene a lidger in Ruſſia, I could the better reply and proue, that their owne nations and the Italians were moſt guiltie of the accuſations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigiſmundus (whoſe ambaſſadours very ſumptuous I haue ſeene at Moſco) was reported to be too milde in ſuffering the Moſcouites. Before our trafficke they ouerranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolenſco, carrying the people captiues to Moſco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they ſuffered the Ruſſe likewiſe in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewiſe the ſaid Sigiſmundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Liuonia, but loſt all, except Rie and Reuel, and the Ruſſe made the Narue his port to trafficke, not onely to vs, but to Lubec and others, generall. And ſtill from thoſe parts the Moſcouites were furniſhed out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by vs. The Italians alſo furniſhed them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike ſtratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigiſmund, the Ruſſe would tant the Polacks, that they loued their eaſe at home with their wiues, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigiſmund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without iſſue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore kept the Ruſſe in better order, and recouered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie farewell I take my leaue of your worſhip.

Smolenſco won by the Ruſſe.

Polotzko taken.

Polotzko recouered by Stephanus Batore.

Your aſſured friend *Henrie Lane.*

A Letter of the moſt excellent Maieſtie of Queene *Elizabeth*, ſent by *Stephen Twerdico* and *Pheodata Pogorella*, meſſengers of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, vnto their Maſter the ninth of May 1568.

1568

Imperatori Moſcouitarum, &c.

ELIZABETHA &c. Literas veſtræ Maieſtatis ſuperiori anno 1567, decimo die menſis Aprilis datas, veſtri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has noſtras perferunt, nobis tradidêre. Quos veſtros mercatores in omni ſuo apud nos & noſtros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expreſſo noſtro mandato curauimus, vt non ſolum veſtræ Maieſtatis pro illis poſtulationi, ſed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè ſatisfactum eſſe confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus ſtudioſiùs, quod plane perſpectum, probèque cognitum habeamus, noſtros omnes, qui bona cum gratia noſtra, noſtrarúmque literarum commendatione, iſtuc, ſub veſtro imperio negotiaturi veniunt pari, cum veſtræ Maieſtatis fauore, tum veſtrorum ſubditorum humanitate, vbiuis acceptos eſſe. Quæ noſtra vtrobíque, & mutuæ inter nos amicitiæ, & gratæ inter noſtros beneuolentiæ officia, vt crebra & perpetua exiſtant, nos admodum poſtulamus. Quem animi noſtri ſenſum fuſius hi veſtri, & opportunius ſuo ſermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin veſtra Maieſtas amplam fidem ſit tributura. Deus &c. Grenouici nono die Maij 1567.

The Ambaſſage of the right worſhipfull Maſter *Thomas Randolfe*, Eſquire, to the Emperour of *Ruſsia*, in the yeere 1568, briefly written by himſelfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Banniſter, & Geofrey Ducket, for their voyage into Perſia.

The 22 day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1568, I went aboord the Harry, lying in the road at Harwich with my company, being to the number of fortie perſons or thereabout: of which the one halfe were gentlemen, deſirous to ſee the world.

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20 Monks.

Within one dayes ſailing, we were out of the ſight of land, and following our courſe directly North, till we came to the North Cape, we ſailed for the ſpace of twelue dayes with a proſperous winde, without tempeſt or outrage of ſea: hauing compaſſed the North Cape we directed our courſe flat Southeaſt, hauing vpon our right hand Norway, Wardhouſe, Lapland, all out of ſight till we came to Cape Gallant: and ſo ſailing betweene two bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwich, we caſt ancre at Saint Nicholas road. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which we might plainly beholde, and the Sperma Cetæ, which we might ſee ſwimming vpon the ſea, there was no great thing to be woondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fiſhed, and tooke good ſtore of diuers ſorts. At S. Nicholas we landed the 23 of Iuly, where there ſtandeth an abbey of Monks (to the number of twentie) built all of wood: the apparell of the Monks is ſuperſtitious, in blacke hoods, as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houſes are low, and ſmall roomes. They lie apart, they eat together, and are much giuen to drunkenneſſe, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

At my firſt arriuall I was preſented from their Prior with two great rie loaues, fiſh both ſalt and freſh of diuers ſorts, both ſea fiſh and freſh water, one ſheepe aliue, blacke, with a white face, to be the more gratefull vnto me, and ſo with many ſolemne words inuiting me to ſee their houſe, they tooke their leaue.

The Engliſh houſe at S. Nicholas.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about foure houſes neere the abbey, and another built by the Engliſh Company for their owne vſe.

This part of the countrey is moſt part wood, ſauing here and there paſture & arable ground, many riuers and diuers Iſlands vnhabited, as the moſt part of the countrey is, for the coldneſſe in Winter.

The riuer of Dwina.

S. Nicholas ſtandeth Northeaſt: the eleuation of the pole 64 degrees. The riuer that runneth there into the ſea is called Dwina, very large, but ſhallow. This riuer taketh his beginning about 700 miles within the countrey, & vpon this riuer ſtandeth Colmogro, and many prety villages, well ſituated for paſture, arable land, wood, and water. The riuer pleaſant betweene hie hils of either ſide inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wilderneſſe of hie firre trees, and other wood.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100 verſts, which we account for three quarters of a mile euery verſt, we taried three weeks, not being ſuffered to depart before the Emperour had word of our comming, who ſent to meet vs a gentleman of his houſe, to conuey vs, and to ſee vs furniſhed of victuals, and all things needfull, vpon his owne charge.

The allowance of meat and drinke was for euery day two rubbles, beſides the charge of boats by water, and foure ſcore poſt horſes by land, with aboue 100 carts to cary my wines, and other cariage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but ſcattered houſe from houſe. The people are rude in maners, and in apparell homely, ſauing vpon their feſtiuall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this town finding commodity by the Engliſh mens traffike with them are much at their commandement, giuen much to drunkenneſſe, and all other kinde of abominable vices.

An Engliſh houſe with lands at Colmogro.

In this towne the Engliſh men haue lands of their owne, giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houſes, with offices for their commodity, very many.

Of other townes vntill I come to Vologda, I write not, becauſe they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was fiue whole weeks vpon the riuer of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawen with men againſt the ſtreame, for other paſſage there is none.

Vologda ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a caſtle inuironed with a wall of ſtone, and bricke, the walles faire and hie, round about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, ſome built of bricke, the reſt of wood, many Monks and Nunnes in it: a towne alſo of great traffike, and many rich merchants there dwelling.

From hence we paſſed by land towards Moſco in poſte, being 500 verſts great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being poſt townes.

The countrey is very faire, plaine & pleaſant, well inhabited, corne, paſture, medowes enough, riuers, and woods, faire and goodly.

The deſcription of the inland of Moſcouie.

At Yeraſlaue we paſſed the riuer of Volga, more then a mile ouer. This riuer taketh his beginning at Beal Ozera, & deſcendeth into Mare Caſpium, portable thorow of very great veſſels with flat bottomes, which farre paſſe any that our countrey vſeth.

To ſaile by this riuer into Mare Caſpium the Engliſh company cauſed a barke to be built of 27 tunns, which there was neuer ſeene before: This barke built, and ready rigged to the ſea with her whole furniture coſt not the company aboue one hundreth marks there.

To Moſco we came about the end of September, receiued by no man, not ſo much as our owne countreymen ſuffered to meet vs, which bred ſuſpition in me of ſome other courſe intended, then we had hitherto found.

His arriuall at Moſco.

We were brought to a houſe built of purpoſe by the Emperour for Ambaſſadours, faire and large, after the faſhion of that countrey.

A ſpecial houſe at Moſco, built for Ambaſſadours.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to ſee vs furniſhed of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to ſee that we ſhould not goe out of the houſe, nor ſuffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But ſpecially he that looked to our perſons ſo ſtraightly handled vs, that we had no ſmall cauſe to doubt that ſome euill had bene intended vnto vs. No ſupplication, ſute, or requeſt could take place for our liberty, nor yet to come to his preſence.

Hauing paſſed ouer 17 weekes in this ſort, the Emperour ſendeth word that we ſhould be ready againſt Tueſday the 20 of Februarie, at eight a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come that I ſhould goe to the Court, the two gentlemen Priſtaues (as they call them) came vnto me apparelled more princely then before I had euer ſeene them. They preſſe vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne horſes, and the Ambaſſador vpon ſuch a on eas he had borrowed, his men marching on foot, to their great griefe.

Two Priſtaues.

The Ambaſſadour (being my ſelfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the chancellors doeth vſe to ſit, being there accompanied with the two foreſayd gentlemen: I taried two long houres before I was ſent for to the Emperor. In the end meſſage being brought that the Emperour was ſet, I was conueyed by my gentlemen vp a paire of ſtaires thorow a large roome, where ſate by my eſtimation 300 perſons, all in rich attire, taken out of the Emperors wardrobe for that day, vpon three ranks of benches, ſet round about the place, rather to preſent a maieſtie, then that they were either of quality or honor.

At the firſt entry into the chamber I with my cap gaue them the reuerence, ſuch as I iudged their ſtately ſitting, graue countenances, and ſumptuous apparell required, and ſeeing that it was not anſwered againe of any of them I couered my head, and ſo paſſing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there receiued me at the doore from my two gentlemen or gouernors, two of the Emperors counſellors, and ſhewed me to the Emperor, and brought me to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to ſtand ſtill, and to ſay that which I had to ſay. I by my Interpretor opened my meſſage as I receiued it from the Queene my Miſtreſſe, from whom I came, at whoſe name the Emperor ſtood vp, and demanded diuers queſtions of her health and ſtate: whereunto anſwere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome, and cauſed me to ſit downe, and further aſked me diuers queſtions.

His admiſſion to the Emperors preſence.

This done, I deliuered her Maieſties preſent, which was a notable great Cup of ſiluer curiouſly wrought, with verſes grauen in it, expreſſing the hiſtories workmanly ſet out in the ſame.

The Queenes preſent.

All being ſayd and done (as appeared) to his contentment, he licenced me and my whole company to depart, who were all in his preſence, and were ſaluted by him with a nod of his head, and ſayd vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I will ſend thee my dinner, and giue leaue to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our loue and fauor to our ſiſter the Queene of England.

The Emperors ſpeech to the Ambaſſadour.

I with reuerence tooke my leaue, being conueyed by two other of greater calling then thoſe that brought me to the Emperors ſight, who deliuered me to the two firſt gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I firſt was, where came vnto me one called the Long duke, with whom I conferred a while, and ſo returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with fiftie perſons, ech of them carying a ſiluer diſh with meat, and couered with ſiluer. The duke firſt deliuered twenty loaues of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing taſted the ſame, and deliuered euery diſh into my hands, and taſted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his company ſate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meat, and filled themſelues well of all ſorts, and went not away from me vnrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperor had will to ſpeake ſecretly with me, and ſent for me in the night by the Long duke: The place was farre off, and the night colde, and I hauing changed my apparell into ſuch as the Ruſſes do weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

A ſecond conference with the Emperor.

Hauing talked with him aboue three houres, towards the morning I was diſmiſſed, and ſo came home to my lodging, where I remained aboue ſix weeks after, before I heard againe from the Emperour, who went the next day to Slouoda, the houſe of his ſolace. After the end of which ſixe weeks, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperour returned from Slouoda aforeſayd, and ſent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our Engliſh merchants, and found him ſo graciouſly inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large priuileges in generall, together with all the reſt my particular requeſts. And then he commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrew Sauin, as his Ambaſſadour, for the better confirmation of his priuileges granted, and other negotiations with her Maieſty. And thus being diſpatched with full contentment, the ſayd Ambaſſadour and my ſelfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the end of Iuly, and arriued ſafely at London in the moneth of September following.

A copie of the priuiledges granted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of *Ruſsia*, &c. vnto the right worſhipfull fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants, for the diſcouerie of new trades: and hither ſent by *Thomas Randolfe* eſquire, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the ſayd Emperour, and by *Andrew Sauin* his Ambaſſadour in the yere of our Lord God 1569.

ONe God euerlaſting, and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, the bleſſed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preſeruer of all things, and repleniſher of all things euery where, who by thy goodneſſe doeſt cauſe all men to loue the giuer of wiſedome our onely Mediatour, and leader of vs all vnto bleſſed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, holy and euerlaſting Spirit, and now in theſe our dayes teacheſt vs to keepe Chriſtianitie, and ſuffereſt vs to enioy our kingdome to the happy commodity of our land, and wealth of our people, in deſpight of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We Iohn Vaſiliwich by the grace of God, great lord, Emperour, and great duke of all Ruſſia, Volodemer, Moſcouia, Nouogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Tuersky, Vgorsky, Permisky, Votsky, Bulgaria, and many others, lord and great duke of the Low countreys of Nouogrod, Chernigosky, Reſansky, Polotsky, Raſtow, Yeraſlaue, Bealoſera, Owdorsky, Condinsky, and all Siberland, great commander of all the North parts, lord of Leifland, and many other Northward, Southward and Weſtward.

Whereas our ſiſter Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her merchants, who hath made ſute that we ſhould grant our goodneſſe to the merchants which are of one Company, and giue them free leaue to come to traffike in our kingdome to Colmogro, and to the countrey of Dwina, and to our great citie of Moſcouia, and to all the cities in our dominions, and thorow our countrey to Boghar, to Perſia, Casbin, and Charday, and to all other countreys.

1 We Iohn Vaſiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Ruſſia (for our ſiſter Elizabeths ſake, Queene of England) haue giuen and granted to the Engliſh merchants, the Gouernours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants & fellowſhip, ſir Wil. Garrard Knight, Rowland Haiward Alderman, Ioh. Thamworth Eſquire, Iohn Riuers Alderman, Henry Beecher Alderman, Conſuls: Sir Wil. Cheſter Knight, Edward Iackman Alderman, Lionel Ducket Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huſe, Francis Walſingham, Clement Throgmorton, Iohn Quarles, Nicholas Wheeler, Thomas Baniſter, Iohn Harriſon, Francis Burnham, Anthony Gamage, Iohn Somers, Richard Wilkinſon, Ioh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinſon, Aſſiſtants: Iohn Merſh Eſquire, Geofrey Ducket, Francis Robinſon, Matthew Field, & all the reſt of their company and fellowſhip, and to their ſucceſſours and deputies, to come with ſhips and other veſſels

into our Countrey,at Colmogorod,& Dwina,and to all the North parts now being ours,or that hereafter ſhall at any time be in our poſſeſſion,by ſea,riuer or land,euen to our great Citie of Moſco,in all the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Aſtracan,to Nouogorod the great, to Pleſko & Leifland,Vriagorod,to Narue,and all other townes of Leifland. 2 And to paſſe through our land to Boghar, Perſia, Casbin, Charday, and other Countreyes: And whereſoeuer they come there to be and abide freely,and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of ſale,without cuſtome of all people,and Marchants ſtrangers whatſoeuer.

And if ſo be they bring any fine wares out of Englande, or any other Countrey from Boghar, Perſia,Casbin, or from any other place,& thoſe their wares that come by the way of Narue, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the ſame wares into our treaſure, and our Treaſurers to view the ſame wares,and to take into our Treaſurie of the ſame ſuch as ſhalbe needfull for vs.And all ſuch wares as we ſhal not need,our Chancellour to redeliuer yͤ ſame:And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whom they will, not ſelling any of their wares needful for vs,before our Chancellour haue ſeene the ſame.And all other groſſe and heauy wares that ſhall be needfull to our vſe,not being brought to Moſco,to declare & tell our Chancellour of the ſame wares: And to giue a note thereof by name,and how much they leaue there,not brought to Moſco: and then if we neede not the ſaid wares,the Engliſh Marchants,their ſeruants & Factors, to conuey their wares the neereſt way to Vſtiug the great, and ſo to Colmogorod,or elſewhere at their pleaſure,there to barter and ſell the ſame.But thoſe wares that ſhalbe needfull for our Treaſurie,they ſhall not hide from vs in any caſe.

And when our Chauncellours ſhall ſend our aduenture,with the ſaid Marchants or their Factors,they to take our aduentures with them,and to ſell,& to barter for ſuch wares as ſhalbe meete for our Treaſurie, and to returne it into our Treaſurie.

And when we ſhall ſende any aduenture into England then our Chauncellour to giue them a yeeres warning, that their ſhips may be prouided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behind them.

And to take our aduenture yeerely when they goe into Perſia.

Neither ſhall the Engliſh marchants receiue or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor ſell it in any wiſe: likewiſe our people not to barter for the ſayd Engliſh marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they ſhall come into our Empire of Caſan and Aſtracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Caſan and Aſtracan,and our authoriſed people,quietly to let them paſſe, not taking any toll or cuſtome of their wares,nor once to make ſearch thereof.

And when we ſhal ſend no aduenture with them,yet to ſuffer them freely to paſſe,not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of cuſtome. And whatſoeuer Engliſh marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the ſame at their pleaſure.

And whatſoeuer their Marchant or Factors will ſell their wares at their houſe at Moſco, which houſe I granted them at S.Maxims at the Moſco,they to ſel the ware to our people,either ſtrangers as they may beſt vtter it, keeping within their houſe, arſhines,meaſures, and waights vnder ſeales.

4 We haue granted them the ſaide houſe at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without ſtanding rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the ſaid Engliſh Marchants, ſir Wil.Garrard,and the Company, maintayning in the ſaid houſe one houſekeeper a Ruſſe, and two Ruſſe ſeruants,or ſome of their owne countrey men, and none other Ruſſes beſides the aforeſayde. And the ſaid houſekeepers that ſhal liue at their houſe with the Engliſh marchants,neither to buy nor ſel any wares for them,but that the ſaid marchants themſelues or their factors,ſhall buy,ſell,and barter their owne wares: And our Moſcouie marchants not to take the ſaid Engliſhmens wares to ſell them in our townes,nor to buy any wares for them,neither the Engliſh marchant to colour any Ruſſes wares at any towne.

5 And whatſoeuer Engliſh marchant will ſell his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraſlaue, Caſtran, Nouogorod the lower, Caſan, Aſtracan, Nouogrod the great, Vopsko, the Narue, Vriagorod, or at any other townes, they to ſel their wares there at their pleaſure: And of all wares aſwell of other countreis as of Ruſſia, no officer or other to take any cuſtome, neither in any place to ſtay them in any wiſe, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatſoeuer.

6 And whatſoeuer marchant ſhall bargaine or buy any wares of Engliſh marchants: The ſaid Ruſſe not to returne thoſe wares vpon the marchants hands againe, but to giue ready money for the ſaid wares, otherwiſe they to craue the Iuſtice to giue right, and to execute the lawe vpon the ſame with all expedition. And when the Engliſh marchants or factors ſhal trauaile from Moſ-

couie

come after the diſpatch of their wares and buſineſſe, then to ſhew themſelues vnto our Chancellours, whatſoeuer wares of theirs ſhall goe from Moſco, they not to ſhew the ſame wares to any our officers, nor pay no cuſtome nor toll in any place.

7 If it ſo happen the Engliſh marchants haue any wracke, and the ſhippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the ſaid goods to be enquired and ſought out, and to be giuen to the Engliſh merchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, ſeruants, or deputies, of the Company aforeſayd, to whom we haue granted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of the Engliſh merchants, factors, ſeruants, or deputies to be in our Countreis at ſuch time, then we wil all the ſaid goods to be ſought out and beſtowed in ſome conuenient place, and when any of the Company aforewritten, bringing theſe our letters, ſhall come for their goods, we to command their goods to be reſtored vnto them.

8 Likewiſe wee haue graunted leaue to the Engliſh merchants, their Gouernours, Conſuls, and aſſiſtants. namely, ſir William Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward, and to the Companie, to builde houſes at Vologda, Colmogro, and the ſeaſide, at Iuangorod, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as ſhall be needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the ſaid houſe one houſekeeper, a Ruſſe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the ſaid houſes, making ſale thereof to whom they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the ſaid houſekeeper not to buy or ſell for them.

9 Alſo we haue giuen and graunted to the Engliſh Merchants, their houſe which they haue by our goodneſſe at S. Maximes in the Zenopski, and other their houſes in the towne of Zenopski, made for the better aſſurance of their goods, and all ſuch as they ſhall ſet vp hereafter ſhal be of the ‖Opreſſini, and will make them knowen to all them of Opreſſini.

‖Or, choſen ſide.

10 And whereas by our goodnes we haue graunted them a Ropehouſe at Vologda, being farre from the Engliſh Merchants houſe, now we haue giuen them to build a houſe for that vſe by the ſaid Engliſh houſe, and haue giuen and graunted them (of our goodneſſe) ground, one hundreth and fourescore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne requeſt.

11 Alſo, we haue of our goodneſſe giuen and graunted to the Engliſh Merchants, leaue to buy them a houſe at Wichida, and there to ſearch out mines of yron. And where they ſhal happily find it, there to ſet vp houſes for the making of the ſame yron: and to make the ſame, of our goodneſſe haue graunted them woods, fiue or ſixe miles compaſſe about the ſayd houſes, to the making of the ſayd yron, and not to exceede theſe bounds and limits: And where they ſhall cut the ſayde wood, not to ſet vp any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and ſo freely occupying the ſaid yron in theſe our Dominions, tranſporting alſo of the ſame home into Englande, allowing for euery pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the ſaid yron ſhalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the ſaid yron to our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treaſurie for the ſame: And when the ſaid Engliſh Merchants or Factors ſhal ſend their owne people out of our Realme into their Countrey, ouer land through any Countrey whatſoeuer, freely to ſend the ſame with our words.

13 Alſo, we of our goodneſſe haue graunted, that if any man miſuſe the ſaid Engliſh, the Factors or ſeruants, or the ſaide Engliſh Merchants, their Factors or ſeruants abuſe any other at Moſcouie, or any other out townes whatſoeuer within our Dominions in trade of Marchandiſe or otherwiſe, then they to haue vpright iuſtice in all ſuch matters of our counſaile the Opreſſini without all let or delay: But if our Iuſtice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whoſe lotte it ſhall fall, to him the right to be giuen, and that only our counſaile at Moſcouie, and none of our Captaines, or authoriſed people, or officers in any other our townes, giue iudgement vpon the ſaid Engliſh Merchants for any thing.

14 Alſo, if any ſtranger ſhall haue matter of controuerſie with any Engliſh Merchant, Factor or ſeruant, abiding within theſe our Realmes, or contrariwiſe any Engliſh Merchant, Factor or ſeruant, againſt any other ſtranger, in all thoſe cauſes our Counſaile of the Opreſſini, to giue them Iuſtice, and to make an agreement & end betweene the parties, without all delay: And none to deale therein, ſaue our Counſaile of the Opreſſini. 15 And if any man haue action againſt any Engliſh Merchant being abſent, that then in his abſence it ſhalbe lawful for any other Engliſhman at his aſſignation to anſwere his cauſe.

16 If any Engliſhman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Ruſſe or ſtranger ſlaine or beaten, 17 Or any ſtollen goods to be found in the ſaid Engliſh houſes, then our Counſellers to cauſe the guiltie perſons to be ſought out, and to doe right and Iuſtice in the cauſe, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deſerue puniſhment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence: That the ſaid Engliſh Merchants, factors and ſeruant, ſuſtaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Marchant, Factor, ſeruant, or deputie, ſhalbe guiltie of any fault, deſeruing our diſpleaſure, then our Counſellers to cauſe the guiltie partie to goe vnder ſuerties, and their goods to be ſealed and kept, vntill our pleaſure be further knowen, and our Counſaile to examine their offence, and ſo to report it vnto vs, that we may command what ſhall be done therein, and none other to be arreſted or haue their goods ſealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to ſtay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the ſame.

19 If any Engliſh Marchant, Factor or ſeruant ſhall offend, it ſhalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe iuſtice vpon the ſaid partie, or to ſend him home into England at his pleaſure.

20 If any Engliſh Marchant, Factor or ſeruant, haue lent or hereafter ſhall lende money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and ſo depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt be due to be payde, then our people and Marchants to paye the ſayde debt, to whom ſoeuer ſhall be appointed to the ſayd roome or charge, and the ſaide Engliſh Marchant, factor, or ſeruant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counſell, to ſhewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counſel to command the debt to be diſcharged vnto the Engliſh Marchant, factor, or ſeruant, without delay.

21 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Marchant ſhall be arreſted for debt, then our Counſell to command the partie vnder arreſt to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no ſuertie, to binde the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Engliſhman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to caſt him in priſon, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, leſt the officer loſe him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted the Engliſh Marchants to ſend our Commiſſion to all our Townes, Captaines, and authoriſed men, to defende and garde the ſaid Marchants from all theeues, robbers, and euill diſpoſed perſons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Marchants, the factors, or ſeruants be ſpoyled on the ſea, our Counſell ſhall ſend our letters, and will them to be ſought out, and where they ſhall finde the goods, cauſe it to be reſtored againe, and the offender to be puniſhed, according to our commandement.

24 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted the ſaide Merchants to take vp Brokers, Packers, Wayers, and ſuch like labourers, as ſhall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the labourers and they ſhall agree.

25 We likewiſe of our goodnes, haue licenſed the Engliſh Marchants in our Townes of Moſco, Nouogorod the great, and Plesko, that the Coiners of the ſaid Townes ſhall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without cuſtome, allowing for coales, and other neceſſaries, with the workemanſhip.

26 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted to the ſayd Engliſh Merchants, to take poſte horſe at needfull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not elſe, in no caſe hindering or diminiſhing our treaſurie.

27 Alſo for our ſiſter Queene Elizabeths ſake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their ſucceſſors, that no Engliſhman, nor any other ſtranger, come without the Queenes leaue to Colmogorode, the riuer of Vob, Vaſiagy, Pechora, Cola, Mezena, Pechingo, Zeleuetskyes Iſland, the riuer of Shame, nor to no other hauen of Dwina, nor to any part of the northſide of Dwina, by hetherward of Wardhouſe, to any hauen, with ſhippe, Buſſe, or any other veſſell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but only the ſaid Engliſh companie, and their ſucceſſors, to whom we of our goodnes haue granted this priuiledge.

28 Alſo that no Engliſh Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, ſhall come with any wares, to the Narue, or Vriogorod.

29 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Merchant, ſtranger, or other, of whatſoeuer Countrey he be, ſhall come with any ſhippe, Buſſe, or any other veſſel, to any of the ſaid hauens, of the north ſide, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narue, or Vriogorod, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the company aboue written, we to apprehende and take the ſame veſſell from thoſe ſtrangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the company of Engliſh Merchants.

30 Alſo of our goodnes we haue granted the ſaid company of Engliſh merchants, that no Engliſh merchants or ſtrangers ſhall paſſe through our dominions, to Boghar, Perſia, Casbin, Charday, or other Countreys, ſaue onely the company of Engliſh merchants, and our owne meſſengers.

31 Alſo whatſoeuer Engliſhman, comming out of England or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leaue, and knowledge, not being of the ſayd company, written

within thoſe our letters,minde,and purpoſe,to abide in our realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleaſure,or any way abuſe himſelfe,the Agent ſhall freely ſend him home,to the Queene his Soueraigne: which if the Agent of himſelfe be vnable to do,let him pray for ayd of the captaines and officers of our townes there being, and ſo ſend him to priſon, and will the ſayd captaines not to hinder the ſayd Agent from ſending home ſuch euill perſons into England.

32 And if any man within our countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the Engliſh merchants and factours, to haue free libertie to apprehend him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our priuilege giuen to Thomas Glouer,Ralfe Rutter,Chriſtopher Bennet,Iohn Chappell, and their adherents, we haue commanded the ſame priuileges to be taken from them.

34 Alſo we of our goodneſſe haue granted the ſayd company of Engliſh merchants, their ſucceſſours,ſeruants and deputies,that doe or ſhall remaine at Moſco, or elſewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne law: and in any wiſe none of ours to force them to our law or faith againſt their will.

Moreouer, beſides and with the company of Engliſh merchants, we permit all ſtrangers, to trade to our towne of Narue,Iuanogorod, & other our townes of Liefland,as they haue done beforetime. Giuen from the beginning of the world 7077,in the moneth of Iune 20,Indiction 12, the yere of our lordſhip and reign 35,and of our Empire of Ruſland 23,Cazan 17,Aſtracan 15.

Other ſpeciall grants by his Maieſties priuate letters at the ſute of M. *Randolfe* Ambaſſadour.

REleaſement out of priſon of Fitzherbert, that was accuſed for writing of letters againſt the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to Thomas Greene that was accuſed and troubled vpon ſuſpition of his dealing with the Ambaſſadour,and licence giuen to him to trafficke as he was accuſtomed.

Andrew Atherton and his ſureties releaſed at the Narue and his ſeruant at the Moſco, that were in trouble for ſending the merchants letters into England.

A letter granted to Thomas Southam to the Councell, for iuſtice againſt them that ſtole the pearles.

His Maieſties fauor promiſed to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can beſt deſerue.

A letter to the merchants that went into Perſia, to paſſe freely without impeachment in his dominions,as alſo letters of fauour to the great Shaugh of Perſia.

A grant vnto the company that at what time ſoeuer they ſend to the diſcouery of Cataya, they ſhalbe licenced to repaire vnto this countrey, and haue ſuch conducts and guides, mariners, veſſels,men and victuals as they ſhall ſtand in need of.

It is alſo promiſed by Knez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any Engliſh man complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffike or otherwiſe go about to diſcredit the worſhipfull company,and their doings, that therein they ſhall not be heard, and the doers to be puniſhed, as in ſuch caſes they ſhalbe iudged to haue deſerued.

Certaine perſons granted to be ſent home into England that ſerued the company, and were practiſers againſt them in that countrey.

A Commiſſion giuen by vs *Thomas Randolfe* Ambaſſadour for the Queenes Maieſtie in *Ruſsia*, and *Thomas Banniſter*, &c. vnto *Iames Baſſendine*, *Iames Woodcocke* and *Richard Browne*, the which *Baſſendine*, *Woodcocke*, and *Browne* we appoint ioyntly together, and aiders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of diſcouery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for ſearching of the ſea, and border of the coaſt, from the riuer *Pechora*, to the Eaſtwards, as hereafter followeth *Anno* 1588. The firſt of Auguſt.

INprimis,when your barke with all furniture is ready,you ſhall at the beginning of the yere (aſſoone as you poſſibly may) make your repaire to the Eaſterne part of the riuer Pechora, where is an Iſland called Dolgoieue, and from thence you ſhall paſſe to the Eaſtwards alongſt by the Sea coaſt of Hugorie, or the maine land of Pechora, and ſailing alongſt by the ſame coaſt, you ſhall paſſe within ſeuen leagues of the Iſland Vaigats, which is in the ſtraight, almoſt halfe way from the coaſt of Hugorie, vnto the coaſt of

Noua Zembla, which Iſland Vaigats and Noua Zembla you ſhall finde noted in your plat, therefore you ſhall not need to diſcouer it: but proceed on alongſt the coaſt of Hugory, towards the riuer Obba.

Cara Reca.

Naramſi Reca.

There is a Bay betweene the ſayd Vaigats, and the riuer Obba, that doth bite to the Southwards, into the land of Hugory, in which Bay are two ſmall riuers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Naramſy, as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith may appeare: in the which Bay you ſhall not need to ſpend any time for ſearching of it, but to direct your courſe to the riuer Ob (if otherwiſe you be not conſtrained to keepe alongſt the ſhore) and when you come to the riuer Ob you ſhall not enter into it, but paſſe ouer vnto the Eaſterne part of the mouth of the ſayd riuer.

And when you are at the Eaſterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you ſhall from thence paſſe to the Eaſtwards, alongſt by the border of the ſayd coaſt, deſcribing the ſame in ſuch perfect order as you can beſt do it. You ſhall not leaue the ſayd coaſt or border of the land, but paſſe alongſt by it, at leaſt in ſight of the ſame, vntill you haue ſailed by it ſo farre to the Eaſtwards, and the time of the yeere ſo farre ſpent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be 300 or 400 leagues to the Eaſtwards of the Ob, if the Sea doe reach ſo farre as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the ſaid coaſt and ſea to trend ſo farre to the Eaſtwards, yet you ſhall not leaue the coaſt at any time, but proceed alongſt by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnſearched, or ſeene, vnleſſe it be ſome bay, or riuer, that you doe certeinly know by the report of the people, that you ſhall finde in thoſe borders, or els ſome certeine tokens whereby you of your ſelues may iudge it to be ſo. For our hope is that the ſaid border of land and ſea doth in ſhort ſpace after you paſſe the Ob, incline Eaſt, and ſo to the Southwards. And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your ſtarrebord ſide, as you proceed in your diſcouery, to be left vndiſcouered.

But and if the ſaid border of land do not incline ſo to the Eaſtwards as we preſuppoſe it, but that it doe proue to incline and trend to the Northwards, and ſo ioyne with Noua Zembla, making the ſea from Vaigats to the Eaſtwards but a bay: yet we will that you do keepe alongſt by the ſaid coaſt, and ſo bring vs certaine report of that forme and maner of the ſame bay.

And if it doe ſo proue to be a bay, and that you haue paſſed round about the ſame, and ſo by the trending of the land come backe vnto that part of Noua Zembla that is againſt Vaigats, whereas you may from that ſee the ſaid Iſland Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you ſhall from thence paſſe alongſt by the ſaid border and coaſt of Noua Zembla to the Weſtwards, and ſo to ſearch whether that part of Noua Zembla doe ioyne with the land that ſir Hugh Willoughbie diſcouered in anno 53, and is in 72 degrees, and from that part of Noua Zembla 120 leagues to the Weſtwards, as your plat doeth ſhew it vnto you: and if you doe finde that land to ioyne with Noua Zembla, when you come to it, you ſhall proceed further along the ſame coaſt, if the time of the yere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be ſufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to Winter either at Pechora or in Ruſſia, at your diſcretion: for we refer the ſame to your good iudgements, truſting that you will loſe no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20 of Auguſt, 56 yer the Serchthrift began to returne backe from her diſcouerie, to Winter in Ruſſia, and then ſhe came from the Iſland Vaigats, being forcibly driuen from thence with an Eaſterly winde and yce, and ſo ſhe came into the riuer Dwina, and arriued at Colmogro the 11 of September, 56. If the yce had not bene ſo much that yere as it was in the Streights, on both ſides of the Iſland Vaigats, they in the ſaid pinneſſe would that yeere haue diſcouered the parts that you are now ſent to ſeeke: which thing (if it had pleaſed God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reſerued it for ſome other. Which diſcouerie, if it may be made by you, it ſhall not only proue profitable vnto you, but it will alſo purchaſe perpetuall fame and renowme both to you and our countrey. And thus not doubting of your willing deſires, and forwardneſſe towards the ſame, we pray God to bleſſe you with a lucky beginning, fortunate ſucceſſe, and happily to end the ſame. Amen.

Neceſſarie notes to be obſerued, and followed in your diſcouerie, as hereafter followeth.

When your barke with all furniture and neceſſaries ſhall be in readineſſe for you to depart to the ſea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you ſhall from thence, euen as timely in the ſpring as the yce will permit you, ſaile, & make all expedition that may be, vnto the mouth of the riuer Pechora (as your commiſſion doth leade you) and as you paſſe by the coaſt all alongſt(notwithſtanding the plat that ſheweth you the deſcription of the ſaid coaſt,from Dwina vnto Vaigats) yet you ſhall ſeeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the ſame plat, vſing as many obſeruations,as you poſſibly can do: and theſe notes following are to be obſerued by you principally.

1 Firſt,that you do obſerue the latitude as often,and in as many places as you may poſſibly do it,noting diligently the place where you do ſo obſerue the ſame.

2 Alſo that you doe diligently ſet with your compaſſe, how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongſt as you goe, and to vſe your iudgements how farre there may be betweene ech of them.

3 Item,that you do alwayes vſe to draw the proportion,and biting of the land,aſwell the lying out of the points, and headlands, vnto the which you ſhall giue ſome apt names (at your diſcretion) as alſo the forme of the Bayes, and to make ſome marke in drawing the forme, and border of the ſame, where the high cliffes are, and where low land is, whether ſandy hilles, or whatſoeuer: omit not to note any thing that may be ſenſible and apparant to you, which may ſerue to any purpoſe.

4 In paſſing along by any coaſt,that you keepe your lead going often times,and ſound at the leaſt once euery glaſſe, and oftener if you thinke good as occaſion doth ſerue, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the ground, and at euery time, how farre the ſame ſounding may be from the next ſhore to it: and how the next point or headland doth beare from you. And in the ſea after you ſet off from your port, you ſhall orderly at the end of euery foure glaſſes ſound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what ground, but if you can finde no ground, you ſhall alſo note in what depth you could find no ground.

5 Alſo that you do diligently obſerue the flowing,& ebbing in euery place,and how the tides do ſet, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in euery place,and what force the ſame tide hath to driue a ſhip in an houre, as neere as you can iudge it.

6 Alſo that you doe ſeeke to obſerue with the inſtrument which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at Roſe Iſland,the true platformes, and diſtances,in as many places as conueniently you may,for it ſerueth very aptly your purpoſe.

7 Alſo that you take with you paper and ynke, and keepe a continuall iournall or rememberance day by day,of all ſuch things as ſhall fall out worth the knowledge,not forgetting or omitting to write it,and note it,that it may be ſhewed and read at your returne.

8 Theſe orders if you ſhall diligently obſerue,it will be eaſie for you to make a plat and perfect deſcription of your diſcouery, and ſo ſhall your notes be ſufficient to anſwere that which is looked for at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as many things as you can learne and vnderſtand by the report of any people whatſoeuer they be, ſo that it appertaine any way to our deſires. And thus the Lord God proſper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verſe,written by Maſter *George Turberuile* out of *Moſcouia*, which went as Secretarie thither with Maſter *Tho.Randolph*, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in *London*, deſcribing the maners of the Countrey and people.

To his eſpeciall friend Maſter Edward Dancie.

My Dancie deare, when I recount within my breſt,
My London friends,and wonted mates,and thee about the reſt:
I feele a thouſand fits of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to ſea,from bliſſe to bale did go.
I left my natiue ſoile, full like a retchleſſe man,
And vnacquainted of the coaſt, among the Ruſſes ran:
A people paſſing rude,to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fit to be of Bacchus traine,ſo quaffing is their kinde.
Drinke is their whole deſire,the pot is all their pride,
The ſobreſt head doth once a day ſtand needfull of a guide.
If he to banket bid his friends,he will not ſhrinke
On them at dinner to beſtow a douzen kindes of drinke:
Such licour as they haue,and as the countrey giues,
But chiefly two,one called Kuas,whereby the Mouſike liues.
Small ware and waterlike,but ſomewhat tart in taſte,

The reſt is Mead of honie made, wherewith their lips they baſte.
And if he goe vnto his neighbour as a gueſt,
He cares for litle meate, if ſo his drinke be of the beſt.
No wonder though they vſe ſuch vile and beaſtly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefeſt gods be made.
Their Idoles haue their hearts, on God they neuer call,
Vnleſſe it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs againſt the wall.
The houſe that hath no god, or painted Saint within,
Is not to be reſorted to, that roofe is full of ſinne.
Beſides their priuate gods, in open places ſtand
Their croſſes vnto which they crooche, and bleſſe themſelues with hand.
Deuoutly downe they ducke, with forehead to the ground,
Was neuer more deceit in ragges, and greaſie garments found.
Almoſt the meaneſt man in all the countrey rides,
The woman eke, againſt our vſe, her trotting horſe beſtrides.
In ſundry colours they both men and women goe,
In buſkins all, that money haue on buſkins to beſtoe.
Ech woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of ancient vſe, and ſome of very pride doe weare.
Their gate is very braue, their countenance wiſe and ſadde,
And yet they follow fleſhly luſtes, their trade of liuing badde.
It is no ſhame at all accompted to defile
Anothers bedde, they make no care their follies to concile,
Is not the meaneſt man in all the land but hee,
To buy her painted colours doeth allow his wife a fee.
Wherewith ſhe deckes her ſelfe, and dies her tawnie ſkinne,
She pranks and paints her ſmoakie face, both brow, lip, cheeke, & chinne.
Yea thoſe that honeſt are, if any ſuch there bee
Within the land, doe vſe the like: a man may plainely ſee
Vpon ſome womens cheekes the painting how it lies,
In plaiſter ſort, for that too thicke her face the harlot dies.
But ſuch as ſkilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By dayly practiſe doe it well, yea ſure they doe exceede.
They lay their colours ſo, as he that is full wiſe,
May eaſily be deceiu'd therein, if he doe truſt his eyes.
I not a little muſe, what madneſſe makes them paint
Their faces, waying how they keepe the ſtoone by meere conſtraint.
For ſeldome when, vnleſſe on Church or marriage day
A man ſhall ſee the Dames abroade, that are of beſt aray.
The Ruſſie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And ſo he mewes her to be ſure, ſhe lye by no mans ſide.
Thus much, friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Ruſſia land, what men and women bee.
Hereafter I perhaps of other things will write
To thee, and other of my friends, which I ſhall ſee with ſight:
And other ſtuffe beſides, which true report ſhall tell,
Meane while I ende my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I ſhould now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer might'ſt a foule rebuke, and ſhame impute to mee.
For I to open ſhew did loue thee paſſing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whome I loathde to bid farewell.
And as I went thy friend, ſo I continue ſtill,
No better proofe thou canſt then this deſire of true good will.
I doe remember well when needes I ſhould away,
And that the Poſte would licence vs, no longer time to ſtay:
Thou wrongſt me by the fiſt, and holding faſt my hand,
Didſt craue of me to ſend thee newes, and how I liked the land.

It is a ſandie ſoile, no very fruitfull vaine,
More waſte and wooddie grounds there are, then cloſes fit for graine.
Yet graine there growing is, which they vntimely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they mowe it on a ſtacke.
And laying ſheafe by ſheafe, their harueſt ſo they dry,
They make the greater haſte, for feare the froſt the corne deſtroy.
For in the winter time, ſo glarie is the ground,
As neither graſſe, nor other graine, in paſtures may be found.
In coms the cattell then, the ſheepe, the colt, the cowe,
Faſt by his bed the Mowſike then a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feeds, and holds as deere as life:
And thus they weare the winter with the Mowſike and his wife.
Seuen months the Winter dures, the glare it is ſo great,
As it is May before he turne, his ground to ſowe his wheate.
The bodies eke that die vnburied lie they then,
Laid vp in coffins made of firre, as well the pooreſt men,
As thoſe of greater ſtate: the cauſe is lightly found,
For that in Winter time, they cannot come to breake the ground,
And wood ſo plenteous is, quite throughout all the land,
As rich, and poore, at time of death aſſurd of coffins ſtand.
Perhaps thou muſeſt much, how this may ſtand with reaſon,
That bodies dead can vncorrupt abide ſo long a ſeaſon.
Take this for certaine trothe, as ſoone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the body binds as hard as any ſtone,
Without offence at all to any liuing thing:
And ſo they lye in perfect ſtate, till next returne of Spring.
Their beaſts be like to ours, as farre as I can ſee
For ſhape, and ſhewe, but ſomewhat leſſe of bulke, and bone they be.
Of watriſh taſte, the fleſh not firme, like Engliſh beefe,
And yet it ſeru's them very well, and is a good releefe:
Their ſheepe are very ſmall, ſharpe ſingled, handfull long,
Great ſtore of fowle on ſea and land, the mooriſh reedes among.
The greatnes of the ſtore doeth make the prices leſſe,
Beſides in all the land they know not how good meate to dreſſe.
They vſe neither broach nor ſpit, but when the ſtoue they heate,
They put their victuals in a pan, and ſo they bake their meate.
No pewter to be had, no diſhes but of wood,
No vſe of trenchers, cups cut out of birche are very good.
They vſe but wooden ſpoones, which hanging in a caſe
Eache Mowſike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no diſgrace.
With whitles two or three, the better man the moe,
The chiefeſt Ruſſies in the land, with ſpoone and kniues doe goe.
Their houſes are not huge of building, but they ſay,
They plant them in the loftieſt ground, to ſhift the ſnow away,
Which in the Winter time, eache where full thicke doth lie:
Which makes them haue the more deſire, to ſet their houſes hie.
No ſtone worke is in vſe, their roofes of rafters bee,
One linked in another faſt, their wals are all of tree.
Of maſts both long, and large, with moſſe put in betweene,
To keepe the force of weather out, I neuer earſt haue ſeene
A groſſe deuiſe ſo good, and on the roofe they lay
The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and ſudden ſhowres away.
In euery roome a ſtoue, to ſerue the Winter turne,
Of wood they haue ſufficient ſtore, as much as they can burne.
They haue no Engliſh glaſſe, of ſlices of a rocke
Hight Sluda they their windowes make, that Engliſh glaſſe doth mocke.
They cut it very thinne, and ſow it with a thred
In pretie order like to panes, to ſerue their preſent need.
No other glaſſe, good faith doth giue a better light:

And ſure the rocke is nothing rich, the coſt is very ſlight.
The chiefeſt place is that, where hangs the god by it,
The owner of the houſe himſelfe doth neuer ſit,
Unleſſe his better come, to whom he yealds the ſeat:
The ſtranger bending to the god, the ground with brow muſt beat.
And in that very place which they moſt ſacred deeme,
The ſtranger lies: a token that his gueſt he doth eſteeme.
Where he is wont to haue a beares ſkinne for his bed,
And muſt, in ſtead of pillow, clap his ſaddle to his head.
In Ruſſia other ſhift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good, the boalſters are but bad.
I muſed very much, what made them ſo to lie,
Sith in their countrey Downe is rife, and feathers out of crie:
Unleſſe it be becauſe the countrey is ſo hard,
They feare by niceneſſe of a bed their bodies would be mard,
I wiſht thee oft with vs, ſaue that I ſtood in feare
Thou wouldſt haue loathed to haue layd thy limmes vpon a beare,
As I and Stafford did, that was my mate in bed:
And yet (we thanke the God of heauen) we both right well haue ſped.
Loe thus I make an ende: none other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people beaſtly bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but here and there,
For if I ſhould, my penne would pinch, and eke offend I feare.
Who ſo ſhall read this verſe, coniecture of the reſt,
And thinke by reaſcn of our trade, that I do thinke the beſt.
But if no traffique were, then could I boldly pen
The hardneſſe of the ſoile, and eke the maners of the men.
They ſay the Lions paw giues iudgement of the beaſt:
And ſo may you deeme of the great, by reading of the leaſt.

To Parker.

My Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, haue leiſure to indite:
Wherefore, reſpecting theſe, and thine aſſured loue,
If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'ſt my pen reproue.
And ſithence fortune thus hath ſhou'd my ſhippe on ſhore:
And made me ſeeke another Realme vnſeene of me before:
The maners of the men I purpoſe to declare,
And other priuate points beſides, which ſtrange and geazon are.
The Ruſſie men are round of bodies, fully fac'd,
The greateſt part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the waſte,
Flat headed for the moſt, with faces nothing faire,
But browne, by reaſon of the ſtoue, and cloſeneſſe of the aire:
It is their common vſe to ſhaue or els to ſheare
Their heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
Unleſſe perhaps he haue his ſouereigne prince diſpleaſ'd,
For then he neuer cuts his haire, vntill he be appeaſ'd.
A certaine ſigne to know who in diſpleaſure be,
For euery man that viewes his head, will ſay, Loe this is he.
And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendſhip ſhow.
Their garments be not gay, nor handſome to the eye,
A cap aloft their heads they haue, that ſtandeth very hie,
Which Colpack they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
The beſt haue collers ſet with pearle, which they Rubaſca call.
Their ſhirts in Ruſsie long, they worke them downe before,
And on the ſleeues with coloured Silks, two inches good and more.
Aloft their ſhirts they weare a garment iacket wiſe
Hight Onoriadka, and about his burlie waſte he tyes

His portkies, which in ſtead of better breeches be:
Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to ſee.
A paire of yarnen ſtocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Ruſſie weares, the heeles they vnderlay
With clouting clamps of ſteele, ſharpe pointed at the toes,
And ouer all a Shuba furd, and thus the Ruſſie goes.
Well butned is the Shube, according to his ſtate,
Some Silke, of Siluer other ſome: but thoſe of pooreſt rate
Do weare no Shubs at all, but groſſer gownes to ſight,
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
Theſe are the Ruſſies robes. The richeſt vſe to ride
From place to place, his ſeruant runnes, and followes by his ſide.
The Caſſacke beares his felt, to force away the raine:
Their bridles are not very braue, their ſaddles are but plaine.
No bits but ſnaffles all, of birch their ſaddles be,
Much faſhioned like the Scottiſh ſeates, broad flakes to keepe the knee
From ſweating of the horſe, the pannels larger farre
And broader be then ours, they vſe ſhort ſtirrups for the warre:
For when the Ruſſie is purſued by cruel foe,
He rides away, and ſuddenly betakes him to his boe,
And bends me but about in ſaddle as he ſits,
And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.
Their bowes are very ſhort, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of ſinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight.
Small arrowes, cruel heads, that fell and forked bee,
Which being ſhot from out thoſe bowes, a cruel way will flee.
They ſeldome vſe to ſhoo their horſe, vnleſſe they ride
In poſt vpon the frozen flouds, then cauſe they ſhall not ſlide,
He ſets a ſlender calke, and ſo he rides his way.
The horſes of the countrey go good foureſcore verſts a day,
And all without the ſpurre, once pricke them and they ſkippe,
But goe not forward on their way, the Ruſſie hath his whippe
To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all booted bee,
Yet ſhall you not a paire of ſpurres in all the countrey ſee.
The common game is cheſſe, almoſt the ſimpleſt will
Both giue a checke and eke a mate, by practiſe comes their ſkill.
Againe they dice as faſt, the pooreſt rogues of all
Will ſit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall.
Their dice are very ſmall, in faſhion like to thoſe
Which we doe vſe, he takes them vp, and ouer thumbe he throwes
Not ſhaking them a whit, they caſt ſuſpiciouſly,
And yet I deeme them voyd of art that dicing moſt apply.
At play when Siluer lacks, goes ſaddle, horſe and all,
And eche thing els worth Siluer walkes, although the price be ſmall.
Becauſe thou loueſt to play friend Parker other while,
I wiſh thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.
But thou weart better farre at home, I wiſt it well,
And wouldeſt be loath among ſuch lowts ſo long a time to dwell.
Then iudge of vs thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
That neere the frozen pole to waſte our weary dayes were glad.
In ſuch a ſauage ſoile, where lawes do beare no ſway,
But all is at the king his will, to ſaue or els to ſlay.
And that ſans cauſe, God wot, if ſo his minde be ſuch.
But what meane I with Kings to deale? we ought no Saints to touch.
Conceiue the reſt your ſelfe, and deeme what liues they lead,
Where luſt is Lawe, and Subiects liue continually in dread.
And where the beſt eſtates haue none aſſurance good
Of lands, of liues, nor nothing falles vnto the next of blood.
But all of cuſtome doeth vnto the prince redowne,

And all the whole reuenue comes vnto the King his crowne.
Good faith I ſee thee muſe at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleaſure bow.
So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembreſt well,
And what his fortune was at laſt, I know thy ſelfe canſt tell.
Where will in Common weale doth beare the onely ſway,
And luſt is Lawe, the prince and Realme muſt needs in time decay.
The ſtrangeneſſe of the place is ſuch for ſundry things I ſee,
As if I woulde I cannot write ech priuate point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince ſo full of pride,
The Realme ſo ſtored with Monks and nunnes, and prieſts on euery ſide:
The maners are ſo Turkie like, the men ſo full of guile,
The women wanton, Temples ſtuft with idols that defile
The Seats that ſacred ought to be, the cuſtomes are ſo quaint,
As if I would deſcribe the whole, I feare my pen would faint.
In ſumme, I ſay I neuer ſaw a prince that ſo did raigne,
Nor people ſo beſet with Saints, yet all but vile and vaine.
Wilde Iriſh are as ciuill as the Ruſſies in their kinde,
Hard choice which is the beſt of both, ech bloody, rude and blinde.
If thou bee wiſe, as wiſe thou art, and wilt be ruld by me,
Liue ſtill at home, and couet not thoſe barbarous coaſts to ſee.
No good befalles a man that ſeeks, and findes no better place,
No ciuill cuſtomes to be learnd, where God beſtowes no grace.
And truely ill they do deſerue to be belou'd of God,
That neither loue nor ſtand in awe of his aſſured rod:
Which though be long, yet plagues at laſt the vile and beaſtly ſort
Of ſinfull wights, that all in vice do place their chiefeſt ſport.
  A dieu friend Parker, if thou liſt, to know the Ruſſes well,
To Sigiſmundus booke repaire, who all the trueth can tell:
For he long earſt in meſſage went vnto that ſauage King,
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech reſpect did bring.
To him I recommend my ſelfe, to eaſe my penne of paine,
And now at laſt do wiſh thee well, and bid farewell againe.

The fourth voyage into *Perſia*, made by *M. Arthur Edwards* Agent, *Iohn Sparke*, *Laurence Chapman*, *Chriſtopher Faucet*, and *Richard Pingle*, in the yeere 1568. declared in this letter written from *Casbin* in *Perſia* by the foreſaide *Laurence Chapman* to a worſhipfull merchant of the companie of *Ruſſia* in *London*. Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

WOrſhipfull ſir, my duetie alwayes remembred, and your proſperous health, and good ſucceſſe in all your affaires wiſhed, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts deſire, &c. May it pleaſe you to vnderſtand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards and we departed from Yeraſlaue in Iuly 1568. and the 14. of Auguſt arriued at our port called Bilbil, with your ſhip the Grace of God, and the goods in her in good ſafetie, God bee thanked for it, finding there neither the people ſo ready to ayd vs for the bringing of her in, & vnlading of the goods, nor yet ſo obedient to the Shaughs priuilege, as the worſhipfull company haue bene informed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open & ſel as they would ſet the price, or otherwiſe it would haue bene worſe for vs. Being ſo ſatiſfied to their contentment, we were ſpeedily aided with camels by the prince Erasbec Sultan his appointment, to carry our goods to Shamaki, to which place we attained the firſt of September, finding it ſo throughly furniſhed with all maner of commodities by occaſion of our late comming, and by ſuch as came before vs, that no man would aſke to buy any one piece of karſie of vs, and lying then the ſpace of one whole moneth before your Agent Arrhur Edwards would diſperſe vs abroade with the goods, ſuch as came out of Ruſsia afterwardes, had brought their goods to that and other places, and ſpoyled thoſe ſales wee might haue made, being ſent abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worſhipfull, as alſo great griefe vnto vs to ſee. To conclude, through our dayly calling vpon him, he bent himſelfe for Casbin, taking with him the greateſt ſumme of the goods, and two of the worſhipfuls ſeruants, to witte, Iohn Sparke and my ſelfe, to helpe and procure the better ſale for the ſame: and leauing at Shamaki

Their arriual at Bilbil the 14. of Auguſt 1568.

Prince Eraſbec.

Chriſtopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.

maki Chriſtopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karſies in their handes, ſuppoſed to be ſolde there or in Arraſh before hee ſhould be able to make his returne from Casbin, which, ſo farre foorth as I can vnderſtand, lie for the greateſt part vnſolde. And being vpon our way, at a certaine towne called Ardouil, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karſies with thoſe merchants for foureſcore and foure batemans of cynamom, ſelling the karſies at one hundred and fiftie ſhawghs the piece.

And being at that preſent not farre from Teueris, called the principal place in this countrey for vttering of cloth or karſies, by much intreatie I perſwaded your Agent to ſend thither to proove what might be done, and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karſies, as alſo his commiſſion for the ſale of the ſame, I proceeded on that voyage my ſelfe, and one Tolmach in company with me; finding in that place great ſtore of broad cloth and karſies brought thither, ſome part by the Turkes who be reſident there, ſome by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and ſome by the towneſmen, who trauell vnto Venice and there buy them, ſo that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and fourtie ſhawghs for a karſie: and hauing ſpeciall commiſſion and charge from your Agent not to ſtay there aboue the ſpace of ſeuen dayes after my arriuall there, but to repaire to Casbin with all ſpeed, and furthermore, hauing regard to keepe vp the price of the worſhipfuls commodities, according to their deſire, I found meanes to barter them away for ſpices, ſuch as were there to be had, neither in goodneſſe nor yet in price to my content: neuertheleſſe, conſidering the colde ſales which were there, as well for your karſies, as alſo the hot newes, that Ormuz way was ſhut vp by occaſion that the Indians do warre againſt them, which is true in deed: and againe the deſire that the worſhipfull hath to haue ſuch commodities bought, I thought it neceſſary to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my accompt ſent to the worſhipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole ſumme of ſpices bought at this time.

Warre againſt the Portingals at Ormuz.

The gouernour of Grozin his Merchant.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of Grozin, who was not a litle deſirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karſies for his maſter called Leuontie, and offering me ſo good bands for the paiment of the money or ſilke to the merchants cõtentment vpon the deliuery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had: and offering me beſides his owne letter in the behalfe of his maſter, that no cuſtome ſhould be demanded for the ſame, and the obtaining alſo at his maſters hand as large a priuilege for the worſhipful to trauel into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had giuen them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians alſo, and that he was a Chriſtian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and ſold him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threeſcore ſhawghs a piece, to be paid to the merchant in Grozin either in money or ſilke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliuerie of the karſies there, hauing a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the ſame, which is as ſure as any here is to be deuiſed: and vpon the ſame I ſent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamaki, with ſuch goods as I bought at Teueris, and to the end hee might cauſe the worſhipfuls ſeruants there to ſee this bargen accompliſhed. At whoſe arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the Captaine would not accompliſh his bargen to take them, but ſaith, hee hath no need of them: ſuch is the conſtancie of all men in this countrey, with whomſoeuer you ſhal bargen. If the ware be bought, and they doe miſlike it afterwards, they will bring it againe, and compel you to deliuer the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifeſteth the contrary, as a ſtraw in the winde: by meanes whereof, the worſhipfull may know whether all be true that hath bene written of this countrey people or not.

The generall inconſtancie in the merchants and dealers of thoſe parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teueris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no ſuch ſtore of ſpices as the worſhipfull doeth looke for, that here will bee put a way in Teueris, ſome for money, and other ſome for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karſies, being in coulers and goodneſſe to the examples here ſent you, the reſt of the karſies to make them vp a thouſand, and broad clothes to the ſumme of a hundred, bee as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, ſo farre as yet I can perceiue.

The trade betweene the Venetians and the Armenians not eaſily to be broken.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not poſſible, vnleſſe the worſhipful will finde ſome meanes to receiue of them yerely to the number of 100. catters or mules lading, and deliuer them for the ſame one third part money, the reſt cloth and karſies fitted in coulers meete for this countrey: the examples, as aboueſaid, are ſent vnto you.

At Amadia ſixe dayes iourney from Teueris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought vp yerely by the Venetians, and be ſolde there for two biſtes the Teueris bateman, which as your Agent here ſaith, maketh ſixe pound Engliſh weight, but I doubt it wil not ſo be proued. Neuertheleſſe it is ſuppoſed much good will bee done by buying of them: which might at this preſent haue partly bene proued, if ſo be that ſome could do but halfe that which hath bene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many as well at Teueris, as alſo in Casbin, but the goodneſſe nothing

thing like to ſuch as be brought into England out of other places: & the price is ſo high that ſmal gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had bene furniſhed with money, as I might haue bene, if ſome would, I would haue bought ſome, to the ende the goodneſſe of them might haue bene ſeene in England. At my comming to Casbin I found no maner of ſales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes giuen out (as your Agent ſaith) that yͤ Shaugh would buy all ſuch commodities as he had, and giue him ſilke and ſpices for the ſame: but by report the Shaugh neuer tooke cloth into his treaſurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now begin: his whole trade is in raw ſilke, which he ſelleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and ſuch other as vſe to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, hee hath driuen off the time, not ſending to any other places: by means whereof the worſhipfuls goods lie vnſold to this day to their great hinderance, which I for my part am not a litle ſorry to ſee.

Babylon is from hence fifteene dayes iourney, whereas by true report be great ſtore of Dates, and ſold for a biſſe the batman, the commoditie fit for England, and the place ſo neere vnto vs might eaſily haue bene knowen, if hee, whoſe deeds and ſayings differ much, had bene willing to the ſame. Caſſan alſo is but ſeuen dayes iourney from hence, & a place by report where moſt ſtore of ſpices be at all times to be had, ouer and aboue any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be ſeen and prooued at this time: if this be loſſe to the worſhipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he ſpeaketh in words.

Babylon 15. dayes iourney from Caſbin.

To trauell in this countrey is not onely miſerable and vncomfortable for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refreſh men with wholeſome victuals in time of need, but alſo ſuch ſcarſitie of water, that ſometime in three dayes iourney together, is not to be found any drop fit for man or beaſt to drinke, beſides the great danger we ſtand in for robbing by theſe infidels, who doe account it remiſſion of ſinnes to waſh their hands in the blood of one of vs. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich Merchant ſeuen yeeres in this Countrey, as ſome ſhall well find at their comming hither.

By commandement of the Agent alſo I went to Gilan, as well to ſee what harbor was there for your ſhip, as alſo to vnderſtand what commoditie is there beſt ſold, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence ſo dangerous and troubleſome, that with my pen I am not able to note it vnto you: no man trauelleth from hence thither, but ſuch poore people as need conſtraineth to buy Rice for their reliefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboue twentie batmans vpon a catter, and it lieth no lower then the ſkirts of the ſaddle, and he eſcapeth very hardly that commeth there with the ſame.

His voyage to Gilan.

The towne of Laighon, which was the chiefeſt place in all that land, haue I ſeen, and Langro and Roſar alſo, which be now ouerrun by the Shaugh and his power, and be ſo ſpoiled, & the people ſo robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karſie. The beſt commoditie there to bee bought, is raw ſilke, and is ſold in the Summer time for 38. ſhaughs the Laighon batman, which is litle aboue 40. li. waight, and for ready money: alſo there is to bee had what ſtore of Alom you will, and ſold there for one biſſe the Teueris batman.

In theſe partes be many Turkie merchants reſident, which giue an outward ſhew, as though they were glad of our comming hither, but ſecretly they be our mortall enemies, ſearching by all meanes to hinder our ſales, becauſe we ſhould the ſooner giuer ouer our trade thither, which in proceſſe of time I hope will growe to better perfection. They wiſh vs to go to Hallape with the reſt of our commodities vnſold, where they ſay we ſhall haue good intertainment in ſpight of the great number of Venetians which be there reſident, and the cuſtome but two in the hundred, and our karſies to be ſold preſently, had we neuer ſo many, for twelue duckets, which maketh of this money 165. ſhaughs: but by ſuch as know the place, market and cuſtome, it is reported to vs credibly to the contrary, and that ſuch karſies as ours be, are not ſold for aboue 8. duckets there: the cuſtome thirtie in the hundred and more, that no place in the world is ſo well furniſhed with good cloth and karſies, and of ſo braue colour as that place is, ſuppoſing it to bee craftily purpoſed of them, to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from.

The malice of the Turkiſh merchants.

The price of ſpices be theſe, at this preſent enhanſed by reaſon yͤ way is ſhut to Ormus, which when God ſhal ſend open, I purpoſe (God willing) to ſee, and at my returne to aduertiſe the worſhipful what benefit is there to be had in all points, ſo neere as I can learne: Pepper 25. ſhaughs the Teueris batman: Cloues 50. ſhaughs, Long pepper 25. ſhaughs, Maces large 50. ſhaughs Ginger 24. ſhaughs, ready money all, or els looke not vpon them. And the beſt ſort of rawe ſilke is ſold for 60. ſhaughs the Teueris batman. Thus for want of further matter to inlarge, I ende for this time, beſeeching God to preſerue you in continuall health.

The price of ſpices.

By your obedient ſeruant, *Lawrence Chapman.*

Notes

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Perſia, begun in the *moneth of Iuly* 1568. *gathered by M.* Richard Willes *from the mouth of Maſter Arthur Edwards*, which was Agent in the ſame.

Londro.
London.

The Venetians traffike in England.

When he came firſt to the Sophies preſence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpreter with him, and ſtanding farre off, the Sophie (ſitting in a ſeat roiall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that thriſe, vntil he came ſo neere him that he might haue touched him with his hād. Then the firſt demand that he aſked him was, from what countrey he came: he anſwered, that he came from England. Then aſked hee of his noble men, who knew any ſuch countrey? But when Edwards ſaw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble mē ſaid Londro, meaning thereby Londō, which name is better knowen in far countries out of Chriſtendom, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro, he ſaid that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teueris of the chiefe city of Perſia. He aſked him many things more, as of the realme of England, maruelling that it ſhould be an Iſland of ſo great riches and power, as Edwards declared vnto him: of the riches & abundance of our merchandize he further vnderſtood by our traffike in Moſcouia and other countreis. He demanded alſo many things of the Queenes maieſtie, and of the cuſtomes and lawes of the realme: ſaying oftentimes in his owne language, Bara colla, (that is to ſay) Well ſayd. He aſked alſo many things of king Philip, & of his wars againſt the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cauſe of his reſort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he aſked what kind of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (ſayd hee) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the city of Londro ſend to Venice, & from thence into Turkie by Halepo & Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the ſecond and third hands, with great charges of many cuſtoms and other things thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Perſia. What merchandize are thoſe? ſayd the Sophie. Edwards anſwered, that they were great abundance of fine karſies, of broad clothes of all ſorts & colours, as ſkarlets, violets, and other of the fineſt cloth of all the world. Alſo that the Venetians brought out of England not onely ſuch clothes ready made, but furthermore great plenty of fine wooll to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwiſe make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that waies, aboue two hundred thouſand karſies, and as many broad clothes, beſide fine wooll & other merchandize, beſide alſo the great abundance of like clothes, the which were caried into Spaine, Barbarie, & diuers other countries. The Sophie then aſked him by what means ſuch merchandize might be brought into Perſia. Right wel ſir (ſaid he) by the way of Moſcouia, with more ſafety and in much ſhorter time then the Venetians can bring them: firſt from England to Venice, and from thence into Perſia by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it ſhal pleaſe your maieſtie to grant vs free paſſage into all your dominions, with ſuch priuileges as may appertaine to the ſafegard of our liues, goods and merchandize, we will furniſh your countries with all ſuch merchandize and other commodities, in ſhorter time, and better cheape then you may haue the ſame at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was between the Sophie and Edwards for the ſpace of two houres: all which things liked him ſo well, that ſhortly after he granted to the ſayd Arthur Edwards other priuileges for the trade of merchandize into Perſia, all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great ſeale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who ſayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did ſit to ſeale any letters, that laſt priuiledge ſhould be ſealed & deliuered to Laurence Chapman. In this priuiledge is one principall article for ſeruants or merchants: That if the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings, they would become Buſormen, that then the Agent whereſoeuer he ſhall find any ſuch ſeruant or ſeruants, to take them and put them in priſon, and no perſon to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in reſpect of a cuſtome among the Perſians, being Mahumetans, whoſe maner is friendly to receiue and wel entertaine, both with gifts and liuing, all ſuch Chriſtians, as forſaking their religion, wil become of the religion of the Perſians. Inſomuch that before this priuiledge was granted, there was great occaſion of naughty ſeruants to deceiue and rob their maſters, that vnder the colour of profeſſing that religion, they might liue among them in ſuch ſafetie, that you might haue no lawe agaynſt them, either to puniſh them or to recouer your goods at their hands, or elſewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they ſay to be a maruelous wiſe and gracious prince) ſeemed to fauour our nation, and to grant them ſuch priuiledges, the people abuſed them very much, and ſo hated them, that they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them Caſars and Gawars, which is, infidels or miſbeleeuers. But after they ſaw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kiſſe their hands and vſe them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare falſe witneſſe againſt them, and ſuch merchandizes as they had bought or ſold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them liſted. And if any ſtranger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one ſlaine, and for the debts of any ſtrãger would take the goods of any other of the ſame nation, with many other ſuch like abuſes, in maner vnknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made vnto him for reformation of ſuch abuſes: which were the cauſe that no merchant ſtrangers of contrary religiõ durſt come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his ſubiects.

The Articles of the ſecond priuiledge deliuered to *Laurence Chapman*, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item, that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their firſt priuiledge, to goe vnto Gilan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occaſion ſhall be giuen.

11 Item, if by miſfortune any of their ſhips ſhould breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the ſea coaſt, his ſubiects to helpe with all ſpeed to ſaue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the ſayd merchants that liueth: or otherwiſe to be kept in ſafetie vntil any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the ſaid merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to ſee their goods ſafely kept, and to be deliuered to any other of them that ſhall demand them.

13 Item, the ſaid merchants to take ſuch camel-men as they themſelues wil, being countrey people, and that no Kiſſell Baſh do let or hinder them. And the ſaid owners of the camels to bee bound to anſwere them ſuch goods as they ſhal receiue at their hands, and the camel-men to ſtand to the loſſes of their camels or horſes.

14 Item more, that the ſayd Cariers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any Cariers, & haue giuen earneſt, the camel-men to ſee they keepe their promiſe.

16 Item, if any of the ſaid merchants be in feare to trauel, to giue thẽ one or more to go with them and ſee them in ſafetie with their goods, to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to ſay, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his ſubiects to giue them honeſt roume, and victuals for their money.

18 Item, the ſayd merchants may in any place, where they ſhall thinke beſt, build or buy any houſe or houſes to their owne vſes. And no perſon to moleſt or trouble them, and to ſtand in any Carauan where they will, or ſhal thinke good.

The commodities which the merchants may haue by this trade into Perſia are thought to bee great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into yͤ Eaſt Indies, forasmuch as by the way of Perſia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once: whereas the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage all by ſea: for where as the citie and Iſland of Ormus, lying in the gulfe of Perſia, is the moſt famous Mart towne of all Eaſt India, whither al yͤ merchandiſes of India are brought, the ſame may in ſhorter time and more ſafely be brought by land and riuers through Perſia, euen vnto the Caſpian ſea, and from thence by the countreis of Ruſſia or Moſcouia by riuers, euen vnto the citie of Yeraſlaue, and from thence by land 180. miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water euen vnto England.

The merchandiſes which be had out of Perſia for the returne of wares are ſilke of all ſortes of colours, both raw and wrought. Alſo all maner of ſpices and drugs, pearles & precious ſtones, likewiſe carpets of diuers ſortes, with diuers other rich merchandiſes. It was told me of them that came laſt from Perſia, that there is more ſilke brought into ſome one city of Perſia, then is of cloth brought into the city of London. Alſo that one village of Armenia named Gilgat doeth carie yeerely fiue hundred, and ſometime a thouſand mules laden with ſilke to Halepo in Soria of Turkie, being 4. dayes iourney from Tripoli, where the Venetians haue their continuall abiding, and ſend from thence ſilks which they returne for Engliſh karſies and other clothes into all partes of Chriſtendome.

The maner how the Chriſtians become Buſormen, and forſake *their religion.*

I Haue noted here before that if any Chriſtian wil become a Buſorman, that is, one that hath forſaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they giue him many gifts, and ſometime alſo a liuing. The maner is, that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forſake his faith, he reſorteth to the Soltan or gouernor of the towne, to whom hee maketh proteſtation of his diueliſh purpoſe. The gouernour appointeth him a horſe, and one to ride before him on another horſe, bearing a ſword in his hand, and the Buſorman bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, curſing his father and mother: and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltie of death, as is ſignified by the ſword borne before him. A yong man, a ſeruant of one of our merchāts, becauſe he would not abide the correction of his maſter for his faults, was minded to forſake his faith. But (as God would) he fell ſuddenly ſicke and died, before he gaue himſelfe to the deuill. If he had become a Buſorman, he had greatly troubled the merchants: for if he would then haue ſaid that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuileges, that no Buſorman, &c. as there appeareth.

In Perſia in diuers places oxen and kine beare the tents and houſhold ſtuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horſes.

Of the tree which beareth Bombaſin cotton, or Goſſampine.

IN Perſia is great abundance of Bombaſin cotton, & very fine: this groweth on a certaine litle tree or brier, not paſt the height of a mans waſte or litle more: the tree hath a ſlender ſtalke like vnto a brier, or to a carnation gilliflowre, with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, containing in it the cotton: and when this bud or cod commeth to the bignes of a walnut, it openeth and ſheweth foorth the cotton, which groweth ſtill in bignes vntill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fiſt, and beginneth to be looſe, and then they gather it as it were the ripe fruite. The ſeeds of theſe trees are as big as peaſon, and are blacke, and ſomewhat flat, and not round: they ſowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Perſia, and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Perſians.

ARthur Edwards ſhewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, ſubſigned with the hands both of the Sophy & his Secretarie. The Sophies ſubſcription was onely one word (his name I ſuppoſe was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was alſo written on the ſame piece of red paper, being long & narow, about yͤ length of a foote, and not paſt three inches broad. The priuate ſignet of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a roial, onely printed vpon the ſame paper without any waxe or other ſeale, the letter ſeem ſo miſhapen and diſordered, that a man would thinke it were ſomwhat ſcribled in maner at aduentures. Yet they ſay that almoſt euery letter with his pricke or circunflexe ſignifieth a whole word. Inſomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand their writing doeth containe as much as doeth ours almoſt in a ſheet of paper.

The fift voiage into Perſia made by M. *Thomas Baniſter*, and maſter Geofrey Ducket, *Agents for the Moſcouie companie, begun from England in the* yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by *P. I.* from the mouth of M. *Lionel Plumtree.*

VPon the 3. day of July 1568. they embarked themſelues at Yeraſlaue, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and ſome 12. Engliſh men more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonauenture of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking alſo along with them of Ruſſes to the number of 40. for their vſe and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Aſtracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of thieuiſh and cruel people, made an aſſault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, ſome with ſwords, ſome with ſpeares, and ſome others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they diſcouered to be about 300. men. They for their parts, although they could haue wiſhed a quiet voyage and iourney without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be ſpoiled with ſuch Barbarians as they were, began to

The Engliſh Barke aſſaulted neere Aſtracan by the Nagaian Tartars.

defend themſelues againſt their aſſault, by meanes whereof a very terrible & fierce fight folowed and continued hot & ſharpe for two houres, wherein our men ſo wel plaied their parts with their caliuers, that they forced the Tartars to flee with the loſſe of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Ruſſe priſoner, which eſcaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Aſtracan, at which towne they arriued the 20. of Auguſt.

Aſtracan beſieged by 70000. Turks and Tartars.

In this towne of Aſtracan they were ſomwhat hindered of their iourney, and ſtaied the ſpace of ſixe weekes by reaſon of a great army of 70000. Turkes and Tartars which came thither vpon the inſtigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue ſurpriſed it ſuddenly or by continuance of ſiege to win the ſame. But in the end by reaſon that the winter approched, as alſo, becauſe they had receiued newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Ruſſia was in prouiding for the defence of the ſaid place, they were conſtrained to raiſe their ſiege, & to leaue the town as they found it.

Upon their departure our men had oportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and vſing the occaſion, they left Aſtracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October: from whence they went to Shauaran, where (as they lodged in their tentes) they were greatly moleſted with ſtrange troopes of ſholcaues or foxes, which were ſo buſie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mighty wilde Bore that was ſent vnto them for a preſent from the gouernour of the countrey.

Hauing ſtaied here ſome three or foure daies in prouiding of cariages and other neceſſaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is foure dayes iourney from the aforeſayd Shauaran. In this towne of Shamaky their whole company ſpent out the Winter, and from thence in April folowing they tooke their iourney towards Ardouil a place of great account and much eſteemed, by reaſon of the ſepulchres of the Emperours of Perſia, which for the moſt part lie there buried, and ſo is growen to bee a place of their ſuperſtitious deuotion. In this towne of Ardouil they ſoiourned the ſpace of 5. or 6. moneths, finding ſome traffique and ſales, but to no purpoſe, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother ſought the deſtruction of the brother, and the neereſt kinſmen roſe vp one againſt another, inſomuch that one of their company Lionel Plumtree hath ſeene in one day ſometimes 14. ſlaine in a garboile. And he being further deſirous to ſee their maner of fight, or rather ſomewhat more curious to behold, then miſtruſtful of their blowes, was like to haue borne a ſhare in their bloodie tragedie, being twiſe wounded with their ſhot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thamas ſent a meſſenger for our men to come to his preſence at Caſbin, to whom Thomas Baniſter failed not to goe, although maſter Ducket lay very ſicke at Ardouil, and in ſuch caſe that they almoſt deſpaired of his recouerie. Hee being come to the Shaugh was receiued and entertained of him with great fauour and ſpeciall countenance, and had the moſt part of all his requeſts granted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priuiledge or ſufferance to tranſport and cary through his dominions certaine horſes into India, the Shaugh ſeemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to ſome further time. As for the point of traffique, he could not make that motiõ or requeſt that was not ſo ſoone granted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himſelfe bought there of him many karſies, and made him as good paiment as any man could wiſh, and oftentimes would ſend his mony for the wares before the wares were deliuered, that he might be the ſurer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing ſomewhat ſtrange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purpoſed to ſend a great ſumme of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, hee would not ſend any money or coyne of his owne, but ſent to the Engliſh merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reaſon for the ſame, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes, and with good conſciences, and was therefore worthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppreſſion and vnhoneſt meanes, and therefore was not fit to ſerue for ſo holie a vſe.

After ſixe moneths ſpent in Casbin the ſayde Thomas Baniſter departed towards the great citie of Tauris, where being arriued, he found M. Ducket well recouered of his ſickneſſe, whom he had left ill at Ardouil.

At this Citie the foreſayd Maſter Ducket made ſales of the Engliſh commodities, remaining there to that purpoſe the ſpace of two yeeres and a halfe. And beſides other kindes of merchandiſes of that countrey, he bought great ſtore of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes iourney of the aforeſayd Tauris.

After this Thomas Baniſter departed from Tauris, and went to Shamaky to giue order for the tranſporting of thoſe commodities which were bought for England. And hauing diſpatched them away, he went there hence to Arraſh, a towne foure dayes iourney with camels from Shamaky for the buying of rawe ſilke. But there by reaſon of the vnwholeſomneſſe of the aire, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, he with Lawrence Chapman and ſome other Engliſh men vnhappily died: which being knowen of M. Ducket, he immediatly came from Tauris to Arraſh, to take poſſeſſion of the goods, for otherwiſe by the cuſtome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchant or other friend of his to enter vpon that which he left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithſtanding could not bee recouered from the officers which had ſeized and ſealed vp the ſame, vntill M. Ducket had bene in perſon with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof.

The death of Thomas Baniſter and Laurence Chapman.

Lionel Plumtree, in the meane time that M. Ducket was at Casbin in ſute for goods, vpon the perſwaſion of certaine Bogharians, made prouiſion for a iourney to Cathaia, with cariages and commodities, and hauing all things ready, departed ſecretly with a Carauan: but being gone forwards on his way ſixe dayes iourny, ſome fifty horſemen by the procurement of Humfry Greenſell (who afterwards being at Ormus in the Eaſt Indies, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquiſition by the Portingals) were ſent after him in poſte from Soltan Erasbec, the Shaughs lieutenant, to fetch him backe againe, not ſuffering him to paſſe on ſo perillous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueniences that might follow.

Humfrey Greenſell burnt at Ormus.

After this M. Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamaky againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to Caſſan, being about foure dayes iourney from Shamaky, and caried with him foure mules laden with mony.

In the way of his trauel he paſſed through Perſepolis, ſometime the roiall ſeate of the Emperors of Perſia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remaine to be ſeene at this day two gates onely that are diſtant one from the other the ſpace of 12. miles, and ſome few pinnacles in the mountains and conueiances for freſh water.

The foreſaid Caſſan is a towne that conſiſteth altogether of merchandiſe, and the beſt trade of all the land is there, being greatly frequented by the merchants of India.

Here our men bought great ſtore of al maner of wrought ſilkes, and ſome ſpices, and good ſtore of Turkie ſtones.

The towne is much to be commended for the ciuil and good gouernment that is there vſed. An idle perſon is not ſuffred to liue amongſt them.

The child that is but fiue yeeres old is ſet to ſome labour. No ill rule, diſorder or riote by gaming or otherwiſe, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cards is by the law preſent death.

At this Caſhan they remained about the ſpace of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Skamaky, and after ſome time ſpent in diuers places of the countrey for buying of rawe ſilke and other commodities, they came at laſt to Shauaran againe, where their ſhip was in harbour, and then they ſhipt all their goods and embarked themſelues alſo, ſetting ſayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Aſtracan. By reaſon of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caſpian ſea, they beat it vp and downe ſome 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker vpon the flats, certaine Ruſſe Caſſaks, which are outlawes or baniſhed men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with diuers boates vnder the colour of friendſhip, and entred their ſhip, but immediately they tooke their hatchets & ſlew diuers of the Ruſſes that were of the ſhip vpon the hatches: Whereupon maſter Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the maſter, a man of ſingular valure, and Amos Riall being vnder the Spardecke, did ſo well behaue themſelues, that they ſkowred the hatches, and ſlew 14. of the Caſſaks gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30. more, being of them al in number 150. at the leaſt, armed with caliuers and other weapons fit for ſo villanous a purpoſe.

The Engliſh ſhip taken by the Caſſaks.

M. Ducket notwithſtanding and the reſt aforeſaid receiued diuers wounds from the enemie, and were ſo hurt, and withall ſo oppreſſed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at laſt conſtrained to make an agreement with the Caſſaks by rendring the ſhip into their hands, hauing receiued firſt their othes ſworne by their crucifixes, not to do any further harme to their perſons.

Thus the ſhippe being taken, and all the Engliſh grieuouſly hurt, the Caſſaks immediately diſcharged the ſhip of them, putting them all into the ſhip boate with two or three Perſian targets full of horſe fleſh and ſwines fleſh, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that caſe, made the beſt haſt they could to get to Aſtracan: and being come to the towne, maſter Ducket made great ſute to the captaine to haue men and boates ſet out for the reſcuing and recouering of the ſhip if it were poſſible: who immediately ſent out his ſonne with fortie boates and fiue hundred men to purſue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ſhip, but by reaſon of their fooliſhnes in ſtriking vp their drums before they were come neere them, the Caſſaks diſcouering the boats, cut their gables and put out to ſea, whereupon the boats not being able to folow them, returned againe to Aſtracan. After which, 60. boats more were ſent out to purſue them againe the ſecond time: & that ſecond army came to a place where they found many of thoſe Caſſaks and ſlew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the cheſts of the ſhip: all which they recouered againe for the Engliſh merchants, to the value of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thouſand pound, but all the reſt the Caſſaks in the ſhip had caried away.

In the ſame place they found further diuers of the Caſſaks which the Engliſhmen had ſlaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt ſome in fortie or fifty yards of Sattin and Taffataes, and ſome in Turkie carpets cut & ſpoiled by thoſe villanous Pirats, of whom afterwards as many as could be taken by the Perſians who entirely loued the Engliſh merchants, were put to moſt cruell torments in all places according to their deſerts.

But our men being thus ſpoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Aſtracan for their better recouerie: & hauing gotten ſome reaſonable ſtrength, they then prouided boates and went vp the riuer of Volga to Cazan, with ſuch goods as they had recouered from the Caſſaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraſlaue, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where ſuddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement froſt, and therewithall the waters ſo congeled, that their boates were cruſhed and cut in ſunder with the ice, whereby they ſuſtained both a further danger of life and loſſe of goods: but as much as they could preſerue with much adoe, they conueyed ouer land in ſleds to Vologda, and from thence ſent much of it to Saint Nicholas to be laden in the ſhips for England.

Ice in the beginning of October.

But Maſter Ducket, Lionel Plumtree and Amos Riall went with ſome parcels to the Moſko, and there ſold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie loſſe that they had ſuſtained by his owne rebellious people and ſubiects, bought himſelfe as much as hee liked, and payed preſent money for the ſame. So that Winter being ſpent out in Mosko, and ſuch wares prouided by them as ſerued for England, they departed to Saint Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of Auguſt: and hauing endured a very terrible paſſage in nine weekes and three dayes, with ſome hardneſſe of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other ſea accidents, they arriued at London in the moneth of October, one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and foure, and ſo made an ende of an vnfortunate voyage: which if it had pleaſed God to proſper, that all things had come home as ſafely as they were carefully prouided, and painfully laboured for, it had proued the richeſt voiage and moſt profitable returne of commoditie, that had euer bene vndertaken by Engliſh merchants, who, notwithſtanding all misfortunes, loſt nothing of their principall aduenture, but onely the intereſt and gaine that might haue riſen by the vſe of their ſtocke in the meane time.

1574

Further obſeruations concerning the ſtate of Perſia, taken in the foreſayd fiſt voyage into thoſe partes, and written by M. *Geffrey Ducket*, one of the Agents emploied in the ſame.

SHamaky is the faireſt towne in all Media, and the chiefeſt commoditie of that countrey is rawe ſilke, & the greateſt plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from Shamaky called Araſh: and within 3. dayes iourney of Araſh is a countrey named Groſin, whoſe inhabitants are Chriſtians, & are thought to be they which are otherwiſe called Georgians: there is alſo much ſilke to be ſold. The chiefe towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Perſia, an incredible quantitie of Haſell nuts, all of one ſort and goodneſſe, and as good and thin ſhaled as are our Filberds. Of theſe are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden.

Groſin or Georgia.

Of the name of the *Sophy* of Perſia, & why he is called the *Shaugh*, and of other cuſtomes.

THe king of Perſia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there ſo called, but is called the Shaugh. It were there dangerous to cal him by the name of Sophy, becauſe that Sophy in the Perſian tongue, is a begger, & it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Caſbin, which is ſituate in a goodly fertile valley of 3. or 4. daies iourny in length. The towne is but euil builded, and for the moſt part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but only dried at the ſunne, as is the moſt part of the building of all Perſia. The king hath not come out of the compaſſe of his owne houſe in 33. or 34. yeeres, whereof the cauſe is not knowen, but as they ſay, it is vpon a ſuperſtition of certaine propheſies to which they are greatly addicted: he is now about 80. yeeres of age, and very luſty. And to keepe him the more luſty, he hath 4. wiues alwayes, and about 300. concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about brought vnto him, whom he diligently peruſeth, feeling them in all parts, taking ſuch as he liketh, and putting away ſome of them which he hath kept before, & with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth ſome ſuch as hath done him the beſt ſeruice. And if hee chance to take any mans wife, her huſband is very glad thereof, and in recompenſe of her, oftentimes he giueth the huſband one of his old ſtore, whom he thankfully receiueth.

How ſtrangers are vſed.

If any ſtranger being a Chriſtian ſhall come before him, he muſt put on a new paire of ſhooes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entreth, there is digged as it were a cauſey all the way, vntil he come to the place where he ſhal talke with the king, who ſtandeth alwayes aboue in a gallerie, when he talketh with any ſtrangers: and when the ſtranger is departed, then is the cauſey caſt downe, and the ground made euen againe.

Of the religion of the Perſians.

Their religion is all one with the Turkes, ſauing that they differ who was the right ſucceſſor of Mahumet. The Turkes ſay that it was one Homer and his ſonne Vſman. But the Perſians ſay that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would prooue in this maner. They ſay there was a counſell called to decide the matter who ſhould be the ſucceſſor: and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleaſure therein, there came among them a litle Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleaſure that Mortus Ali ſhould be his ſucceſſor. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man and ſlew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a ſword that hee fought withall, with the which hee conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he ſtroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that ſhortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which he charged them to lay the body and ſword of Mortus Ali, and to ſuffer the Camel to cary it whither he would. The which being performed, the ſaid white camell caried the ſword & body of Mortus Ali vnto the ſea ſide, and the camell going a good way into the ſea, was with the body & ſword of Mortus Ali taken vp into heauen, for whoſe return they haue long looked in Perſia. And for this cauſe the king alwayes keepeth a horſe ready ſadled for him, and alſo of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but ſhe died in the yere of our Lord, 1573. And they ſay furthermore, yͭ if he come not ſhortly, they ſhall be of our beliefe: much like the Iewes, looking for their Meſſias to come & reigne among them like a worldly king for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are now in among the Chriſtians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

A goodly and well grounded religion.

The Shaugh or king of Perſia is nothing in ſtrength & power comparable vnto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turks: neither hath he any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebuſſes. Notwithſtanding his eldeſt ſonne Iſmael about 25. yeeres paſt, fought a great battell with the Turke, and ſlew of his armie about an hundreth thouſand men: who after his returne, was by his father caſt into priſon, and there continueth vntil this day: for his father the Shaugh had him in ſuſpicion that he would haue put him downe, and haue taken the regiment vnto himſelfe.

Their opinion of Chriſt.

Their opinion of Chriſt is, that he was an holy man and a great Prophet, but not like vnto Mahumet: ſaying, that Mahumet was the laſt prophet by whom all things were finiſhed, & was therefore the greateſt. To prooue that Chriſt was not Gods ſonne, they ſay that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no ſonne or children. They go on pilgrimage from the furtheſt part of Perſia vnto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they viſite alſo the ſepulchre of Chriſt at Ieruſalem, which they now call Couch Kaly.

The moſt part of ſpices which commeth into Perſia is brought from the Iſland of Ormus, ſituate in the gulfe of Perſia called Sinus Perſicus, betweene the maine land of Perſia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touch at Ormus both in their voyage to Eaſt India and homeward againe, and from thence bring all ſuch ſpices as are occupied in Perſia and the regions thereabout: for of pepper they bring very ſmall quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they ſell as good cheape as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine land of Perſia, and the Portingals fetch their freſh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Perſia.

Within Perſia they haue neither gold nor ſiluer mines, yet haue they coined money both of gold and ſiluer, and alſo other ſmall moneys of copper. There is brought into Perſia an incredible ſumme of Dutch dollars, which for the moſt part are there imploied in raw ſilke.

Their money.

They haue few bookes and leſſe learning, and are for the moſt part very brutiſh in all kind of good ſciences, ſauing in ſome kind of ſilke works, and in ſuch things as pertaine to the furniture of horſes, in the which they are paſſing good.

Their bookes and learning.

Their lawes are as in their religion, wicked and deteſtable. And if any man offend the prince, he puniſheth it extremely, not onely in the perſon that offendeth, but alſo in his children, and in as many as are of his kin. Theft and murther are often puniſhed, yet none otherwiſe then pleaſeth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

Such was the law of the Macedonians for treaſon.

There is oftentimes great mutinie among the people in great Townes which of Mortus Ali his ſonnes was greateſt: inſomuch that ſometimes in the towne two or three thouſand people are together by the eares for the ſame, as I haue ſeene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouil, and alſo in the great City of Teueris, where I haue ſeene a man comming from fighting, in a brauerie bringing in his hand foure or fiue mens heads, carying them by the haire of the head: for although they ſhaue their heads moſt commonly twiſe a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon their heads about 2. foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue the tuft of haire vpon their heads. They anſwer, that thereby they may eaſilier be caried vp into heauen when they are dead.

Diſſention for religion.

For their religion, they haue certaine prieſts who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vſe euery morning and afternoone to go vp to the tops of their churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet and Mortus Ali: and other preaching haue they none. Their Lent is after Chriſtmas, not in abſtinence from fleſh onely, but from all meats and drinks, vntill the day be off the ſkie, but then they eate ſomtimes the whole night. And although it be againſt their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great exceſſe thereof and be drunken. Their Lent beginneth at the new Moone, and they do not enter into it vntill they haue ſeene the ſame: neither yet doeth their Lent end, vntill they haue ſeen the next new Moone, although the ſame (through cloſe weather) ſhould not be ſeen in long time.

Their prieſts and preaching.
Their Lent.

They haue among them certaine holy men whom they call Setes, counted holy for that they or any of their anceſtors haue bene on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whoſoeuer goeth thither on pilgrimage to viſite the ſepulchre of Mahumet, both he and all his poſteritie are euer after called Setes, and counted for holy men, and haue no leſſe opinion of themſelues. And if a man contrary one of theſe, he will ſay that he is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeued, and that hee cannot lie, although he lie neuer ſo ſhamefully. Thus a man may be too holy, and no pride is greater then ſpirituall pride of a mind puffed vp with his owne opinion of holineſſe. Theſe Setes do vſe to ſhaue their heads all ouer, ſauing on the ſides a litle aboue the temples, the which they leaue vnſhauen, and vſe to braid the ſame as women do their haire, and to weare it as long as it will grow.

Their ſaints and holy men.

Pilgrimage.

Euery morning they vſe to worſhip God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, & in praying turne themſelues toward the South, becauſe Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in trauell on the way, many of them will (as ſoone as the Sunne riſeth) light from their horſes, turning themſelues to the South, and will lay their gownes before them, with their ſwords and beads, and ſo ſtanding vpright worſhip to the South: and many times in their prayers kneele downe and kiſſe their beads, or ſomwhat els that lieth before them.

Their praier & worſhipping of God and Mahumet.

The men or women doe neuer goe to make water, but they vſe to take with them a pot with a ſpout, and after they haue made water, they flaſh ſome water vpon their priuy parts, and thus doe the women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water, the men do cowre downe as well as the women.

Waſhing and outward clenlineſſe.

When they earneſtly affirme a matter, they will ſweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, and ſometimes by all at ones: as thus in their owne language, ſaying, Olla, Mahumet, Ali. But if he will ſweare by the Shaughs head, in ſaying Shaugham baſſhe, you may then beleeue him if you will.

Their ſwearing.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although ſometimes in a moneth or ſix weekes none of his nobilitie or counſaile can ſee him, yet goe they daily to the court, and tary there a certaine time vntill they haue knowen his pleaſure whether hee will commaund

The kings magnificence.

Purſuiuants.

them any thirg or not. Hee is watched euery night with a thouſand of his men, which are called his Curſhes, who are they that hee vſeth to ſend into the Countreis about his greateſt affaires. When he ſendeth any of them (if it be to the greateſt of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the meſſenger ſhould beat any of them to death.

The kings company with his wiues and concubines.

The Shaugh occupieth himſelfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathſtoue, and when he is diſpoſed to goe thither, he taketh with him fiue or ſixe of his concubines, more or leſſe, and one day they conſume in waſhing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greateſt part of his life hee ſpendeth amongſt his wiues and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer eſteeme their kings, if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or more: for they meaſure the fauour of God by a mans proſperitie, or his diſpleaſure by a mans miſfortune or aduerſitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reuerence, becauſe he hath reigned king ſo long time.

The ſucceſſion of ẏ kingdom.

I haue ſayd before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him liſteth: and if he chance to haue any children by any of his concubines, and be minded that any of thoſe children ſhall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whom hee ſo fauoureth, hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whom he ſo loueth beſt, he ordaineth to bee king after him.

Circumciſion.

What I heard of the maner of their mariages, for offending of honeſt conſciences and chaſte eares, I may not commit to writing: their faſting I haue declared before. They vſe circumciſion vnto children of ſeuen yeeres of age, as do the Turkes.

Their houſes and maner of eating.

Their houſes (as I haue ſaid) are for the moſt part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne: In their houſes they haue but litle furniture of houſhold ſtuffe, except it be their carpets and ſome copper worke: for all their kettles & diſhes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, ſitting on carpets croſſe legged as do Tailors. There is no man ſo ſimple but he ſitteth on a carpet better or worſe, and the whole houſe or roume wherein he ſitteth is wholy couered with carpets. Their houſes are all with flat roofes couered with earth: and in the Sommer time they lie vpon them all night.

Bondmen and bondwomen.

They haue many bond ſeruaunts both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of the beſt kind of merchandiſe that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women, they vſe to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horſes: when one hath bought a yong woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne vſe as long as him liſteth, and then ſelleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is ſometimes ſold in the ſpace of foure or fiue yeeres, twelue, or twentie times. If a man keepe a bondwoman for his owne vſe, and if hee find her to be falſe to him, and giue her body to any other, he may kill her if he will.

Women bought & ſold, and let to hire.

When a merchant or traueller commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or ſomtimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when he commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the ſame alſo: for there they vſe to put out their women to hire, as wee do here hackney horſes.

Abundance of oile iſſuing out of the ground.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of Iauat, which falleth into the Caſpian ſea, by a towne called Bachu, neere vnto which towne is a ſtrange thing to behold. For there iſſueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of oile, which oile they fetch from the vttermoſt bounds of all Perſia: it ſerueth all the countrey to burne in their houſes.

Oleum Petroleum.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte: they vſe to cary it throughout all the Countrey vpon kine & aſſes, of which you ſhall oftentimes meet with foure or fiue hundred in a company. There is alſo by the ſaid towne of Bachu another kind of oyle which is white and very precious: and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that here is called Petroleum. There is alſo not far from Shamaky, a thing like vnto tarre, and iſſueth out of the ground, whereof we haue made the proofe, that in our ſhips it ſerueth well in the ſtead of tarre.

Two ſorts of kine.

In Perſia are kine of two ſorts: the one like vnto ours in theſe partes: the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones and very leane, and but litle haire vpon them: their milke is walowiſh ſweete: they are like vnto them which are ſpoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao ſignified the ſeuen deare yeeres: for a leaner or more euill fauoured beaſt can no man ſee.

Foxes in great plenty.

In the countrey of Shiruan (ſometime called Media) if you chance to lie in the fields neere vnto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you ſhall haue about you two or three hundred foxes, which make a marueilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it ſhal ſcape them hardly but they will haue part with you.

The Caſpian ſea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except ſometimes by rages of wind it ſwelleth vp very high: the water is very ſalt. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great riuer of Volga maketh the water freſh at the leaſt twentie leagues into the ſea. The Caſpian ſea is marueilous full of fiſh, but no kind of monſtrous fiſh, as farre as I could vnderſtand, yet hath it ſundry ſortes of fiſhes which are not in theſe parts of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the ſheepe great, hauing very great rumpes with much fat vpon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The copy of a letter ſent to the Emperour of Moſcouie, by *Chriſtopher Hodſdon* and *William Burrough*, Anno 1570.

MOſt mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowſhip the company of Engliſh merchants, this laſt Winter ſent hither to the Narue three ſhips laden with merchandiſe, which was left here, and with it Chriſtopher Hodſdon one of the ſayd felowſhip, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came firſt hither, and vntill ſuch time as hee had diſpatched thoſe ſhips from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelue or thirteene ſailes of good ſhips, againſt this ſhipping, wherefore he wrote vnto the ſayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to ſend hither this ſpring the ſayd number of thirteene ſhips. And becauſe that in their comming hither wee found the Freebooters on the ſea, and ſuppoſing this yeere that they would be very ſtrong, he therefore gaue the ſaid ſir William and his Companie aduiſe to furniſh the ſayd number of ſhips ſo ſtrongly, as they ſhould bee able to withſtand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they haue according to his aduiſe ſent this yeere thirteene good ſhips together well furniſhed with men and munition, and all other neceſſaries for the warres, of which 13. ſhips William Burrough one of the ſaid felowſhip is captaine generall, vnto whom there was giuen in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatſoeuer robbers and theeues that are enimies to your highneſſe, he ſhould doe his beſt to apprehend and take them. It ſo hapned that the tenth day of this moneth the ſayd William with his fleete, met with ſixe ſhips of the Freebooters neere vnto an Iſland called Tuttee, which is about 50. verſts from Narue, vnto which Freebooters he with his fleete gaue chaſe, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but three men, the reſt were fled to ſhore in their boats amongſt the woods vpon Tuttee, on which ſhip he ſet fire and burnt her. He alſo tooke foure more of thoſe ſhips which are now here, and one ſhip eſcaped him: out of which foure ſhips ſome of the men fled in their boates and ſo eſcaped, others were ſlaine in fight, and ſome of them when they ſaw they could not eſcape, caſt themſelues willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in theſe fiue ſhips were left but 83. men.

Fiue ſhips of Freebooters taken.

The ſaid Wil. Borough when he came hither to Narue, finding here Chriſtopher Hodſdon aforenamed, both the ſaid Chriſtopher and William together, in the name of ſir William Garrard and the reſt of their whole companie and felowſhip, did preſent vnto your highneſſe of thoſe Freebooters taken by our ſhips 82. men, which we deliuered here vnto Knez Voiuoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of thoſe Freebooters we haue kept by vs, whoſe name is Haunce Snarke a captaine. And the cauſe why we haue done it is this: When wee ſhould haue deliuered him with the reſt of his felowes vnto the Voiuodaes officers, there were of our Engliſhmen more then 50. which fell on their knees vnto vs, requeſting that he might be reſerued in the ſhip, and caried back into England: and the cauſe why they ſo earneſtly intreated for him, is, that ſome of thoſe our Engliſhmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their liues ſaued, with great fauour beſides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it pleaſe your highneſſe to permit it, we will cary him home with vs into England, wherein we requeſt your maieſties fauour: notwithſtanding what you command of him ſhalbe obſerued.

Wee haue alſo ſent our ſeruant to your highneſſe with ſuch beſtellings and writings as wee found in thoſe ſhippes: whereby your Maieſtie may ſee by whom, and in what order they were ſet out, and what they pretended, which writings wee haue commended vnto Knez Yoriue your Maieſties Voiuoda at Pleſco, by our ſeruant. And haue requeſted his furtherance for the ſafe deliuerie of them to your maieſties hands: which writings when you haue peruſed, we deſire that they may be returned vnto vs by this our ſeruaunt, as ſpeedily as may bee: for theſe ſhips which we now haue here will be ſoone diſpatched from hence, for that we haue not goods to lade aboue the halfe of them. And the cauſe is, we haue this winter (by your maieſties order) bene kept from trafiquing,to the companies great loſſe. But hoping your maieſtie will hereafter haue conſideration thereof, and that we may haue free libertie to trafique in all partes of your maieſties Countries,according to the priuiledge giuen vnto vs, we pray for your maieſties health, with proſperous ſucceſſe to the pleaſure of God. From Narue the 15.of Iuly, Anno 1570.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and obedient,
Chriſtopher Hodſdon. William Borough.

A letter of *Richard Vſcombe* to M.*Henrie Lane*,touching the burning *of the Citie of Moſco by the Crimme Tartar : written in Roſe Iſland the 5. day of* Auguſt, 1571.

1571

The citie of Moſco burut by yͤ Crimme. Engliſhmen ſmothered at the burning of Moſco.

M.Glouer and M.Rowley preſerued.

Maſter Lane I haue me commended vnto you. The 27.of Iuly I arriued here with the Magdalene, and the ſame day and houre did the Swalow and Harry arriue here alſo. At our comming I found maſter Proctor here, by whom wee vnderſtand very heauie newes. The Moſco is burnt euery ſticke by the Crimme the 24. day of May laſt,and an innumerable number of people : and in the Engliſh houſe was ſmothered Thomas Southam, Tofild, Wauerley, Greenes wife and children,two children of Rafe,& more to the number of 25.perſons were ſtifeled in our Beere ſeller : and yet in the ſame ſeller was Rafe, his wife, Iohn Browne, and Iohn Clarke preſerued, which was wonderfull. And there went into that ſeller maſter Glouer and maſter Rowley alſo : but becauſe the heate was ſo great,they came foorth againe with much perill,ſo that a boy at their heeles was taken with the fire, yet they eſcaped blindfold into another ſeller,and there,as Gods will was,they were preſerued. The Emperour fled out of the field,and many of his people were caried away by the Crimme Tartar : to wit,all the yong people, the old they would not meddle with, but let them alone, and ſo with exceeding much ſpoile and infinite priſoners,they returned home againe. What with the Crimme on the one ſide,and with his crueltie on the other,he hath but few people left. Commend me to miſtreſſe Lane your wife, and to M.Locke,and to all our friends.

Yours to command, *Richard Vſcombe.*

A note of the proceeding of M. *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, Ambaſſadour *from the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, to the Emperour of* Ruſſia, *from the* time of his arriuall there, being the 26. of Iuly 1571. vntill his departure from thence the 23. of Iuly 1572.

The ſaid 26. day I arriued with the two good ſhips called the Swalow and the Harry in ſafetie, at the Baie of S.Nicholas in Ruſſia aforeſayd, and landed at Roſe Iſland, from whence immediately I ſent away my interpreter Daniel Silueſter in poſt towards the Court,being then at the Moſco, whereby his maieſtie might as well bee aduertiſed of my arriuall in his Dominions, as alſo to know his highneſſe pleaſure for my further acceſſe. And remaining at the ſayd Iſland two or three dayes, to haue conference with your Agent about your affaires, I did well perceiue by the wordes of the ſayd Agent and others your ſeruants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life: for they reported to mee that they heard ſaid at the Moſco, that the princes diſpleaſure was ſuch againſt me,that if euer I came into his countrey againe, I ſhould looſe my head,with other words of diſcouragement. Whereat I was not a litle diſmaid, not knowing whether it were beſt for me to proceed forwards,or to returne home againe with the ſhips for the ſafegard of my life. But calling to mind mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my ſelfe not to haue offended his Maieſtie any maner of wayes either in word or deed, or by making former promiſes not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falſly ſurmiſed: and being deſirous to come to the triall thereof,whereby to iuſtifie my true dealings, and to reproue my ſayd enemies as well here as there, who haue not ceaſed of late by vntrue reports to impute the cauſe of the ſayd Emperors diſpleaſure towards you to proceed of my dealings,and promiſes made to him at my laſt being with him (although by his letters to the Queenes Maieſtie, and by his owne words to me the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my ſelfe rather to put my life into his hands, & by the prouidence of God to proſecute the charge committed vnto me,then to returne home in vaine,diſcouraged with the words of ſuch, who had rather that I had taried at home,then to be ſent ouer with ſuch credite,whereby I might ſift out their euil doings,the onely cauſe of your loſſe.

Wherefore, leauing the ſaid ſhips the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from the ſeaſide, and the firſt of Auguſt arriued at Colmogro, where I remained attending the returne of my ſaid meſſenger with order from his Maieſtie.

But all the Countrey being ſore viſited by the hand of God with the plague, paſſage in euery place was ſhut vp, that none might paſſe in paine of death: My meſſenger being eight hundreth miles vpon his way, was ſtayed, and kept at a towne called Shasko, and might not bee ſuffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or ſende vnto me: by meanes whereof in the ſpace of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor know what was become of him, in which time my ſaid meſſenger found meanes to aduertiſe the Gouernour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his ſtay, as of the cauſe of his comming thither, who ſent him word that it was not poſſible to paſſe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maieſtie, who was gone to the warres againſt the Swethens, and that he would aduertiſe his highneſſe ſo ſoone as he might conueniently: And ſo my ſaid meſſenger was forced to remaine there ſtill without anſwere. During which time of his ſtay through the great death (as aforeſaid,) I found meanes to ſend another meſſenger, with a guide by an vnknowen way through wilderneſſe, a thouſand miles about, thinking that way he ſhould paſſe without let: but it prooued contrary, for likewiſe hee being paſſed a great part of his iourney, fell into the handes of a watch, and eſcaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horſes had not bene burnt, according to the lawe prouided for ſuch as would ſeeke to paſſe by indirect wayes, and many haue felt the ſmart thereof, which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither could that meſſenger returne backe vnto me.

And thus was I kept without anſwere or order from his Maieſtie, and remained at the ſaide Colmogro, vntill the 18. of January following, neither hauing a Gentleman to ſafegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey faſhion for Ambaſſadours, which argued his grieuous diſpleaſure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiuing the ſame, vſed towards mee and my company ſome diſcourteſies: but about the 28. day aforeſaid, the plague ceaſed, and the paſſages being opened, there came order from his Maieſtie that I ſhould haue poſte horſes, and bee ſuffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraſlaue neere to the Court, his Maieſtie being newly returned from the ſaid warres. And I arriued at the ſaid Peraſlaue the 3. of February, where I remained vnder the charge of a gentleman, hauing then a houſe appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but ſo ſtraitly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or ſende vnto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March folowing, I was ſent for to the Court, and being within three miles of the ſame, a poſte was ſent to the Gentleman which had charge of me, to returne backe againe with mee to the ſaid Peraſlaue, and to remaine there vntill his Maieſties further pleaſure, wherewith I was much diſmayed, and marueiled what that ſudden change ment, and the rather, becauſe it was a troubleſome time, and his Maieſtie much diſquieted through the ill ſucceſſe of his affaires, (as I did vnderſtand.) And the twentieth of the ſame, I was ſent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Maieſtie, who cauſed mee to kiſſe his hande, and gaue gratious audience vnto my Oration, gracefully receiuing and accepting the Queenes Maieſties princely letters, and her preſent, in the preſence of all his nobilitie. After I had finiſhed my Oration, too long here to rehearſe, and deliuered her highneſſe letters, and preſent (as aforeſaid) the Emperour ſitting in royall eſtate ſtood vp and ſaid, How doth Queene Elizabeth my ſiſter, is ſhe in health?: to whom I anſwered, God doth bleſſe her Maieſtie with health, and peace, and doeth wiſh the like vnto thee Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maieſtie ſitting downe againe, commaunded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and auoyde the chamber, ſauing the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counſell, and willing me to approch neere vnto him with my Interpretor, ſaid vnto me theſe words.

Anthony, the laſt time thou waſt with vs heere, wee did commit vnto thee our truſtie and ſecret Meſſage, to be declared vnto the Queenes Maieſtie herſelfe thy Miſtreſſe at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time wee appointed, with a full anſwere of the ſame from her highneſſe. And in the meane time there came vnto vs at ſeuerall times three meſſengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narue about the Merchants affaires: to whom wee ſent our meſſenger to know whether thou Anthony, were returned home in ſafetie, and when thou ſhouldeſt returne vnto vs againe: but thoſe meſſengers could tell vs nothing, and did miſcall, and abuſe with euil words, both our meſſenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderſtanding that the ſaid Goodman had letters about him, we cauſed him to be ſearched, with whom were found many letters, wherein was written much againſt our Princely eſtate, and that in our Empire were many vnlawfull things done, whereat we were much grieued, & would ſuffer none of thoſe rude meſſengers to haue acceſſe vnto vs: and ſhortly after wee were informed that one Thomas

Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambaſſadour from the Queene, and we ſent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Moſco, at which time we looked that thou ſhouldeſt haue returned vnto vs againe. And the ſaid Thomas being arriued at our ſaid Citie, wee ſent vnto him diuers times, that hee ſhould come and conferre with our Counſell, whereby we might vnderſtand the cauſe of his comming, looking for anſwere of thoſe our princely affaires committed vnto thee. But hee refuſed to come to our ſaid Counſell: wherefore, and for that our ſaide Citie was viſited with plague, the ſaide Thomas was the longer kept from our preſence. Which being ceaſed, foorthwith wee gaue him acceſſe and audience, but all his talke with vs was about Merchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the ſtay of our Princely treaſures: But firſt Princes affaires are to be eſtabliſhed, and then Merchants. After this the ſaid Thomas Randolfe was with vs at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie and vs might bee eſtabliſhed for euer, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambaſſadour and vs, and thereupon wee ſent our Ambaſſadour into England with him to ende the ſame: but our Ambaſſadour returned vnto vs againe, without finiſhing our ſaid affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the agreement betwixt vs, and your ſaid Ambaſſadour.

Thus when his Maieſtie had made a long diſcourſe, I humbly beſeeched his highneſſe to heare me graciouſly, and to giue me leaue to ſpeake without offence, and to beleeue thoſe wordes to be true which I ſhould ſpeake. Which he graunted, and theſe were my words.

Moſt noble and famous Prince, the meſſage which thy highneſſe did ſende by mee vnto the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie touching thy Princely and ſecret affaires, immediatly, and ſo ſoone as I came home, I did declare both ſecretly and truely vnto the Queenes Maieſtie her ſelfe, word for word, as thou Lord diddeſt commaund mee. Which her highneſſe did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to anſwere the ſame, the next ſhipping after, her Maieſtie did ſende vnto thee, Lord, her highneſſe Ambaſſadour Thomas Randolfe, whoſe approoued wiſedome and fidelitie was vnto her Maieſtie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to bee ſent to ſo worthy a Prince, who had Commiſſion not onely to treate with thy Maieſtie of Merchants affaires, but alſo of thoſe thy Princely and ſecret affaires committed vnto mee. And the cauſe (moſt gracious Prince) that I was not ſent againe, was, for that I was imployed in ſeruice vpon the Seas againſt the Queenes Maieſties enemies, and was not returned home at ſuch time as Maſter Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Maieſties Countrey, otherwiſe I had bene ſent. And whereas thy Maieſtie ſaith, that Thomas Randolfe would not treate with thy Counſell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commiſſion: which was: Firſt to deale with thy Maieſtie thy ſelfe, which order is commonly vſed among all Princes, when they ſend their Ambaſſadours about matters of great waight. And whereas the ſaide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the ſame time, and promiſed the ſame ſhould bee perfourmed by the Queene her Maieſtie: Whereupon (Lord) thou diddeſt ſend thy Ambaſſadour with him into England, for anſwere thereof: It may pleaſe thy Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that as the ſaide Thomas Randolfe doeth confeſſe, that in deede hee had talke with thy Highneſſe, and counſell diuers times about princely affaires: euen ſo hee denieth that euer hee did agree, conclude, or make any promiſe in any condition or order, as is alleaged, otherwiſe then it ſhould pleaſe the Queene her Maieſtie to like of at his returne home, which hee did iuſtifie to thy Highnes Ambaſſador his face in England. Wherefore, moſt mighty Prince, it doth well appeare, that either thy Ambaſſador did vntruly enforme thy Maieſtie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes highnes her Ambaſſador, for want of a good Interpretor, was not well vnderſtood: and how thankefully the Queene her Maieſtie did receiue thy highnes commendations, and letters ſent by thy Maieſties Ambaſſador, and how gratiouſly ſhee gaue him audience ſundry times, vſing him with ſuch honour in all points for thy ſake, Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer ſhewed to any Ambaſſador in our Realme, and how honourably with full anſwere in all things, her Maieſtie diſmiſſed him, when hee had finiſhed all thy princely affaires (as it ſeemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately ſent with her highnes letter vnto thee Lord, by her meſſenger Robert Beaſt, and her Maieſtie did ſuppoſe that that thy Ambaſſador would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy highnes would haue bene ſatiſfied in all things: otherwiſe ſhe would haue ſent her Maieſties Ambaſſador with him vnto thee Lord againe. But now her highnes perceiuing that thy Maieſtie is not fully ſatiſfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her highnes Ambaſſador, nor by thine owne Ambaſſador Andrea Sauin, nor yet by her Maieſties letter ſent by the ſaid Andrea: and al-

Andrew Sauin' Ambaſſadour from the Emperour.

ſo vnderſtanding thy great griefe and diſpleaſure towards ſir William Garret, and his company, merchants traffiking in thy Maieſties dominions, hath thought good to ſend mee at this preſent vnto thee Lord Emperor, and great duke, as wel with her highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as alſo to know the iuſt cauſe of thy Maieſties ſaid diſpleaſure towards the ſaid company of merchants: and hath commanded me to anſwere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her highnes doth ſuppoſe thy Maieſties indignation to proceede rather vpon the euill, and vntrue reports of thy late Ambaſſador in England, and of ſuch wicked perſons of our nation reſident here in thy highnes dominions, rebels to her Maieſtie, and their Countrey, then of any iuſt deſerts of the ſaid merchants, who neuer willingly deſerued thy highneſſe diſpleaſure, but rather fauour in all their doings and meanings. And ſince the firſt time of their traffiking in thy Maieſties dominions, which is now nineteene yeres, the ſaid merchants haue bene, and are alwayes ready and willing truely to ſerue thy highneſſe of all things meete for thy Treaſurie, in time of peace and of warre in deſpite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the Eaſt Seas were agreed to ſtoppe the ſound, and the way to the Narue, and haue brought, and do bring from time to time ſuch commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Maieſtie doeth not ſuffer to be tranſported foorth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world. And what great loſſes the ſaid ſir William Garret, with his company hath ſuſtained of late yeeres in this trade, as well by Shipwracke, as by falſe ſeruants it is manifeſtly knowen: and what ſeruice the ſaid companies Ships did vnto thy Maieſtie againſt thy enemies, two yeeres paſt in going to the Narue, when they fought with the king of Poles ſhippes Freebooters, and burnt the ſame and ſlew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the Narue, I truſt thy highneſſe doth not forget. Wherefore moſt mighty prince, the premiſes conſidered, the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie thy louing ſiſter, doeth requeſt thy highnes to reſtore the ſaid ſir William Garret with his company into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffique with thy accuſtomed goodnes and iuſtice, to be miniſtred vnto them throughout all thy Maieſties dominions, as aforetime: and that the ſame may be ſignified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, any thy highneſſe commaundement or reſtraint to the contrary notwithſtanding. And further that it will pleaſe thy Maieſtie, not to giue credite to falſe reports, and vntrue ſuggeſtions of ſuch as are enemies, and ſuch as neither would haue mutuall amitie to continue betwixt your Maieſties, nor yet entercourſe betwixt your countries. And ſuch rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy highnes dominions, ſeeking to ſowe diſſentions betwixt your Maieſties by falſe ſurmiſes, ſpending away their maſters goods riotouſly, and will not come home to giue vp their accompts, aduancing themſelues to be merchants, and able to ſerue thy highnes of all things fit for thy treaſurie, whereas indeed they be of no credite, nor able of themſelues to do thy Maieſtie any ſeruice at all: the Queenes highnes requeſt is, that it would pleaſe thy Maieſtie to commaund that ſuch perſons may be deliuered vnto me to be caried home, leaſt by their remayning here, and hauing practiſes and friendſhip with ſuch as be not thy highneſſe friendes, their euil doing might be a cauſe hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from ſir William Garret and his company, who haue true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to ſerue thy highneſſe at all times, vſing many other words to the aduancement of your credits, and the diſgracing of your enemies, and ſo I ended for that time.

Then ſayd his Maieſtie, We haue heard you, and will conſider of all things further, when wee haue read the Queene our ſiſters letters: to whom I anſwered, that I ſuppoſed his Maieſtie ſhould by thoſe letters vnderſtand her highneſſe full minde to his contentation, and what wanted in writing, I had credite to accompliſh in word. Wherewith his Maieſtie ſeemed to be wel pleaſed, and commaunded me to ſit downe. And after pawſing a while, his Maieſtie ſaid theſe words vnto me, It is now a time which we ſpend in faſting, and praying, being the weeke before Eaſter, and for that we will ſhortly depart from hence, towards our borders of Nouogrod, wee can not giue you anſwere, nor your diſpatch here, but you ſhall goe from hence, and tary vs vpon the way, where wee will ſhortly come, and then you ſhall knowe our pleaſure, and haue your diſpatch. And ſo I was diſmiſſed to my lodging, and the ſame day I had a dinner ready dreſt ſent me from his Maieſtie, with great ſtore of drinkes, of diuers ſorts, and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of March aforeſayde, the chiefe Secretary to his Maieſty, ſent vnto mee a Gentleman, to ſignifie vnto mee, that the Emperours Maieſties pleaſure was, I ſhould immediatly depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles from the aforeſaid Sloboda, and there to tary his highnes comming vnto a place called Staryts, three ſcore miles from the ſayd Otwer.

Then I ſent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretary, requeſting him to further, and ſhew his fauour vnto our ſaide merchants in their ſutes, which they ſhould haue occaſion to moue in my abſence:

ſence: who ſent me word againe, that they ſhould be wel aſſured of his friendſhip, and furtherance in all their ſutes. And forthwith poſt horſes were ſent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And ſo departing from the ſaid Sloboda, I arriued at the ſaid Otwer, the 28. of March aforeſaid, where I remained til the eight of May folowing. Then I was ſent for to come vnto his Maieſtie, to the ſaid Starycs, where I arriued the tenth of the ſame, and the twelfth of the ſame I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretary, who at our meeting ſaid vnto me theſe words.

Our Lord Emperor, and great Duke, hath not onely peruſed the Queene her highnes letters ſent by you, and thereby doeth perceiue her minde, as well touching their princely affaires, as alſo her earneſt requeſt in the merchants behalfe, but alſo hath well pondered your words. And therefore his Maieſties pleaſure is, that you let me vnderſtand what ſutes you haue to moue in the merchants behalfe, or otherwiſe, for that to morrowe you ſhall haue acceſſe againe vnto his highnes, and ſhall haue full anſwere in all things, with your diſpatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of diuers matters, I gaue him in writing certaine briefe articles of requeſts, which I had drawen out ready, as foloweth:

1 Firſt the Queenes Maieſtie her requeſt is, that it would pleaſe the Emperors highneſſe to let me know the iuſt cauſe of his great diſpleaſure fallen vpon ſir William Garrard, & his company, who neuer deſerued the ſame, to their knowledge.

2 Alſo that it would pleaſe his highnes not to giue credite vnto falſe and vntrue reports, by ſuch as ſeeke to ſowe diſſention, and breake friendſhip betwixt the Queenes highneſſe, and his Maieſtie.

3 Alſo that it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to receiue the ſaid ſir William Garrard, with his company into his fauour againe, and to reſtore them to their former priuiledges and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of al his Maieſties dominions, in as ample maner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priuiledge, and accuſtomed goodnes.

4 Alſo it would pleaſe his highnes to graunt, that the ſaid company of merchants may haue iuſtice of all his ſubiects, as well for money owing vnto them, as other their griefes and iniuries, throughout al his dominions ſuffred ſince the time of his diſpleaſure, during which time, the merchants were forced by ſeuere iuſtice to anſwer to al mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Alſo that his Maieſtie would vnderſtand, that much debts are owing to the ſaid merchants, by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and ſome executed, and the ſaid merchants know not howe to be paide, and anſwered the ſame, except his highnes pitie their caſe, and commaund ſome order to be taken therein.

6 Alſo it would pleaſe his highnes to commaund that the ſaide merchants may be payde all ſuch ſumme or ſummes of money as are owing, and due vnto them by his Maieſtie, for wares, as well Engliſh, as Shamaki, taken into his highnes treaſury by his officers in ſundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the ſaid company of merchants.

7 Alſo it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that at this preſent time there are in Perſia of Engliſh merchants, Thomas Baniſter, and Geffrey Ducker, with their company, & goods, ready to come into his Maieſties countrey of Aſtracan, and would haue come the laſt yeere, but that the ſhip, with our merchants and mariners appointed to goe for them, were ſtayed at Aſtracan by his highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the ſaid merchants. Wherefore it may now pleaſe his Maieſtie to direct his princely letters vnto his Captaines and rulers, both at Aſtracan and Cazan, not onely to ſuffer our people, as well merchants as mariners, quietly and freely to paſſe and repaſſe with their ſhippes, barkes, or other veſſels downe the riuer Volga, and ouer the Mare Caſpium, to fetch the ſayd Engliſh merchants, with their company and goods, out of the ſayd Perſia, into his Maieſties dominions, but alſo that it would pleaſe his highnes ſtreightly to command, that when the ſayd Thomas Baniſter, and Geffrey Ducker, with their charge, ſhal arriue at the ſayd Aſtracan, his Maieſties Captaine there, and in all other places vpon the riuer Volga, ſhall ſo ayde and aſſiſt the ſayd merchants, as they may be ſafely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and other their enemies.

8 Alſo it may pleaſe his highnes to vnderſtand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamaki, haue bene ill vſed by his Maieſties Cuſtomers, both at Aſtracan and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay cuſtome for their wares, although they ſolde no part thereof, but brought the ſame into his highneſſe treaſury at Sloboda: and the ſayd Cuſtomers did not only exact, and take much more cuſtome then was due by his Maieſties lawes, but alſo for want of preſent money, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted cuſtome, and doe keepe the ſame as a pawne. It may therefore pleaſe his highnes to direct his princely letters to the ſaid Cuſtomers, to ſignifie vnto them his great goodnes againe reſtored vnto the ſaid Engliſh merchants, as alſo to command them to ſend the ſaid merchants their ſaid goods ſo detained, vp to the Moſco, they

paying ſuch cuſtome for the ſame, as ſhall be by his Maieſtie appointed.

9 Alſo that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to grant, that ſir William Garrard with his companie may eſtabliſh their trade for merchandiſe at Colmogro in Dwina, and that ſuch wares as ſhal be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treaſurie might be looked vpon, and receiued by his officers there: and that his Maieſties people traffiking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the ſaide Colmogro, by meanes whereof the ſaide Engliſh merchants auoyding great troubles and charges, in tranſporting their goods ſo farre, and into ſo many places of his dominions, may ſell the ſame better cheape, to the benefite of his Maieſties ſubiects.

10 Alſo if it ſeemed good to his highnes, that the whole trade likewiſe from Perſia, Boghar, and all other thoſe Countreys beyond the Mare Caſpium, might be eſtabliſhed at Aſtracan, the ancient Marte towne in times paſt, which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Maieſty, and ſubiects, as I am well able to prooue, if it will pleaſe his highneſſe to appoint any of his counſell to talke with me therein.

11 Alſo foraſmuch as it pleaſed his Maieſtie, immediatly after the burning of the Moſco, to command that the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſhould giue in a note into his Treaſury, for their loſſes ſuſtained by the ſaid fire, which was done by William Rowly, then chiefe Agent for ſir William Garrard and his company, and the particulars in the ſame note conſumed with the ſaid fire did amount to the ſumme of 10000. rubbles and aboue: It may pleaſe his highnes of his accuſtomed goodnes and great clemencie to conſider of the ſame, and to giue the ſaid company ſo much as ſhal ſeeme good vnto his Maieſtie, towards their ſaid loſſes.

12 Alſo that it will pleaſe his highneſſe to vnderſtand that the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of Andrea Sauin his Maieſties Ambaſſadour, did not onely pardon and forgiue Thomas Glouer his great and grieuous offences towards her highneſſe committed, onely for his Maieſties ſake, but alſo commanded ſir William Garrard with his company, to deale fauourably with the ſaid Glouer in his accompts, to whom he was indebted greatly, and being their ſeruant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the ſaid ſir William Garrard with his company counted with the ſaid Glouer, and ended all things euen to his ſaide contentation, and was found to bee debter to the ſaid company 4000. rubbles and aboue, and bound himſelfe both by his ſolemne othe, and his hand-writing, to pay the ſame immediatly after his returne into Ruſſia with the ſaid Andrea Sauin, vnto Nicholas Proctor chiefe Agent there, for the ſaid company of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres paſt, ſince the ſaid agreement, and that the ſaid Nicholas hath diuers and ſundry times requeſted the ſaid money of the ſaid Thomas, yet will he not pay the ſame debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleadging that his Maieſtie oweth him a great ſumme of money, without the payment whereof he cannot be able to pay the ſaid merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In conſideration of the premiſſes, It may pleaſe his highneſſe to giue order that the ſaid Glouer may be payd, and that he may diſcharge his debt to the ſaid company of merchants, and the rather for that hee found ſuch mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maieſties ſake.

13 Alſo foraſmuch as Ralfe Rutter a rebell to the Queenes Maieſtie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to ſir William Garrard and his company, hath of long time remained here, liuing of the ſpoyles and goods of the ſaid merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his handes, riotouſly ſpending the ſame, during the time that he was their ſeruant, and would not come home when he was ſent for, and alſo for that the Queenes Maieſtie doth vnderſtand, that the ſaid Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe ſeeke by all falſe meanes to ſowe diſſention, and breake amitie betwixt their Maieſties, and to ouerthrowe the trade of the ſaid merchants: Her highnes requeſt is, that the ſaid Ralfe with his complices may be deliuered vnto me, to be caried home, and none other of her Maieſties ſubiects, not being of the ſocietie of the ſaid Sir William Garrard and his company, to be ſuffered to traffike within his highnes dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to bee ſent home: for that the ſaid merchants with great charges and loſſes, both by ſhipwracke, and riotous ſeruants, did firſt finde out this trade, and haue continued the ſame theſe 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Alſo whereas diuers maſters and artificers of our Nation are here in his Maieſties ſeruice, and do finde themſelues grieued that they cannot haue licence to depart home into their natiue Countrey at their will and pleaſure: the Queenes Maieſties requeſt is, according to her highnes writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will pleaſe his Maieſtie to permit and ſuffer ſuch artificers here reſident in the ſeruice of his highnes, to haue free libertie to depart, and go home with me, if they requeſt the ſame, but alſo all other the like, which ſhall come hereafter to ſerue his Maieſty, to haue free libertie to depart likewiſe, without any let or ſtay.

15 Alſo it may pleaſe his Maieſty to vnderſtand that during the time of my long being at

Colmogro, attending his highneſſe pleaſure for my further acceſſe, I with my company haue not onely bene ill vſed and intreated there, and likewiſe the merchants there, by one Beſſon Myſſereuy his Maieſties chiefe officer, who hath diſhonoured me, and ſmitten my people, and oweth the ſaide merchants much money, and will not pay them: but alſo the ſaide Beſſon hath ſpoken wordes of diſhonour againſt the Queenes Maieſtie. Wherefore it may pleaſe his highneſſe to ſend downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to ſearch foorth his euil behauiour towards her Maieſtie, as towards me her highneſſe Ambaſſador, and to puniſh him accordingly: and alſo that it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to ſende downe his letter of iuſtice, by vertue whereof the ſaid Beſſon may be forced to pay all ſuch money as he oweth to the ſayd merchants, without delay.

16 Alſo that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to vnderſtand, that ſir William Garrard with his company vnderſtanding of the great dearth in his Maieſties dominions, by licence of the Queens Maieſtie, (not otherwiſe permitted) hath ſent certaine ſhips laden with corne into his highneſſe Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Maieſties ſubiects, then for any gaine: yet the good wil of the ſaid merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to ſel the ſaid corne, to their great diſcouragement hereafter to ſend any more. Wherefore it may pleaſe his highneſſe, to tender the good will of the ſaid merchants, as well in ſending the ſaide corne, as in all other things, ready to ſerue his Maieſtie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwina, to ſuffer the ſaide merchants with their company, to ſell the ſaid corne by meaſure, great or ſmall at their pleaſure, without paying cuſtome.

Theſe articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretary, as aforeſayde, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforeſaid, I had warning earely in the morning, to prepare my ſelfe to be at the Court, betwixt the houres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I ſhould haue acceſſe vnto the preſence of the Prince, as well to receiue anſwere of all things, as to bee diſmiſſed to goe home. At which houres I was ſent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of preſence, where his Maieſtie did ſit apparelled moſt ſumptuouſly, with a riche Crowne vpon his head, garniſhed with many pretious ſtones, his eldeſt ſonne ſitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my duetie done, his highneſſe commanded me to approch very neere vnto him, and ſayde vnto me theſe wordes.

Anthony, the Queene our louing ſiſter her letters wee haue cauſed to be tranſlated, and doe well vnderſtand the ſame, and of all things as well therein contained, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared wee haue well conſidered, and doe perceiue that our ſecret meſſage vnto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were aduertiſed to the contrary) and nowe wee are by you fully ſatiſfied. And when wee did ſende our Ambaſſadour into England, about thoſe our great and waightie affaires, to conclude the ſame with the Queene our ſiſter, our Ambaſſadour coulde ende nothing for want of ſuch aſſurance as was requiſite in princely affaires, according to the maner of all Countreys, but was diſmiſſed vnto vs againe, with letters of ſmall effect, touching the ſame, and no Ambaſſadour ſent with him from the Queene: which cauſed vs to thinke, that our princely affaires were ſet aſide, and little regarded, wherewith wee were at that time much grieued: for the which cauſe, and for the euill behauiour of your merchants, reſident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes tranſgreſſed and broken our lawes, liuing wilfully in al their doings) we did lay our heauie diſpleaſure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commaunding that the ſame throughout all our dominions, ſhould be voyd, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our ſiſter, touching our griefes.

The cauſes of the Emperors diſpleaſnre.

And nowe her highneſſe hath ſent vnto vs againe, you her Ambaſſadour, with her louing letters, and full minde, which we doe thankefully receiue, and are thereby fully ſatiſfied. And for that our princely, and ſecret affaires were not finiſhed to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all thoſe matters, and ſet them aſide for the time, becauſe our minde is nowe otherwiſe changed, but hereafter when occaſion ſhall mooue vs to the like, wee will then talke of thoſe matters againe. And for that it hath pleaſed the Queene our louing ſiſter, to ſende vnto vs at this preſent, and doeth deſire to continue in friendſhip with vs for euer (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the ſame) wee of our goodneſſe for her highneſſe ſake, will not onely from hencefoorth put away, and forget all our diſpleaſure towardes the ſame Sir William Garrard and his company (as though they had neuer offended vs) but alſo will reſtore them to their priuiledges, and liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will ſignifie the ſame by our letters, in all Townes and Cities, where the ſaid merchants do traffique, and we will ſhewe them fauour as aforetime, if they deſerue not the contrary, and if the Queene our ſiſter had not ſent thee Anthony vnto vs at this preſent, God knoweth what we ſhould haue done to the ſaid merchants, or whether we would haue called back our indignation.

Then I humbly beſeeched his Maieſtie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the ſaid merchants, and the offendors names, to the intent I might make report thereof, vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, my miſtres, accordingly, that the ſaid offendors might receiue iuſt puniſhments for their deſerts: but he ſaid, I ſhould not know them, becauſe he had cleerely remitted al offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgiue, and after to accuſe the parties, whereby her Maieſties diſpleaſure might fall vpon them at home. Notwithſtanding I did after vnderſtand ſome part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Maieſtie proceeding in talke, ſaid: As touching the articles of requeſt, concerning the marchants affaires, which you did yeſterday deliuer vnto our Secretary, we haue not onely read the ſame our ſelfe, but alſo haue appointed our ſaid Secretary to declare vnto you our mind, and anſwere to the ſame. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence ſhortly, we will diſmiſſe you to yͤ Queene our louing ſiſter, your miſtres, with our letters, & full mind by word of mouth, touching all your requeſts, & will ſend a gentleman one of our houſhold with you to ſafeconduct you to your ſhips: and of our goodnes will giue you victuals, boates, men, and poſt horſes, ſo many as you ſhall neede. And therewith his Maieſtie ſtanding vp, and putting off his cappe, ſaid vnto me theſe words. Doe our hearty commendations vnto our louing ſiſter, Queene Elizabeth, vnto whom we wiſh long life, with happie ſucceſſe: and therewith his highnes extended his hand to me to kiſſe, and commanded his ſonne, ſitting by him, to ſend the like commendations, which he did, whoſe hand likewiſe I kiſſed. And then his Maieſtie cauſed me to ſit downe, and commaunded wine and drinkes of diuers ſorts to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke with his owne hand, and ſo after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14 of May aforeſaid, I was ſent for to come to the chief Secretary, & one other of the counſel with him, who at our meeting ſaid vnto me theſe words: We are appointed by the Emperor his maieſty, to giue you anſwere from his Highnes, touching your requeſts deliuered in writing, which his Maieſtie himſelfe hath peruſed, & anſwered as followeth.

1 To the firſt requeſt it is anſwered, that all his Maieſties griefes and diſpleaſure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, becauſe the Queenes Maieſtie did not accompliſh and ende with his ambaſſador, his ſecrete and waighty affaires, according to his expectation, and the promiſe made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and alſo of the ill behauiour of your merchants reſident here in our Countrey, as his Maieſtie did himſelfe yeſterday declare vnto you.

2 To the ſecond, his Maieſty willeth you to vnderſtand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moued to breake friendſhip with the Queenes Maieſty, without good and iuſt cauſe.

3 To the third, you are anſwered by the Emperors Maieſtie himſelfe, that his great goodnes and fauour againe vnto the merchants ſhall be reſtored, and the ſame to be knowen by his gratious letters of priuilege now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his maieſty hath commanded, that your merchants here reſident ſhall exhibite, and put in writing vnto me his Maieſties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other iniuries offred them ſince the time of his Highnes diſpleaſure, and they ſhall haue iuſtice truly miniſtred throughout all his Maieſties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his maieſty doth not know of any debts due vnto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not: the trueth whereof muſt be tried out, and thereupon anſwere to be giuen: and hereafter his maieſtie would not haue the merchants to truſt his people with too much.

6 To the ſixth, it is anſwered, that his maieſty hath commanded ſearch to be made what money is owing to the marchants, for wares receiued into his treaſury, as in the article: (the moſt of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the Moſco) and ſuch as is due, & found meete to be paid, ſhall be paid forthwith to the marchants, their factors or ſeruants, which ſhall come for the ſame. And for paiment of the reſt, his maieſties farther pleaſure ſhall be ſignified hereafter.

7 To the 7 his Maieſties anſwere is, that letters ſhall be written forthwith to his captaines of Aſtracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, vpon the riuer Volga, to whom it appertaineth, not onely to ſuffer your people, both marchants, & mariners, to paſſe with their ſhips, or barkes, from Aſtracan, ouer the Mare caſpium, to fetche Thomas Baniſter, and Geofry Ducket, with their cōpany, and goods out of Perſia, but alſo when they ſhall arriue within his Maieſties dominions, to aide and aſſiſt them, and ſee them ſafely conducted vp the riuer Volga, from danger of enemies.

8 To the eight, his maieſtie hath commanded letters to be written to the Cuſtomers, both of Aſtracan and Cazan, to make reſtitution to the Engliſh merchants of their goods ſo deteined by

them for cuſtome, & to take cuſtome for the ſame, according to his Maieſties letters of priuilege.

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maieſtie will conſider of thoſe matters, and hereafter will ſignifie his princely pleaſure therein.

11 To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treaſury, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Moſco, in their houſes there, his Maieſties pleaſure was to vnderſtande the ſame, to the intent he might know the loſſes of all ſtrangers at that preſent, but not to make reſtitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glouer, his Maieſtie was enformed by his Ambaſſador of the Queenes great mercy and clemencie towards the ſaid Thomas, for his ſake, which his Highnes receiued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the ſaid ſir William Garrard, & his company, & the ſaid Glouer, or what he doth owe vnto the ſaid merchants, his Maieſtie doth not know. And as for the money which the ſaid Thomas ſaith is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maieſties pleaſure is, that ſo much as ſhall be found due, & growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treaſurie, out of the time of his Maieſties diſpleaſure, ſhall be paid forthwith to the ſaid Thomas, and the reſt is forfeited vnto his Maieſtie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter and Benner, accompted traitors vnto his Highnes, during the time of his diſpleaſure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be deliuered vnto you, to be caried home, the anſwere was, that as his Maieſtie will not detaine any Engliſh man in his Countrey, that is willing to go home, according to the the Queens requeſt: euen ſo will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to ſatiſfie the Queenes Maieſties requeſt, is contented at this preſent to ſend the ſaid Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter ſhall be written vnto his chiefe officer at the Moſco, to ſend the ſaid Rutter away with ſpeed, that he may be with you at Vologda, by the fine of May, without faile: and touching the reſt of your requeſt in the ſaid article, his Maieſties pleaſure ſhall be ſignified in the letters of priuilege, granted to the ſaid merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Maieſtie will accompliſh all the Queenes Highnes requeſt in that behalfe, and now at this preſent doth licence ſuch and ſo many to depart to their natiue countrey as are willing to goe.

15 To the 15, touching Beſſon Meſſeriuey, the Emperors maieſtie is much offended with him, and will ſend down a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, aſwel for ſpeaking of vndecent words againſt the Queens maieſtie as you haue alleaged, as alſo againſt you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, & the ſaid Beſſon being found guilty, to be impriſoned & puniſhed by ſeuere iuſtice accordingly, and after to put in ſureties to anſwere the Emperors high diſpleaſure, or els to be brought vp like a priſoner by the ſaid gentleman to anſwere his offences before his Maieſtie. And his highnes doth requeſt that the Queenes highnes would doe the like vpon Middleton and Manlie her meſſengers ſent thither two yeres paſt, and of all others for their ill behauiour towards his maieſtie, as may appeare by letters ſent by Daniel Silueſter from his highnes, leaſt by the bad demeanor of ſuch lewd perſons, the amity and friendſhip betwixt their maieſties might be diminiſhed.

16 To the 16 and laſt article, touching the corne brought into the Emperors dominions by the merchants, his maieſtie doth greatly commend them for ſo wel doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his officers of Duina, to ſuffer the ſaid merchants to ſell their corne, by meaſure great or ſmall at their pleaſure without cuſtome.

Thus I receiued a full anſwere from his maieſtie by his chiefe Secretarie & one other of his counſel, to the 16 articles afore rehearſed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter alſo ſent by me to the Queenes maieſty. Which being done, I requeſted that the new letters of priuilege granted by his highnes vnto you might be forthwith diſpatched, to the intent I might carie the ſame with me. Alſo I requeſted that ſuch money due to you, which it had pleaſed his maieſty to command to be payd, might be deliuered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of priuilege, the Secretary anſwered me, it is not poſſible you can haue them with you, for they muſt be firſt written and ſhewed vnto the Emperor, and then three to be written of one tenour according to your requeſt, which cannot bee done with ſpeede, for that his maieſties pleaſure is, you ſhall depart this night before him, who remooueth himſelfe to morrow towards Nouogrod: but without faile the ſayd letters ſhall be diſpatched vpon the way, and ſent after you with ſpeede to Colmogro. And as touching the money which you require, it cannot be paid here becauſe we haue not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof we know not what to paie: wherfore the beſt is that you ſend one of the merchants after the Emperor to Nouogrod, & let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will paie all ſuch money as ſhall be appointed by his maieſtie to be paied after the bookes ſeene.

But foraſmuch as there was none of your ſeruants with me at that preſent (although I had earneſtly written vnto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne ſeruants, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my diſpatch, that he ſhould not faile to come himſelfe, or ſend one of your ſeruants to mee hither, to follow all ſuch ſutes as I ſhould commence in your behalfs, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requeſted the ſaid Secretarie that I might leaue Daniel my interpreter with him, aſwell for the receit of money, as for the ſpeedy diſpatch of the letters of priuiledge, but it would not be granted in any wiſe that I ſhould leaue any of mine own companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leaue with full diſpatch, and departed to my lodging, and foorthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as wel to conduct me, and prouide boates, men, poſt horſes and victuals for me all the way to the ſea ſide, being a thouſand and three hundred miles, as alſo to doe iuſtice of the ſayd Beſſone, as aforeſaid. And he ſaid vnto me, the Emperours pleaſure is, that you ſhall preſently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the ſaid Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforeſayd. And paſſing a great part of my iourney, I arriued at the citie of Vologda the laſt of the ſayd May, where I remained fiue daies as well expecting a meſſenger to bring vnto me the new letters of priuiledge, as the comming of Rutter, whom the Emperours maieſtie himſelfe commanded before my face ſhould bee ſent vnto me without faile, and I did ſee the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Moſco for the ſame. Neuertheleſſe the ſaid Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the ſudden cauſe of his ſtay contrary to the princes owne word and meaning, as I ſuppoſe. But I could not help the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redreſſe, becauſe by abſence I could not complaine. Notwithſtanding I vſed my indeuour, and ſent a meſſenger Iohn Norton one of your ſeruants from Vologda to Nouogrod, where the court then lay, expreſſely with letters, as well to aduertiſe his maieſtie that the ſayd Rutter was not ſent vnto me according to his highnes commandement & order, as alſo about the diſpatch of the ſaid letters of priuiledge and receit of your money, with ſtraight charge that he ſhould in any wiſe returne vnto me againe before the departing of the ſhips. And the firſt day of Iune I departed from the ſaid Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arriued the 21 of Iune aforeſaid, and remained there vntill the 23 of Iuly, looking for the ſaid Iohn Norton to haue returned vnto me in al that time, which had reſpite fully enough in that ſpace both to go to the court to diſpatch his buſines, and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwiſe determined before his going, as I did after vnderſtand, and can more at large by worde of mouth declare vnto your worſhips the occaſion thereof.

Neuertheleſſe, I am well aſſured before this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the ſayd letters of priuiledges, and ſhall haue diſpatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maieſties grant by me obtained, and as he hath written to the Queenes maieſtie at this preſent, wiſhing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grieuous diſpleaſure from you, and reſtored you againe into his fauour, ſo your Agent and others your ſeruants there reſident may behaue, & endeuour themſelues to keepe & augment the ſame, whoſe euill doings haue bene the onely occaſion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of ſuch countries as I *Anthony Ienkinſon* haue trauelled vnto, from the ſecond of October 1546, at which time I made my firſt voyage out of *England*, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned laſt out of *Ruſſia*.

First, I paſſed into Flanders, and trauelled through all the baſe countries, and from thence through Germanie, paſſing ouer the Alpes I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I haue throughly iournied.

I haue alſo trauelled through the kingdomes of Spaine and Portingal, I haue ſailed through the Leuant ſeas euery way, & haue bene in all the chiefe Iſlands within the ſame ſea, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and diuers others.

I haue bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth ſtoode.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers other countries in Aſia minor.

I haue paſſed ouer the mountaines of Libanus to Damaſco, and trauelled through Samaria, Galile, Philiſtine or Paleſtine, vnto Ieruſalem, and ſo through all the Holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Affrica, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the gollet within the gulfe of Tunis.

I haue ſailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where we haue had continuall day, and ſight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very ſtrange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Ruſſia and Moſcouia, which extende from the North ſea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland, euen to the Mare Caſpium.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caſpian ſea, Gentiles, and Mahomeans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremiſi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagaia, with diuers others of ſtrange cuſtomes and religions.

I haue ſailed ouer the Caſpian ſea, & diſcouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Chircaſſi, Comul, Shaſcal, Shiruan, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40 daies iourney beyond the ſaid ſea, towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, through diuers deſerts and wilderneſſes, and paſſed through 5 kingdomes of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and ſo to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers ſundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I paſſed againe ouer the Caſpian ſea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, & from thence trauelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Perſia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamaſſo, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes maieſtie, and remained in his court 8 moneths, and returning homeward, paſſed through diuers other countries. Finally I made two voyages more afer that out of England into Ruſſia, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my reſt in mine owne houſe, chiefly comforting my ſelfe, in that my ſeruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her maieſtie and the reſt by whom I haue bene imploied.

A letter of *Iames Alday* to the Worſhipfull M. *Michael Lock*, Agent in *London* for the *Moſcouie* company, touching a trade to be eſtabliſhed in *Lappia*, written 1575.

He maruelleth the company do not cōferre with him of Lappia.

1574.

5 Engliſh men wintered in Lappia.

Chriſtopher Colt a ſimple marchant.

Good trade in winter in Lappia.

Henry Cocknedge honeſt, but ignorant.

I Haue in remembrance (worſhipful Sir) the talke we had when I was with you, as touching the trade in Lappia: And certeinly I haue ſomething marueiled that in all this time the right wor. your ſocietie haue not giuen order that ſome little conference (by you, or with ſome other) might haue bin had with me touching thoſe parts, conſidering they know (as I thinke) that I remained there one whole yere & more, by which meanes reaſon would that I ſhould haue learned ſomething. But the cauſe why they haue not deſired to conferre with me (as I iudge) reſteth only in one of theſe 4 caſes, that is to ſay, either they thinke themſelues ſo throughly certified of that trade, as more neede not be ſpoken therof, or that they haue no luſt more to deale that waies, or that they hold mee ſo vntruſty to them that they dare not open their minds, for feare or doubt, I ſhould beare more affectiō to others then to them, & ſo diſcouer their ſecrets: or els they think me of ſo ſimple vnderſtanding, that I am not worthy to be ſpoken with in theſe matters. To which 4 caſes I anſwere as followeth: Firſt, if they think themſelues ſo throughly certified as more need not to be ſpoken: certeinly I ſomething maruel by whom it ſhould be: for in yͤ winter paſt there lay but 5 Engliſh perſons there, vz. Chriſtopher Colt, Roger Leche, Adam Tunſtal cooper, one lad, & I: for Henry Cocknedge was the whole winter at Moſco. And of theſe perſons, as touching Colt, I think him (if I may without offence ſpeake my conſcience) the moſt ſimple perſon that was there, (as touching the vnderſtanding of a marchant) although indeed he tooke vpon him very much to his owne harme & others I doubt, for he vſed himſelfe not like a marchant, neither ſhewed diligence like a worthy ſeruant or factor, but lay ſtil in a den al yͤ whole winter, hauing wares lying vpon his hand, which he would not imploy to any vſe; although ſundry waies there were that he might haue put his wares in ready money with gaine, & no great aduenture, which money would haue bin more acceptable to the poore Lappes & fiſhermen at the ſpring, then any kind of wares: but his fond head did as he that had the talent in the Goſpel, & yet he had counſel to the contrary which he diſdained, ſo that men perceiuing his captious head, left not only to counſell him, but alſo ſome, in as much as they might, kept him from knowledge of the trade that might be in that countrey, the winter time, which is better peraduenture then moſt men think of. Wherfore if Colt haue written or ſaid any thing touching thoſe countries, it is doubtful whether it toucheth the effect or not, conſidering he lay ſtill all the winter without trial of any matter. And for Henry Cocknedge aſſuredly ſpeaking ſo much as I do perfectly know, I muſt needs ſay, that he is a very honeſt yong man, & right carefull of his buſines, and in that reſpect worthy to be praiſed. But yet he being abſent in the winter other then by heareſay he could not learne, ſo that his inſtructions may be ſomething doubtful. And like as of the lad nothing can be learned, ſo am I ſure that Tunſtal the Cooper hath not yet bene ſpoken with, ſo that of thoſe parts certaine knowledge cannot as yet be learned, except by Roger Leche, of whom I confeſſe knowledge may be had, for indeed there is no Engliſh man liuing that hath like knowledge in thoſe countries as he hath, nor that is able to do ſo much with the people as he may: he in the winter trauailed one waies & other nere 300 miles: he of a litle made ſomthing, and learned not only the maners, conditions & cuſtoms of the people, but alſo he learned of al kind of commodities in thoſe regions how they may be bought at the moſt aduantage, that gaine may be made of them: So that I confeſſe, if he hath giuen intelligence to the right Wor. company, then haue they no neede to ſpeake with me or any other for to learne of thoſe countries (except it be to heare mine opinion) which in truth I wil alwaies open vnto them. But the effect of yͤ beneficial ſecrets of that countrey is to be inquired of him, & in mine opinion worthy to be learned, except, as in the ſecond caſe, they liſt no more to deale that waies. To which I anſwere, that if they deale not that waies, & that with ſpeede they ſeeke not to preuent others yͭ mean to deale there, although not Engliſh men, let them then not thinke long to haue any profitable trade in Ruſſia: for the greater part of that benefit wil be wiped from them, or 5 yeere to an end, as I will ſhew good reaſon, if I be demanded the queſtion. Therefore if they will maintaine the Ruſſia trade with aduantage, then ought they to looke to this in time, and ſo may they keepe the Ruſſia trade as it is, and likewiſe make a trade in Lappia more profitable then that, and therfore this is to be conſidered, rather then to prohibite Engliſhmen frō the trade of Vedagoba. For if they looke not to this, and that in time, they may be likened (if it might be without offence ſpoken) to two dogs that ſtriue for the bone whiles the third run away with it: and yet meane I not otherwiſe, but in ſuch order, as not Engliſhmen only, but alſo Hollanders, Brabanders, & others may be iuſtly and vtterly put from the trade in Lappia, and the company to keepe the whole trades to themſelues without interruption of any, to their great benefit, which I wiſh to them from the bottome of my heart, as euer I wiſhed wealth to mine own perſon: And thereby hold me excuſed in the third caſe I write of. And for the fourth as touching my iudgement, as I confeſſe it is not very deepe, ſo I thanke God I am not vtterly without vnderſtanding (although I be poore) & therfore peraduenture holden out of reputation, yet God doth diſtribute his gifts as it pleaſeth him. I haue ſeen wiſe men poore in my time, & fooliſh men rich, and ſome men haue more knowledge then they can vtter by ſpeech, which fault was once obiected againſt me by a great learned man of this realme: but ſurely how weak ſoeuer my vtterance is, my meaning is faithful and true, and I wiſh in my heart to your laudable company al the gaine that may be, or els I pray the Lord God to confound me as a falſe diſſembler. It greeueth me to ſee how of late they haue bin brought to great charges, beating the buſh, as the old terme is, & other men taking the birds: this laſt yere hauing in Lappia 2 ſhips, as I am partly informed, they both brought not much aboue 300 barrels of traine oile, yet am I ſure there was bought beſides them of the Ruſſes, Corels, & Lappes, 1183 barrels, beſides 27 barrels Colt ſold to Iacob the Hollander, at two barrels for one Northerne dozen. And yet there is a greater inconuenience ſpringing, which if it take a litle deeper roote it will be (I feare) too hard to be pulled vp, which for loue & good will (God is my witnes) I write of, wiſhing as to my deare friends that they ſhould looke to it in time, if they meane to keepe the trade of Ruſſia or Lappia. And thus loue hath compelled me to write this aduertiſement, which I wiſh to be accepted in as good part, as I with good will haue written it.

Roger Leche expert of Lappia

If the companie do not enter into the trade of Lappia, others wil preuent them.

The trade of Vedagoba.

He can ſay ſomewhat though not much.

1183 barrels of oyle bought by others. Colt ſold 27 barrels to a Hollander.

The requeſt of an honeſt merchant to a friend of his, to be aduiſed and directed in the courſe of killing the Whale, as followeth. An. 1575.

I pray you pleaſure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder ſpecified.

For the prouiſion and furniture for a ſhippe of 200 tunnes, to catch the Whale fiſh in Ruſsia, paſſing from England. How many men to furniſh the ſhip.

How many fiſhermen ſkilful to catch the Whale, & how many other officers and Coopers.

How many boats, and what faſhion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of ſuch ſkilfull men and other officers, as we ſhall neede out of Biskay.

How many harping irons, ſpeares, cordes, axes, hatchets, kniues, and other implements for the fiſhing, and what ſort and greatnes of them.

How many kettles, the greatneſſe and maner of them, and what mettall, and whether they bee ſet on triuets or on furnaces for boiling of the traine oyle, and others.

What quantitie of caſke, and what ſort of caſke, and what number of hoopes and twigges, and how much thereof to be ſtaued for the traine.

What quantitie of victuals, and what kinde of victuals for the men in all the ſhip for 4 moneths time.

For the common mariners and officers to gouerne the ſhip, we ſhall not neede any out of Biſkaie, but onely men ſkilful in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper ſkilfull to ſet vp the ſtaued caſke.

Alſo what other matters are requiſite to be knowen, and done for the ſaid voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

These requeſts were thus anſwered, which may ſerue as directions for all ſuch as ſhall intend the ſame voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the ſetting forth of a ſhip of 200. tunne, for the killing of the Whale.

There muſt be 55 men who departing for Wardhouſe in the moneth of April, muſt bee furniſhed with 4 kintals and a halfe of bread for euery man.
250 hogſheds to put the bread in.
150 hogſheds of Cidar.
6 kintals of oile.
8 kintals of bacon.
6 hogſheds of beefe.
10 quarters of ſalt.
150 pound of candles.
8 quarters of beanes and peaſe.
Salcfiſh & herring, a quantitie conuenient.
4 tunnes of wines.
Half a quarter of muſtard ſeed, and a querne.
A grindſtone.
800 empty ſhaken hogſheds.
350 bundles of hoopes, and 6 quintalines.
800 paire of heds for the hogſheds.
10 Eſtachas called roxes for harping irons.
10 pieces of Arporieras.
3 pieces of Baibens for the Iauelines ſmall.
2 tackles to turne the Whales.
A halſer of 27 fadom long to turne yͤ whales
15 great Iauelines.
18 ſmall Iauelins.
50 harping irons.
6 machicos to cut the Whale withall.
2 doozen of machetos to minch the Whale.
2 great hookes to turne the Whale.
3 paire of Can hookes.
6 hookes for ſtaues.
3 dozen of ſtaues for the harping irons.
6 pullies to turne the Whale with.
10 great baſkets.
10 lampes of iron to carie light.
5 kettles of 150 li. the piece, and 6 ladles.
1000 of nailes for the pinnaſes.
500 of nailes of Carabelie for the houſes, and the wharfe.
18 axes and hatchets to cleaue wood.
12 pieces of lines, and 6 dozen of hookes.
2 beetles of Roſemarie.
4 dozen of oares for the pinnaſes.
6 lanternes.
500 of Teſia.
Item, gunpouder & matches for harquebuſhes as ſhalbe needfull.
Item, there muſt be caried from hence 5 pinnaſes, fiue men to ſtrike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5 coopers, & a purſer or two.

A note of certaine other neceſſarie things belonging to the Whalefiſhing, receiued of maſter *W. Burrough.*

A ſufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
A dozen of great baſkets.
4 furnaces to melt the Whale in.
6 ladles of copper.
A thouſand of nailes to mend the pinnaſes.
500 great nails of ſpikes to make their houſe
3 paire of bootes great and ſtrong, for them that ſhall cut the Whale.
8 calue ſkins to make aprons or barbecans.

The depoſition of M. *William Burrough* to certaine Interrogatories miniſtred vnto him concerning the Narue, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are ſubiect, made the 23 of Iune, 1576.

These articles ſeeme to haue bene miniſtred vpon the quarel between Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moſcouie company, for his trade to the Narue without their conſent.

The firſt Interrogatorie. First, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes of the ſame townes, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of priuilege by the Emperour to our merchants, as alſo in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. reſpectiuely were (as preſently they be) of the iuriſdiction, and ſubiect to the mightie prince the Emperour of Ruſſia: and whether the ſaide Emperour of Ruſſia, by all the time aforeſaide, was chiefe lord and gouernour reſpectiuely of the ſaid places, and ſo vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the ſaid townes and places, and either of them be ſituated towards the North and Northeaſt or Northweſt, and betweene the North and the Eaſt point: and be the ſame places whereunto by force of the ſaid priuilege, it is forbidden to any other ſubiect to haue traffike, ſauing to the ſocietie aforeſaid.

The deponents anſwer.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent ſaith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the ſaid priuilege (as he iudgeth) were reputed reſpectiuely to be vnder the iuriſdiction, & ſubiect to the Emperour of Ruſſia, and ſo from the time of the ſaid grant, vnto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. reſpectiuely they were (as preſently they be) of the iuriſdiction, and ſubiect vnto the mighty prince the Emperour of Ruſſia, and the ſame Emperour of Ruſſia, by all the time aforeſaid, was chiefe gouernour reſpectiuely of the ſaid places, and ſo vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the ſaid places are ſituated from London Northwards, betweene the Eaſt and the North, and within the grant of the letters patents, and priuileges of the ſaid companie of merchants for the diſcouery of new trades, and the ſame places whereunto by force of the ſaid letters patents, it is forbidden to any other ſubiect to haue traffike ſauing to the ſocietie aforeſaid.

Notwithſtanding the Deponent ſaith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeres, or euery yeere once, hath had one of his ſubiects or more by him ſelfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places Cola, Kegor, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certain tribute or head pence, which the ſaid Lappies haue willingly giuen to winne fauour of the ſaide prince, and to liue quietly by his ſubiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their countrey, whereof Wardhouſe is the ſtrongeſt hold, & bordereth neere vnto them. Hee hath alſo hearde that in the time of peace betweene the ſaide Emperour of Ruſſia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes ſeruant vſeth to doe, and did demaund of them ſome tribute or duetie which they willingly paide: but ſince the late warres betweene the ſaide Emperour and king of Sweden, hee hath not heard of any thing that hath bene paide by them to the king of Sweden: ſuch is the ſimplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather giue tribute to all thoſe that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill willes.

But the trueth is, as this Deponent ſaith, that the ſaide mightie prince the Emperour of Ruſſia is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the ſaide countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are obſerued by them, hee takes toll and cuſtome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become Chriſtians it is after the Ruſſe law. If there happen any controuerſie betweene thoſe people, ſuch as cannot be ended amongſt themſelues, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Mosko as their higheſt Court, and there haue it ended. Betweene the place ſpecified Kegor, and the confines of Finmarke aforeſaide in Lappia, is the monaſterie Pechingo, which are monkes, and vſe the Ruſſe lawe, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwayes appointed by the cleargie in Mosko.

Pechingo abbey.

Alſo in the yeere of our Lord 1557. the ſaid Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of Iune, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great aſſembly of people at a mart there, the Ruſſes, Kerils and Lappians on the one ſide ſubiects to the ſaid mighty prince the Emperour of Ruſſia, and the Norwegians or Norſes and people of Finmarke ſubiects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fiſh for other commodities. The deputie for the Ruſſe had the chief gouernment of the ſaid Mart, and tooke toll of thoſe people yͭ were ſubiect to his maſter, and the captaine of Wardhouſe had then the gouernment of the people ſubiect to his maſter the king of Denmark. He ſaith alſo, that betweene the abbey Pechingo, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, vpon the border of the ſaid coaſt of Lappia, he hath bene vpon the ſhore at diuers places, where freſh riuers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken freſh ſalmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the ſubiects of the ſaid Emperour, and he the ſaid Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he ſaith that it hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that there is not any ſuch riuer or creek of freſh water which falleth out of the ſaid coũtrey of Lappia into the ſea, betweene the ſaid abbey Pechingo, and the bay of S. Nicholas, but they are all and euery of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiueth the rent for them.

Item,

The ſecond Interrogatorie.

Item, whether as well before, as alſo within the memorie of men, till the time of the graunt of the ſaid letters patents any of the Engliſh merchants (ſauing the merchants of the ſaid ſocietie) ſubiects of this realme of England, haue commonly exerciſed or frequented buſineſſe or trade in the ſaid villages or townes called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo, and Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the ſaid Emperour of Ruſſia.

The deponents anſwer.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent anſwereth, that the ſubiects of this realme before the graunt of the ſaid letters patents did not commonly exerciſe, neither frequent or trade to any of the ſaid places called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo or Cola, or to any of them.

Certaine reaſons to diſſwade the vſe of a trade to the *Narue* aforeſaide, by way through *Sweden.*

The merchandiſe of the Narue are groſſe wares, viz. flaxe, hempe, waxe, tallow and hides.

The traffique at that place ſtandeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Ruſſia, with the king of Sweden: for all theſe merchandiſes that are brought thither come from Pleſcoue, Nouogrod, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For tranſporting thoſe merchandiſes from Narue to Stockholm, or what other place ſhall bee thought conuenient in Sweden, it muſt be in veſſels of thoſe countries, which wilbe of ſmal force to reſiſt Freebooters, or any other that ſhall make quarel or offer violence againſt them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they muſt be diſcharged, and new laden into ſmaller veſſels, to cary the ſame by riuer or lake a part of the way, and againe to be vnladen and tranſported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinary charges for tranſporting of goods from Narue to Newles by way as aforeſaid, beſides the ſpoile by ſo often lading and vnlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the ſeas, pirats, &c. will be ſuch as when it ſhalbe ſo brought to Newles it wil be as deare to the merchants in that place as it ſhall be worth to be ſold in London, wherefore the trade that wayes cannot be profitable to our nation.

Note.

Moreouer, when the goods ſhall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtfull to bring it thence quietly without diſliking or forcible reſiſtance of the king of Denmarke, foraſmuch as he maketh quarell, and alleageth damage vnto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater aduantage may he performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Ruſſia by way of S. Nicholas, through the diſpleaſure that the Emperour may conceiue by our trade with the Sweden to Narue is alſo to be conſidered.

A remembrance of aduiſe giuen to the merchants, touching a voyage for *Cola* abouesaid. 1578.

Whereas you require my counſell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be ſet forth, I anſwere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore vſed, which is after this maner. Firſt of all we haue hired the ſhip by the great, giuing ſo much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the ſhippe, as the ſhip may be in bigneſſe: as if ſhee bee about the burden of an hundred tunnes, we pay foureſcore pound, and ſo after that rate: and thereunto we doe victual the ſhip our ſelues, and doe ſhip all our men our ſelues, ſhipping no more men, nor giuing them more wages then we ſhould doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to haue our men to fiſh with one boate, & coſting vs no more charges then it ſhould do, if our men ſhould lie & doe nothing ſauing the charges of ſalt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this laſt yere paſt our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. or 10. thouſand fiſh, which yeelded to vs in money with the oile that came of it, about 15. or 16. ſcore pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And beſides al this, our ſhip did take in ſo much oile and other commodities as we beſtowed 100. whole clothes in. But becauſe, as I doe ſuppoſe, it is not the vſe of London to take ſhips to fraight after that order before preſcribed, neither I think that the mariners wil take ſuch paines as our men will: Therefore my counſell is, if you thinke good, to freight ſome ſhip of Hul or Newcaſtle, for I am ſure that you may haue them there better cheap to freight, then here at London. Beſides al this, one may haue ſuch men as wil take paines for their merchants. And furthermore when it ſhal pleaſe God that the ſhip ſhal returne to come to diſcharge at Hull, which will be the moſt for your profit for the ſales of all ſuch like commoditie as comes from that place, as for fiſh, oyle, and Salmon chiefly, hee that will ſeeke a better market for the ſales then at Hull, he muſt ſeeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the beſt way that I can

Hull the beſt market of England for ſale of fiſh.

deuiſe, and moſt for your profite, and if you will, I will alſo ſet you downe all the commodities that are neceſſarie for ſuch a voyage, and which way alſo that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leaue off the trade of Cola which may eaſily be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would vſe the matter ſo that they ſhould either leaue off the trade, or els cary light ſhips with them home againe.

A dedicatorie Epiſtle vnto the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie,

written by Maſter *William Burrough* late Comptroller of her Highneſſe nauie, and annexed vnto his exact and notable mappe of *Ruſſia*, briefly containing (amongſt other matters) his great trauailes, obſeruations, and experiments both by ſea and land, eſpecially in thoſe Northeaſtern parts.

To the moſt high and renowmed Princeſſe ELIZABETH *by the grace of God Queene of* England, France *and* Ireland, &c.

MY minde earneſtly bent to the knowledge of nauigation and Hydrographie from my youth (moſt excellent my dread Soueraigne) hath eftſoones beene moued by diligent ſtudie to ſearch out the chiefeſt points to them belonging: and not therewith ſufficed hath alſo ſought by experience in diuers diſcoueries and other voyages and trauailes to practiſe the ſame. I was in the firſt voyage for diſcouerie of the partes of Ruſſia, which begun in anno 1553. (being then ſixteene yeeres of age) alſo in the yeere 1556. in the voyage when the coaſtes of Samoed and Noua Zembla, with the ſtraightes of Vaigatz were found out: and in the yeere 1557, when the coaſt of Lappia, and the bay of S. Nicholas were more perfectly diſcouered. Since which time, by my continuall practiſe in the voyages made yeerely to S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, or to the Narue, and to ſome other countreys alſo by Sea: as likewiſe in paſſing from S. Nicholas to Moſco, and from Moſco to Narue, and from thence backe againe to S. Nicholas by land, in the yeeres 1574. and 1575. (being then Agent in thoſe countreis for the companie of Engliſh merchants for diſcoueries of new trades) ſetting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, true obſeruations & notes of al thoſe countreys, Iſlands, coaſts of the ſea, and other things requiſite to the artes of Nauigation and Hydrographie: and with like diligence gathering exact notes and deſcriptions of the wayes, riuers, cities, townes, &c. as I paſſed by land: I finde my ſelfe ſufficiently furniſhed to giue report vnto your Maieſty, and to make deſcription of thoſe North parts of the world in forme and maner of euery leagues diſtance that I haue paſſed & ſeene in all thoſe my trauels. The places herein deſcribed, which I haue not ſeene and tried my ſelfe, I haue ſet downe by the beſt authorities that I could finde, and therein may erre with the learned Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, and the reſt: but for the maine part which is from Rochel in France hither to London, and from hence Eaſtward to Narue by ſea, and from thence to Moſco and to S. Nicholas by land: alſo from hence Northwards and Northeaſtwards by Sea to Saint Nicholas, and to the ſtraight of Vaigatz (firſt crauing humbly your highneſſe pardon) I dare boldly affirme (and that I truſt without ſuſpect of arrogancie, ſince truely I may ſay it) I haue here ſet it open to the view, with ſuch exactneſſe and trueth, and ſo placed euery thing aright in true latitude and longitude, (accompting the longitudes from the meridian of London, which I place in 21. degrees) as till this time no man hath done the like: neither is any man able by learning onely, except he trauaileth, as I haue done. For as it may be truely ſaide of nauigation and Hydrographie, that no man can be cunning in the one which wanteth conuenient knowledge in the other: and as neither of them can be had without the helpes of Aſtronomie and Coſmographie, much leſſe without theſe two grounds of all artes, Arithmetike and Geometrie: ſo none of the beſt learned in thoſe ſciences Mathematicall, without conuenient practiſe at the ſea can make iuſt proofe of the profite in them: ſo neceſſarily dependeth art and reaſon vpon practiſe and experience. Albeit there are diuers both learned and vnlearned, litle or nothing experienced, which in talke of nauigation will enter deeply and ſpeake much of and againſt errours vſed therein, when they cannot reforme them. Such alſo haue written therof, pretending ſingular great knowledge therein, and would ſo be accompted of, though in very deede not worthy the name of good and ſufficient pilots. To whom I thinke it ſhall not be amiſſe in defence of rules builded vpon reaſon, and in practiſe allowed, thus much to ſay for anſwere. It is ſo, that there are rules vſed in nauigation which are not perfectly true: among which the ſtreight lines in ſea-cardes, repreſenting the 32. points of the compaſſe or windes, are not holden to be the leaſt, but noted of ſuch talkers for principall, to condemne the occupiers thereof for ignorant: yet hath the famous and learned *Gerardus Mercator* vſed them in his vniuerſal mappe. But ſuch as condemne them for falſe, and ſpeake moſt againſt their vſe cannot giue other that ſhould ſerue for nauigation to better purpoſe and effect. Experience (one of the keyes of knowledge) hath taught mee to ſay it. Wherein with my abilitie, together with ſome part of my ſtudie, I am the rather moued (in this my plot) to make ſome triall vnto you maieſtie: for that I perceiue that ſuch attempts of newe diſcoueries (whereunto this noble Iſland is moſt aptly ſituated) are by your royall maintenance ſo willingly furthered: beſeeching your highneſſe ſo to accept of theſe my trauailes, as a pledge of my well willing to my countrey, and of my loyall ſeruice to your maieſtie, whoſe healthfull happie life and reigne God continue which is Almightie. Amen.

Your Maieſties moſt humble ſubiect
William Burrough.

The Queenes Maieſties letters to *Shaugh Thamas* the great Sophi of *Perſia*, ſent by *Arthur Edwards*, *William Turnbull*, *Matthew Tailbois*, and *Peter Gerard* appointed Agents for the Moſcouie companie, in their ſixt voyage to *Perſia*, begun in the yeere 1579.

To the moſt noble and inuincible Emperour of Perſia, *King of* Shiruan, Gilan, Groſin, Coraſſan, *and great Gouernour of the Indies.*

|| 1568 pag. 394.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the moſt noble and inuincible Emperour of Perſia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Groſin, Coraſſan, and great gouernour euen vnto the Indies, ſendeth greeting. Moſt noble and inuincible Prince, it is now || tenne yeeres ſince, or thereabouts, wherein (after the honourable ambaſſade of the noble man Anthony Ienkinſon our welbeloued ſubiect, to your moſt noble and inuincible father performed) we laboured to bring to paſſe by Thomas Banniſter and Gefferey Ducket merchants, our ſubiects, that throughout all the kingdomes ſubiect to his empire, free power might be giuen to Will. Garrard, Thomas Ofley, William Cheſter knights, Rowland Haiward, Lionel Ducket, William Allen, Thomas Banniſter, Gefferey Ducket, Lawrence Chapman Merchants, and vnto their ſocietie, to enter into his lands and countreys at al times when they would and could, there to exerciſe & vſe their trade of merchandiſe, and from thence likewiſe after exchange or ſale made of thoſe wares, which they ſhould bring with them with his like good leaue and fauour, to carie from thence thoſe things wherwith his dominions do abound & with vs be ſcant. Which our petition the moſt noble prince your father took ſo thankfully and in ſuch good part, that he not onely graunted franke and commodious leaue, as was deſired: but the ſame he would to bee vnto them moſt free and beneficiall, and to haue continuance for many yeeres and times. The benefite of the which his wonderfull liberality, our ſubiects did enioy with ſuch humanitie & freedome as there could be no greater, till the time that by reaſon of wars more and more increaſing in thoſe partes, by the which our ſubiects were to make their iourney into Perſia, they were debarred and ſhut from that voyage & traffique. The which traffique the ſaid ſocietie being eftſoones deſirous to renew to the weale and commoditie of both our dominions they haue now ſent into Perſia their factors & Agents Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, Peter Gerrard merchants, with their aſſociats, whom we beſeech your inuincible maieſty to entertaine with that fauour wherewith your father did imbrace Tho. Banniſter & Geffrey Ducket, and to enfranchiſe their whole ſocietie with that freedome, that neither they through any their miſdemeanours towards your ſubiects, may thereof ſeeme vnworthy (as we hope they will not) neither we our ſelues otherwiſe enioy them, then with the perpetuall remembrance of your good affection towards vs, and with the like fauourable inclination of our part towards you. The matter it ſelfe & tract of time ſhall ſufficiently proue the foreſaid maner of traffike vnprofitable to neither of vs. For ſo hath one God the chiefe gouernor of all things diſpoſed of our affaires on earth, that ech one ſhould need other. And as for our people & ſubiects of the Engliſh nation, in verie deed your maieſty ſhal find them made and faſhioned ſo pliant to the performance of all duties of humanity, that it can neuer repent you to haue graunted them this franke traffike, nor ſhame vs to haue obteined it for them at your hands. That therefore it may pleaſe your maieſty to yeeld vnto them this at our requeſt, moſt earneſtly we beſeech you. And we (as it wel beſeemeth a prince) if euer hereafter we may, wil ſhew our ſelfe not to bee vnmindfull of ſo great a benefit. We wiſh your maieſty wel & proſperouſly to fare. Giuen at our palace of Weſtminſter the 10. day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1579. and of our reigne the 21.

Aduertiſements and reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Perſia and Media, for the companie of Engliſh merchants for the diſcouerie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of ſundrie letters written by *Chriſtopher Burrough*, ſeruant to the ſaide companie, and ſent to his vncle Maſter *William Burrough*.

First it is to be vnderſtood, that the ſhips for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, in which the factors and merchandiſe for the Perſian voiage were tranſported, departed from Graueſend the 19. of Iune, 1579. which arriued at S. Nicholas in Ruſſia the 22. of Iuly, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandiſe were diſcharged & laden into doſhnikes, that is, barkes of the countrey, to be caried from thence vp by riuer vnto Vologda. And the 25. day of yͤ ſaid Iulie, the doſhnikes departed from Roſe Iſland by S. Nicholas vp the riuer Dwina, Peremene, that is to ſay, in poſte, by continual ſailing, rowing, ſetting with poles, or drawing of mē, which came to Colmogro the 27. day, and departed thence the 29. of Iulie vp the ſaid riuer Dwyna, and came to Vſtyoug (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9. of Auguſt, where they ſtayed but a ſmall time, prouiding ſome victuals, and ſhifting certaine of their caſſacks or barkmen, & ſo departed thence the ſame day vp the riuer Sughano, and came to Totma (which is counted ſomewhat more then halfe the way from Vſtioug) the 15. day, where they ſhifted ſome of their caſſaks, and departed thence the ſame day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19. of Auguſt, where they landed their goods, and ſtaied at that place till the 30. of the ſame. Hauing prouided at Vologda, Telegas, or wagons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the ſame by land towards Yeraſlaue the ſaid 30. of Auguſt at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the Eaſt ſide of the riuer Volga ouer againſt Yeraſlaue, with 25. Telegas laden with the ſaid goods the ſeuenth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three ſtroogs or barks prouided to tranſport the ſaide goods to Aſtracan (where they ſhould meete the ſhip that ſhould carie the ſame from thence into Perſia) came ouer from Yeraſlaue vnto the ſame ſide of the riuer Volga, and there tooke in the ſaid goods. And hauing prepared the ſaid barks ready with all neceſſary furniture they departed with them from Yeraſlaue downe the riuer of Volga on the 14 day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arriued at Niznouogrod the 17 day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they ſhewed the Emperors letters to paſſe free without paying any cuſtome, and taried there about three houres to prouide neceſſaries, and then departing, arriued at Cazan (or neere the ſame towne) on the 22. of September at fiue of the clock afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for prouiding new caſſaks in the places of ſome that there went from them) they remained till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at Tetuſhagorod, which is on the Crim ſide of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the 28. day at ten in the forenoone, where they ankered, and remained about 3. houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crims ſide (on the Weſterne ſide of Volga) the fift of October about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Aſtracan: and heere there groweth great ſtore of Licoris: the ſoile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oueak is 51. degrees 30. minutes. At this place had bene a very faire ſtone caſtle called by the name Oueak, & adioyning to the ſame was a towne called by yͤ Ruſſes, Sodom: this towne & part of the caſtle (by report of the Ruſſes) was ſwalowed into the earth by the iuſtice of God, for the wickedneſſe of the people that inhabited the ſame. There remaineth at this day to be ſeene a part of the ruines of the caſtle, and certaine tombs, wherein as it ſeemeth haue bin laid noble perſonages: for vpon a tombe ſtone might be perceiued the forme of a horſe and a man ſitting on it with a bow in his hand, and arrowes girt to his ſide: there was a piece of a ſcutchion alſo vpon one of the ſtones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof ſome part had beene conſumed with the weather, and the reſt left vnperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen alſo vpō another tombe ſtone. Nowe they departed from Oueak the ſaid fift of October at fiue of the clocke after noone, and came to Perauolok the 10. day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but paſſed alongſt by it. This worde Perauolok in the Ruſſe tongue doeth ſignifie a narrow ſtraight or necke of land betweene two waters, and it is ſo called by them, becauſe from the riuer Volga, at that place, to the riuer Don or Tanais, is counted thirty verſts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foote in one day. And ſeuen verſts beneath, vpon an Iſland called Tſaritſna the Emperour of Ruſſia hath fiftie gunners all the ſummer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Aſtracan are fiue other Carawools or watches.

Yeraſlaue.

Great ſtore of Licoris.

Perauolok.

1 The firſt is named Kameni Carawool, and is diſtant from Perauolok 120. verits.
2 The ſecond named Stupino Carowool, diſtant from the firſt 50. verſts.
3 The third called Polooy Carowool, is 120. verſts diſtant from the ſecond.
4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50. verſts diſtant from the third.
5 The fift named Ichkebre, is 30. verſt diſtant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Aſtracan is 30. verſts.

Aſtracan.

Peter Garrard.

The 16. of October they arriued at Aſtracan, with their three ſtroogs in ſafetie about nine of the clock in the morning, where they found the ſhip prouided for the Perſia voyage in good order & readineſſe. The 17. day the foure principal factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbois, and Peter Garrard, were inuited to dine with the chiefe diake or ſecretary of Aſtracan (Vaſili Pheodorouich Shelepin) who declared then vnto them the troubles that were in Media and Perſia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and did poſſeſſe the greateſt part of Media: alſo he laid before them that Winter was at hand, & if they ſhould put out with their ſhip to the ſea, they ſhould bee conſtrained to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to returne: whereupon the ſaid factors determined to ſtay there all Winter to learne further of the ſtate of thoſe countreis.

Ice at Aſtracan for foure moneths.

The 19. of Nouember the winde being Northerly, there was a great froſt, and much ice in the riuer: the next day being the 20. of Nouember the ice ſtood in the riuer, and ſo continued vntill Eaſter day.

The 22. of December departed this life Iohn Moore the gunner of the ſhip.

Anno 1580.

Thurſday the 7. of Ianuary betweene 8. and 9. of the clocke at night there appeared a croſſe proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof.

The 6. of Ianuary being Twelfe day (which they call Chreſhenia) the Ruſſes of Aſtracan brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuer Volga, & hallowed the water with great ſolemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the ſouldiers of the towne ſhot off their ſmal pieces vpon the ice, and likewiſe to gratifie the captaine of the caſtel being a Duke, whoſe name is Pheodor Michalouich Troiocouria, who ſtood hard by the ſhip, beholding them as they were on the riuer, was ſhot off all the ordinance of our ſhip being 15. pieces, viz. 2. faulcons, 2. faulconets, 4. fowlers, 4. fowlers chambers, and 3. other ſmall pieces made for the ſtroogs to ſhoote haileſtones, and afterwards the great ordinance of the caſtle was ſhot off.

On the 31. of Ianuary there happened a great eclipſe of the moone, which began about 12. of the clocke at night, and continued before ſhe was cleare an houre and a halfe by eſtimation, which ended the firſt of Febr uary about halfe an houre paſt one in the morning: ſhe was wholly darkned by the ſpace of halfe an houre.

The 26. of Februarv the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within 3. quarters of a mile of the caſtle of Aſtracan, by caſualty was ſet on fire about 10. of the clock at night, & continued burning til midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell deſtroyed. The Nagayes that inhabite that towne, are the Emperour of Ruſſia his vaſſals: It is ſuppoſed there are of them inhabiting that place of men, women, and children, the number of ſeuen thouſand. That night the Allarum was made in the caſtle and towne of Aſtracan. The captaine thereof had all his ſouldiers in very good order and readineſſe, being of them in number two thouſand gunners and caſſaks, that is to ſay, a thouſand gunners, which are accounted meere ſouldiers, and are not put to any other ſeruice then the vſe of their pieces, watch, &c. as ſouldiers which alwaies keepe the caſtle, and the caſſaks alſo vſing their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly ſet to all kind of labours.

The 7. of March 1580. the Nagayes and Crims came before Aſtracan to the number of one thouſand foure hundred horſemen, which incamped round about, but the neereſt of them were two Ruſſe verſts and a halfe off from the caſtle and town: ſome of them lay on the Crims ſide of Volga, and ſome on the Nagay ſide, but none of them came vpon the Iſland that Aſtracan ſtandeth on. It was ſaid that two of the prince of the Crims his ſonnes were amongſt them. They ſent a meſſenger on the eight day to the captain of Aſtracan, to ſignifie that they would come and viſit him: who anſwered, he was ready to receiue them: and taking a great ſhot or bullet in his hand, willed the meſſenger to tel them that they ſhould not want of that geare, ſo long as it would laſt. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to aſſault the towne or caſtle, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpoſe. The tenth day two Ruſſes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, and came into Aſtracan. The ſame day word was brought to the Duke of two Nagayes which were ſeene at Goſtine houſe, ſuppoſed to be ſpies, but were gone againe from thence before they were ſuſpected.

Aſtracan ſituate vpon an Iſlād.

ſuſpected. This Goſtine houſe is a place a litle without the towne where the Tiſiks (or Perſian merchants) do vſually remaine with their merchandize. The 11. day the ſaid Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that houſe earely in the morning, where they were taken by the Ruſſes, and brought to the captaine of the caſtle, and being examined, confeſſed that their comming was onely to ſeeke two of their bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon their bondmen were deliuered to them: which fauour the ſaid captaine cōmonly ſheweth if they be not Ruſſes, and they were ſet at libertie. The 13. day they brake vp their camps, and marched to the Northwards into the countrey of Nagay.

The 17. of April the variation of the compaſſe obſerued in Aſtracan was 13. deg. 40. min. from North to Weſt. This ſpring there came newes to Aſtracan that the queene of Perſia (the king being blind) had bene with a great army againſt the Turks that were left to poſſeſſe Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithſtanding Derbent, & the greateſt part of Media were ſtill poſſeſſed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company conſulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at Aſtracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ſhip on their purpoſed voyage to the coaſt of Media, to ſee what might be done there: where, if they could not find ſafe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coaſt of Gilan, which is a prouince nere the Caſpian ſea bordering vpon Perſia: and therupon appointed the ſaid goods to be laden aboord the ſhip, and tooke into her alſo ſome merchandize of Tiſiks or Perſian merchants.

The variation of the compas in Aſtracan was 13. deg. 40. minuts.

The 29. of April Amos Riall, and Anthony Marſh, the companies ſeruants were ſent from Aſtracan by the ſaid factors, vp the riuer Volga to Yeraſlaue, with letters of aduiſe to be ſent for England, and had order for ſtaying the goods in Ruſſia that ſhould come that yeere out of England for mainteining the trade purpoſed for Perſia, vntill further triall were made what might be done in thoſe parts.

The firſt day of May in the morning, hauing the ſhippe in readineſſe to depart, the factors inuited the duke Pheodor Micalouich Proiocoorow, and the principall ſecretary Vaſili Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefeſt about the duke to a banket aboord the ſhip, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was ſhot off all the ordinance of the ſhip, and about nine of the clocke at night the ſame day they weyed anker, and departed with their ſhip from Aſtracan, and being but litle winde, towed her with the boat about three verſts, & then ankered, hauing with them a pauos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The ſecond day at foure of the clocke in yͤ morning they weyed & plyed downe the riuer Volga toward the Caſpian ſea. The ſeuenth of May in the morning they paſſed by a tree that ſtandeth on the left hand of the riuer as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, & about three verſts further, that is to ſay, to the Southwards of the ſaid tree is a place called Vchoog, that is to ſay, the Ruſſe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certain cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fiſhermen that keepe the weare. This Vchoog is counted from Aſtracan 60. verſts: they proceeded downe the ſaid riuer without ſtaying at the Vchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with ſhoald water, and were forced to lighten their ſhip by the pauos: the 11. day they ſent backe to the Vchoog for another pauos: This day by miſchance the ſhippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pauos, whereby the company had ſuſtained great loſſes, if the chiefeſt part of their goods had not beene layde into the pauos: for notwithſtanding their pumping with 3. pumps, heauing out water with buckets, and all the beſt ſhifts they could make, the ſhippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and ſtopt. The 12. day the pauos came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lighted the ſhippe of all the goods. The 13. day in the morning there came to them a ſmall boat, ſent by the captaine of Aſtracan, to learne whether the ſhippe were at ſea cleere of the flats. The 15. day by great induſtry and trauell they got their ſhip cleare off the ſhoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to paſſe their ſhippe in three foot water or leſſe. The 16. day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Iſland of Foure Hillocks, which are counted forty verſts from Vchoog, and are the furtheſt land towards the ſea. The 17. day they bare off into the ſea, and being about twelue verſts from the Foure hillocks, riding in fiue foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pauoſes into the ſhippe, and filled their ſhippe with all things neceſſary. The 18. day in the morning about ſeuen of the clock, the pauoſes being diſcharged departed away towards Aſtracan, the winde then at Southeaſt, they road ſtill with the ſhippe, and obſeruing the eleuation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minuts. The 19. day, the wind Southeaſt, they road ſtill. The 20. day the winde at Northweſt they ſet ſaile about one of the clocke in the morning, & ſtered thence South by Weſt, & Southſouthweſt, about 3. leagues, and then ankered in 6. foot and

May.

Vchoog.

Shoald water.

Flats.

Chetera Bougori.

The Caſpian ſea.

45. degrees 20. minuts. The firſt obſeruation in the Caſpian ſea.

a halfe water, about nine of yͤ clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the eleuation of the pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minuts. The 21. hauing the winde at Northweſt, they ſet ſaile, and ſtered thence South by Weſt, and South vntill eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obſerued the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47. minuts: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare of the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the ſea about fiftie verſts. From the ſaid noonetide vntill foure of the clocke they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe: then had they fiue fathoms and a halfe and brackiſh water: from that till twelue at night they ſayled South by Eaſt halfe a league, Eaſt tenne leagues: then had they eleuen fathome, and the water ſalter. From that till the 22. day three of the clocke in the morning they ſayled three & fifty leagues, then had they ſixtene fathome water: from thence they ſayled vntil noone South and by Weſt ſeuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obſerued 43. degrees 15. minuts, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and ſhallow ground: from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms ſhallow ground. From thence till the 23. foure a clocke in the morning, they ſailed Southſouthweſt three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they ſayled South nine leagues, then the latitude obſerued was 42. degrees 20. minuts. From that till the 24. day at noone they ſayled South by Weſt ſeuenteene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obſerued was 41. degrees 32. minuts. From noone till ſeuen of the clocke at night, they ſailed Southſouthweſt foure leagues, then had they perfect ſight of high land or hilles, which were almoſt couered with ſnow, and the mids of them were Weſt from the ſhip, being then about twelue leagues from the neareſt land: they ſounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they ſailed Southweſt vntil midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25. day foure of the clock in the morning, they ſayled Weſt three leagues, being then litle winde, and neere the land, they tooke in their ſayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obſerued, was 40. degrees 54. minuts: they ſounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At four of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde Northweſt, they ſet their ſailes, & from thence till the 26. day at noone they ſailed Eaſt ſoutheaſt foure leagues. From thence they ſailed till eight of the clocke at night Southweſt three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they ſailed vntill the 27. day two of the clocke in the morning, Weſtſouthweſt eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the ſayd two til foure of the clocke they ſailed South by Weſt one league: then being day light, they ſaw the land plaine, which was not paſt three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the ſea, about fiue leagues from the ſame land, (which are called Barmake Taſh) they ſayled betweene thoſe rocks and the land, and about fiue of the clocke they paſſed by the port Bilbill, where they ſhould haue put in but could not: and bearing longſt the ſhoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildih in the countrey of Media or Sheruan, againſt which place they ankered in 9. foot water. Preſently after they were at anker, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were ſeuen or eight perſons, two Turks, the reſt Perſians, the Turkes vaſſals, which bade them welcome, and ſeemed to be glad of their arriuall, who told the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Sheruan, and how that the Turks Baſha remained in Derbent with a garriſon of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly ſpoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being deſirous to come to the ſpeech of the Baſha, ſent one of the Tiſikes (or merchants that went ouer with them from Aſtracan, paſſingers) and one of the companies ſeruants Robert Golding, with thoſe ſouldiours, to the captaine of Bachu, which place ſtandeth hard by the ſea, to certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to deſire friendſhippe to haue quiet and ſafe traffike for the ſame. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes iourney, on foote eaſily to be trauelled, which may be ſixe leagues the next way ouer land: it is a walled towne, and ſtrongly fortified. When the ſayd meſſenger came to the captaine of Bachu, the ſaid captaine gaue him very friendly intertainment, and after he vnderſtood what they were that were come in the ſhippe, and what they had brought, he ſeemed to reioyce much thereat: who gaue the ſaid Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentieth day: and promiſed that he would himſelfe come to the ſhippe the next day following: with which anſwere the ſaid Golding returned and came to the ſhippe the ſayd eight and twentieth day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentieth day in the morning the factours cauſed a tent to be ſet vp at ſhoare neare the ſhippe, againſt the comming of the ſayd captaine: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie ſouldiers, that attended on him, in ſhirts of male, and ſome of them had gauntlets of ſiluer, others of ſteele, and very faire. The factors met him at their tent, and after very friendly ſalutations paſſed betweene them, they gaue him for

Brackiſh water farre within the ſea.

43. degrees 15. minuts.

41. degrees 32. minuts.

40. degrees 54. minuts.

Bilbill.

Bachu port.

a preſent a garment of cloth of veluet, and another of ſcarlet, who accepted the ſame gratefully. After they had talked together by their interpretors, as well of the ſtate of the voyage and cauſe of their comming thither, as alſo learned of the ſayde captaine the ſtate of that countrey, the factours made requeſt vnto him, that he would helpe them to the ſpeech of the Baſha, who anſwered that their demand was reaſonable, and that he would willingly ſhew them therein what pleaſure he could, and ſayd, becauſe the way to Derbent, where the Baſha remayned, was dangerous, he would ſend thither, and certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and ſuch commodities as they would deſire to exchange or barter the ſame for he would procure the ſaid Baſha to prouide for them: and therefore willed the factors to conſult together, and certifie him what they moſt deſired, and what quantitie they would haue prouided: ſo whileſt the factors were conſulting together thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tiſike merchant that came ouer in the ſhip with them from Aſtracan, which Tiſike, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before, the factors & their company were determined to haue returned backe againe to Aſtracan, and that they were about to wey their ankers, which in deed was true, but the maiſter of the barke Thomas Hudſon of Limehouſe perſwaded them that the wind was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they deſired to goe to the Baſha, and that he would ſafely conduct them thither: he granted their requeſts willingly, deſiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they ſhould go to Bachu, and from thence proceede on their iourney to Derbent. They were vnwilling to go that night with him, becauſe their prouiſion for the way was not in readineſſe, but requeſted that they might ſtay til the morning. Thereupon the captaine ſayd it was reported vnto him, that they ment the night before to haue gone away: and if it ſhould ſo happen, he were in great danger of looſing his head: for which cauſe he requeſted to haue ſome one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factors offered himſelfe to go, who, becauſe he could not ſpeake the Ruſſe tongue, tooke with him Chriſtopher Burrough, and a Ruſſe interpretour: that night they road from the ſeaſide, to a village about ten miles off, where at ſupper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countreys were neare vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Ruſſe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we ſhould be: but when by the ſituation he perceiued we were Engliſhmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Enghilterra, is it not? anſwere was made, it was ſo: whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainety. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himſelfe, and Chriſtopher Burrough, with the Ruſſie interpretour for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gillan merchant with him at that preſent, of whom he ſeemed to make great account: him he placed next to himſelfe on the other ſide, and his gentlemen ſate round about him talking together. Their ſitting is vpon the heeles, or croſſe legged.

Thomas Hudſon of Limehouſe, maiſter of the Engliſh barke.

M. Chriſtopher Burrough.

Supper being brought in, he requeſted them to eate. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewiſe their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice ſodden thicke, and hony mingled withall: after all which, came a ſheepe roſted whole, which was brought in a tray, and ſet before the captaine: he called one of his ſeruitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying therof vpon diuers platters, ſet the ſame before the captaine: then the captaine gaue to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he caſt meat from the platters which were before him. Diuers queſtions he had with M. Garrard and Chriſtopher Burrough at ſupper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fiſh or fleſh voluntarily, or by order. Their drinke in thoſe partes is nothing but water. After ſupper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the vſe was in England to lie in the houſe or in the garden, and which he had beſt liking of: he anſwered, where it pleaſed him, but their vſe was to lie in houſes: whereupon the captaine cauſed beds to be ſent into the houſe for them, and cauſed his kinſman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himſelfe with his gentlemen and ſouldiers lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he ſent horſe for the reſt of the company which ſhould go to Derbent, ſending by them that went tenne ſheepe for the ſhippe. In that village there was a Stoue, into which the captaine went in the morning, requeſting M. Garrard to go alſo to the ſame to waſh himſelfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stoue, whileſt they were at breakfaſt, M. Turnbull, M. Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudſon the M. of the ſhippe, came thither, and when they had all broken their faſts, they went to Bachu: but Chriſtopher Burrough returned to the ſhip, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that trauell. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promiſed, being accompanied on their way for their ſafe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine ſouldiers, which had the captaine

The receiuing of the Engliſh into Derbent.

of Bachu his letters to the Baſha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their iourney to Derbent they forſooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow woods till they came almoſt to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Baſha, to certifie him of the Engliſh merchants comming, who receiuing the letters, and vnderſtanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and ſent forth to receiue them certaine ſouldiers gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, ſaluting them with great reuerence, and afterwardes road before them: then againe met them other ſouldiours, ſomewhat neerer the caſtle, which likewiſe hauing done their ſalutations road before them, and then came foorth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receiue them into the caſtle and towne. As they entred the caſtle, there was a ſhot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, & the Baſha ſent M. Turnbull a very faire horſe with furniture to mount on, eſteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and ſo they were conueyed to his preſence: who after he had talked with them, ſent for a coate of cloth of golde, and cauſed it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their eaſe, for that they were wearie of their iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when yͤ factors came againe to the preſence of the Baſha, according to his appointment, they requeſted him that he would grant them his priuilege, whereby they might traffike ſafely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleaſed his Maieſtie to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his mind thereof to the captaine of Bachu, it ſhould be deliuered him accordingly. The Baſhaes anſwere was, that he would willingly giue them his priuilege: yet for that he regarded their ſafetie, hauing come ſo farre, & knowing the ſtate of his countrey to be troubleſome, he would haue them to bring their commodity thither, & there to make ſale of it, promiſing he would prouide ſuch commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, ſo that they ſhould not be iniured by any: wherupon the factors ſent Thomas Hudſon backe for yͤ ſhip to bring her to Derbent, and the Baſha ſent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Bachu, to certifie him what was determined, which meſſage being done, the captaine of Bachu, and the Baſhaes meſſenger, accompanied with a doozen ſouldiours, went from Bachu with Thomas Hudſon, & came to the ſhip at Bildih the 11. day of Iune. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and ſeene the ſhip, they all departed preſently, but the gentleman, meſſenger from yͤ Baſha, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the ſhip till ſhe came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by diuers obſeruations is 40. degrees 25. minuts: the variation of the compaſſe 10. degrees 40. minuts from North to Weſt. After the returne of Thomas Hudſon backe to Bildih, they were conſtrayned to remaine there with the ſhippe through contrary windes vntill the 16. day of Iune foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, ſet ſaile and departed thence towards Derbent, and arriued at anker againſt Derbent Eaſt and by South from the ſayd caſtle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of Iune at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke vp their ordinance, which before they had ſtowed in hold for eaſing the ſhippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Baſha came downe to the waterſide againſt the ſhippe, and hauing the ſaid ordinance placed, and charged, it was all ſhotte off to gratifie him: and preſently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the ſhippe. The 29. day their goods were vnladen and carried to the Baſhaes garden, where he made choyce of ſuch things as he liked, taking for cuſtome of euery fiue & twenty karſies, or whatſoeuer, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factors after his choyce made, determined to ſend a part of the reſt of the goods to Bachu, for the ſpeedier making ſale thereof, for which cauſe they obtained the Baſhaes letter to the captaine of Bachu, written very fauourably in their behoofe: and thereupon was laden and ſent in a ſmall boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thouſand pound ſterling: videlicet, one hundreth pieces of karſies, ſeuen broad clothes, two barrels of cochenelio, two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of ſhaffe. There went with the ſame of the companies ſeruants William Winckle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Ruſſies, whereof one was an interpretor, beſides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the ſaid barke the 19. of Iuly, and arriued at Bildih the 25. day: their paſſage and carriage of their goods to Bachu was chargeable, although their ſales when they came thither were ſmall: they had great friendſhip ſhewed them of the captaine of Bachu, as well for the Baſhaes letter, as alſo for the factors ſakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding deſirous to vnderſtand what might be done at Shamaky, which is a daies iourney from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was ſet on by theeues, and was ſhot into the knee with an arrow, who had very hardly eſcaped with his life & goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues horſes with his caliuer, and ſhot a Turke thorow both cheeks with a dag. On the ſixt day of Auguſt the factors being aduertiſed at Derbent that their ſhip was ſo rotten & weake, that it was doubfull ſhe

The latitude of Bildih 40. deg. 25. min. The variation of the compas 10 deg. 40. min.

would not carry them backe to Aſtracan, did therupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whoſe name was Iacob, for a barke called a Buſſe, being of burden about 35. tunnes, which came that yere from Aſtracan, and was at that inſtant riding at an Iſland called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eaſtwardes of Bildih, which barke for their more ſafety, they ment to haue with them in their returne to Aſtracan, and therupon wrote vnto Wincoll and the reſt at Bachu, that they ſhould receiue the ſame Buſſe, and lade in her their goods at Bildih to be returned to Derbent, and to diſcharge their firſt boate, which was obſerued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the ſayd Buſſe at Bildih, and being ready to haue departed thence for Derbent, there aroſe a great ſtorme with the winde out of the ſea, by force whereof the cables and halſers were broken, and their veſſell put a ſhoare, and broken to pieces againſt the rockes: euery of them that were in her ſaued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheſte, wherein were dollers, and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the company, which they ſold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Buſſe, fell by the barkes ſide into the water amongſt the rockes, and ſo was loſt. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Buſſe were alſo loſt, other things that were more profitable they ſaued.

Zere Iſland.

The Engliſh ſuffer ſhipwracke.

The 18. of Auguſt, the Factors receiued from the Baſha 500. Batmans of raw ſilke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the reſt of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the Baſha according to his appointment, but that day they could not ſpeake with him, but it was deliuered them as from him, that they ſhould looke and conſider whether any thing were due vnto him or not, which grieued the Factors: and thereupon M. Turnebull anſwered, that their heads & all that they had were at the Baſhaes pleaſure: But then it was anſwered there was no ſuch matter in it: but that they ſhould caſt vp their reckonings, to ſee how it ſtood betweene them. The 20. day they caſt vp their reckonings. The 21. they went to haue ſpoken with the Baſha, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Buſſe that came from Aſtracan, that Arthur Edwards (whom the Factors left at Aſtracan with the moitie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the   of

Arthur Edwards dieth at Aſtracan.

The 23. day the Factors receiued more from the Baſha 500. Batmans of ſilke. The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamaky was ſet on by theeues (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

September.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Caſtle of Derbent, where the Armenian Chriſtians do vſually bury their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to Derbent, that the Buſſe which they had bought of Iacob the Armenian as before, was caſt away at Bildih, but they receiued no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the ſhip 40. bales of ſilke: From the 26. till the 2. of October, they tooke into the ſhip, bread, water, and other neceſſary prouiſion for their ſea ſtore: the ſaid 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the ſuddaine to auoide their houſe, and get them with their prouiſion out of the towne: Whereupon they were conſtrained to remoue and carry their things to the ſea ſide againſt the ſhip, and remained there all the night. The cauſe of this ſudden auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the Baſha had receiued newes of a ſupplie with treaſure that the Turke had ſent, which was then neare at hand comming toward him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the ſhoare aboord the ſhip: and that day the Factors went to the Baſha to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended thoſe the Companies ſeruants, &c. which they had ſent to Bachu, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the Countrey: who cauſed their names to be written, and promiſed they ſhould want nothing, nor be iniuried of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboord purpoſing preſently to haue ſet ſaile and departed towards Aſtracan, the winde ſeruing well for that purpoſe at South Southeaſt: And as they were readie to ſet ſaile, there came againſt the ſhip a man, who weued: whereupon the boate was ſent a ſhoare to him, who was an Armenian ſent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the ſaid Wincoll had written briefly, the miſhap of the loſſe of the Buſſe, and that they were comming from Bildih towardes Derbent, they, and ſuch things as they ſaued with a ſmall boate, forced to put a ſhoare in a place by the ſea ſide called the Armenian village: Whereupon the Factors cauſed the ſhippe to ſtay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ſhip, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to ſaile with the ſhippe, with the next wind that would ſerue them, againſt the place where they were, & take them in, if they could: which ſtay and

The Armenian village.

loſſe of thoſe Southerly windes, was a cauſe of great troubles, that they afterwardes ſuſtained through yce, &c. entring the Volga as ſhalbe declared.

The 4. day the winde South Southeaſt, the ſhippe rode ſtill: This day Chriſtopher Burrow was ſent to ſhore to Derbent to prouide ſome neceſſaries for the voyage, & with him a Tiſike or two, which ſhould goe in the ſhippe paſſengers to Aſtracan. And being on ſhoare he ſaw there the comming in of the Turkes treaſure, being accompanied with 200. ſouldiers, and one hundreth pioners, beſides Captaines and Gentlemen: the Baſha with his Captaines and ſouldiers very gallantly apparelled and furniſhed went out from Derbent about three or foure miles, to meete the ſaid treaſure, and receiued the ſame with great ioy and triumph. Treaſure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before the ſouldiers were readie to breake into the Court againſt the Baſha for their pay: there was a great mutinie amongſt them, becauſe hee had long differred and not payed them their due. The treaſure came in ſeuen wagons, and with it were brought tenne pieces of braſſe.

The Turke his treaſure ſent to Derbent.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to be bought of any value, but raw ſilke, neither was that to be had but at the Baſhaes hands: who ſhortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, ſo it was not extreme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefeſt part, for which he gaue but a ſmall price in reſpect of the value it was there worth, and becauſe he had prouided ſuch quantitie of commoditie for them, which otherwiſe they could not haue had, the Countrey being ſo troubleſome, and trauaile by land ſo dangerous, he vſed them at his pleaſure.

The newes that was reported vnto them at Aſtracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes & Perſians differed litle from the truth: For the Turkes armie with aide of the Crims, (being in number by yͤ information of two Spaniards that ſerued in thoſe wars, about 200000) inuaded and conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke vnderſtood of the conqueſt, he appointed Oſman Baſha (the ſaid Baſha, and now Captaine of Derbent) gouernour of the whole Countrey, who ſettled himſelfe in Shamaky the chiefe Citie of Media, and principall place of traffike, vnto whom was ſent from the great Turke, in ſignification of the gratefull acceptation of his ſeruice and the great conqueſt, a ſword of great value.

Oſman Baſha.

After the ſaid Baſha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garriſons where he thought conuenient, the armie was diſſolued and ſent backe: When the Perſians vnderſtood that the Turkes armie was diſſolued and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and ouerranne the ſame with fire and ſword, deſtroying whatſoeuer they found, as well people, cattell, as whatſoeuer els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had ſo ouerrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamaky, where the ſaid Baſha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was ſettled, and beſieged it: whereupon the Baſha ſeeing hee could not long indure to withſtande them, fled thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Derbent is a ſtrong Caſtle which was built by Alexander the great, the ſituation whereof is ſuch, that the Perſians being without Ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamaky, the Perſians entred the ſame and ſpoyled it, leauing therein neither liuing creature nor any commoditie, and ſo returned backe into Perſia, and ſetled themſelues about Teueris, where there grewe ſome queſtion among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Perſians hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themſelues together in a great armie and encountring the ſaid Turkes, ſet vpon them on the ſudden, and vanquiſhed them, putting them all to the ſword. This ouerthrow of the Turkes grieued the Baſha of Derbent, and made him to haue the more care for his owne ſafetie. Moreouer, newes was brought vnto him that the Kiſel Baſhaes, (that is to ſay the nobles and Gentlemen of Perſia) were minded to ſet vpon him, and that neere vnto Bachu there lay an army readie to beſiege it. Whereupon the Baſha oftentimes would ride about the Caſtle of Derbent viewing the ſame, and the ſprings that did come to it, and where he ſaw any cauſe of reformation, it was amended.

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg. 52. min.

The variation of the Compaſſe.

The latitude of Derbent (by diuers obſeruations exactly there made) is 41. deg. 52. min. The variation of the Compaſſe at that place about 11. degrees from North to Weſt. From Derbent to Bildih by land 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by land, 45. leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles. From Bachu to Bildih fiue or ſixe leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Caſtle Derbent Eaſtwards, there reach two ſtone wals to the border of the Caſpian ſea, which is diſtant one Engliſh mile. Thoſe wals are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the ſpace betweene them is 160. Geometricall paces, that is 800 foot. There are yet to be perceiued of the ruine of thoſe wals, which do now extend into the ſea about halfe a mile: alſo from the caſtle Weſtward into the land, they did perceiue the ruines of a ſtone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did paſſe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the caſtle Derbent was made.

The 5 of October about noone the winde Northnortheaſt they wayed ancre, and ſet ſaile from Derbent, being alongſt the coaſt to the Southwards to ſeeke their men: but as they had ſailed about foure leagues the winde ſcanted Eaſterly, ſo that they were forced to ancre in three fathom water.

The 6 day they wayed ancre, and bare further off into the ſea, where they ancred in ſeuen fathom water, the ſhip being very leake, and ſo rotten abaft the maine maſt, that a man with his nailes might ſcrape thorow her ſide.

The 7 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they ſet ſaile, the winde Southweſt. They conſidered the time of the yere was far ſpent, the ſhip weake, leake and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leaue them behinde, bent themſelues directly towards Aſtracan: and ſailing Northnortheaſt vntill midnight about 16 leagues, the winde then came to the Northnorthweſt, and blew much, a very ſtorme, which cauſed them to take in all their ſailes, ſauing the fore corſe, with which they were forced to ſteere before the ſea, South by Weſt, and Southſouthweſt. And on the 8 day about two of the clocke in the morning their great boat ſunke at the ſhips ſterne, which they were forced to cut from the ſhip to their great griefe and diſcomfort: for in her they hoped to ſaue their liues if the ſhip ſhould haue miſcaried. About 10 of the clocke before noone they had ſight of the land about 5 leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longſt the coaſt to the Southeaſtwards vnto Nezauoo, where they came at ancre in three fathoms, and blacke oze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad, as alſo that the winde was ſhifted to the Northweſt, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the reſt of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18 verſts to the Weſtwards of Nezauoo, the place whereagainſt they rode at ancre, ſaw the ſhip as ſhe paſſed by that place, and ſent a man in the night following alongſt the coaſt after her, who came againſt the ſhip where ſhe rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree made ſignes, which was perceiued by them in the ſhippe, whereupon they hoiſed out their ſkiffe, and ſent her aſhore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with ſuch goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might with the ſame goods be taken into the ſhips. The 9 day it was litle winde, they wayed and bare a little further off into the ſea towards the ſaid village, and ancred. The 10 day they ſent their ſkiffe to the Armenian village to fetch thoſe men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde ſerued, that they could not returne to fetch the ſhip, they of the ſhip promiſed to come for them, againſt the ſaid village. This day it was calme.

Nezauoo.

The 11 day the winde Northweſt they rode ſtill. The 12 day the winde Southeaſt they wayed ancre, & bare againſt & nere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the ſkiffe came aboord and tolde them that our people at ſhore were like to be ſpoiled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the ſkiffe ſent backe againe to charge them at any hand they ſhould haſten aboord the ſhip whatſoeuer it coſt them. Whereupon, all the company came aboord the ſame day ſauing Richard Relfe and two Ruſſes, but aſſoone as the ſkiffe was returned aboord the ſhip, the winde blew at Southeaſt, and the ſea was growen, ſo as they were forced to take in their ſkiffe into the ſhip, and rode ſtil till the 13 day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the ſkiffe was hoiſed out of the ſhip, and ſent to ſhore to fetch the ſaid Relfe and the two Ruſſes, which were ready at the ſhore ſide, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captiues at the Goletta in Barbary, which ſerued the Turke as ſouldiers. Thoſe Spaniards (of Chriſtian charity) they brought alſo aboord the ſhip to redeeme them from their captiuity, which were brought ouer into England, and ſet free and at liberty here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at Northnortheaſt, faire weather. The 14 day they ſent the ſkiffe to ſhore, and filled freſh water. The 15 day they rode ſtill, being litle winde and fog. The 16 day the winde Eaſtſoutheaſt, they wayed ancre and ſet ſaile, bearing Northwards towards Aſtracan, and the ſame night they ancred in ten fathoms water, about fiue miles from the ſhore of the Shalkaules countrey, which place is eight leagues Northnorthweſt from Derbent. The 17 day the winde at North very ſtormy, they rode ſtill all that day and night. The 18 the winde all Southeaſt about one of the clocke afternoone, they wayed ancre, and ſailed thence till foure of the clocke Northnortheaſt ſixe leagues, then they might ſee the land Northweſt about tenne leagues from the winde Southeaſt: from thence they ſailed til midnight Northnortheaſt twelue leagues. From thence till the 19 day ſeuen a clocke in the morning they ſailed Northnortheaſt

Two Spaniards deliuered by our Engliſh men.

eight leagues: the winde then Eaſtſoutheaſt, a faire gale, they ſounded and had 17 fathoms, and ſand, being (as the Maſter iudged) about the head of Shetly: from thence till 12 of the clocke at noone they ſailed North 5 leagues, the winde then at Eaſt a faire gale, they ſounded and had 5 fathoms. From thence till 8 of the clocke at night, they ſailed North 7 leagues, the winde then at Northeaſt with ſmall raine, they tooke in their ſailes, and ancred in 3 fathoms water and ſoft oze, where they rode ſtill all night, and the 20 day and night the winde Northeaſt, as before with ſmall raine.

The 21 day the winde Northweſt, they likewiſe rode ſtill. The 22 day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, they waped ancre, the winde Weſtnorthweſt, and ſailed from thence till ſixe of the clocke at night North 4 leagues, then they ancred in 2 fathoms and a halfe ſoft oze, the winde at Weſt a ſmall breath.

The 23 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they waped ancre, and ſet ſaile, being litle winde Eaſterly, and ſailed till 2 of the clocke after noone Northweſt in with the ſhore about ſixe leagues, and then ancred in 6 foot water, hauing perfect ſight of the low land (ſand hilles) being about 3 miles from the nereſt land. This place of the land that they were againſt, they perceiued to be to the Weſtwards of the 4 Iſlands (called in the Ruſſe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they found it afterwards by due proofe, to be about 50 verſts, or 30 Engliſh miles to the Southweſt, or Southweſt by South, from the ſayd Chetera Bougori.

The 24 day the winde at Eaſt, and by South, a Sea winde called Gillauar, cauſed them to ride ſtill. The 25 day they thought good to ſend in their ſkiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Ruſſes, to row him alongſt Northwards by the ſhore, to ſeeke the foure Iſlands, and ſo to paſſe vnto the Vchooge, and there to land the ſayd Robert Golding to proceed to Aſtracan, to deliuer Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to prouide Pauoſes to meet the ſhippe at the ſayd Iſlands, and the ſkiffe with the Ruſſes were appointed to returne from the Vchooge with victuals to the ſhippe, which ſkiffe departed from the ſhippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28, and 29 dayes, the windes Eaſterly and Northeaſt, they rode ſtill with their ſhip. The 30 day the winde Southeaſt, they waped, and ſet ſaile to the Northeaſtwards: but the ſhip fell ſo on the ſide to the ſhorewards, that they were forced eftſoones to take in their ſaile, and ancre againe, from whence they neuer remoued her. That day they ſhared their bread: but in their want God ſent them two couies of partridges, that came from the ſhore, and lighted in and about their ſhips, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay ſicke, of whoſe life was ſmall hope, recouered his health.

A ſtrange accident of prouiſion for their reliefe.

Nouember.

The 4 of Nouember the ſkiffe returned to the ſhip with ſome victuals, and certified that the foure Iſlands were about 60 verſts from them to the Northeaſtwards. When Robert Golding came to Aſtracan, and deliuered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, captaine of that place, was done to vnderſtand of the ſhips arriuall, & of the ſtate they were in, and their requeſt for Pauoſes, who was very glad to heare of their ſafe returne, and appointed to be ſent with all ſpeed two Pauoſes and a Stroog, with gunners to gard and to defend them. With the which Stroog and Pauoſes, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4 Iſlands aforeſayd, where he ſtayed with thoſe barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5 day they purpoſed to ſend from the ſhip their ſkiffe with the carpenter, and 4 Ruſſes to row him to the 4 Bougories, to requeſt Amos Riall to come from thence with the Pauoſes to the ſhippe with all poſſible ſpeed. The ſkiffe with thoſe men departed from the ſhip in the morning, and within one houre they met with a ſmall boat with Ruſſes, rowing towards the ſhip, which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde ſwine and other victuals to ſell: with the ſame boat the ſkiffe returned backe to the ſhip after the Ruſſes had receiued and were ſatiſfied for the victuals they brought: the ſame day they returned with their boat backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the ſame boat was ſent the Carpenter of the ſhippe to the Chetera Bougori, which were in their way, to declare vnto Amos Riall the meſſage before appointed him. From the 5 vntill the 9 day the ſhip rode ſtill with contrary winds Eaſterly. The ſame 9 day came to the ſhippe certaine Ruſſes in a ſmall boat, which brought with them ſome victuals ſent by Amos Riall, and declared that he with the Pauoſes and Stroog had remained at the Chetera Bougori fiue dayes, expecting the comming thither of the ſhip. The 10 day being doubtfull of the Pauoſes comming, they ſent Thomas Hudſon Maſter of the ſhip in the ſkiffe (and with her went the foreſayd ſkiffe boat) towards the Chetera Bougori to the Pauoſes to bring word whether they would come to the ſhip or not, the wind then at Northeaſt with fogge. The 11 day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ſhip rode ſtill. The 12 day Amos Riall, Chriſtopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ſhip, and with them the M. Thomas Hudſon returned; but the Stroog with the gunners remained at the Chetera Bougori; and from thence (when it began to freeſe) returned to Aſtracan. Amos Riall declared that he ſent the carpenter backe from the Chetera Boogori in a ſmall boat on the 10 day, and marueiled that he was not come to the ſhippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) miſſed the ſhippe, and ouerſhot her, and afterwards returning backe, he found the ſhip at ancre, and nothing in her but the Ruſſes that were left to keepe her, and then he departed thence, and went to the Vchooge, and there ſtayed. Preſently vpon the comming of the Pauoſes to the ſhip they vſed as much ſpeed as might be, to get the goods out of the ſhippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in alſo of the ſhippes ordinance, furniture and prouiſion, as much as they could.

The 13 day in the morning Amos Riall was ſent away in a ſmall boat towards Aſtracan, to prouide victuals and cariages to relieue and helpe them, who could paſſe no further then the foure Iſlands, but was there ouertaken with yce, and forced to leaue his boat, and from thence paſſed poſte to Aſtracan, finding at the Vchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremity of the colde. The ſame day they departed alſo in thoſe lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leauing the ſhip at ancre, and in her two Ruſſes, which with three more that went in the Pauoſes, to prouide victuals for themſelues and the reſt, & therewith promiſed to returne backe to the ſhip with all ſpeed, had offered to vndertake for twenty rubbles in money to cary the ſhip into ſome harborow, where ſhe might ſafely winter, or els to keepe her where ſhe rode all winter, which was promiſed to be giuen them if they did it: and the ſame day when with thoſe lighters they had gotten ſight of the foure Iſlands being about eight verſts Southweſt from them, the winde then at Northeaſt, did freeſe the ſea ſo as they could not row, guide, ſtirre or remoue the ſaid lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them. And ſo they continued driuing with the yce, Southeaſt into the ſea by the ſpace of forty houres, and then being the ſixteenth day the yce ſtood. Whiles they droue with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and ſea did breake, pieces of it were toſſed and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the ſame happened at ſometimes ſo neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it would haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter deſtruction: but God who had preſerued them from many perils before, did alſo ſaue and deliuer them then.

Ice the 13 of Nouember in the mouth of the riuer of Volga.

The 16 day.

Within three or foure dayes after the firſt ſtanding of the yce, when it was firme and ſtrong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourty and eight bales or packes of raw ſilke, &c. layde it on the yce, and couered the ſame with ſuch prouiſions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the yce, and to go to the ſhore: and thereupon brake vp their Cheſts and Corobias, wherewith, and with ſuch other things as they could get, they made ſleddes for euery of them to draw vpon the yce, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and ſuch victuals as they had, and ſuch other things as they might conueniently cary, and ſo they departed from the ſayd goods and Pauoſes very earely about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauailing on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the ſame day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had ſight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillocks of Iſlands ſo called) vnto the ſame they directed themſelues, and there remained that night.

Trauaile vpon the yce.

Chetera Babbas.

The goods and Pauoſes which they left on the yce they iudged to be from thoſe Chetera Babbas about 20 verſts.

And the next morning departed thence Eaſtwards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Iſlands before ſpoken of) before noone (the diſtance betweene thoſe places is about 15 verſts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Aſtracan: the next morning very early they loſt their way through the perſwaſion of the Ruſſes which were with them, taking too much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of M. Hudſon) whereby wandering vpon the yce foure or fiue dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had bene trauailed, which croſt backwards towards the ſea: that way they tooke, and following the ſame, within two dayes trauaile it brought them to a place called the Craſnoyare (that is to ſay in the Engliſh tongue) Red cliffe, which diuers of the company knew.

There they remained that night, hauing nothing to eat but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde with the two Ruſſes that were left in the ſhip to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforeſaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Aſtracan, about fiue miles before they came to the ſayd Craſnoyare, who certified them that the ſhip was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard ſcaping with their liues.

The Engliſh ſhip cut in pieces with yce.

In the morning they departed early from Craſnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about 9 of the clocke before noone, being within 10 verſts of the Vchooge, they met Amos Riall, with the carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and alſo 65 horſes with ſo many Caſſacks to guide them, and 50 gunners for gard, which brought prouiſion of victuals, &c. and were ſent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Aſtracan. The meeting of that company was much ioy vnto them.

The Factors ſent backe with Amos Riall and the ſayd company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudſon the Maſter, Tobias Paris his Mate, and ſo they the ſayd Factors and their company marched on to the Vchooge, where they refreſhed themſelues that day, and the night following. And

December. from thence proceeded on towards Aſtracan, where they arriued the laſt day of Nouember. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors trauailed the ſame day vntill they came within 10 verſts of the Chetera Babbas, where they reſted that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babas, where they ſtayed all night; but preſently departed thence Thomas Hudſon with the Carpenter and gunner to ſeeke where the goods lay: who found the ſame, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared vnto them in what ſort they had found the ſayd goods.

The 3 day early in the morning they departed all from the 4 Babbas towards the ſaid goods, and the ſame day did lade all the goods they could find vpon the ſaid ſleds, and with all conuenient ſpeed returned backe towards Aſtracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they reſted the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were aſſaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars horſemen, which came ſhowting and hallowing with a great noiſe, but our people were ſo inuironed with the ſleds, that they durſt not enter vpon them, but ranne by, and ſhot their arrowes amongſt them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Ruſſe, and ſo departed preſently. Yet when it was day, they ſhewed themſelues a good diſtance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not aſſault them any more. The ſame

Their returne to Aſtracan. day our men with thoſe cariages, departed from thence towards Aſtracan, where they arriued in ſafety the 4 of December, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue eſcaped ſo many hard euents, troubles and miſeries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cauſe therefore to praiſe the Almighty, who had ſo mercifully preſerued and deliuered them. They remained the Winter at Aſtracan, where they found great fauour and friendſhip of the duke, captaine, and other chiefe officers of that place: but that Winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

The breaking vp of the yce. In the ſpring of the yeere 1581, about the mids of March, the yce was broken vp, and cleare gone before Aſtracan, and the ninth of Aprill, hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media, laden into a Stroog, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthew Taileboyes, Giles Crow, Chriſtopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouſe gunner, Randolfe Foxe,

Morgan Hubblethorne dier ſent into Perſia. Tho. Hudſon, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the dier, Rich. the ſurgean, Rob. Golding, Ioh. Smith, Edw. Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, hauing alſo 40 Ruſſes, whereof 36 were Caſſacks to row, the reſt merchants paſſengers, departed from Aſtracan with the ſayd Stroog and goods vp the Volga towards Yeraſlaue. They left behinde them at Aſtracan, with the Engliſh goods & merchandiſe there remaining, Amos Riall, W. Wincoll, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to ſell & barter the ſame, or ſo much thereof as they could to the Tiſiks, if there came any thither that ſpring, and to others as they might, & the reſt with ſuch as they ſhould take in exchange to returne vp to Yeraſlaue that Summer, when the Emperors carriage ſhould paſſe vp the Volga. The 21 day they came with their Stroog to the Perauolok, but made no ſtay at that place: for they had beene much troubled with yce in their comming from Aſtracan. The 3

May. of May about noone they came to Oueak, and from thence proceeding vp the riuer, on the 17 day William Turnebull departed from the Stroog in a ſmall boat, and went before towards Tetuſha to prouide victuals, and ſend downe to the Stroog, from which place they were then about 230 verſts. The 23 day they met a boat with victuals, which William Turnebull ſent from Tetuſha, and the ſame day they arriued with their Stroog at Tetuſha, where they ſtayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnebull was gone in the ſmall boat before to Cazan, to prouide neceſſaries from thence, and to make way for their diſpatch. The 26 day they arriued with their Stroog at Cazan, where they remained till the fourth of Iune: the Factors ſent Giles Crow from Cazan to the Moſco, with their letters the 30 of May. The 4 day of Iune they departed from Cazan with their Stroog, and arriued at Yeraſlaue the 22 day about 5 of the clocke in the morning.

The 23 day they prouided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda. The 24 day hauing the goods laden vpon Telegos, they departed with the ſame towards Vologda, and remained there fiue verſts from Yeraſlaue.

The 29 day they came to Vologda, with all their goods in ſafety, and good order. The ſame 29, William Turnbull and Peter Garrard departed from Vologda poſt by water towards Colmogro, the third of July, hauing their goods laden in a ſmall doſhnik, they departed with the ſame from Vologda towards Roſe Iſland by S. Nicholas, where they arriued in ſafety the 16 of July, and found there the Agents of Ruſſia, and in the rode the ſhips ſent out of England, almoſt laden ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for England (out of the rode of S.Nicholas) the ſhip Elizabeth.

The 26 day departed thence the Thomas Allen and Mary Suſan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbul, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudſon, and others. The goods returned of the Perſia voyage were laden into the ſhip, William and Iohn, whereof was Maſter, William Bigat, and in her with the ſame goods came Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris.

The 11 of Auguſt, the ſame ſhip being laden and diſpatched departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in company another of the companies fraighted ſhips, called the Tomaſin, whereof was M. Chriſtopher Hall. In their returne homewards they had ſome foule weather, and were ſeparated at the ſea, the William and Iohn put into Newcaſtle the 24 of September: from whence the ſayd Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris came to London by land, and brought newes of the arriuall of the ſhip.

The 25 of September both the ſayd ſhips arriued at the port of London in ſafety, and ankered before Limehouſe and Wapping, where they were diſcharged, 1581.

Obſeruations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of diuers places in Ruſſia, from the North to the South: *Anno* 1581.

Michael Archangel.	Meridian altitude obſerued at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minuts. The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minuts.	
The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro.	The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro, in latitude, 64.d.25.m. The meridian altitude there obſerued, the 29 of July, 42.d.15.m.	
Recola.	Meridian altitude the 30 of July, 41.d.40.m. Declination, 16.d.6.m.	64.d.20.m.
Yeegris.	Meridian, 4 of Auguſt, 41.d.50.m. Declination Northerly, 14.d.49.m.	62.d.59.m.
Towlma.	Meridian altitude, the 15 of Auguſt, 40.d.45.m. Declination Northerly, 11.d.2.m.	60.d.17.m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, the 20 of Auguſt, 40.d. Declination Northerly, 9.d.17.m.	59.d.17.m.
Vologda.	Meridian altitude, 21 of Auguſt, 39.d.36.m. Declination, 8.d.56.m.	59.d.20.m.
Yereſlaue.	Latitude by geſſe, 57.d.50.m.	
Swyoskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31.d. Declination, 2.d.56.m.	56.d.4.m.
Ouſlona Monaſtery.	Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30.d.26.m. Declination, 2.d.56.m.	55.d.51.m.
Tetuskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28.d.28.m. Declination, 5.d.35.m.	55.d.22.m.
Oueek.	Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30.d.12.m. Declination, 8.d.18.m.	51.d.30.m.
Aſtracan.	Aſtracan meridian altitude, 22. October, 29.d.36.m. Declination, 14.d.16.m.	46.d.10.m.
Aſtracan.	Meridian altitude, 1 of Nouember, 26.d.35.m. Declination, 17.d.16.m.	46.d.9.m.

Certaine directions giuen by M. *Richard Hackluit* of the *Middle Temple*, to M. *Morgan Hubblethorne*, Dier, ſent into *Perſia*, 1579.

1 FOr that England hath the beſt wool & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the realme haue no good vent, if good dying be not added: therfore it is much to be wiſhed, that the dying of forren countreyes were ſeene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greateſt excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the ſetting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cauſe moſt principally you are ſent ouer at the charge of the city: and therfore for the ſatiſfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooues you to haue care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, ſixth and ſeuenth part riſeth by the colour and dying: and therefore to deuiſe to die as good colours with the one halfe of the preſent price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by ſauing of great treaſure in time to come. And therefore you muſt haue great care to haue knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you ſhall paſſe thorow, that may be vſed in dying, be they hearbs, weeds, barks, gummes, earths, or what els ſoeuer.

3 In Perſia you ſhall finde carpets of courſe thrummed wooll, the beſt of the world, and excellently coloured: thoſe cities & townes you muſt repaire to, and you muſt vſe meanes to learne all the order of the dying of thoſe thrummes, which are ſo died as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger can ſtaine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you ſhall not need to feare dying of cloth: For if the colour holde in yarne and thrumme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Perſia they haue great colouring of ſilks, it behooues you to learne that alſo, for that cloth dying & ſilke dying haue a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw ſilke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requiſit you learne the ſame.

5 In Perſia there are that ſtaine linnen cloth: it is not amiſſe you learne it if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof ſome excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now loſt, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They haue a cunning in Perſia to make in buſkins of Spaniſh leather flowers of many kindes, in moſt liuely colours, and theſe the Courtiers do weare there: to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the Eaſt parts of the world, be to be found in Perſia, acquaint yourſelfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You ſhall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by ſeed or by plant, to cary into England, you may do well to endeuour to enrich your countrey with the ſame: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may ſend the ſame dry into England, for poſſibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and ſubſtances that they die withall in Ruſſia, and alſo in Perſia, that your company may ſee all.

10 In ſome litle pot in your lodging, I wiſh you to make daily trials in your arte, as you ſhall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatſoeuer you ſhall learne from day to day, leſt you ſhould forget, or leſt God ſhould call you to his mercy: and by ech returne I wiſh you to ſend in writing whatſoeuer you haue learned, or at the leaſt keepe the ſame ſafe in your coffer, that come death or life your countrey may enioy the thing that you goe for, and not loſe the charge, and trauell beſtowed in this caſe.

12 Learne you there to fixe and make ſure the colour to be giuen by logge wood: ſo ſhall we not need to buy woad ſo deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wiſe ſet downe in writing a true note from whence euery of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey ech of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of ech of them is, as how neere to ſuch a city, or to ſuch a ſea, or to ſuch a portable riuer in Ruſſia, Perſia, or elſewhere.

15 If before you returne you could procure a ſingular good workeman in the arte of Turkiſh carpet making, you ſhould bring the arte into this Realme, and alſo thereby increaſe worke to your company.

Commiſsion giuen by ſir *Rowland Hayward* knight, and *George Barne*, Aldermen and gouernours of the company of Engliſh Merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, vnto *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*, for a voyage by them to be made, for diſcouery of *Cathay*, 1580. in forme following.

IN the Name of God Almightie, and euerlaſting, Amen. This writing for commiſſion Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1580. and in the 22. yeere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene ſir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and gouernours of the company of Engliſh Merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the ſaid company, on the firſt partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe, in the Countie Middleſex, Captaine, Maſter, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the ſecond partie, and Charles Iackman of Popler, in the ſaid Countie of Middleſex, Captaine, Maſter and ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are now riding at anker in the riuer of Thames againſt Limehouſe) on the third partie: witneſſeth, that the ſaid Gouernours, and company haue hired the ſaide Arthur Pet, to ſerue in the ſaid barke, called the George, with nine men and a boy: And likewiſe the ſaid Charles Iackman, to ſerue in the ſaid barke, called the William, with fiue men and a boy, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for ſearch and diſcoueries of a paſſage by ſea from hence by Boroughs ſtreights, and the Iſland Vaigats, Eaſtwards, to the countreis or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the ſame vnto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinſay, or to either of them.

Boroughs ſtreits.

The which paſſage (vpon authoritie of writers, and great reaſon) is conceiued to bee from the Vaigats Eaſtwards, according to the deſcription in plat of ſpirall lines, made by maſter William Burrough, whereof either of the ſaide Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, haue one deliuered vnto them, and alſo one other ſailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it ſhould not be in all points, according to that deſcription, yet we hope that the continent or firme land of Aſia doth not ſtretch it ſelfe ſo farre Northwards, but that there may be found a ſea paſſeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we haue appointed you with theſe two barkes to make triall of the ſame: wiſhing you both to ioyne in friendſhip together, as moſt deere friends and brothers, to all purpoſes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the ſame voyage. And likewiſe order your companies, that they of the one barke may haue ſuch loue and care, to helpe and ſuccour them of the other, as moſt deere friends and brothers would doe: ſo as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is ſo appointed for your greater comfort and aſſurance) yet that you are wholy of one minde, and bend your ſelues to the vttermoſt of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you obſerue good order in your dayly ſeruice, and pray vnto God, ſo ſhall you proſper the better.

We would haue you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, conſult, and agree how, and by what meanes you may beſt performe this purpoſed voyage, according to our intents. And at ſuch meeting we thinke it requiſite, that you call vnto you your mates, and alſo Nicholas Chanceler, (whom wee doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandize you ſhall buy or ſell, barter or change) to the ende that whatſoeuer God ſhould diſpoſe of either of you, yet they may haue ſome inſtructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your aſſemblies and conſultations together, and the ſubſtance of matter you ſhal at euery time agree vpon, we would haue you to note them in the paper bookes that wee giue you for that purpoſe, vnto each barke one. We do appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admiral, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Iackman in the William, as Viceadmirall. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of company together, which we wiſh may be ſuch, as you ſhould neuer loſe ſight the one of the other, except by both your conſents, to diſcouer about an Iſland, or in ſome riuer, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, wee referre the ſame to your diſcretions.

And now for your good direction in this voyage, we would haue you with the next good winde and weather, that God ſhall ſend thereunto meete and conuenient, after the 22. day of this preſent moneth of May, ſaile from this riuer of Thames, to the coaſt of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouſe, and from thence direct your courſe to haue ſight of Willoughbies land, and from it paſſe alongſt to the Noua Zemla, keeping the ſame landes alwayes in your ſight on your larboordſides (if conueniently you may) to the ende you may diſcouer, whether the ſame Willoughbies land be continent and firme land with Noua Zembla, or not: notwithſtanding we would not haue you to entangle your ſelues in any Bay, or otherwiſe, ſo that it might hinder your ſpeedy proceeding to the Iſland Vaigats.

The land of Samoeda.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would haue you to get ſight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is ouer againſt the South part of the ſame Iſland, and from thence with Gods permiſſion, to paſſe Eaſtwards alongſt the ſame coaſt, keeping it alwayes in your ſight (if conueniently you may) vntill you come to the mouth of the riuer Ob, and when you come vnto it, paſſe ouer the ſaid riuers mouth vnto the border of land, on the Eaſtſide of the ſame (without any ſtay to bee made for ſearching inwardly in the ſame riuer) and being in ſight of the ſame Eaſterly land, doe you in Gods name proceed alongſt by it, from thence Eaſtwards, keeping the ſame alwayes on your ſtarboordſide in ſight, if you may, and follow the tract of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may do both) vntill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God proſper your voyage with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that you may attaine to the ſame, doe you ſeeke by all meanes you can to arriue to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinſay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you cannot conueniently come to either of thoſe places, or ſhalbe driuen to remaine & winter in ſome other port or place of his dominion, do you ſeeke by all meanes poſſible to winne fauour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or do wrong to any people or nation whatſoeuer, but therein to be innocent as doues, yet wilie as ſerpents, to auoid miſchiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you ſhall haue gotten friendſhip through your diſcreete ordering of your ſelues, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and ſhewe them one of the Queenes Maieſties letters, which ſhe ſendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one ſubſtance and effect, for ech of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Maieſtie hath ſubſcribed, and cauſed her ſignet ſeale to be ſet, the effect of the ſame letters you haue alſo written in Engliſh, for your owne vnderſtanding thereof.

The Queenes letters.

The ſame her Maieſties letters you ſhall procure to deliuer vnto the ſame mightie Prince, or Gouernour, with ſome preſent to be giuen, ſuch as you ſhall thinke meete and conuenient, vſing your ſelues in all points according to the effect of the ſame letters, and procure againe from the ſame Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God ſo proſper your voyage, that you may this Summer paſſe the Streights, and compaſſe about the Northermoſt land of Aſia, vnto the countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priuiledge againſt the next yeeres ſpring, you may then after your firſt ſetting foorth, ſearch and diſcouer ſomewhat further then you had diſcouered before your wintering, ſo farre as you ſhall thinke conuenient, with regard had, and alwayes prouided, that you may returne home hither, to giue vs aduiſe of your proceedings the ſame Summer, or before the ſharpenes or extremitie of winter ouertake you.

And if it happen you cannot this ſummer attaine to the border of Cathay, and yet find the land beyond the Ob, to ſtretch it ſelfe Eaſterly, with the ſea adioyning vnto it nauigable, doe you then proceed on your diſcouery (as before ſaid) alongſt the ſame continent, ſo farre as you can this ſummer, hauing care in the trauel to finde out ſome conuenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it conuenient, put your ſelfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you ſhall deale with them, as we haue before aduiſed you to do with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour, do you procure to deliuer vnto the ſame Prince or gouernour one of the Queenes Maieſties letters, as before ſaid, and ſeeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you ſo happen to winter & obtaine letters of priuiledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to bee ſuch, that by vſing trade thither with the people, and for the commodities, it may be beneficial vnto vs (as we hope you may) the ſame wil be ſome good liking vnto vs: notwithſtanding we would haue you the next ſummer (by the grace of God) at your firſt ſetting out of your wintering harborough, proceed alongeſt that tract of land to Cathay, if you ſee likelihood to paſſe it (for that is the Countrey that we chiefly deſire to diſcouer) and ſeeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and vpwards, which you may very wel make to ſerue you for two yeres and a halfe, though you finde no other help, you may therefore be the bolder to aduenture in proceeding vpon your diſcouery: which if you do, we doubt not, but you ſhall atchieue the Countrey of Cathay, & deliuer to the prince there, one of her Maieſties letters, bringing from thence the ſame princes letters anſwerable: and ſo in the yeere of our Lord 1582. returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not onely vnto vs the aduenturers in this voyage, but alſo to our whole Countrey and nation, which God graunt you may do, Amen.

But if it happen that the land of Aſia, from beyond the riuer Ob, extende it ſelfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the poole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that ſmall or no hope may be looked for, to ſaile that way to Cathay, doe you notwithſtanding followe the tract of the ſame land, as farre as you can diſcouer this Summer, hauing care to finde out by the way a conuenient place for you to Winter in, the which (if you may diſcouer the ſame lande of Aſia this Summer to extend it ſelfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and vpwards or to 85. degrees) we wiſh then that the ſame your wintering place may be in the riuer of Ob, or as neere the ſame riuer as you can, and finding in ſuch wintering place, people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, &c. doe you gently entreat with them as aforeſaide, and if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour amongſt them, doe you deliuer him one of her Maieſties letters, and procure thereof an anſwere accordingly: do you procure to barter & exchange with the people, of the merchandiſe and commodities that you ſhall cary with you, for ſuch commodities as you ſhall finde them to haue, &c.

The Queenes letters.

If you ſo happen to winter, we would haue you the next Summer to diſcouer into the riuer Ob, ſo farre as conueniently you may: And if you ſhall finde the ſame riuer (which is reported to be wide or broad) to be alſo nauigable and pleaſant for you, to trauell farre into, happely you may come to the citie Siberia, or to ſome other towne or place habited vpon or neere the border of it, and thereby haue liking to winter out the ſecond winter: vſe you therein your diſcretions.

The Citie of Siberia.

But if you finde the ſaid riuer Ob to be ſholde, or not ſuch as you may conueniently trauell in with your barkes, do you then the next ſummer returne backe through Boroughs ſtreights: And from that part of Noua Zembla, adioyning to the ſame ſtreights, doe you come alongſt the tract of that coaſt Weſtwards, keeping it on the ſtarbord ſide, and the ſame alwayes in ſight, if conueniently you may, vntil you come to Willoughbies land, if outwards bound you ſhall not happen to diſcouer and trie whether the ſaid Willoughbies land ioyne continent with the ſame Noua Zembla, or not. But if you ſhall then proue them to be one firme and continent, you may from Noua Zembla direct your courſe vnto the ſaid Willoughbies land, as you ſhall thinke good, and as you may moſt conueniently: and from Willoughbies land you ſhall proceed Weſtwards alongſt the tract of it, (though it incline Northerly) euen ſo farre as you may or can trauell, hauing regard that in conuenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering.

Willoughbies land.

And for your orderly paſſing in this voyage, and making obſeruations in the ſame, we referre you to the inſtructions giuen by M. William Burrough, whereof one copie is annexed vnto the firſt part of this Indenture vnder our ſeale, for you Arthur Pet, another copie of it is annexed to the ſecond part of this Indenture, vnder our ſeale alſo, for you Charles Iackman, and a third copy thereof is annexed vnto the third part of this Indenture, remaining with vs the ſaide companie, ſealed and ſubſcribed by you the ſaid Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman.

And to the obſeruing of all things contained in this Commiſſion (ſo neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the ſaid Arthur Pet doe couenant by theſe preſents to performe them, and euery part and parcell thereof. And I the ſaid Charles Iackman doe for my part likewiſe couenant by theſe preſents to performe the ſame, and euery part thereof, ſo neere as God will giue me grace thereunto.

And in witnes thereof theſe Indentures were ſealed and deliuered accordingly, the day and yeere firſt aboue written. Thus the Lorde God Almightie ſende you a proſperous voyage, with happie ſucceſſe and ſafe returne, Amen.

Inſtructions and notes very neceſſary and needfull to be obſerued in the purpoſed voyage for diſcouery of *Cathay* Eaſtwards, by *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*: giuen by *M. William Burrough*. 1580.

When you come to Orfordneſſe, if the winde doe ſerue you to goe a ſeabord the ſands, doe you ſet off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being againſt the ſaide Neſſe, turning then your glaſſe, whereby you intende to keepe your continuall watch, and apoint ſuch courſe as you ſhal thinke good, according as the wind ſerueth you: and frõ that time forwards continually (if your ſhip be loſe, vnder ſaile, a hull or trie) do you at the end of euery 4. glaſſes at the leaſt (except calme) ſound with your dipſin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and alſo the ground. But if it happen by ſwiftnes of the ſhippes way, or otherwiſe, that you cannot get ground, yet note what depth you did proue, and could finde no ground (this note is to be obſerued all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come vpon any coaſt, or doe finde any ſholde banke in the ſea, you are then to vſe your leade oftener, as you ſhal thinke it requiſite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the deeping and ſholding. And ſo likewiſe doe you note the depthes into harboroughs, riuers, &c.

How to note downe in his Iournall of the voyage, his dead reckoning, and other obſeruations.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very neceſſary that you doe note at the ende of euery foure glaſſes, what way the ſhippe hath made (by your beſt proofes to be vſed) and howe her way hath bene through the water, conſidering withall for the ſagge of the ſea, to leewards, accordingly as you ſhall finde it growen: and alſo to note the depth, and what things worth the noting happened in that time, with alſo the winde vpon what point you finde it then, and of what force or ſtrength it is, and what ſailes you beare.

But if you ſhould omit to note thoſe things at the end of euery foure glaſſes, I would not haue you to let it ſlip any longer time, then to note it diligently at the end of euery watch, or eight glaſſes at the fartheſt.

Doe you diligently obſerue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may poſſible, and alſo the variation of the Compaſſe (eſpecially when you may bee at ſhoare vpon any land) noting the ſame obſeruations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you do the ſame.

When you come to haue ſight of any coaſt or land whatſoeuer, doe you preſently ſet the ſame with your ſailing Compaſſe, howe it beares off you, noting your iudgement how farre you thinke it from you, drawing alſo the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares vnto you, noting diligently how the higheſt or notableſt part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames alſo in ſight of the ſame land at both ends, diſtinguiſhing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you haue ſailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glaſſes (at the moſt) noting diligently what way your barke hath made, and vpon what point of the Compaſſe, do you againe ſet that firſt land ſeene, or the parts thereof, that you firſt obſerued, if you can well perceiue or diſcerne them, and likewiſe ſuch other notable points or ſignes, vpon the land that you may then ſee, and could not perceiue at the firſt time, diſtinguiſhing it alſo by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the ſhape of the ſame land, as it appeareth vnto you, and ſo the third time, &c.

For noting the ſhape and view of the land at firſt diſcouery, &c.

And alſo in paſſing alongſt by any and euery coaſt, doe you drawe the maner of biting in of euery Bay, and entrance of euery harborow or riuers mouth, with the lying out of euery point, or headland, (vnto the which you may giue apt names at your pleaſure) and make ſome marke in drawing the forme and border of the ſame, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether ſande, hils, or woods, or whatſoeuer, not omitting to note any thing that may be ſenſible and apparant to you, which may ſerue to any good purpoſe. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the obſeruations in your booke, as aforeſaid, and afterwards make demonſtration thereof in your plat, you ſhall thereby perceiue howe farre the land you firſt ſawe, or the parts thereof obſerued, was then from you, and conſequently of all the reſt: and alſo how farre the one part was from the other, and vpon what courſe or point of the Compaſſe the one lieth from the other.

For obſeruing of tides and currants.

And when you come vpon any coaſt where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the higheſt and loweſt water in euery place, and the ſlake or ſtill water of full ſea, and lowe water, and alſo which way the flood doeth runne, how the tides doe ſet, how much water it hieth, and what force the tide hath to driue a ſhip in one houre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can iudge it, and what difference in time you finde betwene the running of the flood, and the ebbe. And if you finde vpon any coaſt the currant to runne alwayes one way, doe you alſo note the ſame duely, how it ſetteth in euery place, and obſerue what force it hath to driue a ſhip in one houre, &c.

To take the platformes of places within compaſſe of view vpon land.

Item, as often and when as you may conueniently come vpon any land, to make obſeruation for the latitude and variation, &c. doe you alſo (if you may) with your inſtrument, for trying of diſtances, obſerue the platforme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conueniently ſee from time to time. Theſe orders if you diligently obſerue, you may thereby perfectly ſet downe in the plats, that I haue giuen you your whole trauell, and deſcription of your diſcouery, which is a thing thar will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, vnderſtand or perceiue of the maner of the ſoile, or fruitfulneſſe of euery place and countrey you ſhall come in, and of the maner, ſhape, attire and diſpoſition of the people, and of the commodities they haue, and what they moſt couet and deſire of the commodities you cary with you. It behoueth you to giue trifling things vnto ſuch people as you ſhall happen to ſee, and to offer them all courteſie and friendſhip you may or can, to winne their loue and fauour towardes you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you ſhould be offered wrong at their handes, yet not to reuenge the ſame lightly, but by all meanes poſſible ſeeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wiſely and with ſuch circumſpection that you keepe your ſelues out of their dangers.

Thus I beſeech God Almightie to bleſſe you, and proſper your voyage with good and happie ſucceſſe, and ſend you ſafely to returne home againe, to the great ioy and reioycing of the aduenturers with you, and all your friends, and our whole countrey, Amen.

Certaine briefe aduiſes giuen by *Maſter Dee*, to *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*, to bee obſerued in their Northeaſterne diſcouerie, Anno 1580.

If we recken from Wardhouſe to Colgoieue Iſland 400. miles for almoſt 20. degrees difference onely of longitude very neere Eaſt and Weſt, and about the latitude of 70. degrees and two thirde parts: From Colgoieue to Vaigats 200. miles for 10. degrees difference onely in longitude, at 70. degrees of latitude alſo: From Vaigats to the promontorie Tabin 60. degrees difference of longitude (the whole courſe, or ſhorteſt diſtance being Eaſt and Weſt) in the latitude likewiſe of 70. degrees, maketh 1200. miles: then is ſumma totalis from Wardhouſe to Tabin 600. leagues, or 1800. Engliſh miles. Therefore allowing in a diſcouery voiage for one day with another but 50. Engliſh miles, it is euident that from Wardhouſe to Tabin, the courſe may bee ſailed eaſily in ſixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finiſhed in much ſhorter time, both by helpe of winde proſperous, and light continuall for the time requiſit thereunto.

When you are paſt Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142. degrees, as your chart ſheweth, or two, three, foure, or fiue degrees further Eaſterly, it is probable you ſhall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eaſtward, in which courſe you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous riuer Oechardes, or ſome other, which yet I coniecture to paſſe by the renowmed Citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50. or 52. degrees, and within 300. or 400. miles of Cambalu it ſelfe, being in the latitude of 45. degrees Southerly of the ſaide riuers mouth, or els that you ſhall trend about the very Northerne and moſt Eaſterly point of all Aſia, paſſing by the prouince Ania, and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping ſtill the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with ſafetie) you may enter into Quinſay hauen, being the chiefe citie in the Northern China, as I terme it for diſtinctions ſake, from the other better knowen.

M. Dee gaue them a Chart of his owne making, which here he refers them vnto.

And in or about either or both of theſe two warme places, you may to great good purpoſe bee occupied the whole winter, after your arriuall in thoſe quarters, as ſometime by ſea, ſometime in notable freſh riuers, ſometime in diſcreet view and noting downe the ſituation of the Cities within land, &c. and euer aſſaying to come by ſome charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by ſome of their bookes likewiſe for language, &c. You may alſo haue opportunitie to ſaile ouer to Iapan Iſland, where you ſhall finde Chriſtian men, Ieſuits of many countreys of Chriſtendome ſome, and perhaps ſome Engliſhmen, at whoſe handes you may haue great inſtruction and aduiſe for you affaires in hand.

Notes in writing, beſides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen by *M. Richard Hakluyt* of *Eiton* in the Countie of *Hereford*, Eſquire, Anno 1580: to *M. Arthur Pet*, and to *M. Charles Iackman*, ſent by the Merchants of the *Moſcouie* companie for the diſcouery of the Northeaſt ſtraight, not altogether vnfit for ſome other enterpriſes of diſcouery, hereafter to be taken in hand.

What reſpect of Iſlands is to be had, and why.

Whereas the Portingals haue in their courſe to their Indies in the Southeaſt, certaine ports and fortifications to thruſt into by the way, to diuers great purpoſes: ſo you are to ſee what Iſlands, and what ports you had neede to haue by the way in your courſe to the Northeaſt. For which cauſe I wiſh you to enter into conſideration of the matter, and to note all the Iſlands, and to ſet them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to ſay, That we may deuiſe to take the benefit by them, And alſo foreſee how by them the Sauages or ciuill Princes may in any ſort annoy vs in our purpoſed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpoſe in this voyage to go, be no Chriſtians, it were good that the maſſe of our commodities were alwayes in our owne diſpoſition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did ſeeke out ſome ſmall Iſland in the Scithian ſea, where we might plant, fortifie, and ſtaple ſafely, from whence (as time ſhould ſerue) wee might feed thoſe heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole maſſe in the bowels of their countrey.

And to which Iſland (if neede were, and if wee ſhould thinke ſo good) wee might allure the Northeaſt nauie, the nauie of Cambalu to reſort with their commodities to vs there planted, and ſtapling there.

And if ſuch an Iſland might be found ſo ſtanding as might ſhorten our courſe, and ſo ſtanding, as that the nauie of Cambalu, or other thoſe parties might conueniently ſaile vnto without their diſlike in reſpect of diſtance, then would it fal out well. For ſo, beſides leſſe danger and more ſafetie, our ſhips might there vnlade and lade againe, and returne the ſelfe ſame ſummer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if ſuch an Iſland may be for the ſtapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not ſaile, yet we might, hauing ſhips there, imploy them in paſſing betweene Cambalu and that ſtapling place.

Reſpect of hauens and harborowes.

AND if no ſuch Iſlands may bee found in the Scithian ſea toward the firme of Aſia, then are you to ſearch out the ports that be about Noua Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the firſt yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in ſhort time come vnto Cambalu, and vnlade and ſet ſaile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Noua Zembla: that the ſummer following, you may the ſooner be in England for the more ſpeedy vent of your Eaſt commodities, and for the ſpeedier diſcharge of your Mariners: if you cannot go forward and backe in one ſelfe ſame Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Noua Zembla, toward the Eaſt out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate Zone, you are to haue regard: for if you finde the ſoyle planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you ſhall ſpecially note what plentie of whales, and of other fiſh is to be found there, to the ende we may turne our newe found land fiſhing or Iſland fiſhing, or our whalefiſhing that way, for the ayde and comfort of our newe trades to the Northeaſt to the coaſts of Aſia.

A good conſideration.

Reſpect of fiſh and certaine other things.

AND if the aire may be found vpon that tract temperate, and the ſoile yeelding wood, water, land and graſſe, and the ſeas fiſh, then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingals do in Braſill, and ſo they may in our fiſhing in our paſſage, and diuers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling vs.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld maſts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the Nauie, as plentifully as Eaſtland doth.

The Iſlands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

TO note the Iſlands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine or flat, grauelly, clay, chalkie, or of what ſoile, woody or not woody, with ſprings and riuers or not, and what wilde beaſtes they haue in the ſame.

And whether there ſeeme to be in the ſame apt matter to build withall, as ſtone free or rough, and ſtone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the ſame withall.

To note the goodneſſe or the badneſſe of the hauens and harborowes in the Iſlands.

If a ſtraight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

AND if there be a ſtraight in the paſſage into the Scithian ſeas, the ſame is ſpecially and with great regard to be noted, eſpecially if the ſame ſtraight be narrow and to be kept. I ſay it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince ſoeuer ſhall be Lorde of the ſame, and ſhall poſſeſſe the ſame, as the king of Denmarke doeth poſſeſſe the ſtraight of Denmarke, he onely ſhall haue the trade out of theſe regions into the Northeaſt parts of the world for himſelfe, and for his priuate profit, or for his ſubiects onely, or to enioy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the ſame, like as the king of Denmarke doth enioy of his ſtraights, by ſuffring the merchants of other Princes to paſſe that way. If any ſuch ſtraight be found, the eleuation, the high or lowe land, the hauens neere, the length of the ſtraights, and all other ſuch circumſtances are to be ſet downe for many purpoſes: and al the Mariners in the voyage are to be ſworne to keepe cloſe all ſuch things, that other Princes preuent vs not of the ſame, after our returne vpon the diſcloſing of the Mariners, if any ſuch thing ſhould hap.

Which way the Sauage may bee made able to purchaſe our cloth and other their wants.

If you find any Iland or maine land populous, and that the ſame people hath need of cloth, then are you to deuiſe what commodities they haue to purchaſe the ſame withall.

If they be poore, then are you to conſider of the ſoile, and how by any poſſibilitie the ſame may be made to inrich them, that hereafter they may haue ſomething to purchaſe the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable riuer, and ſhall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of, that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, maſtes, dealeboord, clapboord, or for building of ſhips or houſes, for ſo, if the people haue no vſe of them, they may be brought perhaps to vſe.

Not to venture the loſſe of any one man.

You muſt haue great care to preſerue your people, ſince your number is ſo ſmall, and not to venture any one man in any wiſe.

To bring home beſides merchandize certaine trifles.

Bring home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other ciuil place, one or other yong man, although you leaue one for him.

Alſo the fruites of the Countreys if they will not of themſelues dure, drie them and ſo preſerue them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the ſtones of ſuch ſtonefruits as you ſhall find there.

Alſo the ſeeds of all ſtrange herbs & flowers, for ſuch ſeeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and ſo far off, will delight the fanſie of many for the ſtrangeneſſe, and for that the ſame may grow, and continue the delight long time.

If you arriue at Cambalu or Quinſay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for ſo ſhall you haue the perfect deſcription, which is to great purpoſe.

To bring thence ſome old printed booke, to ſee whether they haue had print there before it was deuiſed in Europe as ſome write.

To note their force by ſea and by land.

If you arriue in Cambalu or Quinſay, to take a ſpeciall view of their Nauie, and to note the force, greatneſſe, maner of building of them, the ſailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armour, and munition.

Alſo, to note the force of the wals and bulwarks of their cities, their ordonance, and whether they haue any caliuers, and what powder and ſhot.

To note what armour they haue.
What ſwords.
What pikes, halberds and bils.
What horſes of force, and what light horſes they haue.
And ſo throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by ſea and by land.

Things to be marked to make coniectures by.

To take ſpeciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houſes within.

Take a ſpeciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the ſubſtance that the ſame is made of, of which a Merchant may make a geſſe as well of their commoditie, as alſo of their wants.

To note their Shoppes and Warehouſes, and with what commodities they abound, the price alſo.

To ſee their Shambles, and to view all ſuch things as are brought into the Markets, for ſo you ſhall ſoone ſee the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and ſo giue a geſſe of many things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plenty or ſcarſitie of fiſh they haue.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or leſſe is to bee caried for a ſhew of our commodities to be made.

Karſies of all orient colours, ſpecially of ſtamell, broadcloth of orient colours alſo.

Frizadoes, Motlies, Briſtow friezes, Spaniſh blankets, Baies of al colours, ſpecially with Stamel, Worſteds, Carels, Saies, Woadmols, Flanels, Raſh, &c.

Felts of diuers colours.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Leuant taffeta of diuers colours, for the night.

Knit ſtocks of ſilke of orient colours.

Knit ſtocks of Ierzie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude ſhould be ſet in worke.

Stocks of karſie of diuers colours for men and for women.

Garters of ſilke of ſeuerall kinds, and of colours diuers.

Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and vngilt buckles, ſpecially waſte girdles, waſte girdles of veluet.

Gloues of all ſorts knit, and of leather.

Gloues perfumed.

Points of all ſorts of ſilke, threed, and leather, of all maner of colours.

Shooes of Spaniſh leather of diuers colours, of diuers length, cut and vncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Veluet ſhooes and pantophles.

Theſe ſhooes and pantophles to be ſent this time, rather for a ſhew then for any other cauſe.

Purſes knit, and of leather.

Nightcaps knit, and other.

A garniſh of pewter for a ſhew of a vent of that Engliſh commoditie, bottles, flagons, ſpoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glaſſes of Engliſh making.

Venice glaſſes.

Looking glaſſes for women, great and faire.

Small dials a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do here.

Spectacles of the common ſort.

Others of Chriſtall trimmed with ſiluer, and otherwiſe.

Pewter glaſſes. Combes of boxe.
Combes of Iuorie. Combes of horne.

Linnen of diuers ſorts.

Handkerchiefs with ſilke of ſeuerall colours wrought.

Glazen eyes to ride with againſt duſt.

Kniues in ſheaths both ſingle and double, of good edge.

Needles great and ſmall of euery kind.

Buttons greater and ſmaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and ſuch as be durable of double ſilke, and that of ſundry colours.

Boxes with weights for gold, and of euery kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to ſhew that the people here vſe weight and meaſure, which is a certaine ſhew of wiſedom, and of certaine gouernment ſetled here.

All the ſeuerall ſiluer coynes of our Engliſh monies, to be caried with you to be ſhewed to the gouernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that ſhall in ſilence ſpeake to wiſe men more then you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haſpes, &c. great and ſmall of excellent workemanſhip, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we ſhall ſet our ſubiects in worke, which you muſt haue in great regard. For in finding ample uent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more worth to our people beſides the gaine of the merchant, then Chriſtchurch, Bridewell, the Sauoy, and all the Hoſpitals of England.

For banketting on ſhipboord perſons of credite.

First, the ſweeteſt perfumes to ſet vnder hatches to make ỳ place ſweet againſt their comming aboord, if you arriue at Cambalu, Quinſey, or in any ſuch great citie, & not among Sauages.

Marmelade.
Sucket.
Figs barrelled.
Raiſins of the ſunne.

Comfets of diuers kinds made of purpoſe by him that is moſt excellent, that ſhal not diſſolue.

Prunes damaſke.
Dried peares.
Walnuts.
Almonds.
Smalnuts.

Oliues to make them taſte their wine.

The apple Iohn that dureth two yeeres to make ſhew of our fruits.

Hullocke.
Sacke.

Vials of good ſweet waters, and caſting bottels of glaſſes to beſprinkle the gheſts withall, after their commiug aboord.

Suger to vſe with their wine if they will.

The ſweet oyle of Zante, and excellent French vineger, and a fine kind of Biſket ſtieped in the ſame do make a banketting diſh, and a little Sugar caſt in it cooleth and comforteth, and refreſheth the ſpirits of man.

Cynamom water
Imperiall water
is to be had with you to make a ſhew of by taſte, and alſo to comfort your ſicke in the voyage.

With theſe and ſuch like, you may banket where you arriue the greater and beſt perſons.

Or with the gift of theſe Marmelades in ſmall boxes, or ſmall vials of ſweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England ſet out in faire colours, one of the biggeſt ſort I meane, to make ſhew of your countrey from whence you come.

And alſo the large Mappe of London to make ſhew of your Citie. And let the riuer be drawen full of Ships of all ſorts, to make the more ſhew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all theſe Regions, it were not amiſſe: and if need were, to preſent the ſame to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of marueilous account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.

Such a booke caried with you and beſtowed in gift would be much eſteemed, as I perſwade my ſelfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball and ſuch Bookes as make ſhew of herbes, plants, trees, fiſhes, foules and beaſts of theſe regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobilitie, and alſo their merchants to haue the view of them: for all things in theſe partes ſo much differing from the things of thoſe regions, ſince they may not be here to ſee them, by meane of the diſtance, yet to ſee thoſe things in a ſhadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

Take with you the booke of Rates, to the ende you may pricke all thoſe commodities there ſpecified, that you ſhall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinſey, or in any part of the Eaſt, where you ſhall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lieth in ſmall roume.

Glew.

To carie Glew, for that we haue plentie and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To ſeeke vent becauſe we haue great mines of it, and haue no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may haue, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron,

Saffron.

To try what vent you may haue of Saffron, becauſe this realme yeelds the beſt of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may ſet the poore greatly in worke to their reliefe.

Aquauitæ.

By new deuiſes wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to ſeeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.

To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may ſpare it.

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may ſet our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.

To ſee the vent for it may ſet our people in worke.

A note and Caueat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to ſale, you indeuour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither veluet, taffeta, ſpice, or any ſuch commoditie that you your ſelfe deſire to lade your ſelfe home with, you muſt not ſell yours deare, leaſt hereafter you purchaſe theirs not ſo cheape as you would.

Seeds for ſale.

Carie with you for that purpoſe all ſorts of garden ſeeds, as well of ſweete ſtrawing herbs and of flowers, as alſo of pot herbes and all ſorts for roots, &c.

Lead of the firſt melting.

Lead of the ſecond melting of the ſlags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

Engliſh iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To try the ſale of the ſame.

Brimſtone.

To try the vent of the ſame, becauſe we abound with it made in the Realme.

Antimonie a Minerall.

To ſee whether they haue any ample vſe there for it, for that we may lade whole nauies of it and haue no vſe of it vnleſſe it be for ſome ſmall portion in founding of bels, or a litle that the Alcumiſts vſe: of this you may haue two ſortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Iuniper to auoid the offence of Brimſtone.

To trie and make the better ſale of Brimſtone by ſhewing the vſe.

Candles of Waxe to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they haue not the vſe of them.

A pot of caſt iron.

To try the ſale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be ſold there or to the leſſe ciuil people by the way where you ſhall touch.

What I would haue you there to remember.

To note ſpecially what excellent dying they vſe in theſe regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houſes: and to ſee their Die houſes and the Materials & Simples that they vſe about the ſame, and to bring muſters and ſhewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may ſerue this clothing realme to great purpoſe.

To take with you for your owne vſe.

All maner of engines to take fiſh and foule.

To take with you thoſe things that be in perfection of goodneſſe.

For as the goodneſſe now at the firſt may make your commodities in credite in time to come: ſo falſe and Sophiſticate commodities ſhall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

A letter

A letter of *Gerardus Mercator*, written to M. *Richard Hakluyt* of Oxford, touching the intended diſcouerie of the Northeaſt paſſage, An. 1580.

Literæ tuæ (vir humaniſſime) 19. Iunij demùm mihi redditę fuerunt: vehementer dolui viſis illis tantam, non modò temporis, ſed multò magis tempeſtiuæ inſtructionis iacturam factam eſſe. Optaſſem *Arthurum Petum* de quibuſdam non leuibus ante ſuum diſceſſum præmonitum fuiſſe. Expeditiſſima ſanè per Orientem in Cathaium eſt nauigatio: & ſæpè miratus ſum, eam fœliciter inchoatam, deſertam fuiſſe, velis in Occidẽtem tranſlatis; poſtquam plus quàm dimidium itineris veſtri iam notum haberent. Nam poſt Inſulam Vaigats, & Noua Zembla continuò ingens ſequitur Sinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quæ vniuerſam Regionem Sericam perluentia, vtq; exiſtimo, in intima continentis vſq; magnis nauigijs peruia, facillimam rationẽ exhibent quaſlibet merces ex Cataio, Mangi, Mien, cæteriſque circumfuſis regnis contrahendi, atque in Angliam deportandi. Cæterùm cùm non temerè eam nauigationem intermiſſam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Ruſſorum & Moſcouiæ obſtaculum aliquod interiectum fuiſſe. Quod ſi verò cum illius gratia vlterior illac nauigatio detur, ſuaderem profectò nõ primùm Tabin promontorium quærere, atque explorare, ſed Sinum hunc atque flumina, in iiſq; portum aliquem commodiſſimum, ſtationémq; Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo deinceps maiore opportunitate, minoribúſque periculis Tabin promontorium, & totius Cathai circumnauigatio indagari poſſet. Eſſe autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrens promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantùm, verùm & alijs ſcriptoribus, & tabulis aliquot (licèt rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longè vltra Tabin ſitum eſſe, certis Magnetis obſeruationibus didici: circa quem & Tabin plurimos eſſe ſcopulos, difficilémq; & periculoſam nauigationem exiſtimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium acceſſum fore opinor, ea qua nunc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet hæc nauigatio polo Magnetis, quàm altera, ad quem propiùs accedere non puto tutum eſſe. Quia verò Magnes alium quàm Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte reſpicit: quò propiùs ad eum acceditur, eò directorium illud Nauticũ magnetis virtute imbutum, magis à Septentrione deuiat, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientalior, vel occidentalior eſt illo Meridiano, qui per vtrumq; polum Magnetis, & Mundi ducitur. Mirabilis eſt hæc varietas, & quæ nauigantẽ plurimùm fallere poteſt, niſi hanc Magnetis inconſtantiam nôrit, & ad poli eleuationem per inſtrumenta ſubinde reſpiciat. In hac re ſi non ſit inſtructus D. Arthurus, aut ea ſit dexteritate, vt deprehenſo errore eum inuenire & caſtigare poſſit, timeo ne deuias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, & ſemiperacto negotio, à gelu præoccupetur: Aiunt enim Sinum illum fortiùs quotannis congelari. Quod ſi contingat: hoc quod conſultius mihi viſum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, vt in eo ſinu, iiſq; fluminibus quæ dixi, portum quærat, & per Legatum aliquem, cum magno Cham, nomine Sereniſſimæ Reginæ notitiam, amicitiámque contrahat: quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratiſſimam fore propter remotiſſima commercia. Opinor ab oſtijs Bautiſi & Oechardi fluminum maximorum, vſque ad Cambalu Regiam ſummam Chami, non vltra 300. milliaria Germanica eſſe, & iter ſumendum per Ezinam vrbem regni Tangut, quę 100. tantùm milliarijs Germanicis ab oſtijs diſtare videtur, & paret Magno Cham.

Ingens Sinus poſt Inſulam Vaigats & Nouam Zemblam.

Tabin promontorium ingens.

Quo propius ad polum acceditur, eò directorium Nauticum magis a Septentrione deuiat.

Bautiſus & Oechardus maxima flumina in hunc Sinum illabuntur.

Valde optarem cognoſcere, quàm altè communiter exurgat æſtus maris in eo Moſcouiæ portu, quem veſtri pro ſtatione habent, & in alijs verſùs orientem locis vſque ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc diſtrictu ſemper in vnam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentem fluat, an verò pro ratione æſtuum fluat, & refluat, in medio inquam canali, hoc eſt, an ibi ſex horis in occaſum, & iterum ſex in ortum fluat, an verò ſemper in eandem partem: aliæ enim ſpeculationes non parum vtiles hinc dependent. Idem optarem à D. Frobiſcero in occidentem obſeruari. Quod ad Sinum Meroſro, & Canadam, ac Nouam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis deſumpta ſunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quę à quodam ſacerdote ex earum ditionum Naucleri peritiſſimi Galli deſcriptione excerpta fuit, & illuſtriſſimo Principi Georgio ab Auſtria epiſcopo Leodienſi oblata. Non dubito, quin quantùm ad littorum ſitum attinet & poli eleuationem, ad veritatem ea quàm proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula præter ſcalam graduum latitudinis per medium ſui extenſam, aliam præterea particularem Nouæ Franciæ littoribus adiunctam, qua deprauatæ latitudines, occaſione erroris Magnetis ibi commiſſæ, caſtigarentur. Iacobi Cnoyen Buſcoducenſis itinerarium per omnem Aſiam, Affricam, & Septentrionem, olim mihi Amicus Antuerpiæ ab alio mutuò acceptum communicauit, eo vſus ſum, & reddidi: poſt multos annos eundem ab amico repetij, & reminiſci ille non potuit à quo accepiſſet. Gulielmi Tripolitani & Ioannis de plano Carpini ſcripta non vidi, tantùm excerpta ex illis quædam

Poſtulata Mercatoris, de quibus certior fieri cupit.

dam in alijs ſcriptis libris inueni. Abilfadæ Epitome gaudeo verti, vtinam citò habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis reſpondenda putaui: ſi quid eſt aliud quod à me deſideres, libentiſſimè tibi communicabo: hoc viciſſim amanter à tua humanitate petens, vt quæ ex vtriuſq; nauigationis curſu obſeruata nanciſci poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, & quæcunque inde collegero, fideliter ad te perſcribam, ſi forte ad pulcherrimum, vtiliſſimúmq; orbi Chriſtiano hoc nauigationis inſtitutum aliquid opis & conſilij adferre poſſint. Bene vale, vir doctiſſime. Duisburgi in Cliuia, 28. Iulij 1580.

Dulce mare inter Nouam Zemblam & Tabin ſuſpicatur.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæſo diſcas ab illo quę optaui, & num alicubi in ſuo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum ſalſum inuenerit: ſuſpicor enim mare inter Noua Zembla, & Tabin dulce eſſe.

T. H. paratiſſimus quantus quantus ſum,

Gerardus Mercator.

The ſame in Engliſh.

SIr, I receiued your letters the 19. of Iune: it grieueth me much that vpon the ſight of them the time being ſpent, I could not giue any conuenient inſtructions: I wiſh Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of ſome ſpeciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the Eaſt, is doutleſſe very eaſie and ſhort, and I haue oftentimes marueiled, that being ſo happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the courſe changed into the Weſt, after that more then halfe of your voiage was diſcouered. For beyond the Iſland of Vaigats and Noua Zembla, there foloweth preſently a great Baie, which on the left ſide is incloſed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the mids hereof there fall great riuers, which paſſing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke nauigable with great veſſels into yͤ heart of the continent, may be an eaſie means whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and tranſport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England. But conſidering with my ſelfe that that nauigation was not intermitted, but vpon great occaſion, I thought that the Emperor of Ruſſia and Moſcouie had hindered the proceeding thereof. Alſo be that with his grace and fauour a further nauigation may be made, I would counſell them certainly not firſt to ſeeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to ſearch this baie and riuers aforeſayd, and in them to picke and chuſe out ſome conuenient port and harborough for the Engliſh merchants, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and leſſe perill, the promontorie Tabin and all the coaſt of Cathaio may bee diſcouered. And that there is ſuch a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perſwaded not onely out of Plinie, but alſo other writers, and ſome Maps (though ſomewhat rudely drawen:) and that the pole of the Loadſtone is not farre beyond Tabin, I haue learned by the certaine obſeruations of the Loadſtone: about which pole and Tabin I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous ſailing: and yet a more hard and difficile paſſage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the Weſt, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadſtone, to the which I thinke it not ſafe to approch. And becauſe the Loadſtone hath another pole then that of the world, to the which from all parts it hath a reſpect, the neerer you come vnto it, the more the needle of the Compaſſe doeth varie from the North, ſometimes to the Weſt, and ſometimes to the Eaſt, according as a man is to the Eaſtward or to the Weſtward of that Meridian, that paſſeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

A great gulfe is beyond Vaigats, whereinto mighty riuers deſcend.

The beſt courſe to be taken in diſcoueries.

This is a ſtrange alteration and very apt to deceiue the Sailer, vnleſſe hee know the vnconſtancie and variation of the Compaſſe, and take the eleuation of the pole ſomtimes with his inſtruments. If maſter Arthur be not well prouided in this behalfe, or of ſuch dexteritie, that perceiuing the errour he be not able to correct the ſame, I feare leaſt in wandering vp and downe he loſe his time, and be ouertaken with the ice in the midſt of the enterpriſe. For that gulfe, as they ſay, is frozen euery yere very hard. Which if it be ſo, the beſt counſel I could giue for their beſt ſafetie, were to ſeeke ſome harborough in that baie, and thoſe riuers whereof I haue ſpoken, and by ſome Ambaſſador to make friendſhip and acquaintance with the great Can, in name of the Queenes maieſtie, which I beleeue will be gratefull to the mightieſt Emperour in the world, yea moſt excellent for the length of the traffique, and great diſtance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty riuers Bautiſus and Oechardus to Cambalu the chiefeſt ſeat of the prince the Can, there are not paſt 300. Germane miles, and to paſſe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which ſeemeth to be but 100. Germane miles from the mouthes of the ſayd riuers, and is ſubiect to the great Can.

The mouthes of Bautiſus and Oechardus 300. leagues from Cambalu.

I would gladly know how high the ſea doeth flowe commonly in the port of Moſcouia where your men do harborow, and in other Eaſterly places vnto Tabin. And alſo whether the ſea in this ſtreight do flow alwaies one way to the Eaſt or to the Weſt, or whether it do ebbe and flow according to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanel, that is to ſay, whether it flow there ſixe houres into the Weſt, and as may backe againe to the Eaſt, for hereupon depend other ſpeculations of importance. I would wiſh M. Frobiſher to obſerue the ſame Weſtwards. Concerning the gulfe of Meroſro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine ſea card drawn by a certaine prieſt out of the deſcription of a Frenchman, a Pilot very ſkilfull in thoſe partes, and preſented to the worthy prince George of Auſtria, biſhop of Liege: for the trending of the coaſt, and the eleuation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: for the Charte had, beſide a ſcale of degrees of latitude paſſing through the middeſt of it, another particularly annexed to the coaſt of New France, wherewith the errour of the latitudes committed by reaſon of the variation of the compaſſe might be corrected. The hiſtorie of the voyage of Iacobus Cnoyen Buſchoducenſis throughout al Aſia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time paſt by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had vſed it, I reſtored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Ioannes de Plano Carpini I neuer ſaw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abilfada is tranſlated, I would we might haue it ſhortly.

Vpon the obſeruations of the tides depend great ſpeculations.

Thus much Sir I thought good to anſwere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will moſt willingly communicate it with you, crauing this likewiſe of your curteſie, that whatſoeuer obſeruations of both theſe voyages ſhall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they ſhall all remaine with mee according to your diſcretion and pleaſure, and whatſoeuer I gather of them, I will faithfully ſignifie vnto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light vnto this moſt excellent enterpriſe of nauigation, and moſt profitable to our chriſtian common wealth. Fare you well moſt learned friend. At Duisburg in Cliueland, 28. of Iulie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I haue requeſted, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the ſea freſh, or not very ſalt: for I ſuppoſe the Sea betweene Noua Zembla and Tabin to be freſh.

Yours wholly to my power to be commanded,
Gerardus Mercator.

The diſcouerie made by M. *Arthur Pet*, and M. *Charles Iackman*, of the Northeaſt parts, beyond the Iſland of *Vaigatz*, with two Barkes: the one called the *George*, the other the *William*, in the yeere 1580.

Written by *Hugh Smith.*

May.

VPon Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the winde being at South, and to the Eaſtward. The ebbe being ſpent we could not double the pole, and therefore were conſtrained to put in againe vntill the next day in the morning, being the laſt of May: which day wee wayed our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being Weſt ſouthweſt. The ſame day we paſſed Orfordneſſe at an Eaſt Sunne, and Stamford at a Weſt Sunne, and Yarmouth at a Weſt northweſt ſunne, and ſo to Winterton, where we did anker al night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

Iune.

The next day being the firſt of Iune, we ſet ſaile at 3. a clocke in the morning, and ſet our courſe North, the wind at the Southweſt, and at Southſouthweſt.

Kene an Iſland of Norway.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the ſound is called Bottel: the other headland is called Moile. There is alſo an Iſland called Kene. Heere I did find the pole to be eleuated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foote, not aboue.

The 11. day in the morning the winde came to the South and to the Southeaſt: the ſame day at ſixe in the afternoone we ſet ſaile, and bare along the coaſt: it was very foule weather with raine and fogge.

The North cape doubled.

The 22. day the wind being at Weſt, we did hall the coaſt Eaſt northeaſt, and Eaſt. The ſame day at 6. in the morning we did double the north cape. About 3. in the afternoone wee paſt Skites beare neſſe, and hald along the coaſt Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and all the ſame night wee halled Southeaſt, and Southeaſt by Eaſt.

Wardhouſe.

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouſe, the wind at the Northweſt. The cauſe of our comming in was to ſeeke the William, whoſe companie wee loſt the 6. day of this moneth, and to ſend letters into England. About one of the clock in the after noone the William alſo came into Wardhouſe to vs in good ſafetie, and all her company in good health.

The 24. the wind came to the Eaſt Northeaſt. This day the William was hald a ground, becauſe ſhe was ſomewhat leake, and to mend her ſteerage. This night about 12. of the clocke ſhe did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at Eaſt northeaſt.

The 26. day the Toby of Harwich departed from Wardhouſe for London, Thomas Greene being maſter, to whom we deliuered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South ſoutheaſt, and the 38. alſo.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the Weſt northweſt for the ſpace of one houre, and preſently to the Eaſt againe, and ſo was variable all the ſame night.

The 30. about ſixe in the morning, the winde came to Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and continued ſo all the ſame day.

July.

The firſt of July about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at Northnorthweſt: and about 7. of the clocke we ſet ſaile from Wardhouſe Eaſt and by South.

The ſecond day about 5. in the morning, the wind was Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and we did lie to the ſhorewards. And about 10. in the morning the wind came to South ſoutheaſt, and we laid it to the Eaſtward: ſometime we lay Eaſt by South, ſometime Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and ſometimes Eaſt by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Kegor, becauſe we thought her to be out of trie, and ſailed very ill, where we might mend her ſteerage: whereupon maſter Pet not willing to go into harborough ſaid to maſter Iackman, that if he thought himſelfe not able to keepe the ſea, he ſhould doe as he thought beſt, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Veroue Oſtroue, or Vaigats, and ſo we ſet our courſe Eaſt northeaſt, the winde being at Southeaſt.

Willoughbies land.

The 3. day the winde at Southeaſt we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 46. minuts. The ſame night at 12. of the clocke we ſounded, but had no ground, in 120. fathoms, being fifty leagues from the one ſide by our reckoning Eaſt northeaſt from Kegor.

50. leagues from Kegor.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeaſt with a gentle gale, we hald along Southeaſt by Eaſt.

The 5. day the wind at Northweſt, we hald Eaſt and Eaſt by South: this day we ſaw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, ſo that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North northweſt, we halde Eaſt ſoutheaſt with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme: we with ſaile and oares laide it to the Northeaſt part, hoping that way to cleare vs of it: for that way we did ſee the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night we gate cleere of it. We did thinke it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not, as we found afterwards.

A ſight of perfect land.

The ſeuenth day we met with more yce, at the Eaſt part of the other yce: we halde along a weather the yce to finde ſome ende thereof by Eaſt northeaſt. This day there appeared more land North from vs being perfect land: the ice was betweene vs and it, ſo that we could not come neerer to it.

The ſame morning at ſixe of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde ſome way through it, wee continued in it all the ſame day and all the night following, the winde by the North Northweſt. Wee were conſtrained to goe many pointes of our compaſſe, but we went moſt an Eaſterly courſe.

The eight day the winde at North northweſt, we continued our courſe, and at fiue in the morning we ſounded, and had 90. fadoms red oze. This day at foure in the afternoone we ſounded againe, and had 84. fadoms oze, as before. At ſixe in the after noone we cleared our ſelues of the ice, and hald along Southeaſt by South: we ſounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fathom ſandy oze.

The 9. day at 2. in the morning, we ſounded againe, and had 45. fadoms, then there appeared a ſhadow of land to vs Eaſt Northeaſt, and ſo we ran with it the ſpace of 2. houres, and then perceiuing that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeaſt.

70. deg. 3. min.

This day at 2. in the afternoone wee ſounded and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze. Our latitude was 70. degrees three minutes. At tenne a clocke at night wee ſounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze.

The tenth day the wind being at North northweſt, we haled Eaſt and by North, which courſe we ſet, becauſe at ten of the clocke afore noone wee did ſee land, and then wee ſounded hauing 35. fadoms blacke oze. All this day there was a great fogge, ſo that wee durſt not beare with the land to make it, and ſo we kept an outwardly courſe. This day at 6. in the afternoone we eſpied land, wherewith we halled, and then it grew calme: we ſounded and had 120. fadoms blacke oze: and then we ſent our boat a land to ſound and proue the land. The ſame night we came with our ſhip within an Iſland, where we rode all the ſame night. The ſame night wee went into a bay to ride neere the land for wood and water.

An Iſland.

The 11. day the wind came to the Eaſt ſoutheaſt: this day about a league from vs to the Eaſtwards, we ſaw a very faire ſound or riuer that paſt very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Iſland in the midſt.

The maine land.

The 12. of July the wind was Eaſt Southeaſt. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare down to the water ſide, and tooke the water of his own accord, we chaſed him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he gote to land and eſcaped from vs, where we named the bay Bearebay. This day at 7. in the after noone we ſet ſaile, for we had good hope that the winde would come Weſterly, and with ſaile and oares we gate the ſea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

Bearebay.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fog, and as it cleared vp wee met with great ſtore of ice, which at the firſt ſhewed like land. This ice did vs much trouble, and the more becauſe of the fog, which continued vntill the 14. day, 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were ſo imbayed with ice, ẏ we were conſtrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodneſſe of God, otherwiſe it had bene impoſſible, and at 12. of the clock we were cleere of it, the wind being at South and South by Weſt. The ſame day we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: we lay along the coaſt Northweſt, thinking it to be an Iſland, but finding no end in rowing ſo long, we ſuppoſed it to be the maine of Noua Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not doe vpon that boorde, ſo that we caſt about againe and lay Weſt along vnder the ice. About ſeuen in the afternoone we gote about the greateſt part thereof. About 11. a clock at night we brought the ice Southeaſt of vs, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time.

70. deg. 26. min.

The ſuppoſed maine of Noua Zembla.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at Soyth ſouthweſt: wee caſt about and lay to the Eaſtwards: the winde did Weſter, ſo that wee lay South ſouthweſt with a flawne ſheete, and ſo we ranne all the ſame day. About 8. in the after noone we ſounded, and had 23. fadoms ſmall grey ſand. This night at twelue of the clocke we ſounded againe, and had 29. fadoms ſand, as afore.

The 16. day vnto 3. in the morning we hald along Eaſt Southeaſt, where we found 18. fadoms red ſand, then we hald along Northeaſt. In theſe ſoundings wee had many ouerfals. This day at 10. of the clocke we met with more ice, which was very great, ſo that we coulde not tell which way to get cleere of it. Then the winde came to the South Southeaſt, ſo that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleare our ſelues of it, but that way we had more ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the Eaſt. Then we lay to the Southwards that wee had 30. fadoms blacke oze. This day we found the pole to bee eleuated 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. a clocke we had 41. fadoms red ſand.

Many ouerfals.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by Weſt, at the depth aforeſaid, red ſand, being but ſhallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the winde with a ſhowre and thunder came to the Southweſt, and then wee ranne Eaſt Northeaſt. At 12. at night it came to the South and by Eaſt, and all this was in the bay of Pechora.

The bay of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the headland of the bay, where wee founde two Iſlands. There are alſo ouerfals of water or tides. We went betweene the maine and the Iſland, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole eleuated 69. deg. 13 minutes. This day we had ſight of Vaigatz: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend Southeaſt, we hald Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and had 10. fadoms oze all the ſame day vntill 4. in the after noone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the ſame night.

They had ſight of Vaygatz.

The 19. day at two in the morning we ſet ſaile, and ran South and South ſouthweſt all the ſame day at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigatz, this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found ſhallow water ſometime 4. fadoms, ſometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe: there we ankered and ſent our boate away to ſound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigatz & the other ſide: finding no more water, there was no other way but to goe backe as we came in, hauing the wind Northweſt, ſo at twelue at night we ſet ſaile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the winde by the Northweſt, we hald along the coaſt North and North northweſt, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

An Iſland hauing ſtore of wood & water.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southweſt, wee bare along the coaſt of Vaygatz, as wee found it to lie North and by Weſt, and North northweſt, and North. The winde blewe very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Iſland where wee founde great ſtore of wood and water, there were three or foure goodly ſounds. Vnder two points there was a croſſe ſet vp, and a man buried at the foote of it. Vpon the ſaid croſſe Maſter Pet did graue his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewiſe vpon a ſtone at the foote of the croſſe, and ſo did I alſo, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might haue knowledge that wee had beene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northweſt, we ſet ſaile and turned out of the Bay. The ſame night the winde came to the Weſt, ſo that wee lay North along the land.

6. faire iſlands.

The 23. day at fiue in the morning, the wind came to the Southweſt, a Sea boord we ſawe a great number of faire Iſlands, to the number of ſixe: a ſea boord of theſe Iſlands, there are many great ouerfals, as great ſtreames or tides: we halde Northeaſt and Eaſt northeaſt as the lande did trend. At eight aforenoone the winde came to the Southeaſt with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great ſtore of ice a ſea boorde: ſo we lay to the Southweſt to attaine to one of the Iſlands to harbour vs if the weather did ſo extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete ſo to doe, and not to towe her in ſuch weather. About twelue of the clocke it became very calme vpon the ſudden, and came vp to the Weſt Northweſt, and Northweſt by Weſt, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe ſo much winde, as we were not able to ſteere afore it, with corſe and bonnets of each, we hald South with the land, for ſo the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we ſailed vnder a great land of ice, we ſailed betweene the land and it, being not able to croſſe it. About twelue at night we found the ice to ſtretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eaſtward, ſo we laide it to the ſhore, and there we founde it cleare hard aboord the ſhore, and we found alſo a very faire Iſland which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms.

An Iſland to the Eaſt of Vaigatz 4. or 5. leagues.

This Iſland is to yͤ Eaſtwards of Vaigatz, 4. or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doth trend Southeaſt, and Southeaſt by Eaſt. It is a very faire coaſt, and euen and plaine, and not full of mountaines nor rocks: you haue but ſhallow water of 6. or 7. fadoms, about a league from the ſhore, all this morning we halled Eaſt ſoutheaſt. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 69. degrees 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke we were conſtrained to put into the ice to ſeeke ſome way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to haue ſome cleare paſſage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had ſight of the William, and when wee ſawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and vs, ſo that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we ſounded our trumpet and ſhot off two muſkets, and ſhe put out her flag vpon her foretopmaſte in token that ſhe did ſee vs: all this time wee did ſhorten our ſailes, and went with our foreſaile & mainetopſaile, ſeeking the beſt way through the broken ice, ſhe making away the beſt that ſhe could to follow vs, we put out our flagge to anſwere her again with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then we moared our ſhip to a piece of ice to tarie for the William.

The William and the George meete againe.

The 25. day about fiue in the morning, the William came to vs, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her ſterne poſt broken, that the rudder did hang clean beſides the ſterne, ſo that ſhe could in no wiſe port her helme, with all hands ſhe did lighten her ſterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, wee brought a cable vnder her ſterne, and with our capſtaine did wind vp her ſterne, and ſo we made it as wel as the place would giue vs leaue, and in the ende wee brought her to ſteere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and ſo gaue his maieſtie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our reſt being made faſt vpon a piece of ice: the winde was at Weſt Northweſt, but wee were ſo incloſed with ice that we coulde not tell which way to paſſe. Windes wee haue had at will, but ice and fogge too much againſt our willes, if it had pleaſed the Lord God otherwiſe.

The 26. day the wind was at Weſt Northweſt: we ſet ſaile to the Northwardes, to ſeeke if we could finde any way cleare to paſſe to the Eaſtward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, ſo that wee coulde goe no further. So about foure in the afternoon we were conſtrained to moare vpon another piece of ice. I thinke we ſailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadoms oze, and this oze is all the chanell ouer. All the ſame day after foure of the clocke, and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in deſpaire. This day Maſter Iugman did ſee land Eaſt Northeaſt from vs, as he did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land, but the fogges haue many times deceiued vs.

The 27. day the winde was at Northweſt. This day at nine in the morning we ſet ſaile to ſeeke the ſhore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at ſeuen in the afternoone we moared to a piece of ice, and the William with vs, here we had 14. fathoms oze. At three in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At nine in the afternoone we moared againe to a piece of ice vntill the next day. All this night it did ſnow with much wind, being at Weſt Northweſt, and at Northweſt, and by Weſt.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone maſter Pet and maſter Iackman did conferre together what was beſt to be done conſidering that the windes were good for vs, and we not able to paſſe for ice, they did agree to ſeeke to the land againe, and ſo to Vaygatz, and there to conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another to get from them if it were poſſible: here were pieces of ice ſo great, that we could not ſee beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped vntil 9. in the afternoone, and then we moared both our ſhippes to a great and high piece of ice, vntill the next morning.

Their returne.

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the Southweſt, wee ſet ſaile at fiue in the morning to plie into the ſhore if it were poſſible, we made many turnes among the ice to ſmall purpoſe, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This day by miſfortune a piece of ice ſtroke of our greepe afore at two aforenoone, yet for all this we turned to doe our beſt. The William beeing incumbered with ice, and perceiuing that ſhee did litle good, tooke in all her ſailes, and made her ſelfe faſt to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone ſhe ſet ſaile to followe vs. We were afraide that ſhee had taken ſome hurt, but ſhe was well. At ſeuen afore noone we tooke in all our ſailes to tarie for the William, and made our ſhippe faſt to a piece of ice: the William before ſhe came to vs tooke in all her ſailes, and moared to another piece of ice, and thus we continued vntill the next morning.

The currant runneth with the winde.

The 30. day the winde at Southeaſt, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we ſet ſaile, and ſooner would haue done if ÿ William had bene by vs, but we did tary for her to know whether all was well with her: But as ſoone as we made ſaile, ſhe did the like. All this day wee did our beſt to ſeeke our way as the ice would giue vs leaue, ſometime we lay South, ſometime Weſt, and ſometime Eaſt, and thus we continued vntill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ſhip faſt to a piece of ice, and went to ſupper. In the meane time the wind with a faire gentle gale came vp to the Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South, but there came downe a ſhowre of raine with it, which continued the ſpace of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, ſo that wee could doe no good all that night, but tooke our reſt vntill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southweſt, we ſet ſaile to turne to windeward at three a clock in the morning. In this turning we did litle good, for the currant would not giue vs leaue. For as the winde is, ſo is the currant. We did our beſt vntill ten of the clocke, and then perceiuing that we did no good, and being incloſed with ice, wee made our ſhips faſt to a piece of ice: All this day the William lay ſtill, and did as much good as we that did labour all the forenoone. Thus we took our reſt all the ſame day.

In the afternoone we ſet ſaile, the winde being at South & by Eaſt, we lay to the Weſtwards, as Southweſt and Southweſt and by South, and ſometime to the Weſtward as wee might. Thus we continued vntil 9. at night, and then we could go no further for ice: ſo we with the William were conſtrained to make our ſhip faſt to a piece of ice al the ſame night. This day we found the pole eleuated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here we had 17. fathoms oze.

Auguſt.

The firſt day of Auguſt was verie calme in the morning, the winde beeing at Weſt Northweſt. About twelue the winde came to the Weſt, and continued ſo all the ſame night with great fogge.

The ſecond day the winde was at Southweſt all day with rayne and fogge. All this day wee were incloſed with ice, ſo that we were forced to lye ſtill. Here we had one and twentie fathoms oze. At ſixe in the afternoone the winde was at Weſt with very much foule weather, and ſo continued all the ſame night.

The third day the winde was at Weſt, and Weſt by North, and Weſt Northweſt, this day we lay ſtill incloſed with yce, the weather beeing darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leaſure, we continued with patience. And ſounding we found 21. fathoms.

The fourth day we lay ſtill incloſed with ice, the winde being at Weſt Northweſt, this ice did euery day increaſe vpon vs, yet putting our truſt in God, we hoped to be deliuered out of it in good time.

A whole land of yce.

The fift day all the morning it rained with very much wind, being at South Southeaſt: about 3. in the after noone we ſet ſayle, and preſently it became calme for the ſpace of one houre, then the wind came to the North Northeaſt, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, & Weſt, as we might finde our way for the ſpace of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, ſo that we could go no further: here we moared our ſhip to tarie for a further opening. Here we found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

The ſixt day hauing no opening of the yce wee lay ſtill, the winde being at Weſt, and Weſt by South: here we had ſixty three fathoms oze: all the ſame night the winde was at the Weſt Northweſt.

The 7. day the winde was at Weſt, and Weſt and by North all day. And all this day we lay ſtill being incloſed with yce, that we could not ſtirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came vpon vs. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggy. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South Southweſt: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze: all the night was foggy.

70. degr. 4. min.

Froſt.

The appearing of the ſtarres, ſigne of Winter.

The 9. day the winde was at Northweſt, and by Weſt, all the afternoone we lay ſtill becauſe of the yce, which did ſtill incloſe vs. This day we found the pole eleuated ſeuenty degrees, 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very fayre night, but it freezed: in the morning we had much adoe to goe through the ſame: and we were in doubt that if it ſhould haue freezed ſo much the night following, we ſhould hardly haue paſſed out of it. This night there was one ſtar that appeared to vs.

Much ſnow.

The tenth day the winde was at Eaſt Northeaſt with a very ſmall gale. Wee with ſaile and oares made way through the yce: about fiue in the morning we ſet ſaile: ſometime wee laye Southweſt, and ſometime South, and ſometime Weſt, as wee might beſt finde the way. About three in the afternoone the gale began to freſh: about ſixe in the afternoone the winde was at Northeaſt with fogge. Here we had eighty eight fathoms: we bare ſaile all the ſame night, and it ſnowed very much.

The eleuenth day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impoſſible: but extremity doth cauſe men to doe much, and in the weakeneſſe of man Gods ſtrength moſt appeareth. This day we had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southweſt, we were forced to make our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, for we were incloſed with it, and taried the Lordes leaſure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the wind was at the Southeaſt not very much but in a maner calme: at a 11. of the clocke the winde came to the Weſt Sonthweſt: all the day was very darke with ſnowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we ſet ſaile the winde being at the North Northeaſt: all this night we bare away Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, as well and as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: all this night we found the yce ſomewhat fauourable to vs, more then it was before, wherupon we ſtood in good hope to get out of it.

Great ſtore of ſnowe.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeaſt, and Northeaſt and by Eaſt: all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow againſt a piece of yce we brake the ſtocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had againſt the yce, that it was maruellous that the ſhip was able to abide them: the ſide of our boate was broken with our ſhip which did recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ſhip, and it periſhed the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with vs: at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, ſo that we lay in drift with the yce, & our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great ſtore of ſnowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, and let her driue with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our ſteerage: all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had threeſcore and two fathoms. Thus wee lay a drift all the ſame night.

The 15. day we ſet ſaile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeaſt. At 9. aforenoon we entred into a cleare Sea without yce, whereof wee were moſt glad, and not without great cauſe, and gaue God the praiſe. We had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in Southweſt all the morning vntill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we halled Weſt, til we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northweſt, for ſo the land doeth trend. At 12. of the clocke we had ſight of the land, which wee might haue had ſooner, but it was darke and foggie all the ſame day: for when wee had ſight of the lande, wee were not paſſing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole eleuated 69 degrees 49 minutes. All day we ran along the coaſt in ten and nine fadoms, pepered ſand. It is a very goodly coaſt and a bolde, and faire ſoundings off it, without ſandes or rocks.

69 degrees 49 minutes.

The 16 day the winde was at Eaſt: this day we were troubled againe with ice, but we made great ſhift with it: for we gotte betweene the ſhoare and it. This day at twelue of the clocke we were thwart of the Southeaſt part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great ſtore of yce, ſo that we ſtood in doubt of paſſage, yet by much adoe we got betwixt the ſhoare and it: about 6 in the afternoone was found a great white beare vpon a piece of ice: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all the night we haled North and North by Weſt, and ſometime North and by Eaſt, for ſo doth the land trend.

They are thwart againſt Vaigats.

The 17 day in the morning we haled Weſt, for ſo doth the land lie. The wind was at Southeaſt, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the ſhoare we fell a ground, but God be praiſed without hurt, for wee came preſently off againe. The William came to an anker to ſtay for vs, and ſent ſome of their men to help vs, but before they came we were vnder ſaile, and as we came to the William we did ſtowe our boates, and made ſaile, we went within ſome of the Iſlands, and haled Weſtſouthweſt.

Sands.

The Iſlands.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we ſet our courſe Southweſt and by South: ſo we ranne Southweſt vntill twelue at night, the wind came to the Northnortheaſt, and then we haled Weſt.

The 18 day at 6 in the morning we had 16 fadoms red ſand: at 6 in the morning 13 fadoms. At 10, 14 fadoms, and we haled Weſtnorthweſt. At 12 a clocke the winde came to the Eaſt, and Eaſt by South, we haled Weſt and by North all the ſame day and night. At 6 in the afternoone we had 17 fadoms red ſand.

The 19 day the wind was at Eaſtnortheaſt: at 6 in the morning wee had 19 fathoms red ſand: at 12 of the clocke the wind blew North and North by Eaſt, we had 17 fadoms of water, at 3 in the afternoone 15.

The 20 day the wind was at Northeaſt, and Northnortheaſt: at 7 in the morning we had 30 fadomes blacke oze: at twelue of the clocke we were vpon the ſuddaine in ſhoale water, among great ſands, and could find no way out. By ſounding and ſeeking about, we came aground, and ſo did the William, but we had no hurt, for the wind was off the ſhoare, and the ſame night it was calme: all night we did our beſt, but we could not haue her aflote. Theſe ſhoales doe lie off Colgoyeue: it is very flat a great way off, and it doth not high aboue 2 or 3 foote water: it floweth Northeaſt, and Southweſt.

Shoales off Colgoyeue.

The 21 day the wind was at Southweſt, and being very faire weather we did lighten our ſhips as much as was poſſible for vs to doe, by reaſon of the place. The ſame high water, by the helpe of God, we got both a floate, and the wind being at the Southweſt did help vs, for it cauſed it to flow the more water.

This day we found the pole to be eleuated 68 degrees 40 min. In the afternoone we both ſet ſaile to ſeeke way to get out of theſe ſands, our boate a head ſounding, hauing 6, 7, and 8 fadomes all within the ſand which was without vs. We bare to the Southward, and the William bare more to the Eaſtwards, and night being at hand the wind came to the Southeaſt, whereupon we layd it to the Southwards, lying Southweſt, and South and by Weſt, and ran to 19, and 12 and 14 fadoms, and preſently we had but ſixe fadoms, which was off the ſands head, which we were a ground vpon the day before. Then we caſt about to the Eaſtwards for deepe water, which we preſently had, as 10, 15, and 20 and ſo to 23 fadoms.

The 22 day at 8 in the morning, we caſt about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we ſaw the William vnder our lee as far as we could ſee her, and with a great fogge we loſt the ſight of her, and ſince we haue not ſeene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fadomes blacke oze, which we had at twelue of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone we had twenty and three fadoms, and then we ranne Weſtnorthweſt, and Weſt by North, all the ſame night following.

They loſt the William here.

The 23 day we had at 6 in the morning 27 fadoms, at 8 a clocke 28 fadoms: at 9 the winde being at Eaſtſoutheaſt, we haled Weſtnorthweſt: this day we had ſight of the land of Hugri ſide. At twelue of the clocke we had thirty two fadoms ſand. This day we ranne Weſt and by North, and came to fiue fadoms off the bay of Morzouets. Then we layd it to the Northwards, ſo that we lay Northnortheaſt off. The wind after came to the North, and North by Eaſt, and we lay Eaſt and Eaſt by North, then we layd it to the Weſtward againe: and thus we lay till we came

The land of Hugry.

The bay of Morzouets.

to fortie fadoms, and then we went Northweſt till wee came to fourteene fadoms, and ſo to tenne fadoms. Then we caſt about to the Eaſtwards and lay Eaſt, and Eaſt by North all the ſame night.

The 24 day at 8 in the morning we had 32 fadoms. We ran Northweſt till we came to 11 fadoms, then we lay to the Northwards till 12 at night, and then we came to forty fadoms, then the wind at Northeaſt we lay to the Weſtwards, and haled Northweſt along.

The 25 at 4 in the morning we had 37 fadoms, wee ranne Northweſt, the winde at Northnortheaſt very much.

The 26 day we ran with the ſame winde, and found the pole to be eleuated 70 deg. 40 min.

The 27 at 7 in the morning we ſaw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we haled Northweſt, and North by Weſt to double the North Cape.

The 28 day at 3 in the morning we ran Northweſt, and ſo all day. At night the wind came to the Southweſt, and we ran Northweſt all that night.

The towne of Hungon.

The 29 day we put into a ſound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: we came to an ancre at 5 in the afternoone, at 25 fadoms very faire ſand. This ſound is very large and good, and the ſame night we got water aboord.

The 30 day in the morning the winde at Northeaſt, and but litle, we ſet ſaile, and without boate on head we got the ſea about 12 of the clocke: the wind with a faire gale came to the Eaſt Southeaſt, and all this day and night we ran Weſtnorthweſt.

They double the North Cape in their returne.

The 31 day at 12 of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the wind being at Eaſtſoutheaſt, we haled Weſt all the ſame day, and at night we ran Weſtſouthweſt.

The 1 day of September the wind was at Northeaſt with very much fogge: all this day we ran Weſtſouthweſt: at 2 in the afternoone the wind came North.

Fowleneſſe.

The ſecond day at 3 in the morning we doubled Fowlneſſe, & the wind was this day variable at all parts of the Compaſſe. In the afternoone we made but litle way: at 6 a clocke the winde came to the Southweſt, and we went Northweſt. At 9 in the night there came downe ſo much winde by the Weſtſouthweſt, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we haled it to Northwards for the ſpace of 2 houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the breake of day we ſaw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the countrey Fouleneſſe. It is within ful of ſmall Iſlands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you haue fayre ſand at 20 fadoms.

The 3 day in the morning we bare with the ſound aforeſaid: Within it is but ſhoale water, 4 5 and 3 fadoms, ſandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is ſeene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not aboue 8 or 9 foote.

Lowfoote.

The 12 day at 3 in the afternoone, we put into a ſound by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southweſt, and by South, and doth high 7 or 8 foote water.

The 13 day much wind at Weſt: we had a ledge of rocks in the wind of vs, but the road was reaſonable good for all Southerly and Weſterly winds. We had the maine land in the winde of vs: this day was ſtormie with raine.

The ſound of Romeſal.

The 23 day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a ſound called Romeſal, where it floweth Southſoutheaſt, and doth high 8 foote water: this place is full of low Iſlands, and many good ſounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great ſtore of wood growing, as firre, birch, oke, and haſell: all this night the wind was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 28 day in the morning the wind being at Eaſtnortheaſt we ſet ſaile at 8 of the clocke, and haled out of the bay Weſtſouthweſt, and Southweſt, hauing a goodly gale vntill one of the clocke, and then the wind came to Southeaſt, and to the South with raine and fogge, and very much winde: at ſixe of the clocke we came into a very good rode, where we did ride all the ſame night in good ſafetie.

The 29 day we put into a good ſound, the wind by the Southweſt: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blaſtes, and raine.

The 30 day all day the wind was at Weſtſouthweſt. And in this ſound the pole is eleuated 63 deg. 10 min.

October.

The firſt day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, and vehement blaſtes.

The 7 day we ſet ſaile: for from the firſt of this moneth vntill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but ſpecially the fourth day when the wind was ſo great, that our cables brake with the very ſtorme, and I do not thinke that it is poſſible that any more wind then that was ſhould blow:

for after the breaking of our cable, we did driue a league, before our ankers would take any hold: but God be thanked the ſtorme began to ſlacke, otherwiſe we had bene in ill caſe.

The 7 day at night we came to an anker vntil the next day, which was the 8 day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon we ſet ſaile and returned into the ſound againe: and at our firſt comming to an anker, preſently there blew ſo much winde, that although our beſt anker was out, yet the extremitie of the ſtorm droue vs vpon a ledge of rocks, and did bruiſe our ſhip in ſuch ſort, that we were conſtrained to lighten her to ſaue her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ſhip and ſtopped our leakes, and moared her in good ſafety abiding for a wind. We rid from this day by reaſon of contrary winds, with fogge and raine vntill the 24 day, which day in the morning the wind came to the Northeaſt, and at 8 of the clocke we ſet ſaile. This ſound is called Moore ſound, where it higheth about 5 foote water, & floweth Southſoutheaſt. The next day being the 25 day wee put into a ſound which is called Vlfar ſound, where was a ſhip of the king of Denmark put into another ſound there by, being 2 leagues to the ſouthwards of vs, that came out of Iſland: yͤ wind was contrary for vs at Southſouthweſt.

Moore ſound,

The 12 day of Nouember we ſet ſaile the wind being at the Eaſt Southeaſt, and paſt through the ſound where the kings ſhip did lie: which ſound is called Sloure ſound. But as we did open the ſound, we found the wind at the Southweſt, ſo that we could doe no good, ſo that we moared our ſhip betweene 2. Iſlands vntil the 18 day, and then the weather being faire and calme, we ſet ſaile, & went to ſea hoping to find a faire wind, but in the ſea we found the wind at the Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, ſo that we were conſtrained to returne into the ſame ſound.

The next day being the 19 the kings ſhip came out alſo, becauſe ſhe ſaw vs put to ſea, & came as farre out as we, and moared where we did moare afore: And at our returne backe againe, we moared our ſhip in an vtter ſound called Scorpe ſound, becauſe the kings ſhip was without victuals, and we did not greatly deſire her company, although they deſired ours. In this ſound the pole is eleuated 62 deg. 47 min. Thus we lay ſtil for a wind vntill the 1 of December, which day we ſet ſaile at 6 a clocke in the morning, & at 4 in the afternoone we laid it to the inwards.

The 9 day we had ſight of the coaſt of Scotland which was Buquhamneſſe.

The 10 day we were open off the Frith.

The 11 day at 4 in the morning we were thwart of Barwike: at 6 we were thwart of Bamburch: the ſame day at 10 at night we were ſhot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the wind came to the South and Southeaſt, ſo that we lay ſtill vntill the next day in the morning, and then we were conſtrained to put with Tinmouth. The ſame day at night wee haled aground to ſtoppe a leake, which we found to be in the ſkarfe afore. The wind continued by the Southeaſt & Southſoutheaſt vntill the 20 day, and then we ſet ſaile about 12 at night, bearing along the coaſt.

The 22 day by reaſon of a Southeaſt wind, we thought we ſhould haue bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the Weſt, ſo that we haled Southeaſt: and at 3 in the afternoone we haled a ſea boord the ſands, and had ſhoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4 fadomes off them. The next day we haled as we might to ſeaſe Orfordneſſe.

The 24 day we came thwart of the Naſe, about 8 in the morning.

The 25 day being the Natiuity of Chriſt, we came to an anker betweene Old hauen, and Tilberie hope. The ſame day we turned as high as Porſhet.

The 26 day we turned as high as Ratcliffe, and praiſed God for our ſafe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

The William with Charles Iackman arriued at a port in Norway betweene Tronden and Roſtock in October 1580, and there did winter: And from thence departed againe in Februarie following, and went in company of a ſhip of the King of Denmarke toward Iſland: and ſince that time he was neuer heard of.

Inſtructions made by the company of Engliſh merchants for diſcouery of new trades, vnto *Richard Gibs*, *William Biggat*, *Iohn Backhouſe*, *William Freeman*, *Iohn Haly*, and *Iames Woodcock*, &c. maſters of the 9 ſhips, and one barke that we had freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. *Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*, and backe againe: which ſhips being now in the riuer of Thames are preſently ready to depart vpon the ſaid voyage, with the next apt winds that may ſerue therunto: and with this Fleet afterwards was ioined M. *Chriſtopher Carlile* with the *Tyger*. The 1 of Iune 1582.

FOraſmuch as the number of ſhippes which we purpoſe to ſend in this Fleete together for Saint Nicholas in Ruſſia is greater then at any time heretofore wee haue ſent thither, as alſo for that ſome ſpeeches are giuen out that you ſhall be met withall by ſuch as with force & violence will aſſault you as enemies, to the end that good order may be eſtabliſhed among you for keeping together in company, and vniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your nauigation, as alſo for your more ſafety and ſtrength againſt the enemie, we haue thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and euery one particularly ſhall be bound in the ſumme of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Becauſe the Salomon is the biggeſt ſhip, beſt appointed, and of greateſt force to defend or offend the enemie, we doe therefore appoint that ſhip Admirall, which ſhall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ſhip and well appointed, and for that the maſter of her is the ancienteſt maſter of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the ſame ſhip to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the foretop.

4 And for that the maſter of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the maſter of the Admirall and Viceadmirall ſhall conferre, conſult and agree vpon the courſes and directions that ſhall be vſed in this voyage, and it ſhall be lawfull vnto the maſter of the Admiral, with the conſent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggat, or one of them to make his courſes and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and obſerue the ſame without ſtraying or breaking of company at any time vpon the penalty before ſpecified.

5 The appointing of the ſhips for Admiral and Viceadmiral, and thoſe men to conſult and agree vpon the courſes and directions of the voyage, as aforeſaid, hath bene done by the conſents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly obſerue the premiſſes.

6 Item, we haue thought good to put you in mind, that at ſuch times as you may conueniently from time to time, you do aſſemble and meete together, to conſider, conſult, and determine vpon ſuch articles as you ſhall think neceſſary to be propounded touching your beſt ſafety and defence againſt all forces that may be offered you in this voyage, as well outwards bound, and while you ſhall remaine in the roade and bay of S. Nicholas, as alſo homewardes bound, and that which you ſhall agree vpon, or that which moſt of you ſhal conſent vnto, cauſe it to be ſet down in writing for record, which may ſerue for an acte amongſt your ſelues to binde you all to obſerue the ſame.

7 We haue appointed Iames Woodcock in the ſmal barke to attend vpon you, & to receiue his directions from you. You are therfore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching ẏ ſayd barke, to what purpoſes ſhe may beſt ſerue, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to giue your order and direction vnto him, as the time and place ſhall require.

Berozoua Vſtia.

8 Item, if you ſhall vnderſtand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what aduiſe hath bene giuen you for your ſtay at Berozoua Vſtia, till you haue by eſpials viewed and vnderſtood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the ſea either outwards or homewards, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you ſhall be aſſaulted by force of any, as enemie whatſoeuer, you are to defend your ſelues with ſuch forces as you may or can: truſt not too farre, neither giue place to inconuenience.

10 You will not forget what conference we had touching your paſſing outwards bound by Wardhouſe, to view and vnderſtand what you can at that place, and to ſhew your ſelues, to ſee if there be any there that haue a mind to ſpeake with you, for that we thinke it better then, & thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you ſhall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, be circumſpect and carefull to haue your ſhips in readineſſe, and in good order alwaies, and vpon all ſuddens. The greateſt danger vnto you in that place will be while you ſhall ſhift your ſhips: therefore you are to conſider of it, but the fitteſt time for you to doe the ſame, will bee when the winde is Southerly off the ſhore, or calme, and at ſuch time you may the better doe it without danger. You muſt take ſuch order among you, that your companies may be alwaies willing and ready to helpe one the other, and appoint among your ſelues ſuch ſhips to ſhift firſt, and ſuch after, in ſuch ſort and forme as you ſhall thinke beſt and moſt conuenient. And while they ſhall be in diſcharging, ſhifting, and lading, let the reſt of your companies which haue not then to doe in lading or diſcharging, helpe thoſe ſhips that ſhall haue labour to doe, as well for carying the barkes from ſhips to the ſhoare, or from ſhore to the ſhippe with your boates, as alſo for any other helpe that they ſhall haue neede of.

12 Remember what hath bene ſaid vnto you touching the moring of your ſhips, &c. for vſing aduantage againſt the enemie, if you ſhall be aſſaulted in that place.

13 See that you ſerue God, aboliſh ſwearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to conſult and agree among your ſelues vpon ſignes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of company together, and alſo the maner how and by what meanes, reſcue, ayde, or helpe may be giuen by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to ſend you a proſperous voyage and ſafe returne.

The opinion of Maſter *VVilliam Burrough* ſent to a friend, requiring his iudgement for the fitteſt time of the departure of our ſhips towards S. *Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*.

WHereas you requeſt me to perſwade the company not to ſend their ſhippes from hence before the fine of May, I do not thinke the ſame ſo good a courſe for them to obſerue: for you know that the ſooner wee ſende them hence, the ſooner we may looke for their returne. If wee ſende them in the beginning of May, then may they be at Saint Nicholas by the fine of the ſame moneth: and by that time the greateſt parte of your lading of neceſſitie muſt bee come downe, eſpecially the flaxe: but if it ſhould fall out ſo lateward a breaking vp of the riuer of Duyna, that by the ende of May the goods cannot be brought to Saint Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ſhips can come thither, the goods may be brought downe to that place: and if through ice the ſhippes be kept backe any time, the loſſe and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the ſhippes, and yet will the Owners put that in aduenture, rather then tarie longer time before their going hence.

The Ruſſian fleet beſt to be ſet forth in the beginning of May.

Now ſeeing by ſending our ſhippes hence in the beginning of May, their arriuall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the ſame moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the laſt of Iune, and returne home hither by the 10 of Auguſt with commodities to ſerue the market then, it cannot bee denied but we ſhould reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be obiected, that if all our ſhippes be ſent then to returne as aforeſaid, you ſhall not be able to ſend vs in ſo much cordage, Waxe and Oyles, as otherwiſe you ſhould doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to be ſent in them as you would doe.

For anſwere thereunto this is my meaning: though I wiſh the greateſt part of our ſhipping to go as aforeſaid, yet would I haue one good ſhip or two at the moſt well furniſhed in al points that ſhould depart alwaies from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10 day of Iune: and the ſame to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the firſt arriuall there vntill the middeſt of Auguſt, or to be diſpatched thence ſooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the ſame: by this order theſe commodities following may enſue.

1 You may haue our commodities there timely to ſend vp the riuer before it waxe ſhallow, to be diſperſed in the countrey at your pleaſure.

2 The greateſt part of our goods may be returned hither timely to ſerue the firſt markets.

3 Our late ſhips remaining ſo long here may ſerue to good purpoſe, for returning anſwere of ſuch letters as may be ſent ouer land, and receiued here before their departure.

4 Their remaining ſo late with you ſhal ſatiſfie your deſire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring ſuch cordage, Waxe, Oile, & other commodities, as you can prouide before that time: and chiefly may ſerue vs in ſtead to bring home our goods that may be ſent vs from Perſia.

Now ſeeing it may be ſo many wayes commodious to the commpany to obſerue this order, without any charge vnto them, I wiſh that you put to your helping hand to further the ſame.

A copie of the Commiſſion giuen to Sir *Ierome Bowes*, authorizing him her Maieſties Ambaſſadour vnto the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, *Anno* 1583.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix, &c. Vniuerſis & ſingulis præſentes literas viſuris & inſpecturis, ſalutem. Cùm Sereniſſimus Princeps, Ioannes Baſilius, Rex, & magnus Dux Ruſſiæ, Volodimeræ, Moſcouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Rex Cazani, & Aſtracani, Dominus Pleſcoæ, & magnus Dux Smolenſcoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum: Dominus & magnus Dux No-

uogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ,Rezanæ, Polotſcoæ, Ratſauiæ,Yeraſlauæ,Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condenſæ, & gubernator in tota prouincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum,frater,& Amicus chariſſimus,Nobilem virum, Feodor Andrewich Spiſemski, nuper ad nos ablegauerit,ad certa quædam negotia nobiſcum agenda,quæ honorem vtrinque noſtrum quàm proximè attingunt,quęque rectè definiri concludíque nequeunt, niſi Ambaſſiatorem aliquem & oratorem ad præfatum ſereniſſimum principem amandauerimus : Hinc eſt, quòd nos de fidelitate,induſtria, prouida circumſpectione, & ſatis magno rerum vſu,prędilecti nobis famuli noſtri, Hieronimi Bowes Militis, ex nobilibus domeſticis noſtris vnius,plurimùm confidentes, præfatum Hieronimum Bowes Militem, noſtrum verum & indubitatum Ambaſſiatorem, Oratorem, & Commiſſarium ſpecialem facimus,& conſtituimus per præſentes. Dantes, & concedentes eidem Hieronimo Bowes Militi oratori noſtro tenore præſentium, authoritatem, & mandatum, tam generale, quàm ſpeciale, ita quòd ſpecialitas non deroget generalitati, nec è contrà generalitas ſpecialitati, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis, cum præfato ſereniſſimo principe, eiuſque conſiliarijs, & deputatis quibuſcunque de præfatis negotijs & eorum ſingulis,tractandi,cõferendi, concludendi appunctuandíq;,prout præfato Oratori noſtro æquum,& ex honore noſtro videbitur : Nec non de, & ſuper huiuſmodi tractatis,concluſis,appunctuatíſq;,cæteríſque omnibus & ſingulis, præmiſſa quouiſmodo concernentibus,literas,& inſtrumenta valida & efficacia, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis tradendi, literaſq; & inſtrumenta conſimilis vigoris & effectus,ex altera parte petendi,& confici, & ſigillari debitè procurandi,& recipiendi,& generaliter omnia, & ſingula præmiſſa qualitercunq; concernentia,faciendi,exercendi,& expediendi,in,& eodem modo,ſicut nos ipſi faceremus, & facere poſſemus, ſi eſſemus præſentes, etiamſi talia ſint, quæ de ſe mandatum exigant magis ſpeciale : promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, omnia & ſingula, quæ per prædictum Ambaſſiatorem,& oratorem noſtrum appunctuata, promiſſa, conuenta, concordata,& concluſa fuerint in hac parte,nos rata & grata,& firma habituras & obſeruaturas, & ſuperinde literas noſtras patentes confirmatorias,& approbatorias in forma valida,& autentica,prout opus fuerit,daturas. In cuius rei teſtimonium,his præſentibus manu noſtra ſignatis, magnum ſigillum noſtrum regni noſtri Anglię apponi fecimus.Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenwici quinto die menſis Iunij,Anno Dom.1583.Regni verò noſtri viceſſimo quinto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith,&c.to al and ſingular,to whom theſe preſents ſhal come to be ſeen and red,greeting. Whereas the moſt excellent prince Iohn Baſiliwich king, and great duke of all Ruſſia, Volodomer, Moſcouie, and Nouogrod, king of Cazan and Aſtracan,lord of Pleſco, and great duke of Smolenſco,of Tuer,Vgor,and Permia,Valca, Bolhar and others, lord great duke of Nouogrod in the low country,of Cherniga,Rezan,Polotſco,Roſtoue,Yeraſlaue, Bealozera,Liefland,Oudor,Obdor and Condenſa,and gouernour of al the land of Siberia,and of the North parts and other,our moſt deare brother and friẽd did of late ſend vnto vs one Feodor Andrewich Spiſemsky, a noble man of his,to deale with vs in certaine ſpeciall buſineſſes,reſpecting very neerely the honour of either of vs,and being ſuch as without the ſpeeding of ſome Ambaſſadour of ours to the foreſaid moſt excellent prince,cannot be ſufficiently determined and cõcluded: For this cauſe we hauing great cõfidence in the fidelitie,induſtrie,prouident circumſpection and conuenient experience of our welbeloued ſeruant Ierome Bowes knight,a gentleman of qualitie of our houſholde, do by theſe preſents make and conſtitute the foreſaid Ierome Bowes knight our true & vndoubted Ambaſſadour, Orator and ſpecial commiſſioner, giuing and graunting to the ſame Ierome Bowes knight,our Orator,by the vertue of theſe preſents authoritie and commandement,as wel general as ſpecial,ſo that the ſpecial ſhall not preiudice the generall,nor on the other ſide the general the ſpecial,to intreat,conferre,conclude, and appoint in our name,and for vs with the foreſaid moſt excellent prince and his counſellers and deputies whatſoeuer, concerning the foreſaide buſineſſes,and ech of them,according as it ſhall ſeeme good, and for our honour to our foreſaide Orator,as alſo of and vpon ſuch things intreated,concluded and appointed,as in all and ſingular other things,any maner of way concerning the premiſſes, to deliuer in our name and for vs,ſufficient and effectual letters and inſtruments,and to require letters & inſtruments of the like validitie and effect of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to bee made and ſealed, and then to receiue them, and generally to doe,execute,and diſpatch al and ſingular other things concerning the premiſſes,in,and after the ſame maner,as we our ſelues would and might do if we were preſent, although they be ſuch things as may ſeeme of themſelues to require a more ſpeciall com-

mandement: promiſing in good faith and in the word of a prince, that we will hold and obſerue all and ſingular the things which by our Ambaſſador aforeſayd ſhall be appointed, promiſed, agreed, accorded and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gratefull, and firme, and thereupon as need ſhall require, will giue our letters patents, confirmatory and approbatory, in forme effectuall and autenticall. In witneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed our great ſeale of our kingdome of England to be put to theſe preſents, and ſigned them with our owne hand.

Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the fourth day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth.

A Letter ſent from her Highneſſe to the ſayd great Duke of *Ruſsia*, by ſir *Hierome Bowes* aforeſayd, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour.

Sereniſsimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Baſilio, *Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius* Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ, *&c. Regi* Cazani, *&c. Domino* Pleſcoæ, *&c. Domino & magno Duci* Nouogrodiæ, *&c. & Gubernatori in tota Prouincia* Siberiæ, *&c. Fratri & amico noſtro chariſsimo.*

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix. &c. Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Baſilio, eadem Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ, Moſcouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Regi Cazani & Aſtracani, Domino Pleſcoæ, & magno Duci Smolenſcoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Viatskæ, Bolharę, & aliarum ditionum, Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione, Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotſcoæ, Roſtouæ, Iaroſlauæ, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condenſæ, & Gubernatori in tota prouincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, fratri & amico ſuo chariſſimo, Salutem.

Sereniſſime princeps, frater & amice chariſſime, ex ijs quæ nobiſcum egit S. V. illuſtris legatus, intelleximus, quàm gratè vobis faceremus ſatis, ſi legatum aliquem cum mandatis inſtructum, ad S. V. ablegaremus. In quo certè quidem inſtituto adeò nobis ex animo placuit, quod eſt honeſtè poſtulatum, vt non niſi præſtita re, poſſemus nobis quoquo modo ſatisfacere. Atq; cum id haberemus apud nos decretum, nobis non incommodè incurrit in mentem & oculos Hieronimus Bowes miles, ex nobilibus noſtris Domeſticis, plurimùm nobis dilectus, quem inpræſentiarum ad S. V. ablegamus, cuius prudentiæ & fidei, totum hoc quicquid eſt, quod ad Serenitatum mutuò noſtrarum dignitatem ornandam pertinere poſſe arbitramur, commiſimus. In quo munere perfungendo, quin omnem curam & diligentiam ſit collaturus, neutiquam dubitamus: à S. autem V. rogamus, velit ei eam fidem habere in ijs perſequendis quæ habet à nobis in mandatis, quam nobis habendam putaret, ſi eſſemus præſentes. Præterea, cùm nobis multum charus ſit Robertus Iacobus medicus, quem ſuperiori ‖ anno, ad S. V. 1582 miſimus, rogamus vt eum eo loco S. V. habeat, quo virum probatiſſimum, & ſingulari quàm plurimarum virtutum laude ornatum habendum eſſe, boni principes cenſent. Quem à nobis neutiquam ablegauiſſemus, niſi amicitiæ noſtræ, & ſtudio gratificandi S. V. plurimùm tribuiſſemus. In qua dum voluntate manemus erga S. V. non niſi optimè de bonis veſtris meritis in præfatum Iacobum nobis pollicemur. Et Deum Opt. Max. precamur, vt S. V. ſaluam conſeruet, & incolumem. Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenouici 19 die menſis Iunij, Anno Domini 1583, regni verò noſtri viceſſimo quinto.

S. veſtræ bona ſoror.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the moſt excellent Prince and Lord, Iohn Baſiliwich, by the ſame grace of God, King and great Duke of all Ruſsia, Volodomer, Moſcouie, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſco, and great Duke of Smolenſco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permie, Viatſca, Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the lowe countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Roſtoue, Iaroſlaue, Bealozera, Lifland, Oudor, Obdor, and Condenſa, and Gouernour of all the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and others, her deareſt brother and friend, Salutations.

Moſt excellent Prince, moſt deare brother and friend, by thoſe things which the worthy ambaſſador of your excellency declared vnto vs, we haue vnderſtood how kindly it would be taken, if we ſhould ſend to your excellency an ambaſſador from vs, with commandement and inſtructions. In which matter your honourable requeſt hath ſo much pleaſed vs, that we could not any maner of way ſatiſfie our ſelues, except we performed the ſame. And hauing purpoſed with our ſelfe ſo to doe, we thought of, and remembred Ierome Bowes Knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our houſeholde, a man very much beloued of vs, whom at this preſent we ſend vnto your Maieſty, and to whoſe wiſedome and faithfulneſſe we haue committed all, whatſoeuer we take to apperteine to the aduancement of both our honors indifferently. In the diſcharge of which ſeruice, we doubt not but that all care and diligence ſhall be vſed on his part, ſo that we intreat your Maieſty to giue him credence in the proſecuting of thoſe things which he hath from vs in commandement, no leſſe then to our ſelfe, if we were preſent. And whereas Robert Iacob doctor of phyſicke is a man very deare vnto vs, whom the laſt yere we ſent vnto your excellency, we deſire that he may haue that fauor and eſtimation with you, which good princes thinke a moſt honeſt and vertuous man worthy of: for had we not caried great reſpect to our mutual friendſhip, and indeuour to gratifie your Maieſtie, we ſhould in no caſe haue parted with him. And ſeeing we continue ſtill the ſame good will towards your excellency, we doe euen promiſe to our ſelfe your honourable kindneſſes towards him: and we pray the almightie God to preſerue your Maieſty in good ſafetie and health. Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich the 19 day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth.

Doctor Iacob.

Your Maieſties good ſiſter.

A briefe diſcourſe of the voyage of Sir *Ierome Bowes* knight, her Maieſties ambaſſadour to *Iuan Vaſiliuich* the Emperour of *Muſcouia*, in the yeere 1583.

THe Emperour of Ruſsia that then liued, by name Iuan Vaſiliwich, hauing deliberately conſidered how neceſſary it were for the ſtrengthening of his eſtate, that a ſure commerce and entercourſe of merchants ſhould be againe renued betweene him and her ſacred Maieſty of England, with ſuch further immunities and priuileges for the honor and vtility of both their dominions, and ſubiects of the ſame, as vpon mutuall treatie of perſons interpoſed on both ſides, might be aſſented vnto: ſent ouer into this realme, in the yeere of our Lord 1582, as his ambaſſadour for that purpoſe, an ancient diſcreet gentleman of his houſeholde called Pheodor Andreuich Phiſemsky, accompanied with one of his Secretaries, for his better aſſiſtance in that expedition: and beſides his many other directions, whereof part were to be deliuered by word of mouth, and the reſt ſet downe in a letter vnder the Emperours ſignature, addreſſed to her Maieſty: he had in ſpeciall charge to ſollicit her Maieſty to ſend ouer with him to his maiſter an ambaſſador from her, to treat and contract of ſuch affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his imployments hither. Whereupon her Maieſty very graciouſly inclining to the Emperors motion, and at the humble ſute of the Engliſh merchants trading thoſe countreys being caried with the ſame princely reſpects, to ſatiſfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of ſir Ierome Bowes, a gentleman of her Court, ordinarily attending vpon her Maieſties perſon, towards whom was apparantly expreſſed her princely opinion and fauor by the credit of this negociation.

Pheodor Andreuich Phiſemsky the Emperors ambaſſadour.

After he had receiued his commiſſion, with other ſpeciall letters to the Emperor, with all other inſtructions apperteining to his charge, and that the ſayd Ruſſe ambaſſadour was licenced to returne home to his maiſter, being honorably entertained and rewarded, the Engliſh ambaſſador being attended vpon with forty perſons at the leaſt, very honourably furniſhed, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, tooke his leaue of her Maieſty at the Court at Greenwich the eighteenth of Iune, and with the other ambaſſadour, with their ſeuerall companies, embarked themſelues at Harwich the two and twentieth of the ſame, and after a ſtormy voyage at the Sea, they arriued both in ſafety in the road of S. Nicholas the three and twentieth of Iuly next following.

The Ruſſe ambaſſador lodged himſelfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas: and the Engliſh ambaſſador was lodged and well intertained by the Engliſh merchants, at their houſe at S. Nicholas, ſtanding in an Iſland called Roſe Iſland.

The Ruſſe ambaſſador hauing repoſed himſelfe one whole day, tooke his leaue of the Engliſh ambaſſador, and departed towards Moſco.

The Engliſh ambaſſadour abode yet at S. Nicholas foure or fiue dayes, when hauing made prouiſion of boats, and meanes to that purpoſe, he went forward vpon his iourney towards

Moſco, to a towne called Colmogro, about foure ſcore miles diſtant from S. Nicholas.

You muſt here vnderſtand that before the Engliſh ambaſſadors going into Ruſſia, there were diuers ſtrangers, but eſpecially certeine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themſelues to trade into thoſe countreys. Notwithſtanding a priuilege of the ſole trade thither was long before granted to the Engliſh merchants. Theſe Dutch men had already ſo handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes woonne three of the chiefeſt counſellers to the Emperour to be their aſſured friends, namely, Mekita Romanouich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for beſides dayly gifts that they beſtowed vpon them all, they tooke ſo much money of theirs at intereſt at fiue and twenty vpon the hundred, as they payd to ſome one of them fiue thouſand marks yeerely for the vſe of his money, and the Engliſh merchants at that time had not one friend in Court.

The Hollanders intrude into our trade.

The ambaſſador hauing now ſpent fiue weeks at S. Nicholas and at Colmogro, there came to him then a gentleman ſent from the Emperor to enterteine him, and had in charge to conduct him vp the riuers towards Moſco, and to deliuer him prouiſion of all kinde of victuals neceſſary.

This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancellor, was by him (as it ſeemed) foiſted into that ſeruice of purpoſe, as afterward appeared by the courſe he tooke, to offer diſcourteſies, and occaſions of miſlike to the ambaſſador: for you muſt vnderſtand that the chancellor and the other two great counſellors (ſpoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpoſe to oppoſe themſelues directly againſt her Maieſties ambaſſage, eſpecially in that point, for the barring of all ſtrangers from trading into the Emperors countrey.

This gentleman conducted the Engliſh ambaſſador a thouſand miles vp the riuers of Dwina and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where receiued him another gentleman ſent from the Emperor, a man of better countenance then the other, who preſented the ambaſſador from the Emperor with two faire geldings well furniſhed after their maner.

At a city called Yeraſlaue vpon the riuer Volga there met the ambaſſador a duke well accompanied, ſent from the Emperor, who preſented him from the Emperor a coach and ten geldings for the more eaſie conueying of him to Moſco, from whence this citie was diſtant fiue hundred miles.

Two miles on this ſide Moſco there met the ambaſſador foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horſe: who after a litle ſalutation, not familiar, without imbracing, tolde him that they had to ſay to him from the Emperor, and would haue had him light on foot to haue heard it, notwithſtanding themſelues would ſtill haue ſit on horſebacke: which the ambaſſador ſoone refuſed to doe, and ſo they ſtood long vpon termes, whether both parties ſhould light or not: which afterwards agreed vpon, there was yet great niceneſſe whoſe foot ſhould not be firſt on ground.

Their meſſage being deliuered, and after hauing embraced ech other, they conducted the ſayd ambaſſador to his lodging at Moſco, a houſe builded of purpoſe for him, themſelues being placed in the next houſe to it, as appointed to furniſh him of all prouiſions, and to be vſed by him vpon all other occaſions.

The ambaſſador hauing beene ſome dayes in Moſco, and hauing in all that time bene very honorably vſed from the Emperor (for ſuch was his will) though ſome of his chiefeſt counſellors (as is ſayd) had another purpoſe, and did often times cunningly put it in vſe: He was ſent for to Court, and was accompanied thither with about forty gentlemen honorably mounted, and ſumptuouſly arayed, & in his paſſage from his lodging to the court, were ſet in a ward fiue or ſixe thouſand ſhot, that were of the Emperors gard. At the entry into the court there met him foure noble men apparelled in cloth of gold, and rich furres, their caps embroidred with pearle and ſtone, who conducted him towards the Emperor, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperor, in which paſſage there ſtood along the walles, and ſate vpon benches and fourmes in row, ſeuen or eight hundred perſons, ſaid to be noblemen and gentlemen, all apparelled in garments of coloured ſatins and cloth of golde.

Theſe foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperors chamber doore, where met him the Emperors herald, whoſe office is there held great: and with him all the great officers of the Emperors chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperor ſate in his ſtate, hauing three crownes ſtanding by him, viz. of Moſcouia, Cazan, and Aſtrakan, and alſo by him 4 yoong noblemen of about twenty yeres of age, of ech ſide twaine, coſtly apparelled in white, holding vpon their ſhoulders ech of them a brode axe, much like to a Gallogals axe of Ireland, thin and very ſharpe, the ſteale or handle not paſt halfe a yard long, and there ſate about the chamber vpon benches and other low ſeats, aboue an hundred noblemen richly apparelled in cloth of golde.

The ambaſſador being thus brought to the Emperor to kiſſe his hand, after ſome complements and inquirie of her Maieſties health, he willed him to goe ſit downe in a place prouided for that purpoſe, nigh ten paſes diſtant from him, from whence he would haue had him to haue ſent him her Maieſties letters and preſent, which the ambaſſadour thinking not reaſonable ſtept forward towards the Emperor: in which paſſage the chancellor came to meet him, and would haue taken his letters: to whom the ambaſſador ſayd, that her Maieſty had directed no letters to him; and ſo went on, and deliuered them himſelfe to the Emperors owne hands.

And after, hauing thus deliuered her Maieſties letters and what he had els to ſay at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where hauing had conference with the councell of matters of his ambaſſage, he was ſoone after ſent for againe to the Emperour, where he dined in his preſence at a ſide table, nere vnto him, and all his company at another boord by, where alſo dined at other tables in the ſame place, all the chiefe noble men that were about the Court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperor vſed many fauors to the ambaſſadour and about the midſt of dinner (ſtanding vp) dranke a great carouſe to the health of the Queene his good ſiſter, and ſent him a great bowle full of Rheniſh wine and ſugar to pledge him.

The ambaſſadour after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference both with the Emperour and his councell of the matters in queſtion, touching both ambaſſages, which diuers times raiſed many iarres: and in the end, after ſundry meetings, the Emperour finding himſelfe not ſatiſfied to his liking, for that the ambaſſadour had not power by his commiſſion to yeeld to euery thing that he thought fit, as a man whoſe will was ſeldome wonted to be gainſayd, let looſe his paſſion, and with a ſterne and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambaſſadour greatly miſliking theſe ſpeeches, & being very vnwilling (how dangerous ſoeuer it might prooue to his owne perſon) to giue way to the Emperor, to derogate ought from the honour and greatneſſe of her Maieſty: and finding alſo that to ſubiect himſelfe to the angrie humour and diſpoſition of the Emperour was not the meanes to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to anſwere his, tolde him that the Queene his Miſtreſſe was as great a prince as any was in Chriſtendome, equall to him that thought himſelfe the greateſt, well able to defend herſelfe againſt his malice whoſoeuer, and wanted no meanes to offend any that either ſhee had, or ſhould haue cauſe to be enemy vnto. Yea (quoth he) How ſayeſt thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? Mary (quoth the ambaſſadour) I holde the Queene my Miſtreſſe as great as any of them both. Then what ſayeſt thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany? Such is the greatneſſe of the Queene my Miſtreſſe (quoth the ambaſſadour) as the King her father had (not long ſince) the Emperor in his pay, in his warres againſt France.

This anſwere miſliked the Emperor yet ſo much more, as that he tolde the ambaſſadour, that were he not an ambaſſador, he would throw him out of the doores. Whereunto he anſwered that he might doe his will, for he was now faſt within his countrey: but he had a Miſtreſſe who (he doubted not) would be reuenged of any iniury that ſhould be done vnto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great ſudden bade him get him home. And he with no more reuerence then ſuch vſage required, ſaluted the Emperor, and went his way.

All this notwithſtanding, the ambaſſadour was not much ſooner out of the chamber, and the Emperours cholar ſomewhat ſetled, but he deliuered to his councell that ſtood about him many commendations in the fauor of the ambaſſador, for that he would not indure one ill word to be ſpoken againſt his Miſtreſſe, and therewithall wiſhed himſelfe to haue ſuch a ſeruant.

The ambaſſadour had not beene much more then one houre in his lodging, but the Emperour imagining (as it ſeemed) by the extraordinary behauior of the ambaſſador (for he wanted not wit to iudge) that he had found what was the Emperors caſe, ſent his principall ſecretary vnto him, to tell him, that notwithſtanding what had paſt, yet for the great loue that he bare to the Queene his ſiſter, he ſhould very ſhortly be called againe to Court, and haue a reſolution of all the matters in queſtion: and this Secretary was now further content to impart, and ſayd to the ambaſſadour that the Emperour was fully reſolued to ſend a greater noble man home with him in ambaſſage to the Queene his ſiſter, then euer he yet at any time ſent out of his countrey: and that he determined alſo to ſend to the Queene a preſent woorth three thouſand pounds, and to gratifie himſelfe at his departure with a gift that ſhould be woorth a thouſand pounds: and tolde him alſo that the next day the Emperour would ſend a great noble man vnto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuſes done him by Shalkan the chancellor, and his miniſters.

And ſo the day following he ſent Bodan Belskoy the chiefeſt counſeller that he had, a man moſt in credit with him: this man examined all matters wherewith the ambaſſador had found himſelfe grieued, and ſupplied him with what hee wanted, and righted him in all things wherein hee had beene wronged.

Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperor cauſed to be ſet downe in his owne preſence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambaſſador then he had had before, and ſhortly after ſent the ſame to the ambaſſadour by his principall Secretarie Sauio Frollo. This diet was ſo great, as the ambaſſadour often times ſought to haue it leſſened, but the Emperour would not by any meanes.

The ſcroule of the new diet was this:

One buſhell of fine meale for three dayes.
One buſhell of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
Two liue geeſe for one day.
Twenty hennes for the day.
Seuen ſheepe for a day.
One oxe for three dayes.
One ſide of porke for a day.
Seuentie egges for a day.
Ten pound of butter.
Seuenty peny white loaues of bread.
Twelue peny loaues of bread.
One veather or gallon of vineger.
Two veathers of ſalt cabiges.
One pecke of onions.
Ten pound of ſalt.
On altine, or ſixe peny worth of waxe candles.

Two altines of tallow candles.
One fourth part of a veather of cherrie mead.
As much of Mallynouomead.
Halfe a veather of burnt wine.
One veather of ſodden mead called Obarni.
Three veathers of ſweet mead.
Ten veathers of white mead.
Fifteene veathers of ordinary mead.
Foure veathers of ſweet beere.
Fifteene veathers of beere.
Halfe a pound of pepper.
Three ſollitincks or ounces of ſaffron.
One ſollitincke of maſe.
One ſollitincke of nutmegs.
Two ſollitincks of cloues.
Three ſollitincks of ſinamon.

Prouender,
One buſhell of oats.
One load of hay.
One load of ſtraw.

Now he began ſo much to diſcouer his purpoſe and affections towards her Maieſty & her countrey, as he ſent to the ambaſſador, intreating him that his ‖ preacher, and doctor Iacob his Engliſh phyſician, might ſet downe the points of the religion in vſe in England, which the ambaſſadour cauſed to be done accordingly, and ſent them vnto him, who ſeemed ſo well to like them, as he cauſed them (with much good allowance) to be publikely read before diuers of his councell, and many others of his nobility.

‖ M. Cole.

Now he drew hotly againe in queſtion to marry ſome kinſewoman of her Maieſties, & that he would ſend againe into England, to haue ſome one of them to wife, and if her Maieſtie would not vpon his next ambaſſage ſend him ſuch a one as he required, himſelfe would then goe into England, and cary his treaſure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you muſt vnderſtand that the yeere before this ambaſſage, he had ſent to her Maieſty by his ambaſſador to haue had the lady Mary Haſtings in marriage, which intreaty by meanes of her inability of body, by occaſion of much ſickneſſe, or perhaps, of no great liking either of herſelfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambaſſador was now ſo farre growen into the Emperors fauor, & his affection ſo great to England, as thoſe great counſellers that were the ambaſſadors great enemies before, were now deſirous of ſome publike courteſies at his hands for their aduantage to the Emperour: neither durſt they now any more interpoſe themſelues twixt the Emperour and him: for not long before this, the Emperor for abuſing the ambaſſador, had (to ſhew his fauor towards him) beaten Shalkan the chanceller very grieuouſly, and had ſent him word, that he would not leaue one of his race aliue.

Now whileſt the ambaſſador was thus ſtrongly poſſeſt of the Emperours fauor, he imployed himſelfe in all he might, not onely for the ſpeedy diſpatch of the negotiation he had in hand, but laboured alſo by all the good meanes he might, further to benefit his countrey and countreymen, and ſo not long after wanne at the Emperours hands not onely all thoſe things he had in commiſſion to treat for by his inſtructions, but alſo ſome other of good and great importance, for the benefit of the merchants.

Priuate ſutes obteined of the Emperor by the ambaſſador.

Leaue for Richard Franſham an Engliſh man and apothecary to the Emperour, his wife, and children, to come home into England, and to bring with him all ſuch goods as he had gotten there.

He obteined like leaue for Richard Elmes an Engliſhman one of the Emperours ſurgions.

He alſo got leaue for Iane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutchman, and phyſician to the Emperour, who for treaſon practiſed with the king of Pole againſt the ſayd Emperour, was roſted to death at the city of Moſco, in the yere 1579.

Theſe following he obteined for the behoofe of the merchants.

HE procured for the merchants promiſe of recompenſe for certaine goods taken from their factors by robbery vpon the Volga.

He obtained likewiſe the payment of fiue hundred marks, which was payd for ten yeeres before his going into Ruſſia (into the Emperours receit) for a rent of a houſe that they had at Vologda.

He alſo got granted for them the repayment of fifteene hundred marks, which had bene exacted of them the two laſt yeres before his comming thither.

He got alſo for them order for the repayment of an olde and deſperate debt of three thouſand marks, a debt ſo deſperate, as foure yeeres left out of their accounts, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be dealt with, for too much offending the Emperor, or impeaching his other buſineſſe, which was thought at leaſt otherwiſe ſufficient, and was therefore left out of his inſtructions from her Maieſty.

He obteined that all ſtrangers were forbidden to trade any more into Ruſſia, and that the paſſage and trade to all the Emperors Northren coaſts and countries, from the Wardhouſe to the riuer of Ob ſhould be onely free to the Engliſh nation.

Laſtly, of a great deſire he had to do the merchants good, without motion either of themſelues here, or their Agents there, or any other of them, he obteined of the Emperour the abatement of all their cuſtome which they had long before payd, and agreed ſtill to continue, which cuſtome the Dutchmen and ſtrangers being remooued, as now it was agreed, amounted to two thouſand pounds yerely.

All theſe were granted, ſome already payd before his comming from Moſco, the olde priuilege ratified, newly written, ſigned and ſealed, and was to be deliuered to the ambaſſadour at his next comming to Court, before when the Emperor fell ſicke of a ſurfet, and ſo died.

After whoſe death the caſe was woondrouſly altered with the ambaſſador: for whereas both in his owne conceit, and in all mens opinion els, he was in great forwardnes to haue growen a great man with the Emperor, what for the loue he bare to her Maieſty, and the particular liking he had of himſelfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mekita Romanouich and Andre Shalkan the chanceller, who, after the death of the Emperour, tooke the ſpeciall gouernment vpon themſelues, and ſo preſently cauſed the ambaſſadour to be ſhut vp a cloſe priſoner in his owne houſe, for the ſpace of nine weeks, and was ſo ſtraightly guarded and badly vſed by thoſe that attended him, as he dayly ſuſpected ſome further miſchiefe to haue followed: for in this time there grew a great vprore in Moſco of nigh twenty thouſand perſons, which remembring that his enemies reigned, ſomewhat amazed the ambaſſadour, but yet afterwards the matter fell out againſt that great counſellor Bodan Belskoy, whom I noted before to be a ſpecial man in the old Emperors fauor: who was now notwithſtanding ſo outragiouſly aſſaulted, as that he was forced to ſeeke the Emperors chamber for his ſafety, and was afterwards ſent away to Cazan, a place he had in gouernment, fiue hundred miles from Moſco, where he hath remained euer ſince, and neuer as yet called againe to court, at which time the ambaſſador expected ſome ſuch like meaſure, and prepared himſelfe aſwell as he could, for his defence: yet happily after this, was ſent for to court, to haue his diſpatch, and to take his leaue of the Emperor: whither being conducted (not after the woonted maner) and brought to the councell chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chanceller and a brother of his, who without more adoe, tolde him for the ſumme of his diſpatch, that this Emperour would not treat of further amity with the Queene his miſtreſſe, then ſuch as was betweene his late father and her, before his comming thither: and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambaſſadour, but preſently cauſed both himſelfe and all his company to be diſarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperor. In which paſſage there were ſuch outrages offered him, as had he not vſed more patience then his diſpoſition afforded him, or the occaſion required, he had not in likelihood eſcaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the preſence of the Emperour, who ſayd nothing to him, but what the chanceller had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Maieſty, which the ambaſſadour (for that he knew it conteined nothing that did concerne his ambaſſage) refuſed till he ſaw his danger grow too great: neither would the Emperour ſuffer the ambaſſadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpoſe taken away his interpretor, being yet vnwilling (as it ſeemed, and ſuſpecting the ambaſſadours purpoſe) that the Emperor and other ſhould know how diſhonorably he had beene handled: for there was at that time, in that preſence a noble braue gentleman, one Boris Pheodorouich Gedenoe, brother to the Emperor that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour did alwayes vſe the ambaſſadour moſt honorably, and would very willingly haue done him much more kindneſſe, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperor: but notwithſtanding he ſent often vnto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honorable fauours with a preſent of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a tymber of very good ſables: and deſired that as there was kindneſſe and brotherhood twixt the Emperor and her Maieſty, ſo there might be loue and brotherhood twixt him and the ambaſſadour. Sauing from this man, there was now no more fauour nor friendſhip left for the ambaſſadour in Moſcouia: for the chanceller Shalkan had now ſent him word that the Engliſh Emperor was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and diſgraces too many, and a haſty diſpatch from the Moſco, that he might not tary the coronation of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long iourney, onely one meane gentleman appointed to accompany him to the ſea ſide, expecting daily in his paſſage ſome ſudden reuenge to be done vpon him, for ſo he vnderſtood it was threatned before his comming from the Moſco, & therefore with reſolution prouided by all the meanes he might, by himſelfe and his ſeruants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen ſuch, as the Engliſh merchants did altogether leaue him, although he commanded them in her Maieſties name to accompany him) that if any ſuch thing ſhould happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that ſhould offer to execute it, ſhould die with him for company: which being perceiued was thought to make his paſſage the ſafer. So afterward being driuen to diſgeſt many iniuries by the way, at length he recouered S. Nicholas, where remembring his vnfortunate loſſe of the old Emperor, and his ill vſage ſince then at the Moſco, he being forced to take a bare letter for the ſumme of his diſpatch, conteyning nothing of that he came for, and the poore and diſgracefull preſent ſent him (in the name of the Emperour) in reſpect of that that was meant him by the old Emperor, knowing all theſe to be done in diſgrace of her Maieſtie and himſelfe, determined now to be diſcharged of ſome part of them in ſuch ſort as he could, and ſo prouiding as he might to preuent his danger, in getting to his ſhippe, furniſhing and placing his men to anſwere any aſſault that ſhould be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the vncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by three or foure of the valianteſt and diſcreeteſt men he had, he ſent to be deliuered him or left at his lodging, his maiſters weake letter, and worſſe preſent, and ſo afterwards happily (though hardly) recouered his ſhip in ſafetie, although preſently afterwards, there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receiue the ſame againe, but failed of their purpoſe. So came the ambaſſadour from S. Nicholas the twelft day of Auguſt, and arriued at Graueſend the twelft of September following, and attended her Maieſtie at the court at Otelands, where, after hauing kiſt her Maieſties hands, and deliuered ſome part of the ſucceſſe of his ambaſſage, he preſented her an Elke or Loſhe, the Red deere of the countrey, and alſo a brace of Raine deare, Buck and Doe, both bearing very huge hornes: they in her Maieſties preſence drew a ſled and a man vpon it, after the maner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabite in the Northeaſt from Ruſſia, and were that yeere come ouer the ſea in the winter ſeaſon vpon the yce, in their ſleds, drawen with theſe deere into Ruſſia, where the ambaſſadour bought of them ſeuenteene, whereof he brought nine aliue into Kent.

The great friendſhip of L. Boris Pheodorouich.

The maner of the preferring of ſutes in *Ruſſia*, by the example of our Engliſh merchants bill, exhibited to the Emperour.

IOhn Baſiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, the Engliſh merchants, William, ſonne of Thomas, with his company ſue vnto.

Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the worlds creation, thy Maieſties treaſurer, named Gregorie Mekitowich Borozden, tooke of vs for thy vſe 12. poods of loafe ſugar, priſed at 8. robles the pood, which ſugar was ſent to the ‖ Sloboda. More, the ſayd Gregorie treaſurer, tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie 200. reames of paper, priſed at 20. altines the reame, for all which the money hath not bene payd which amounteth to 216. robles.

‖ The Emperours houſe of recreation.

And in the 84. yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo tooke of vs for thy Maieſty copper plates, for the ſumme of 1032. robles and one fourth part vnpayd for.

Alſo in the ſaid 84. yeere thy Maieſties diakes called Iuan Blaſghoy, and Iuan Sobakin tooke of vs for thy vſe, ſundry commodities, and haue not payd 630. robles, the reſt of the money due for the ſaid goods.

In the 85. yeere thy Maieſties treaſurer Peter Gholouen tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie, cloth of ſundry ſorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538. robles.

In the 88. yeere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Iſtomay Yeuskoy tooke of vs lead for thy Maieſtie, to the value of 267. robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the ſame yeere thy Maieſties diak Boris Gregoriwich had for thy vſe 15. broad cloths of diuerſe ſorts, priſed at 210. robles, whereof 90. robles are vnpayd.

Alſo in the ſaid 88. yere thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs 1000. robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Maieſties appointment.

And alſo in the 89. yeere (Lord) thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs for thy Maieſty 500. robles, we know not whether by thy Maieſties order or no, becauſe that thy authorized people do yeerely take away from vs, neither do they giue vs right in any cauſe.

All the mony (Lord) which is not payd vs out of thy Maieſties treaſury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from vs by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273. robles 25. altines.

Right noble king and Lord, ſhew thy mercy, and cauſe the money to be payd vs which is owing for our goods, as alſo that which hath beene taken from vs: extend thy fauor, King and Lord.

A letter of M. *Henrie Lane* to the worſhipfull M. *VVilliam Sanderſon*, conteining a briefe diſcourſe of that which paſſed in the Northeaſt diſcouery for the ſpace of three and thirtie yeeres.

MAſter Sanderſon, as you lately requeſted mee, ſo haue I ſought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet peruſing at London copies of mine old letters to content one that meaneth to pleaſure many, I haue briefly and as truly as I may, drawen out as followeth: The rough hewing may be planed at your leaſure, or as pleaſeth him that ſhall take the paines.

First the honourable attempt to diſcouer by ſea Northeaſt and Northweſt named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuiledge from king Edward the ſixt, and other his nobilitie, by and at the coſt and ſute of M. Sebaſtian Cabota, then gouernor for diſcoueries with ſir Andrew Iudde, ſir George Barnes, ſir William Garrard, M. Anthony Huſſie, and a companie of merchants, was in the laſt yeere of his Maieſties reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one ſir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with ſufficient number of Pilots, Maiſters, Merchants and Mariners, hauing three ſhippes well furniſhed, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonaduenture, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaduenture, Richard Chanceller being Pilot, and Steuen Burrough Maiſter, hauing diſcouered Wardhouſe vpon the coaſt of Finmark, by ſtorme or fogge departed from the reſt, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Ruſſia, there wintred in ſafetie, and had ayde of the people at a village called Newnox.

Anno 1553.

M. William Burrough was then yong, and with his brother in this firſt voyage.

Newnox is frō the road of S. Nicholas Weſtward 35 miles.

The other two ſhippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by ſir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with ſuch extreame colde, that they put backe to ſeeke a wintring place: and miſſing the ſaide baye fell vpon a deſert coaſt in Lappia, entring into a Riuer immediately frozen vp, ſince diſcouered, named Arzina Reca, diſtant Eaſt from a Ruſſian Monaſtery of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they neuer returned, but all to the number of 70. perſons periſhed, which was for want of experience to haue made caues and ſtoues. Theſe were found with the ſhippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Ruſſe fiſhermen: and in Anno 1555. the place ſent vnto by Engliſh Merchants as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554.

Anno 1554. the ſayd ſhippe Edward Bonaduenture (although robbed homewardes by Flemings) returned with her company to London, ſhewing and ſetting foorth their entertainments and diſcouery of the countreys euen to the citie of Moſco, from whence they brought a priuilege written in Ruſſe with the Kings or great Dukes ſeale, the other two ſhippes looked for and vnknowen to them where they were.

Anno 1555.

The King and Queenes letters.

An. 1555. the ſaid company of Merchants for diſcouerie vpon a new ſupply, ſent thither againe with two ſhips, to wit, the Edward Bonaduenture, & another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whoſe Maieſties by their letters to the ſaid Moſcouite, recommended ſundry their ſubiects then paſſing, wherof certaine, to wit, Richard Chanceller, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Bay, and paſſing vp Dwina to Vologda, went firſt vp to Moſco, where, vpon knowledge of the ſaid letters, they with their traine had ſpeciall entertainment, with houſes and diet appointed, and ſhortly permitted to the princes preſence, they were with gentlemen brought through the citie of Moſco, to the caſtle and palace, repleniſhed with numbers of people, and ſome gunners. They entred ſundry roomes, furniſhed in ſhew with ancient graue perſonages, all in long garments of ſundry colours, golde, tiſſue, baldekin, and violet, as our veſtments and copes haue bene in England, ſutable with caps, iewels, and chaines. Theſe were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Moſcouites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furniſhed thus from the Wardrobe and Treaſurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and ſo to reſtore it.

Then entring into the preſence, being a large roome floored with carpets, were men of more eſtate, and richer ſhew, in number aboue an hundred ſet ſquare: who after the ſaid Engliſh men came in, doing reuerence, they all ſtood vp, the prince onely ſitting, and yet riſing at any occaſion, when our King and Queenes names were read or ſpoken. Then after ſpeeches by interpretation, our men kiſſing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were ſtayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be ſeene maſſie ſiluer and gilt plate, ſome like and as bigge as kilderkins, and waſhbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the prince was ſet bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe ſtanding vpon a pinnacle by. Not farre diſtant ſate his Metropolitane, with diuers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none ſate ouer againſt him, or any, at other tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furniſhed with gheſts ſet, there was for the Engliſhmen, named by the Ruſſes, Ghoſti Carabelski, to wit, ſtrangers or merchants by ſhip, a table in the middeſt of the roome, where they were ſet direct againſt the prince: and then began the ſeruice, brought in by a number of his yoong Lordes and Gentlemen, in ſuch rich attire, as is aboue ſpecified: and ſtill from the Princes table (notwithſtanding their owne furniture) they had his whole meſſes ſet ouer all in maſſie fine golde, deliuered euery time from him by name to them, by their ſeuerall Chriſtian names, as they ſate, viz. Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewiſe bread and ſundry drinkes of purified mead, made of fine white and clarified honie. At their riſing, the prince called them to his table, to receiue each one a cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Maſter George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, & pleaſantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who ſeeming to bleſſe it, ſayd in Ruſſe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length fiue foot and two inches of aſſize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carying pots of drinke, and diſhes of meat dreſſed, to our lodging.

M. Killingworths beard of a marueilous length.

This yeere the two ſhippes, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were ſent vnto by Maſter Killingworth, (which remained there in Moſco Agent almoſt two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recouered and ſaued.

Anno 1556.

Anno 1556. The company ſent two ſhips for Ruſſia, with extraordinary maſters and ſaylers to bring home the two ſhips, which were frozen in Lappia, in the riuer of Arzina aforeſaid. The two ſhips ſent this yeere from England ſailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with paſſengers, to wit, a Ruſſe ambaſſador, named Ioſeph Napea, and ſome of his men ſhipped with Richard Chanceller in the Edward. But ſo it fel out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Maſters and Mariners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought ſeas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is ſuppoſed, vnſtanch, and ſunke, wherein were drowned alſo diuers Ruſſes merchants, and ſeruants of the ambaſſadour. A third ſhippe the Edward aforeſayd, falling on the North part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was alſo loſt, and Maſter Chanceller, with diuers other, drowned. The ſayd Ruſſe ambaſſadour hardly eſcaping, with other his men, mariners, & ſome goods ſaued, were ſent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the meſſenger being M. Doctor Laurence Huſſie, and others:) And then, as in the chronicles appeareth, honorably enterteined and receiued at London.

This yeere alſo the company furniſhed and ſent out a pinneſſe, named the Serchthrift, to diſcouer the harborowes in the North coaſt from Norway to Wardhouſe, and ſo to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Maſter and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their diſcouery was beyond the Bay, towarde the Samoeds, people dwelling neare the riuer of Ob, and found a ſound or ſea with an Iſland called Vaigats, firſt by them put into the Carde or Mappe. In that place they threw ſnowe out of their ſaid pinneſſe, with ſhouels in Auguſt, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Ruſſia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557.

Boghar voyage.

Anno 1557. The company with foure good ſhips, ſent backe the ſaid Ruſſe ambaſſadour, and in company with him, ſent as an Agent, for further diſcouery, Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, who afterward anno 1558, with great fauour of the prince of Moſcouia, and his letters paſſed the riuer Volga to Cazan, and meaning to ſeeke Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of vnciuil Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping company with merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Vrgeme, trauelling with camels, he with his company, went to Boghar, and no further: whoſe entertainment of the king is to be had of maſter Ienkinſon, which returned anno 1559. to Moſcouie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the firſt ſafe returne, without loſſe or ſhipwracke, or dead fraight, & burnings. And at this time was the firſt traffike to the Narue in Liuonia, which confines with Lituania, & all the dominions of Ruſſia: and the markets, faires, commodities, great townes & riuers, were ſent vnto by diuers ſeruants: the reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and deliuered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of old time hath bene long ſince frequented by our Engliſh nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

1560.

The firſt trade to the Narue, 1560.

Anno 1561. the ſaid Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon went Agent into Ruſſia, who the next yeere after, paſſing all the riuer of Volga to Aſtracan, and ouer the Caſpian ſea, arriued in Perſia, and opened the trade thither.

Alſo betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. ſundry voyages after Maſter Ienkinſons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Maſter Thomas Banniſter, and Maſter Geffrey Ducket, whoſe returne (if ſpoyle neere Volga had not preuented by rouing theeues) had altogether ſalued and recouered the companies (called the olde companies) great loſſe, charges, and damages: but the ſaying is true, By vnitie ſmall things grow great, & by contention great things become ſmall. This may be vnderſtood beſt by the company. The frowardneſſe of ſome few, and euill doing of ſome vniuſt factors, was cauſe of much of the euill ſucceſſe.

Alcock ſlaine in Perſia. Banniſter died in Media. Edwards died at Aſtracan.

Arthur Edwards was ſent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Aſtracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Maſter Thomas Randolph Eſquire, Ambaſſador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Ierome Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further diſcoueries, freedomes, and priuileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in concluſion, for their paines and aduentures this way (as diuers do now adayes other wayes) as worthy Gentlemen ſent from princes, to doe their countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Magarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

Yours *Henry Lane.*

|| Or Theodor.

The moſt ſolemne, and magnificent coronation of || *Pheodor Iuanowich*, Emperour of *Ruſſia* &c. the tenth of Iune, in the yeere 1584. ſeene and obſerued by Maſter *Ierom Horſey* gentleman, and ſeruant to her Maieſty, a man of great trauell, and long experience in thoſe parts: wherwith is alſo ioyned the courſe of his iourney ouer land from *Moſco* to *Emden*.

The death of Iuan Vaſiliwich 1584. Apr. 18.

When the old Emperour Iuan Vaſiliwich died, (being about the eighteenth of Aprill, 1584. after our computation) in the citie of Moſco, hauing raigned 54. yeeres, there was ſome tumult annd vprore among ſome of the nobilitie, and cominaltie, which notwithſtanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the ſame night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Knez Iuan Pheodorowich, Meſthis Slafsky, Knez Iuan Petrowich Suſky, Mekita Romanowich & Bodan Iacoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefeſt in the Emperors Will, eſpecially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third ſonne, & was brother to the Empreſſe, who was a mā very wel liked of al eſtates, as no leſſe worthy for his valure & wiſedome: all theſe were appointed to diſpoſe, & ſettle his ſonne Pheodor Iuanowich, hauing one ſworne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers whoſoeuer. In the morning yͤ dead Emperor was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangel, into a hewen ſepulcre, very richly decked with veſtures fit for ſuch a purpoſe: and preſent Proclamation was made, (Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich of all Ruſſia &c.) Throughout all the citie of Moſco was great watch and ward, with ſouldiers, and gunners, good orders eſtabliſhed, and officers placed to ſubdue the tumulters, and mainteine quietnes: to ſee what ſpeede and policie was in this caſe vſed was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Moſco, great men of birth and accompt were alſo preſently ſent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kaſan, Nouogorod &c. with freſh garriſon, and the old ſent vp. As vpon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were aſſembled, the Metropolitane, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobility whatſoeuer: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpoſe, yet all tended

L. Boris adopted as the Emperors third ſonne.

The old Empreſſe, her father, and her yong ſonne ſent to Ouglets.

The day of Pheodor his coronation.

to a new reformation in the gouernment: but eſpecially the terme, and time was agreed vpon for the ſolemnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time yͤ Empreſſe, wife to the old Emperor, was with her child the Emperors ſonne, Charlewich Demetrie Iuanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, ſent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, & that kindred, being 5. Brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was giuen vnto her, and the young Prince her ſonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the ſhire, with officers of all ſortes appointed, hauing allowance of apparell, iewels, diet, horſe &c. in ample maner belonging to the eſtate of a princeſſe. The time of mourning after their vſe being expired, called Sorachyn, or fortie orderlie dayes, the day of the ſolemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being vpon the 10. day of Iune, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeeres: at which time, Maſter Ierom Horſey was orderly ſent for, and placed in a fit roome to ſee all the ſolemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and chiefeſt Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Prieſtes garments vpon them, carying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, cenſers, and many other ſuch ceremonious things, ſinging all the way. The Emperour with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaueſhina, or Bleſſednes, where prayers, and ſeruice were vſed, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangell, and there alſo vſed the like prayers, and ſeruice: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechiſta, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middeſt thereof was a chaire of maieſtie placed, wherein his Aunceſtors vſed to ſit at ſuch extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and moſt rich and vnualuable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely ſeate, his nobility ſtanding round about him in their degres, his imperiall Crowne was ſet vpon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his ſword of Iuſtice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes alſo, by which he holdeth his kingdomes were ſet before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a ſmall volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to miniſter true Iuſtice, to inioy with tranquilitie the Crowne of his aunceſtors, which God had giuen him, and vſed theſe words following:

Through the will of the almighty & without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liueth, and giueth life to man: that our only God which enſpireth euery one of vs his only children with his word to diſcerne God through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the holy quickning ſpirit of life, now in theſe perilous times eſtabliſh vs to keep the right Scepter, and ſuffer vs to raigne of our ſelues to the good profit of the land, to the ſubduing of the people, together with the enemies, & the maintenance of vertue. And ſo the Metropolitan bleſſed and layd his croſſe vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maieſtie, hauing vpon him an vpper robe adorned with precious ſtones of all ſorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in waight two hundred pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne vp by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very precious: his ſtaffe imperiall in his right hand of an vnicornes horne of three foot and a halfe in length beſet with rich ſtones, bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour in An. 1581. and coſt him 7000 Markes ſterling. This Iewel M. Horſey kept ſometimes, before the Emperor had it. His ſcepter globe was caried before him by the prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beſet with rich ſtones and pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes alſo were caried by Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua, the Emperors vncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors vncle, Stephan Vaſiliwich, Gregory Vaſiliwich, Iuan Vaſiliwich brothers of the blood royal. Thus at laſt the Emperor came to the great Church doore, and the people cried, God ſaue our Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich of al Ruſſia. His horſe was there ready moſt richly adorned, with a couering of imbrodered pearle and precious ſtones, ſaddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes ſterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, three maner of waies, three foote aboue ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the preſſe of the people, which were in number infinite, and ſome at that time preſſed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were ſpred vnder foot with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red veluet, the bridges with ſcarlet, and ſtammell cloth from one church to another: and as ſoone as the Emperor was paſſed by, the cloth of gold, veluet and ſcarlet was cut, and taken of thoſe that could come by it, euery man deſirous to haue a piece, to reſerue it for a monument: ſiluer and gold coyne, then mynted of purpoſe was caſt among the people in great quantitie. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was ſumptuouſly, and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beſet with al ſorts of precious ſtones. In like rich maner were appareled all the family of the Godonouaes in their degrees, with the reſt of the princes, and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynsky, whoſe robe, horſe, and furniture, was in regiſter found worth one hundred thouſand markes ſterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empreſſe being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Maieſty alſo before a great open window: moſt precious, and rich were her robes, and ſhining to behold, with rich ſtones, and orient pearle beſet, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princeſſes, and Ladies of eſtate: then cried out the people, God preſerue our noble Empreſſe Irenia. After all this the Emperour came into the Parliament houſe which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall ſeat adorned as before: his 6. crownes were ſet before him vpon a table: the baſin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard with his men ſtanding two on each ſide in white apparell of cloth of ſiluer, called Kindry, with ſcepters, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabs.

The Emperour after a ſhort oration, permitted euery man in order to kiſſe his hande: which being done, he remoued to a princely ſeate prepared for him at the table: where he was ſerued by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beſet with plate of golde, and ſiluer round, from the ground vp to the vauts one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of ſiluer and golde: this ſolemnitie, and triumph laſted a whole weeke, wherein many royall paſtimes were ſhewed and vſed: after which the chiefeſt men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, & dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counſeller to the Emperor, Maſter of the horſe, had the charge of his perſon, Liuetenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Gouernor or Liuetenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Aſtracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperor giuen him many reuenues, and rich lands, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a prouince called Vaga, of 300. Engliſh miles in length, and 250. in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and wealthy, his yeerely reuenue out of that prouince, is 35. thouſand markes ſterling, being not the 5. part of his yerely reuenue. Further, he and his houſe be of ſuch authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100. thouſand Souldiers well furniſhed.

The concluſion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two miles without the citie, being 170. great pieces of braſſe of all ſorts, as faire as any can be made, theſe pieces were all diſcharged with ſhot againſt bulwarkes made of purpoſe: 20. thouſand hargubuſers ſtanding in 8. rankes two miles in length, appareled all in veluet, coloured ſilke & ſtammels, diſcharged their ſhot alſo twiſe ouer in good order: and ſo the Emperor accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the leaſt 50. thouſand horſe departed through the City to his pallace. This royall coronation would aſke much time, and many leaues of paper to be deſcribed particularly as it was performed: it ſhal ſuffice, to vnderſtand that the like magnificence was neuer ſeene in Ruſſia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, al the nobilitie, officers, and merchants according to an accuſtomed order euery one in his place, and degree brought rich preſents vnto the Emperor, wiſhing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

Iohn de Wale.

The ſame time alſo Maſter Ierom Horſey aforeſaid, remayning as ſeruant in Ruſſia for the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, was called for to the Emperor, as he ſate in his imperiall ſeat, and then alſo a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Moſco, (who gaue himſelfe out to be the king of Spaines ſubiect) called Iohn de Wale, was in like ſort called for. Some of the nobilitie would haue preferred this ſubiect of the Spaniard before Maſter Horſey ſeruant to the Queene of England, whereunto Maſter Horſey would in no caſe agree, ſaying, he would haue his legges cut off by the knees, before he would yeeld to ſuch an indignitie offered to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maieſty of England, to bring the Emperor a preſent, in courſe after the King of Spaines ſubiect, or any other whatſoeuer. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiuing the controuerſie, ſent the Lord Treaſorer Peter Iuanowich Galauyn, and Vaſili Shalkan, both of the Counſell, to them, who deliuered the Emperor backe, Maſter Horſeys ſpeech: whereupon he was firſt in order (as good reaſon) admitted and preſented the Emperor in the behalfe of the Engliſh Merchants trading thither, a preſent wiſhing him ioy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and ſo kiſſed the Emperors hand, he accepting the preſent with good liking, and auouching, that for his ſiſters ſake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample maner as euer his father had ben: and being diſmiſſed, he had the ſame day ſent him 70. diſhes of ſundry kinds of meats, with 3. carts laden with al ſorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the foreſayd ſubiect of the Spaniſh king admitted with his preſent, whom the Emperor willed to be no leſſe faithfull and ſeruiceable vnto him, then the Queene of Englands ſubiects were & had bene, and then the king of Spaines ſubiects ſhould receiue fauour accordingly.

All theſe things thus in order performed, praiſes were ſung in all the churches. The Emperor and Empreſſe very deuoutly reſorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke themſelues to a progreſſe in order of proceſſion, to a famous monaſterie called Sergius and the Trinitie, 60. miles diſtant from the Citie of Moſco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, mounted vpon goodly horſes with furniture accordingly.

The Empreſſe of deuotion tooke this iourney on foot all the way, accompanied with her princeſſes and ladies, no ſmall number: her guard and gunners were in number 20000. her chiefe counſeller or attendant, was a noble man of the blood Roial her vncle of great authoritie called Demetri Iuanowich Godonoua. All this progreſſe ended, both the Emperor and Empreſſe returned to Moſco: ſhortly after the Emperor by the direction of the prince Boris Pheodorowich, ſent a power into the land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables & Furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1000. miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken priſoner the Emperor of the countrey called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosko with a guard of ſouldiers and gunners, who were receiued into the citie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Chare Siberski prince of Siberia taken priſoner and brought to Moſco.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, Iudges, Iuſtices, captains and lieutenants through the whole kingdom were remooued, and more honeſt men ſubſtituted in their places, with expreſſe commandement, vnder ſeuere puniſhment to ſurceaſe their old bribing & extortion which they had vſed in the old Emperors time, and now to execute true iuſtice without reſpect of perſons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly ſtipends were augmented: the great taſkes, cuſtomes, and duties, which were before layd vpon the people in the old Emperors time, were now abated, and ſome wholy remitted, and no puniſhments commanded to be vſed, without ſufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deſeruing death: many Dukes and noble men of great houſes, that were vnder diſpleaſure, and impriſoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperor, were now ſet at libertie and reſtored to their lands: all priſoners were ſet at libertie, and their treſpaſſes forgiuen. In ſumme, a great alteration vniuerſally in the gouernment folowed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subiect: and this bred great aſſurance and honour to the kingdom, and all was accompliſhed by the wiſedom eſpecially of Irenia the Empreſſe.

Theſe things being reported and caried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers vpon Ruſſia, they grew ſo fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himſelfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne countrey to the Emperor of Ruſſia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie well horſed, although to them that were Chriſtians they ſeemed rude, yet they were perſonable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperor, and their entertainment was honourable, the Tartar prince hauing brought with him his wiues alſo, receiued of the Ruſſe Emperor entertainment, and princely welcome according to their eſtates.

Sophet Keri Alli king of the Crimmes arriual at Moſco.

Not long after, 1200. Poliſh gentlemen, valiant Souldiors, and proper men came to Mosko offring their ſeruice to the Emperor, who were all entertained: and in like ſort many Chirkaſſes, and people of other nations came and offred ſeruice. And aſſoone as the report of this new created Emperor was ſpred ouer other kingdoms of Europe, there were ſent to him ſundry Ambaſſadors to wiſh him ioy and proſperitie in his kingdom: thither came Ambaſſadors from the Turke, from the Perſian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came alſo Ambaſſadors from the Emperor of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And ſince his coronation no enemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperor was deſirous to ſend a meſſage to the moſt excellent Queene of England, for which ſeruice he thought no man fitter then M. Ierome Horſey, ſuppoſing that one of the Queenes owne men and ſubiects would be the more acceptable to her. The ſumme of which meſſage was, that the Emperor deſired a continuance of that league, friendſhip, amitie and intercourſe of traffique which was betweene his father and the Queens maieſtie and her ſubiects, with other priuate affaires beſides, which are not to be made common.

The new Emperor Pheodore Iuanowich his letters and requeſts to the Queene.

Maſter Horſey hauing receiued the letters and requeſts of the Emperour, prouided for his iourney ouer land, and departed from Moſco the fift day of September, thence vnto Otuer, to

M. Horſeis voiage frō Moſco to England ouerland.

Torſhook, to great Nouogrod, to Vobsky, and thence to Nyhouſe in Liuonia, to Wenden, and ſo to Riga: (where he was beſet, and brought foorthwith before a Cardinall called Rageuil, but yet ſuffred to paſſe in the end:) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Pruſſia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Roſtock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by ſea to London. Being arriued at her maieſties roiall court, and hauing deliuered the Emperors letters with good fauour, and gracious acceptance, he was foorthwith againe commaunded to repaſſe into Ruſſia, with other letters from her maieſtie to the Emperor, and prince Boris Pheodorowich, anſwering the Emperors letters, and withall requeſting the fauour and friendſhip, which his father had yeelded to the Engliſh merchants: and hereunto was he earneſtly alſo ſolicited by the merchants of London themſelues of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus diſpatched from London by ſea, he
1586 arriued in Moſco, the 20. of April 1586. and was very honorably welcommed. And for yͤ merchants behoofe, obtained all his requeſts, being therein ſpecially fauoured by yͤ noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horſey with ſpeciall liking. And hauing obtained priuiledges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperor againe, to the Queene of England his miſtreſſe, by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queens maieſtie, ſent her highneſſe a roiall preſent of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of Engliſh merchants, next to their thankfulnes to her maieſtie, are to account M. Horſeis paines their ſpeciall benefit, who obtained for them thoſe priuileges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M. Horſeis laſt diſpatch from the Emperor, becauſe it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed poſt horſes for him and his ſeruants, victuals and all other neceſſaries for his long iourney: at euery towne that he came vnto from Moſco to Vologda, which is by land fiue hundred miles, he receiued the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and prouiſion were giuen him vpon the riuer Dwina at euery towne by the kings officers, being one thouſand miles in length. When he came to the new caſtle called Archangel, he was receiued of the Duke Knez Vaſili Andrewich Iſuenogorodsky by the Emperors commiſſion into the Caſtle, gunners being ſet in rankes after their vſe, where he was ſumptuouſly feaſted: from thence hee was diſpatched with bountifull prouiſion and allowance in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the road where the Engliſh, Dutch, and French ſhips rode, the gunners diſcharged, and the ſhips ſhot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, & ſo he was brought to his lodging at the Engliſh houſe vpon Roſe Iſland.

And that which was the full and complete concluſion of the fauour of the Emperor and Boris Pheodorowich toward M. Horſey, there were the next day ſent him for his further prouiſion vpon the ſea by a gentleman and a captaine the things folowing.

16. liue oxen.
70. ſheepe.
600. hens.
25. flitches of Bacon.
80. buſhels of meale.
600. loaues of bread.
2000. egs.
10. geeſe.
2. cranes.

2. ſwans.
65. gallons of mead.
40. gallons of Aquauitæ.
60. gallons of beere.
3. yong beares.
4. hawkes.
Store of onions and garlike.
10. freſh ſalmons.
A wild bore.

All theſe things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperors, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, & were receiued in order by Iohn Freſe ſeruant to M. Horſey, together with an honorable preſent and reward from the prince Boris, ſent him by M. Francis Cherry an Engliſhman: which preſent was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, & a faire paire of Sables. This Gentleman hath obſerued many other rare things concerning thoſe partes, which hereafter (God willing) at more conuenient time and laiſure ſhall come to light.

Pheodor Iuanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of priuilege to the Engliſh Merchants word for word, obtained by M. *Ierome Horſey*. 1586.

Through the wil of the almightie, and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in yͤ Trinitie, one only God the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working, he both loueth and giueth life to man, That our onely God, which inſpireth euery one of vs his onely children with his word , to diſcerne God through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt,and the holy quickning ſpirit of life now in theſe perillous times, Eſtabliſh vs to keep the right Scepter, and ſuffer vs of our ſelues to raigne to the good profite of the land;and to the ſubduing of the people,together with the enemies,and to the maintenance of vertue.

We Pheodor the offſpring of Iohn,the great Lord,Emperor,king and great prince of all Ruſſia,of Volodemeria,Moſcouia and Nouogrod,king of Cazan,king of Aſtracan,Lord of Plesko, and great prince of Smolensko,of Tuer,Yougoria,Permia,Viatsko,of Bolghar and others,lord and great prince of the land of the lower Nouogrod,Chernigo,Rezan, Polotsko, Roſtow,Yeraſlaue,the White lake,Liefland,Oudor,Condenſa,and Ruler of all Siberia, and all the Northſide,and lord of many other countries.

I haue gratified the merchants of England,to wit, ſir Rowland Haiward, and Richard Martin Aldermen,ſir George Barnes,Thomas Smith eſquire, Ierome Horſey,Richard Saltonſtall, with their fellowes.

I haue licenſed them to ſaile with their ſhippes into our dominion the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities to trade freely, and vnto our kingdom and the citie of Moſco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moſcouia.

And the engliſh merchants ſir Rowland Haiward & his ſocietie deſired vs, that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdom of Moſcouia, and into our heritage of great Nouogrod and Plesko,and into all parts of our kingdom,to buy and ſell with their wares without cuſtome.

Therefore we for our ſiſters ſake Queene Elizabeth, & alſo becauſe that they allege that they had great loſſe and hinderance by the venture of the ſea,and otherwiſe,haue gratified the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſir Rowland Haiward and his ſocietie,freely to come into our kingdom of Moſcouia,and into al our dominions with al kind of commodities,to trade,& traffique freely,& at their pleaſure with all kind of their commodities: alſo I haue commanded not to take any maner of cuſtome for their goods,nor other cuſtoms whatſoeuer: That is to ſay,neither for paſſing by any place by water,nor for lanching,neither for paſſing through any place by land, neither for the veſſels or boats,nor for their heads, nor for paſſing ouer bridges, nor for ferying ouer at any place, neither for acknowledgement at any place where they ſhall come, nor any maner of cuſtome or dutie,by what name ſoeuer.

Only they ſhal not bring with them into our dominions, neither recarie out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods but their owne,neither ſell them nor barter them away for them.

Alſo our naturall people ſhall not buy and ſell for them,or from them,neither ſhal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall ſubiects goods,or pawnes by them to colour them.

Alſo they ſhall not ſend any of their Ruſſe ſeruants about into any citie to ingroſſe, or buy vp commodities,but into what citie they themſelues ſhal come,they ſhal buy and ſel,and ſhal ſel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they ſhal come into our inheritance of great Nouogrod and Plesko,and through all our dominions with their commodities,then our noblemen and captains,and euery one of our officers ſhall ſuffer them to depart according to this our letter,& ſhall take no cuſtom at all of them, for any of their commodities,neither for paſſing through or paſſing by, nor for paſſage ouer any bridges,nor ſhall take of them any other dutie whatſoeuer name they haue.

Alſo into what places of our dominion,or when they ſhal happen to come,and to proceed to buy or ſell,and whereſoeuer they ſhall paſſe through with goods not buying of any commodities, neither will ſell their owne, then in thoſe cities and townes they ſhall take no maner of cuſtome or dutie of them,accordingly as before.

And I haue gratified them and giuen them free leaue to traffique throughout all the dominions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods,to buy and ſell all maner of commodities, without any dutie or cuſtome whatſoeuer.

And the Engliſh merchants where they are deſirous to buy or ſell,or barter their wares with our merchants,whole wares for wares,they ſhal ſell their commodities whole,and not by retaile: That is to ſay,neither by ſmall weight nor by the yard,to ſell or barter in their owne houſes, and they ſhal ſel and barter their wares wholy,Cloth by the packe,and by the whole Cloth, and Damaſke and veluet by the piece and not by the yard,and al maner of commodities that are to be ſold by weight,not to ſell by the ſmall weights,as by the pound and ounce,but by whole ſale:alſo they ſhall ſel wines by the pipe: and by the gallon,quart or ſtoope they ſhal not ſell.

And they ſhall buy,ſell and exchange their owne commodities themſelues, and the Ruſſe merchants ſhall not make ſales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither ſhal they themſelues conuey or cary through any other mans goods at no place in ſtead of their owne:and which of the Engliſh merchants will at any time ſell his commodities at Colmogro or

Vologda or Yeraſlaue, they may, and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains, and euery of our officers ſhall take no maner of cuſtome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter: and throughout all our dominions and cities they ſhal hire carriers and veſſels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to tranſport their goods.

So likewiſe, whenſoeuer the Engliſh merchants are diſpoſed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey or into their owne land, if our pleaſure be, they ſhall take our goods with them from our Treaſurie, and ſhall ſell them, and exchange them for ſuch commoditie as is commodious for our kingdom, and ſhall deliuer it into our Treaſurie, and with thoſe our commodities, our Noblemen and captains, and euery of our officers ſhall let them paſſe through all our cities alſo without cuſtome according to theſe our letters.

Alſo whenſoeuer the Engliſh merchants ſhall haue ſold their own goods & bought themſelues commodities, & wil depart out of Moſco, then they ſhal manifeſt themſelues to our chiefe Secretarie Andrew Sholkaloue, in the office where the Ambaſſadors are alwayes diſpatched.

And if the Engliſh merchants comming, haue had any miſchance by the ſea, inſomuch that the ſhip be broken, or if that ſhip do come to any part of our countrey: then we will cauſe the goods to be ſought out in true Iuſtice, and to be giuen to the Engliſh people, which at that time ſhall bee here reſident in our countrey: and if ſo be that it ſo fall out that at that time there be no Engliſhmen within our realme: then wil we cauſe theſe goods to be laid vp in a place together, and when the people of England ſhall come into our realme, then we will command all thoſe goods to be deliuered to the ſayd Engliſh people.

Alſo we haue gratified all the Engliſh merchants with the houſe of one Vrie here in the Moſco right ouer againſt S. Maximes church behind the market, and they ſhal dwel in the ſame houſe according as before time, and they ſhall keepe one alwayes in the houſe to keepe it, either a Ruſſe, or one of their owne people.

Alſo the Engliſh merchants ſhal poſſeſſe their houſes, to wit, at Yeraſlaue, Vologda, Colmogro, and the houſe at the hauen of the ſea, & they ſhal dwel in thoſe houſes, according as our goodnes hath bene to them heretofore: and we haue commanded, that there ſhall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of cuſtome, taxe, rent or any other dutie whatſoeuer for thoſe houſes, neither ſhal they pay any dutie or taxe with any of the townſmen of thoſe places, & in euery one of thoſe houſes, to wit, at Yeraſlaue, Vologda, and Colmogro, they ſhall haue men to keepe their houſes, two or three of their owne countrey people, ſtrangers or els Ruſſes, men of the meaneſt ſort, which ſhall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in thoſe houſes, and they may ſell the commodities out of thoſe their houſes to whom they pleaſe, according to this our gracious letter: and thoſe that keepe their houſes ſhall not ſell or buy no part of their commoditie, except they be there or giue order, whereby they be not deceiued by them.

So likewiſe I haue gratified them with their houſe at the ſeahauen, at the mouth of Podezemsky, & we haue commanded that they ſhal not cary their goods from thence to the new caſtle S. Michael the archangel, but ſhall ariue, and doe as they haue done heretofore with their wares at that their houſe, and ſhall vnlade their commodities out of their ſhips, and ſhal lade them againe with Ruſſe commodities, euen there at that their houſe without interruption: onely they ſhal permit our officers of Colmogro & ſworn men to write vp thoſe commodities, both the commodities of England, and thoſe of Ruſſeland, what the merchants ſhal declare themſelues, & no otherwiſe, but they ſhal not ouerlooke their commodities, neither ſhal they vnbind any of their packs.

And when the Engliſh merchants are diſpoſed to ſend into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people on land through any other kingdom whatſoeuer, they ſhall not ſend their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement, and which of their people ſo euer they do meane to ſend out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they ſhal ſend thoſe their people, not without our kingly maieſties knowledge, to wit, thoſe that go of pleaſure without carying any commodities with them, and they ſhall haue a letter of paſſe giuen vnto them, out of the office where the Ambaſſadors haue alwayes their diſpatch.

And whoſoeuer hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controuerſie, either concerning merchandize or iniuries, then they are to be iudged by our treaſurers and Secretarie of the Ambaſſadors office to do iuſtice between both parties, & to ſeek out the trueth of matters in al things, and whatſoeuer cannot be found out by the Law, ſhalbe tried by othe and lots: whoſe lot ſoeuer is taken foorth, him to haue right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie ſoeuer they or their people ſhall bee, and that there happen any matter of controuerſie, either concerning merchandiſe, iniuries or otherwiſe, that they haue occaſion to ſet vpon any man by lawe, or that any ſeeke vpon them, concerning what matter ſoeuer in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains, and our officers ſhall giue them Iuſtice, and ſhall miniſter all true iuſtice betweene them, ſeeking out the trueth: and what cannot be truly ſought by law, ſhalbe ſought out by othe and lot: whoſe lot ſoeuer is taken out, him to haue right accordingly as before, and the Iudges or Iuſtices ſhall take of them no kind of dutie, for matters of law no where throughout all our realmes. This letter is giuen in our princely palace within the citie of Moſco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, ſeuen thouſand foureſcore and fifteene in the moneth of February.

The Ambaſſage of M. *Giles Fletcher*, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, ſent from her Maieſtie to *Theodor* the Emperor of Ruſſia, *Anno* 1588.

IN the yeere 1588. was ſent Ambaſſador from her highneſſe into the countrey of Ruſſia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Ciuil Lawe, as well to treat with the new Emperor Pheodor Iuanowich, about league and amitie, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vaſilowich, as alſo for the reeſtabliſhing and reducing into order the decaied trade of our Engliſhmen there. Who notwithſtanding at his firſt arriuall at the Moſco, found ſome parts of hard entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors concerning the late nauall victory which was there reported to haue fallen on the Spaniſh ſide, as alſo for ſome diſlike conceiued againſt the priuileged trade of our Engliſh merchãts. Yet in the end he obtained of the Emperour many good & equall conditions, and was curteouſly and honourably diſmiſſed by him. The principall points which he entreated of, and were granted vnto him by the ſaid Emperor, were theſe:

1 A continuation of league and amitie betweene her Highneſſe and the ſayd Emperour *Theodor Iuanowich*, in like maner as was before with his father *Iuan Vaſilowich*.

2 A confirmation and reeſtabliſhment of the former priuileges of the Companie of our Engliſh merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with diuers neceſſary additions to the ſame, for the better ordering of their trade in thoſe countreys hereafter, viz. That the ſtate of the priuilege granted before in the names of ſome priuate and particular men, be altered in that point, and the ſame granted by the name and ſtile of their incorporation, viz. To the felowſhip of Engliſh merchants for the diſcouerie of new trades.

3 That vpon euery ſurmiſe and light quarel, the ſaid priuilege be not reuoked and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That iuſtice ſhall be adminiſtred to the ſaid Companie and their Agent without delay, vpon ſuch as ſhal offer them any deſpite or iniurie, or ſhal exact or impoſe vpon them any paiment, taxation or impoſition whatſoeuer, contrary to the freedome of the ſaid grant.

5 That the goods & commodities of the ſaid Companie, be not forcibly taken as before time they had bene by the Emperors officers or people of authoritie, either for the vſe of the ſaid Emperor or of his officers. But in caſe they haue need of the ſaid commodities, the ſame to be taken at reaſonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the ſaid Companie be not charged hereafter with the anſwering of ſuch debts as are made by any Engliſhman not being of the ſocietie.

7 That the Emperors authorized people ſhall not hereafter repute any Engliſhman reſiant in that countrey, to be any factor, ſeruant, or dealer in the ſaid Companies affaires, but ſuch as the Agent ſhall inregiſter by name, within the offices where cuſtome is entered in all ſuch places of the land where the ſayd Companie haue reſidencies to traffike.

8 That the names of ſuch as ſhall ſo be inregiſtred be no longer continued in record, nor themſelues reputed as factors or dealers for the ſaid Companie, then the Agent ſhall thinke good. But in caſe the ſaid Agent in his diſcretion ſhall thinke meet to ſtrike out of the Regiſter any name of ſuch as haue bene imploied in the Companies ſeruice, the ſaid perſon to be held as priuate, & whoſe acte in bargaining or otherwiſe, ſhall not charge the ſaid Companie.

9 That if any Engliſh man within the countrey of Ruſſia be ſuſpected for any notorious crime, as felony, treaſon, &c. the ſame be not ſtraightwaies ſet vpõ the* Pudkey, nor otherwiſe tormented, till ſuch time as he ſhall be conuicted by plaine and euident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be ſent ouer to the Queene of England.

*It is roſting to death.

10 That the ſaid priuilege with the additions, ſhall be publiſhed in all townes and partes of the Emperors dominions, where the ſaid Companie haue traffike.

11 That the ſaid Companie ſhall be permitted to vſe a ſole trade through the Emperours countries, by the riuer Volga into Media, Perſia, Bogharia, and the other the Eaſt countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the ſaid Companie the ſumme of 23553. markes of

debt, made by certaine of their factors for the ſaid company, for paiment whereof, their whole ſtocke was in danger of arreſt, by publike authoritie: Further alſo 2140. rubbles for cuſtome and houſerent, he obtained a rebatement of eighteene thouſand, one hundred fiftie and three marks of the ſayd debt.

The ſaid Ambaſſador M. Giles Fletcher, as I vnderſtand, hath drawen a booke intituled, Of the Ruſſe Common wealth, containing:

Firſt, a Coſmographicall deſcription of the countrey, which hath theſe chapters.

1 Of the length and bredth of the countrey of Ruſſia, with the names of the ſhires.
2 Of the ſoile and climate.
3 Of the natiue commodities of the countrey.

Secondly, a deſcription of their policie contained in theſe Chapters, viz.

1 Of the conſtitution or ſtate of the Ruſſe Common wealth.
2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.
3 Of the Ruſſe Nobilitie and meanes whereby it is kept in an vnder proportion agreeable to that ſtate.
4 Of the maner of gouerning their prouinces or ſhires.
5 Of the Emperours priuie counſell.
6 Of the Emperors cuſtoms & their reuenues, with the practiſes for the increaſe of them.
7 Of the Ruſſe communaltie and their condition.
8 Of their publike iuſtice and maner of proceeding therein.
9 Of the Emperors forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their ſalarie or pay.
10 Of their maner of muſtering, armour, and prouiſion for victuall.
11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall diſcipline.
12 Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchaſes by conqueſt.
13 Of their borderers with whom they haue moſt to doe in warre and peace.
14 Of their church offices and degrees.
15 Of their liturgie or forme of Church ſeruice.
16 Of their maner of adminiſtring the Sacraments.
17 Of the doctrine of the Ruſſe church.
18 Of the maner of ſolemnizing their mariages.
19 Of the other ceremonies of the Ruſſe church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomie or priuate behauiour of the Ruſſe containing theſe chapters.

1 Of the Emperors houſhold officers, and order of his houſe.
2 Of the priuate behauiour and maner of the Ruſſe people.

The deſcription of the countrey of *Ruſſia*, with the bredth, length, and names of the Shires.

The countrey of Ruſſia was ſomtimes called Sarmatia. It changed the name (as ſome do ſuppoſe) for that it was parted into diuers ſmal, and yet abſolute gouernments, not depending, nor being ſubiect the one to the other. For Ruſſe in that tongue doeth ſignifie as much as to part, or deuide. The Ruſſe reporteth that foure brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Variuus deuided among them the North parts of the country. Likewiſe that the South parts were poſſeſſed by 4. other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their ſiſter Libeda: each calling his territorie after his own name. Of this partition it was called Ruſſia, about the yere from Chriſt 860. As for the coniecture which I find in ſome Coſmographers, that the Ruſſe nation borowed the name of the people called Roxellani, & were the very ſame nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in reſpect of the etymologie of the word (which is very far fet) and eſpecially for the ſeat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two riuers of Tanais and Boriſthenes, (as Strabo reporteth) quite another way from the countrey of Ruſſia. Strabo in his 7. booke of Geogr.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was deuided into two chiefe parts: the White and the Black. The white Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towards the North, & on the ſide of Liefland: as the prouinces now called Dwina, Vagha, Vſtiug, Vologda, Cargapolia, Nouogrodia, &c whereof Nouogrod velica was the Metropolite or chiefe citie. Black Sarmatia was al that countrey that lieth Southward towards the Euxin or Black ſea: as the dukedome of Volodemer, of Moſco, Rezan, &c. Some haue thought that the name of Sarmatia was firſt taken frõ one Sarmates, whom Moſes & Ioſephus cal Aſarmathes ſonne to Ioktan, & nephew to Heber, of the poſteritie of Sem. Gen. 10. Ioſeph. l. 1, ca. 14 But this ſeemeth to be nothing but a coniecture takẽ out of the likenes of the name Aſarmathes. For the dwelling of all Ioktans poſteritie is deſcribed by Moſes to haue bene betwixt Meſcha or Maſius (an hil of the Ammonites) & Sephace, nere to the riuer Euphrates: which ma-

keth

The borders of Ruſſia.

keth it very vnlikely that Aſarmathes ſhould plant any colonies ſo far off in yͤ North & northweſt countries. It is bounded northward by the Lappes & the North Ocean. On the Southſide by the Tartars called Crimmes. Eaſtward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, that poſſeſſeth all the countrey on the Eaſt ſide of Volga towards the Caſpian ſea. On the Weſt and Southweſt border lieth Lituania, Liuonia and Polonia.

The Shires of Ruſſia.

The Prouinces or Countries got by conqueſt.

The whole Countrey being nowe reduced vnder the gouernment of one, conteineth theſe chiefe Prouinces or Shires. Volodemer, (which beareth the firſt place in the Emperours ſtile, becauſe their houſe came of the Dukes of that Countrey) Moſco, Niſnouogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Nouogrod velica (or Nouogrod of the low Countrey) Roſtoue, Yaruſlaue, Bealozera, Rezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Meſchora, Vagha, Vſtuga, Ghaletſa. Theſe are the naturall ſhires perteyning to Ruſſia, but farre greater and larger then the ſhires of England, though not ſo well peopled. The other Countreys or prouinces which the Ruſſe Emperours haue gotten perforce added of late to their other dominion, are theſe which followe, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they be not naturall Ruſſes, yet obey the Emperour of Ruſſia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying cuſtomes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Beſides theſe he hath vnder him the kingdomes of Cazan and Aſtracan, gotten by conqueſt not long ſince. As for all his poſſeſſion in Lituania (to the number of 30. great Townes and more,) with Narue and Dorp in Liuonia, they are quite gone, being ſurpriſed of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. Theſe Shires and Prouinces are reduced all into foure Iuriſdictions, which they call Chetfyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, or Fourthparts.

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

Pechinga.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you meaſure from Cola to Aſtracan which bendeth ſomewhat Eaſtward) it reacheth in length about 4260. verſt, or miles. Notwithſtanding the Emperour of Ruſſia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola vnto the Riuer of Tromſchua, that runneth a hundred verſt, welnigh beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardhouſe, but not intire nor clearely limited, by reaſon of the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that haue diuers Townes there, aſwell as the Ruſſe, plotted together the one with the other: euery one of them clayming the whole of thoſe North parts as his owne right. The breadth (if you go from that part of his territorie that lyeth fartheſt Weſtward on the Narue ſide, to the parts of Siberia Eaſtward, where the Emperour hath his garriſons) is 4400. verſt or thereabouts. A verſt (by their reckoning) is a 1000. paſes, yet leſſe by one quarter then an Engliſh mile. If the whole dominion of the Ruſſe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in ſome, he would either hardly holde it all within one regiment, or be ouer mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

Of the Soile and Climate.

The ſoyle of the Countrey for the moſt part is of a ſleight ſandie moulde, yet very much different one place from another, for the yeeld of ſuch things as grow out of the earth. The Countrey Northwards towards the parts of S. Nicholas and Cola, and Northeaſt towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of deſert woods by reaſon of the Climate, and extremitie of the colde in Winter time. So likewiſe along the Riuer Volgha betwixt the Countreys of Cazan, and Aſtracan: where (notwithſtanding the ſoyle is very fruitfull) it is all vnhabited, ſauing that vpon the riuer Volgha on the Weſtſide, the Emperour hath ſome fewe Caſtels with gariſons in them. This happeneth by meanes of the Crimme Tartar, that will neither himſelfe plant Townes to dwel there, (liuing a wild and vagrant life) nor ſuffer the Ruſſe (that is farre off with the ſtrength of his Countrey) to people thoſe parts. From Vologda (which lyeth almoſt 1700. verſt from the port of S. Nicholas) downe towards Moſco, and ſo towards the South part that bordereth vpon the Crimme, (which conteineth the like ſpace of 1700. verſt or there abouts) is a very fruitfull and pleaſant Countrey, yeelding paſture, and corne, with woods and waters in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth Southeaſt from Moſco) to Nouogrod and Vobsko, that reach fartheſt towards the Northweſt. So betwixt Moſco, and Smolensko (that lyeth Southweſt towards Lituania) is a very fruitfull and pleaſant ſoile.

The whole Countrey differeth very much from it ſelfe, by reaſon of the yeere: ſo that a man would marueile to ſee the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter, and the Summer Ruſſia. The whole Countrey in the Winter lieth vnder ſnow, which falleth continually, and is ſometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Riuers and other waters are all froſen vp a yard or more thicke, how ſwift or broade ſo euer they bee. And this continueth commonly fiue moneths, viz. from the beginning of Nouember till towardes the ende of

March,

The colde of Ruſſia.

March, what time the ſnow beginneth to melt. So that it would breede a froſt in a man to looke abroad at that time, and ſee the Winter face of that Countrey. The ſharpeneſſe of the aire you may iudge of by this: for that water dropped downe or caſt vp into the aire congealeth into yce before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you holde a pewter diſh or pot in your hand, or any other mettall (except in ſome chamber where their warme ſtoaues bee) your fingers will frieſe faſt vnto it, and drawe off the ſkinne at the parting. When you paſſe out of a warme roome into a colde, you ſhall ſenſibly feele your breath to waxe ſtarke, and euen ſtifeling with the colde, as you drawe it in and out. Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very markets, and ſtreetes of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: ſo that you ſhall ſee many drop downe in the ſtreetes; many trauellers brought into the Townes ſitting dead and ſtiffe in their Sleds. Diuers loſe their noſes, the tips of their eares, and the bals of their cheekes, their toes, feete, &c. Many times (when the Winter is very hard and extreeme) the beares and woolfes iſſue by troupes out of the woods driuen by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde: ſo that the inhabitants are faine to flie for ſafegard of their liues. And yet in the Sommer time you ſhal ſee ſuch a new hiew and face of a Countrey, the woods (for the moſt part which are all of firre and birch) ſo freſh and ſo ſweete, the paſtures and medowes ſo greene and well growen, (and that vpon the ſudden) ſuch varietie of flowers, ſuch noyſe of birdes (ſpecially of Nightingales, that ſeeme to be more lowde and of a more variable note then in other Countreys) that a man ſhall not lightly trauell in a more pleaſant Countrey.

And this freſh and ſpeedy growth of the Spring there ſeemeth to proceede from the benefite of the ſnow: which all the Winter time being ſpread ouer the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the froſt, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and diſſolueth it into water) doeth ſo throughly drench and ſoake the ground, that is ſomewhat of a ſleight and ſandie mould, and then ſhineth ſo hotely vpon it againe, that it draweth the hearbes and plants foorth in great plentie and varietie, in a very ſhort time. As the Winter exceedeth in colde, ſo the Sommer inclineth to ouer much heat, ſpecially in the moneths of Iune, Iuly and Auguſt, being much warmer then the Sommer aire in England.

The Countrey throughout is very well watred with ſprings, riuers, and Ozeraes, or lakes. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, for that much of the Countrey being ſo farre inland, as that ſome part lieth a thouſand miles and more euery way from any Sea, yet it is ſerued with faire Riuers, and that in very great number, that emptying themſelues one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, ſome of 60.80.100. and 200. miles long, with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Riuers of Ruſſia.

The chiefe Riuers are theſe, Firſt, Volgha, that hath his head or ſpring at the roote of an Aldertree, about 200. verſt aboue Yaruſlaue, and groweth ſo bigge by the encreaſe of other Riuers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an Engliſh mile and more, and ſo runneth into the Caſpian ſea, about 2800. verſt or miles of length.

The next is Boriſthenes (now called Neper) that diuideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin ſea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Aſia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozera, and ſo running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great Sea, lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the Citie of Azou. By this Riuer (as the Ruſſe reporteth) you may paſſe from their Citie Moſco to Conſtantinople, and ſo into all thoſe parts of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their maner is) ouer a little Iſthmus or narrowe ſlip of land, a few verſts ouerthwart. Which was proued not long ſince by an Ambaſſadour ſent to Conſtantinople, who paſſed the Riuer of Moſcua, and ſo into another called Ocka, whence hee drew his boat ouer into Tanais, and thence paſſed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth Northward into the bay of S.Nicholas, and hath great Alabaſter rockes on the bankes towards the ſea ſide.

The fifth Duna, that emptieth into the Baltick ſea by the towne Riga.

The ſixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solouetsko 90. verſt from the port of S.Nicholas. This Riuer, below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the Riuer Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yama. So that from the port of S.Nicholas into the Finland ſea, and ſo into the Sound, you may paſſe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Ruſſe.

The ſeuenth Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and ſo into the North ſea.

The eight Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and ſtreameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moſcua, that runneth thorow the Citie Moſco, and giueth it the name.

There is Wichida alſo a very large and long riuer that riſeth out of Permia, and falleth into

Volgha. All theſe are riuers of very large ſtreames, the leaſt to be compared to the Thames in bigneſſe, and in length farre more, beſides diuers other. The Pole at Moſco is 55. degrees 10. minutes. At the port of S. Nicholas towards the North 63. degrees and 50. minutes.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey.

The fruits and graine of Ruſſia.

For kindes of fruites, they haue Apples, peares, plummes, cherries, red and blacke, (but the blacke wilde) a deene like a muſke millian, but more ſweete and pleaſant, cucumbers and goords (which they call Arbouſe) raſps, ſtrawberies, and hurtilberies, with many other beries in great quantitie in euery wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, peaſe, buckway, pſnytha, that in taſte is ſomewhat like to rice. Of all theſe graines the Countrey yeeldeth very ſufficient with an ouerplus quantitie, ſo that wheate is ſolde ſometime for two alteens or tenpence ſtarling the Chetfird, which maketh almoſt three Engliſh buſhels.

Their rie is ſowed before the Winter, all their other graine in the Spring time, and for the moſt part in May. The Permians and ſome other that dwell farre North, and in deſert places, are ſerued from the parts that lye more Southward, and are forced to make bread ſometimes of a kinde of roote (called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accompted this laſt yeere Anno 1588. wheat and rie being at 13. alteens, or 5. ſhillings fiue pence ſtarling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practiſe of their Nobilitie that vſe to engroſſe it, then in the Countrey it ſelfe.

The chiefe commodities of the Countrey.

1. Furres.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they ſerue both their owne turnes, and ſend much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperor, and his people) are many & ſubſtantiall. Firſt, furres of all ſorts. Wherein the prouidence of God is to be noted, that prouideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconuenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climat. Their chiefe furres are theſe, Blacke fox, Sables, Luſernes, dun fox, Martrones, Gurneſtalles or Armins, Laſets or Miniuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, the skin of a great water Rat that ſmelleth naturally like muske, Calaber or gray ſquirrel, red ſquirrel, red & white fox. Beſides the great quantitie ſpent within yͤ Countrey (the people being clad al in furres the whole winter) there are tranſported out of the Countrey ſome yeeres by the merchants of Turkie, Perſia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and ſome other of Chriſtendom, to the value of foure or fiue hundred thouſand rubbles, as I haue heard of the merchants. The beſt Sable furre groweth in the countrey of Pechora, Momgoſorskoy and Obdorskoy, the worſer ſort in Siberia, Perm, & other places. The blacke foxe and red come out of Siberia, white and dunne from Pechora, whence alſo come the white wolfe, and white Beare ſkin. The beſt Wuluerin alſo thence and from Perm. The beſt Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyſerns, Mineuer, and Armins, the beſt are out of Gallets, and Ouglits, many from Nouogrod and Perm. The Beauer of the beſt ſort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common furres, and moſt of theſe kindes grow in many, and ſome in all parts of the Countrey.

Theſe Rats are in Canada.

Momgoſorskoy perhaps Molgomzaia.

2. Waxe.

The ſecond commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath bene ſhipped into forreigne countreys (as I haue heard it reported by thoſe that beſt know it) the ſumme of 50000. pood yeerely, euery pood conteyneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

3. Hony.

The third is their Honie, whereof beſides an exceeding great quantitie ſpent in their ordinary drinkes (which is Mead of all ſorts) and their other vſes, ſome good quantitie is caried out of the countrey. The chiefe encreaſe of hony is in Mordua and Cadam neere to the Cheremiſſen Tartar: much out of Seuerskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogoboſe, and Vaſma.

4. Tallow.

Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great waight for tranſportation: not onely for that their countrey hath very much good ground apt for paſturage of cattell, but alſo by reaſon of their many Lents and other faſtes: and partly becauſe their greater men vſe much waxe for their lights, the poorer and meaner ſort birch dried in their ſtoaues, and cut into long ſhiuers, which they call Luchineos. Of tallow there hath bene ſhipped out of the Realme a few yeeres ſince about 100000. pood yerely, now not paſt 30000. or thereabouts. The beſt yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruſlaue, Ouglits, Nouogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

5. Hide.

An other principall commoditie is their Loſh and Cow hide. Their Loſh or Buffe hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neither yet weather) is of a ſmall ſiſe. There hath bene tranſported by merchants ſtrangers ſome yeres 100000. hides. Now it is decreaſed to 30000. or thereabouts. Beſides great ſtore of goates ſkinnes, whereof great numbers are ſhipped out of the countrey. The largeſt kinde of Loſh or Buffe breedeth about Roſtoue, Wichida, Nouogrod, Morum, and Perm. The leſſer ſort within the kingdome of Cazan.

6. Trane oyle.

An other very great and principall commoditie is their Trane oyle, drawen out of the Seal fiſh, The maner of hunting the Seale fiſh.

fiſh. Where it will not be impertinent to ſhewe the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this ſort. Towards the ende of Sommer (before the froſt beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the Bay of S.Nicholas, to a cape called Cuſconeſſe or Foxnoſe, where they leaue their boats till the next ſpring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the ſpring, and yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates ouer the ſea yce, they vſe them for houſes to reſt and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. fleete of them, of great large boates, which diuide themſelues into diuers companies, fiue or ſixe boats in a conſort.

They that firſt finde the haunt, fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being eſpied by the other companies, by ſuch among them as are appointed of purpoſe, they come altogether and compaſſe the Seales round about in a ring, that lie ſunning themſelues together vpon the yce, commonly foure or fiue thouſand in a ſhoale, and ſo they inuade them euery man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the noſe, they are ſoone killed. If on the ſides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times ſo catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they ſee themſelues beſet, to gather all cloſe together in a throng or plumpe, to ſway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which ſo bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the ſea water vpon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the ſlaughter when they haue killed what they can, they fall to ſharing euery boate his part in equall portions: and ſo they flay them, taking from the body the ſkin, and the lard or fat with all that cleaueth to the ſkin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and ſo go to ſhore. Where they digge pits in the ground of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and ſo taking the fat or lard off from the ſkinne, they throw it into the pit, and caſt in among it hoat burning ſtones to melt it withall. The vppermoſt and pureſt is ſold, and vſed to oile wool for cloth, the groſſer (that is of a red colour) they ſell to make ſope.

7. Ickary.

Likewiſe of Ickary or Cauery, a great quantitie is made vpon the riuer of Volgha out of the fiſh called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Seueriga and the Sterledey. Whereof the moſt part is ſhipped by French and Netherlandiſh merchants for Italy and Spaine, ſome by Engliſh merchants.

8. Hempe and Flaxe.

The next is of Flax and Hempe, whereof there hath bene ſhipped (as I haue heard merchants ſay) at the port of Narue a great part of 100. ſhips ſmall and great yerely. Now, not paſt fiue. The reaſon of this abating and decreaſe of this & other commodities, that were wont to be tranſported in a greater quantitie, is the ſhutting vp of the port of ẏ Narue towards the Finland ſea, which now is in the handes and poſſeſſion of the Sweden. Likewiſe the ſtopping of the paſſage ouerland by the way of Smolensko, & Plotsko, by reaſon of their warres with the Polonian, which cauſeth the people to be leſſe prouident in mainteining and gathering theſe and like commodities, for that they lacke ſales. For the growth of flaxe the prouince of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hempe Smolensko, Dorogoboſe and Vaſma.

9. Salt.

The countrey beſides maketh great ſtore of ſalt. Their beſt ſalt is made at Stararouſe in very great quantitie, where they haue great ſtore of ſalt wels, about 250. verſt from the ſea. At Aſtracan ſalt is made naturally by the ſea water, that caſteth it vp into great hils, and ſo it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperor for acknowledgement or cuſtome 3. d. Ruſſe vpon euery hundred weight. Beſides theſe two, they make ſalt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitſina, Solouetsky, Ocona, Bombaſey, and Nonocks, all out of ſalt pits, ſaue at Solouetsky, which lieth neere to the ſea.

Nonocks.

10. Tarre.

Likewiſe of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is ſent abroad. Beſides theſe (which are all good and ſubſtantiall commodities) they haue diuers other of ſmaller accompt, that are naturall and proper to that countrey: as the fiſh tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is vſed both among themſelues, and the Perſians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, kniues, and ſword hafts of Noblemen and gentlemen, and for diuers other vſes. Some vſe the powder of it againſt poiſon, as the Vnicornes horne. The fiſh that weareth it is called a Morſe, and is caught about Pechora. Theſe fiſh teeth ſome of them are almoſt 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece.

11. Ribazuba.

12. Slude.

In the prouince of Corelia, and about the riuer Duyna towards the North ſea, there groweth a ſoft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and ſo teare it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and ſo vſe it for glaſſe-lanthorns and ſuch like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glaſſe, and for this reſpect is better then either glaſſe or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glaſſe, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter they make in many places, as at Ouglits, Yaruſlaue & Vſtiug, and ſome ſmal ſtore of brimſtome vpon the riuer

13. Saltpeter and brimſtone.

Volgha,but wāt ſkil to refine it. Their iron is ſomewhat brittle,but a great weight of it is made in Corelia,Cargapolia,& Vſtiug Theleſna. Other mine they haue none growing within yͤ realme. 14.Iron.

The ſtrange beaſtes,fiſh, foule,&c. that breed in Ruſſia.

Their beaſts of ſtrange kinds are the Loſh,the Ollen,the wild horſe,the beare,the woluering, or wood dog,the Lyſerne,the Beauer,the Sable,the Martron,the black and dunne fox,the white Beare towards the ſea coaſt of Pechora,the Gurnſtale,the Laſet or Mineuer. They haue a kinde of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the ſhoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers with a far broader taile then haue any other ſquirrels,which they moue and ſhake as they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They ſkiſe a large ſpace, & ſeeme for to flie withal,and therefore they cal them Letach Vechſhe,that is,the flying ſquirrels. Their hares and ſquirrels in Sommer are of the ſame colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate into milke white, the ſquirrel into gray, whereof commeth the Calaber.

They haue fallow deere,the roe bucke,& goats very great ſtore. Their horſes are but ſmal,but very ſwift & hard,they trauell them vnſhod both winter and Sommer,without all regard of pace. Their ſheepe are but ſmal & beare courſe & harſh wool. Of foule they haue diuers of the principal kinds: Firſt,great ſtore of hawks,the eagle,the gerfaulcon,the ſlightfaulcon,the goſhawk,the taſſel,the ſparhawk,&c. But the principal hawke yͭ breedeth in the country,is counted yͤ gerfaulcon. Of other foules their principal kinds are the ſwan tame & wilde, (whereof they haue great ſtore) the ſtorke,the crane,the tedder of the colour of a feaſant,but far bigger & liueth in the firre woods. Of feaſant and partridge they haue very great plentie. An owle there is of a very great bigneſſe, more vgly to behold then yͤ owles of this country,with a broad face,& eares much like vnto a man.

For freſh water fiſh, beſides the cōmon ſorts (as carpe,pikes,pearch,tench,roach,&c.) they haue diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga or Bellougina of 4,or 5.elnes long,the Oſitrina or Sturgion,the Seueriga and Sterledy ſomewhat in faſhion and taſte like to the Sturgion,but not ſo thicke nor long. Theſe 4.kinds of fiſh breed in the Volgha, and are catched in great plenty, and ſerued thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of theſe foure kinds they make very great ſtore of Icary or Caueary as was ſaid before.

They haue beſides theſe that breed in the Volgha a fiſh called the Riba bela, or white ſalmon, which they accompt more delicate then they do the red ſalmon, whereof alſo they haue exceeding great plentie in the Riuers Northward,as in Duyna,the riuer of Cola,&c. In the Ozera or lake neere a towne called Periſlaue,not far frō the Moſco,they haue a ſmal fiſh which they cal the freſh herring,of the faſhion,and ſomewhat of the taſte of a ſea-herring. Their chiefe townes for fiſh are, Yaruſlaue,Bealozera,Nouogrod,Aſtracan,and Cazan: which all yeeld a large cuſtome to the Emperour euery yeere for their trades of fiſhing, which they practiſe in Sommer, but ſende it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of *Ruſsia.*

Moſco.

The chiefe cities of Ruſſia are Moſco,Nouogrod,Roſtoue,Volodomer,Plesko,Smolensko, Iaruſlaue,Periſlaue,Niſnouogrod,Vologda,Vſtiug,Colmogro,Cazan, Aſtracan,Cargapolia,Columna. The city of Moſco is ſuppoſed to be of great antiquitie,though the firſt founder be vnknowen to the Ruſſe. It ſeemeth to haue taken the name frō the riuer that runneth on the one ſide of the towne. Beroſus the Chaldean in his 5.booke telleth that Nimrod(whō other prophane ſtories cal Saturne)ſent Aſſyrius,Medus,Moſcus,& Magog into Aſia to plant colonies there,and that Moſcus planted both in Aſia and Europe. Which may make ſome probabilitie,that the citie, or rather the riuer whereon it is built,tooke the denomination frō this Moſcus: the rather becauſe of the climate or ſituation,which is in the very fartheſt part & liſt of Europe,bordering vpon Aſia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Iuan or Iohn, ſonne to Daniel,that firſt changed his title of duke into King: though that honor continued not to his poſterity: the rather becauſe he was inueſted into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the 4. about the yeere 1246. which was very much miſliked by the Ruſſe people, being then a part of the Eaſterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this city hath growen more famous,& better knowen to the world: inſomuch that not only the prouince,but the whole Countrey of Ruſſia is termed by ſome by the name of Moſcouia the Metropolite city. The forme of this City is in maner round with 3. ſtrong wals,circuling the one within the other,& ſtreets lying betwene, whereof the inmoſt wall, and the buildings cloſed within it(lying ſafeſt as the heart within the body,fenced and watred with the riuer Moſcua,that runneth cloſe by it) is all accompted the Emperors caſtle. The number of houſes (as I haue heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperor a litle before it was fired by the Crim) was 41500.in all. Since the Tartar beſieged and fired the towne(which was in the yere 1571.)there lieth waſte of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel ſet and planted with buildings,ſpecially that part on the South ſide of Moſcua,built not long before by Baſilius the Emperor for his gariſon of ſouldiers, to whom he gaue priuiledge to drinke Mead, and beere at the dry or prohibited times, when other Ruſſes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cauſe called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skinck or poure in. So that now the city of Moſco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, & in a maner as large, is the citie Nouograd: where was committed (as the Ruſſe ſaith) the memorable warre ſo much ſpoke of in ſtories of the Scythians ſeruants, that tooke armes againſt their maſters: which they report in this ſort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Nouograd & the territory about (which only are ſouldiers after the diſcipline of thoſe countreis) had war with the Tartars. Which being wel performed & ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderſtood by the way that their Cholopey or bondſlaues whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their townes, lands, houſes, wiues and all. At which newes being ſomewhat amaſed, and yet diſdeining the villany of their ſeruants, they made the more ſpeed home: and ſo not far from Nouograd met them in warlike maner marching againſt them. Whereupon aduiſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed all to ſet vpon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe whips (which as their maner is euery man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their ſeruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And ſo marching on & laſhing al together with their whips in their hands they gaue the onſet. Which ſeemed ſo terrible in the eares of their villaines, and ſtroke ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like ſheepe before the driuers. In memory of this victory the Nouogradians euer ſince haue ſtamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Nouogrodskoy currant through al Ruſſia) with the figure of a horſman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand. Theſe 2. cities exceed ẏ reſt in greatnes. For ſtrength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan & Aſtracan, as lying vpon the borders. But for ſituation Iaruſlaue far exceedeth the reſt. For beſides the commodities that the ſoile yeeldeth of paſture and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer of Volgha, & looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire & ſtately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Iaruſlaue in that tongue ſignifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be gheſſed by the name) dwelt the Ruſſe king Vladimer ſirnamed Iaruſlaue, that maried the daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sueno the Dane, as is noted in the Daniſh ſtory about the yere 1067.

Nouograd.

Iaruſlaue.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11. pag. 187.

The maner of Ruſſe building.

The other townes haue nothing ẏ is greatly memorable, ſaue many ruines within their wals. The ſtreets of their cities and townes in ſtead of pauing are planked with fir trees, plained & layd euen cloſe the one to the other. Their houſes are of wood without any lime or ſtone, built very cloſe and warme with firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are faſtened together with dents or notches at euery corner, & ſo claſped faſt together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thruſt in moſſe (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Euery houſe hath a paire of ſtaires that lead vp into the chambers out of the yard or ſtreat after the Scottiſh maner. This building ſeemeth far better for their countrey, then that of ſtone or bricke; as being colder & more dampiſh then their wooden houſes, ſpecially of firre, that is a dry & warme wood. Wherof the prouidẽce of God hath giuen them ſuch ſtore, as that you may build a faire houſe for 20. or 30. rubbles or litle more, where wood is moſt ſcant. The greateſt inconuenience of their wooden building is the aptneſſe for firing, which happeneth very oft & in very fearful ſort, by reaſon of the drineſſe and fatnes of the fir, that being once fired, burneth like a torch, & is hardly quenched til all be burnt vp.

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the *Ruſſe* Emperours.

The ſolemnities vſed at ẏ Ruſſe Emperors coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Precheſte (or our Lady) within the Emperors caſtle is erected a ſtage whereon ſtandeth a ſcrine that beareth vpon it the Imperial cap & robe of very rich ſtuffe. When the day of the Inauguratiõ is come, there reſort thither, firſt the Patriarch wͭ the Metropolitanes, archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quier of ſingers. Who ſo ſoone as the Emperor ſetteth foot into ẏ church, begin to ſing: Many yeres may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c: Whereunto the patriarch and Metropolite with the reſt of the cleargy anſwere with a certaine hymne, in forme of a praier, ſinging it altogether with a great noiſe. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the ſtage, where ſtandeth a ſeat ready for the Emperor. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to ſit downe, & then placing himſelf by him vpõ another ſeat prouided for ẏ purpoſe, boweth downe his head towards ẏ ground, and ſaith this prayer: Oh Lord God king of kings, Lord of lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didſt choſe thy ſeruant Dauid, & annoynt him for King ouer thy people Iſrael, heare now our prayer, & looke frõ thy ſanctuary vpon this thy ſeruant Theodore, whom thou haſt choſen and exalted for king ouer theſe thy holy natiõs, anoint him with the oile of gladnes, protect by thy power, put vpon his head a crowne of gold & precious ſtones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the ſeat of Iuſtice, ſtrēgthen his arme, make ſubiect vnto him all the barbarous nations, Let thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an euill faith, and all errour, and ſhewe him the ſaluation of thy holy and vniuerſal Church, that he may iudge thy people with Iuſtice, & protect the children of the poore, & finally atteine euerlaſting life. This prayer he ſpeaketh with a low voice, & then pronounceth aloud: Al praiſe and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall roabe & cap: which is done very decently, and with great ſolemnitie, the Patriarch withal pronouncing aloud: Peace be vnto all. And ſo he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow your ſelues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preſerue him (oh Lord) vnder thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iuſtice ſhine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without ſtrife and malice. This is pronounced ſomewhat ſoftly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world, and the ſauiour of our ſoules, to thee the Father, Sonne and Holy ghoſt be al praiſe for euer and euer. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he bleſſeth the Emperour with the ſigne of the croſſe, ſaying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſt. The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops: who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another bleſſe the Emperour with their two forefingers. Then is ſayd by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: O moſt holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Moſco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Ruſſia, &c. Whereto the other Prieſts and Deacons that ſtand ſomewhat farre of by the altar or table, anſwere ſinging: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The ſame note is taken vp by the Prieſts and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left ſide of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, ſinging: Many yeares to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodomer, Moſco, Emperour of all Ruſſia, &c. Theſe ſolemnities being ended, firſt commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The ſtile wherewith he is inueſted at his Coronation, runneth after this maner.

THeodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſco, and great duke of Smolenſco, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod of the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotſkoy, Roſtoue, Yaruſlaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countries, &c.

This ſtile conteineth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and ſetteth foorth his greatneſſe. And therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but alſo ſtrangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by ſpeech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and ſometimes quarell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambaſſadours: who refuſe to call him Czar, that is Emperor, and to repeate the other parts of his long ſtile. My ſelfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to ſalute him only with thus much vz. Emperour of all Ruſſia, great Duke of Volodomer, Moſco and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan. The reſt I omitted of purpoſe, becauſe I knew they gloried, to haue their ſtile appeare to be of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in ſo ill part, that the Chancelour (who then attended the Emperour, with the reſt of the nobility) with a loude chafing voice, called ſtill vpon me to ſay out the reſt. Whereto I anſwered, that the Emperors ſtile was very long, and could not ſo well be remembred by ſtrangers, that I had repeated ſo much of it, as might ſhew that I gaue honour to the reſt &c. But all would not ſerue till I commanded my interpreter to ſay it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their ſalaries.

THe Souldiers of Ruſsia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the ſons of Gentlemen: becauſe they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profeſſion. For euery ſouldier in Ruſsia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the ſouldiers, that take it by diſcent from their

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

anceſtors: ſo that the ſonne of a gentleman (which is borne a ſouldier) is euer a gentleman, and a ſouldier withall, & profeſſeth nothing els but military matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roſerade, or great Conſtable, and there preſent themſelues: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine lands to maintaine their charges, for the moſt part the ſame that their fathers enioyed. For the lands aſſigned to maintaine the army, are euer certain, annexed to this office without improuing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperor haue ſufficient in wages, the roomes being full ſo farre as the land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except ſome one portion of the land be deuided into two. The whole number of his ſouldiers in continuall pay, is this. Firſt he hath his Dworaney, that is, Penſioners, or Gard of his perſon, to the number of 15000 horſemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Degrees of horſemen.
1. Prætoriani or ſuch as attend the Emperors perſon 15000.

Of theſe 15000 horſemen, there are three ſorts or degrees, which differ as well in eſtimation as in wages, one degree from another. The firſt ſort of them is called Dworancy Bulſhey, or the company of head Penſioners, that haue ſome an hundred, ſome fourescore rubbles a yeare, and none vnder 70. The ſecond ſort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle ranke of Penſioners. Theſe haue ſixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none vnder fortie. The third and loweſt ſort, are the Dyta Boiarskey, that is, the low Penſioners. Their ſalary is thirty rubbles a yere for him that hath moſt, ſome haue but 25, ſome 20, none vnder 12. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the Moſco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they haue any wars, & are imploied in ſeruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yere.

And this is their wages, beſides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the leſſe, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath leaſt, hath to yeelde him twentie rubbles or markes by the yeare. Beſides theſe 15000 horſemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperors owne gard when himſelfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Romane ſouldiers called Prætoriani) are a hundred and ten men of ſpeciall account for their Nobilitie, and truſt, which are choſen by the Emperor, and haue their names regiſtred, that find among them for the Emperors wars, to the number of 65000. horſemen, with all nececeſſaries meet for the wars after the Ruſſe maner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they haue yerely allowance made by the Emperor for themſelues, and their companies, to the ſumme of 40000 rubbles. And theſe 65000 are to repayre to the field euery yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar, (except they be appointed for ſome other ſeruice) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might ſeeme peraduenture ſomewhat dangerous for ſome ſtate, to haue ſo great forces vnder the cōmand of Noblemen to aſſemble euery yere to one certain place. But the matter is ſo vſed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his ſtate by this means. Firſt, becauſe theſe noblemen are many, to wit, an 110. in al, & changed by the Emperor ſo oft as he thinketh good. Secōdly, becauſe they haue their liuings of the Emperor, being otherwiſe but of very ſmall reuenue, and receiue this yerely pay of 40000 rubbles, when it is preſently to be payd forth againe to the ſouldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, becauſe for the moſt part they are about the Emperors perſon being of his Counſel, either ſpeciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymaſters, then Captaines to their companies, themſelues not going forth ordinarily to the wars, ſaue when ſome of them are appointed by ſpeciall order from the Emperor himſelfe. So the whole number of horſemen that are euer in a readineſſe, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or leſſe.

Horſemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he haue neede of a greater number (which ſeldome falleth out) then he enterteineth of thoſe Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, ſo many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, he giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field euery man a proportionable number of his ſeruants (called Kolophey, ſuch as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the iuſt number that he intendeth to make. Which the ſeruice being done, preſently lay in their weapons, and returne to their ſeruile occupations againe.

Footmen in continual pay 12000.

Of footemen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelſey: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Moſco, or any other place where the Emperor ſhall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremaney Strelſey, or gunners at the ſtirrop) about his owne perſon at the very Court or houſe where himſelfe lodgeth. The reſt are placed in his gariſon townes, till there be occaſion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their ſalarie or ſtipend euery man ſeuen rubbles a yeare, beſides twelue meaſures a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are ſtrangers (whom they call Nimſchoy) they haue at this time 4300 of Polonians: of Chirchaſſes (that are vnder the Polonians) about 4000, wherof 3500 are abroad in his gariſons: of Doutches & Scots about 150: of Greekes, Turks, Danes and Swedens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But theſe they vſe onely vpon the

Strāgers mercenaries in pay 4300.

Tartar ſide, and againſt the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar ſouldiers (whom they hire ſometimes, but only for the preſent) on the other ſide againſt the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it beſt policie to vſe their ſeruice vpon the contrary border.

The chief captains or leaders.

1. The Voiauod or General.

2. Lieutenant general.

3. Marſhals of the field foure.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of theſe forces, according to their names and degrees, are theſe which follow. Firſt, the Voyauoda Bulſhaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant general vnder the Emperor. This commonly is one of the foure houſes of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiauod or general at this preſent in their wars, is commonly one of theſe foure: Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methiſloskey, Knez Iuan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechaſkoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next vnto the Voiauod or general there is ſome other placed as Lieutenant general, being a man of great valour and experience in the wars, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principal man, & moſt vſed in their wars, is one Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Foreſtine, an ancient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great ſeruice (as they ſay) againſt the Tartar and Polonian. Next vnder the Voiauod and his Lieutenant general are foure other that haue the marſhalling of the whole army deuided among them, and may be called the marſhals of the field.

Foure marſhals: deputies eight.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the firſt is called the Praua Polskoy, or right wing. The ſecond is the Leuoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Ruſnoy Polskoy, or the broken band, becauſe out of this there are choſen to ſend abroad vpon any ſodaine exploit, or to make a reſcue or ſupplie, as occaſion doth require. The fourth Storoſhouoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Euery one of theſe foure Marſhals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twiſe euery weeke at the leaſt muſt muſter and traine their ſeueral wings or bands, and hold and giue iuſtice for all faults, and diſorders committed in the campe.

Fiue Coronels vnder Captains.

And theſe eight are commonly choſen out of the 110. (which I ſpake of before) that receiue & deliuer the pay to the ſouldiers. Vnder theſe eight are diuers other Captaines, as the Gulauoy, Captaines of thouſands fiue hundreds and 100. The Petyde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decetskies or Captains of tennes.

Sixe Maſters of the Artillery

The walking Captaine.

Beſides the Voiauoda or general of the armie (ſpoke of before) they haue two other that beare the name of Voiauoda, whereof one is the maſter of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiauoda) who hath diuers vnder officers, neceſſary for that ſeruice. The other is called the Voiauoda gulauoy, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horſemen of principall choyce, to range & ſpie abroad, & hath the charge of the running Caſtle, which we are to ſpeake of in the Chapter following. Al theſe Captains, & men of charge muſt once euery day reſort to the Bulſha voiauoda, or General of the armie, to know his pleaſure, & to informe him, if there be any requiſite matter pertaining to their office.

Of their muſtering, and leuying of forces, maner of armour, and prouiſion of victuall for the warres.

Their order of muſtering.

When wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly euery yere with the Tartar, & many times with the Polonian & Sweden) the foure Lords of the Chetfirds ſend forth their ſummons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Prouinces, to be proclaimed in the head townes of euery Shire: that al the Sinaboiarskey, or ſonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to ſuch a border where the ſeruice is to be done, at ſuch a place, & by ſuch a day, and there preſent themſelues to ſuch, & ſuch Captaines. When they come to the place aſſigned them in the ſummons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that haue commiſſion for that purpoſe from the Roſerade, or high Conſtable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make default & faile at the day, he is mulcted, & puniſhed very ſeuerely. As for the General & other chief Captaines, they are ſent thither from the Emperors owne hand, with ſuch Commiſſion & charge as he thinketh behoofull for the preſent ſeruice. When the ſouldiers are aſſembled, they are reduced into their bands, & companies, vnder their ſeueral Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thouſands, &c. and theſe Bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which alſo haue the authoritie of Marſhals of the field (as was ſayd before.)

The horſemās furniture.

Concerning their armour they are but ſlightly appointed. The cōmon horſeman hath nothing els but his bow in his caſe vnder his right arme, & his quiuer & ſword hanging on the left ſide: except ſome fewe that beare a caſe of dagges, or a Iauelin, or ſhort ſtaffe along their horſe ſide. The vnder captains wil haue commonly ſome piece of armour beſides, as a ſhirt of maile, or ſuch like. The General with the other chiefe captaines & men of Nobilitie wil haue their horſe very richly furniſhed, their ſaddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair boſſed & taſſelled with gold, & ſilk fringe, beſtudded with pearle & precious ſtones, themſelues in very faire armor, which they cal Bulatnoy, made of faire ſhining ſteele, yet couered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with armin furre, his ſteele helmet on his head of a very great price, his ſword bow and arrowes at his ſide, his ſpeare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Sheſta pera, or horſemans ſcepter caried before him. Their ſwords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkiſh faſhion. They practiſe like the Tartar to ſhoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans furniture.

The Strelſey or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his ſtriking hatchet at his back, & his ſword by his ſide. The ſtock of his piece is not made caliuerwiſe, but with a plaine & ſtraite ſtocke (ſomewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely & vnartificially made, very heauie, yet ſhooteth but a very ſmall bullet. As for their prouiſion of victual, the Emperor alloweth none, either for Captaine or ſouldiour, neither prouideth any for them except peraduenture ſome corne for their money. Euery man is to bring ſufficient for himſelfe, to ſerue his turne for foure moneths, & if neede require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or ſome other place. One great helpe they haue, that for lodging and diet euery Ruſſe is prepared to be a ſouldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captains & other of account cary tents with them after the faſhion of ours, with ſome better prouiſion of victual then the reſt. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with ſome ſtore of meale, which they temper with water, and ſo make it into a ball, or ſmall lumpe of dowe, called Tollockno. And this they eate rawe in ſtead of bread. Their meat is bacon, or ſome other fleſh or fiſh dryed, after the Dutch maner. If the Ruſſe ſouldier were as hardy to execute an enterpriſe, as he is hard to beare out toyle and trauell, or were otherwiſe as apt and well trained for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and diet, hee would farre exceede the ſouldiers of our parts.

Prouiſion of victual.

Of their marching, charging, and other Martial diſcipline.

The Ruſſe truſteth rather to his number, then to the valure of his ſouldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without al order, ſaue that the foure Polskey or Legions, (wherinto their armie is deuided) keepe themſelues ſeuerall vnder their enſignes, & ſo thruſt all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Enſigne is the image of S. George. The Bulſha Dworaney or chiefe horſemen, haue euery man a ſmall drum of braſſe at his ſaddle bowe, which he ſtriketh when he giueth the charge, or onſet.

Horſemens drummes.

They haue drummes beſides of a huge bignes, which they cary with them vpon a boord layde on foure horſes, that are ſparred together with chaines, euery drumme hauing eight ſtrikers, or drummers, beſides trumpets and ſhawmes, which they ſound after a wilde maner, much different from ours. When they giue any charge, or make any inuaſion, they make a great hallow or ſhoute altogether, as lowd as they can, which with the ſound of their trumpets, ſhawmes, and drummes, maketh a confuſed and horrible noyſe. So they ſet on firſt dicharging their arrowes, then dealing with their ſwordes, which they vſe in a brauerie to ſhake, and brandiſh ouer their heads, before they come to ſtrokes.

The horſmans maner of charging.

Their footmen (becauſe otherwiſe they want order in leading) are commonly placed in ſome ambuſh or place of aduantage, where they may moſt annoy the enemie, with leaſt hurt to themſelues. If it be a ſet battell, or if any great inuaſion be made vpon the Ruſſe borders by the Tartar, they are ſet within ỹ running or mouing Caſtle (called Beza, or Gulaygorod) which is caried about with them by the Voiauoda gulauoy (or the walking General) whom I ſpake of before. This walking or mouing Caſtle is ſo framed, that it may be ſet vp in length (as occaſion doeth require) the ſpace of one, two, three, foure, fiue, ſixe, or ſeuen miles: for ſo long it will reach. It is nothing els but a double wall of wood to defend them on both ſides behinde and before, with a ſpace of three yards or thereabouts, betwixt the two ſides: ſo that they may ſtand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and diſcharge their pieces, and to vſe their other weapons. It is cloſed at both ends, and made with loope holes on either ſide, to lay out the noſe of their piece, or to puſh foorth any other weapon. It is caried with the armie wherſoeuer it goeth, being taken into pieces, and ſo layde on cartes ſparred together, and drawen by horſe that are not ſeene, by reaſon that they are couered with their cariage as with a ſhelfe or penthouſe. When it is brought to the place where it is to be vſed (which is deuiſed and choſen out before by the walking Voiauod) it is planted ſomuch as the preſent vſe requireth, ſometime a mile long, ſometimes two, ſometimes three or more: Which is ſoone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or inſtrument: becauſe the timber is ſo framed to claſpe together one piece with in another: as is eaſily vnderſtoode by thoſe that know the maner of the Ruſſe building.

The footmans charge.

The walking Caſtle.

In this Caſtle ſtandeth their ſhot wel fenced for aduantage, ſpecially againſt the Tartar, that bringeth no ordinance, nor other weapon into the field with him, ſaue his ſword, and bow, and arrowes. They haue alſo within it diuers field pieces, which they vſe as occaſion doth require. Of pieces for the field they carie no great ſtore, when they warre againſt the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whoſe forces they make more account) they go better furniſhed with all kind of munition, and other neceſſarie prouiſions. It is thought that no Prince of Chriſtendome hath better ſtore of munition, then the Ruſſe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillery houſe at Moſco, where are of all ſortes of great Ordinance, all braſſe pieces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Ruſſe ſouldier is thought to be better at his defence within ſome caſtle or towne, then he is abroad at a ſet pitched field. Which is euer noted in the practiſe of his warres, and namely at the ſiege of Vobſco, about eight yeres ſince: where he repulſed the Polonian king Stepan Batore, with his whole armie of 100000 men, and forced him in the end to giue ouer his ſiege, with the loſſe of many of his beſt Captaines and ſouldiers. But in a ſet field the Ruſſe is noted to haue euer the worſe of the Polonian and Sweden. 1580.

If any behaue himſelfe more valiantly then the reſt, or do any ſpecial piece of ſeruice, the Emperor ſendeth him a piece of golde, ſtamped with the Image of Saint George on horſebacke. Which they hang on their ſleeues, & ſet in their caps. And this is accounted the greateſt honour they can receiue, for any ſeruice they doe. Reward for valure.

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conqueſts, or purchaſes by force.

The Ruſſe Emperors of late yeres haue very much enlarged their dominions, & territories. Their firſt conqueſt after the Dukedome of Moſco (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was ſaid) was the citie, & Dukedome of Nouogrod on yͤ Weſt, and Northweſt ſide: which was no ſmal enlargement of their dominion, & ſtrengthening to them for the winning of the reſt. This was done by Iuan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperor, about the yere 1480. The ſame began likewiſe to encroach vpon the countries of Lituania and Liuonia, but the conqueſt only intended, & attempted by him, vpon ſome part of thoſe countries, was purſued & performed by his ſonne Baſileus, who firſt wan the citie & dukedom of Pleſko, afterwards the citie & dukedome of Smolenſco, & many other faire towns, with a large territory belonging vnto them, about the yere 1514. Theſe victories againſt the Lettoes or Lituanians, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuil diſſentions, & treaſons among thēſelues, then by any great policie, or force of his own. But al this was loſt againe by his ſon Iuan Vaſiliwich, about 8 or 9 yeres paſt, vpon cōpoſition with yͤ Polonian king Stephan Batore: wherunto he was forced by the aduantages which the Pole had then of him, by reaſon of the foile he had giuen him before, and the diſquietnes of his own ſtate at home. Onely the Ruſſe Emperor, at this time hath left him on that ſide his countery, the cities of Smolenſco, Vobſco, Chernigo, & Bealagorod in Lituania. In Liuonia, not a towne nor one foot of ground. 1580.

When Baſilius firſt conquered thoſe countries, he ſuffered then the natiues to keepe their poſſeſſions, and to inhabite all their townes, onely paying him a tribute, vnder the gouernement of his Ruſſe Captaines. But by their conſpiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more ſurely with them. And ſo comming vpon them the ſecond time, he killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or ſold to the Tartars that ſerued him in thoſe wars, and in ſtead of them placed there his Ruſſes, ſo many as might ouermatch the reſt, with certaine gariſons of ſtrength beſides. Wherein notwithſtanding this ouerſight was committed, for that (taking away with him the vpland, or countrey people that ſhould haue tilled the ground, & might eaſily haue bene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driuen afterwards many yeres together, to vitaile the countrey (ſpecially the great townes) out of his owne countrey of Ruſſia, the ſoile lying there in the meane while waſt, and vntilled. Lituania.

The like fell out at the port of Narue in Liefland, where his ſonne Iuan Vaſiliwich deuiſed to build a towne, and a caſtle on the other ſide the riuer, (called Iuangorod) to keepe the towne and countrey in ſubiection. The caſtle he cauſed to be ſo built and fortified, that it was thought to be inuincible. And when it was furniſhed, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the natiues all within their owne countrey, without abating their number or ſtrength, the towne and caſtle not long after was betraied, and ſurrendred againe to the king of Sweden. Narue.

On the Southeaſt ſide, they haue got the kingdomes of Cazan, and Aſtracan. Theſe were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Iuan Vaſiliwich, the one about thirtie fiue, the other about thirtie and three yeares agoe. Northward out of the countrey of Siberia, he hath Siberia and Ob.

Conqueſt of a 1000 miles.

Permia and Pechora.

layed vnto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the riuer of Obba, about a 1000 miles ſpace: ſo that he is bolde to write himſelfe now, The great Commander of Siberia. The countries likewiſe of Permia and Pechora are a diuers people and language from the Ruſſe, ouercome not long ſince, and that rather by threatning, and ſhaking of the ſword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to reſiſt.

Means of holding chiefe townes.

That which the Ruſſe hath in his preſent poſſeſſion, he keepeth on this ſort. In his foure chief border townes of Vobsko, Smolensko, Aſtracan, and Cazan, he hath certaine of his counſel not of greateſt nobility, but of greateſt truſt, which haue more authoritie within their precincts, (for the countenancing and ſtrengthening of their gouernment there) then the other Dukes that are ſet to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the maner of ordering their Prouinces. Theſe he changeth ſometime euery yere, ſometime euery ſecond or third yere, but exceedeth not that time, except vpon very ſpeciall truſt, and good liking of the party, and his ſeruice: leaſt by enlarging of their time, they might grow into ſome familiaritie with the enemie (as ſome haue done) being ſo farre out of ſight.

The townes beſides are very ſtrongly fenced with trenches, caſtles, & ſtore of munition, and haue gariſons within them, to the number of two or three thouſand a piece. They are ſtored with victual if any ſiege ſhould come vpon them, for the ſpace of two or three yeres before hand. The foure caſtles of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan and Aſtracan, he hath made very ſtrong to beare out any ſiege: ſo that it is thought that thoſe townes are impregnable.

Meanes of holding the countries of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of Siberia, which he hath now vnder him, they are kept by as eaſie meanes, as they were firſt got. vz. rather by ſhewing, then by vſing of armes. Firſt, he hath ſtored the countrie with as many Ruſſes as there are natiues, & hath there ſome few ſouldiers in gariſon, inough to keepe them vnder. Secõdly, his officers & Magiſtraces there are of his own Ruſſe people, and he changeth them very often, vz. euery yere twiſe or thriſe: notwithſtanding there be no great feare of any innouation. Thirdly, he deuideth them into many ſmal gouernments, like a ſtaffe broke in many ſmall pieces: ſo yͭ they haue no ſtrength being ſeuered, which was but litle neither when they were al in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the countrie haue neither armor, nor money, being taxed & pilled ſo often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to ſhake off that yoke, or to relieue themſelues.

Siberia.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in purſuing his conqueſt) he hath diuers caſtles & gariſons, to the number of 6000 ſouldiers of Ruſſes & Polonians, & ſendeth many new ſupplies thither, to plant and to inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time beſides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certaine of his captaines, to leaue his own country by offers of great entertainment, and pleſanter life with the Ruſſe Emperor, then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this laſt yere, and is now with the Emperor at Moſco well enterteined.

The kings brother of Siberia. 1588.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the country of *Ruſsia*, with whom they haue moſt to doe in warre, and peace.

The Poloniãs called Laches by the Ruſſe.

Their neighbors with whom they haue greateſt dealings & intercourſe, both in peace & war, are firſt the Tartar. Secondly the Polonian whom the Ruſſe calleth Laches, noting the firſt author or founder of the nation, who was called Laches or Leches, wherunto is added Po, which ſignifieth People, and ſo is made Polaches, that is, the People or poſterity of Laches: which the Latins after their maner of writing cal Polonos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians & Swedens are better knowen to theſe parts of Europe then are the Tartars, that are farther off from vs (as being of Aſia) and diuided into many tribes, different in name, ant gouernment one from another. The greateſt and mightieſt of them is the Chrim Tartar, (whom ſome call the Great Can) that lieth South, & Southeaſtward from Ruſſia, and doth moſt annoy the country by often inuaſions, commonly once euery yere, ſometimes entring very farre within the inland parts. In the yere 1571 he came as farre as the citie of Moſco, with an armie of 200000 men, without any battel, or reſiſtance at al, for that the Ruſſe Emperor (then Iuan Vaſiliwich) leading forth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. The citie he tooke not, but fired the ſuburbs, which by reaſon of the buildings (which are all of wood without any ſtone, brick, or lime, ſaue certeine out roomes) kindled ſo quickly, and went on with ſuch rage, as that it conſumed the greateſt part of the citie almoſt within the ſpace of foure houres, being of 30 miles or more of compaſſe. Then might you haue ſeene a lamentable ſpectacle: beſides the huge & mighty flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houſes and ſtreetes, but moſt of all of ſuch as laboured to paſſe out of the gates fartheſt from the enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, & ſo preſſing euery man to preuent another, wedged themſelues ſo faſt within

The Chrim Tartar.

The firing of Moſco by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

the gate, and ſtreetes neere vnto it, as that three rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermoſt treading downe thoſe that were lower: ſo that there periſhed at that time (as was ſaid) by the fire & the preſſe, the number of 800000 people or more.

The principall cauſe of this continual quarell betwixt the Ruſſe & the Chrim is for the right of certaine border partes claimed by the Tartar, but poſſeſſed by the Ruſſe. The Tartar alleageth that beſides Aſtracan and Cazan (that are the ancient poſſeſſion of the Eaſt Tartar) the whole countrey from his bounds North and Weſtward ſo farre as the citie of Mosko, and Mosko it ſelfe perteineth to his right. Which ſeemeth to haue bene true by the report of the Ruſſes themſelues, that tell of a certaine homage that was done by the Ruſſe Emperour euery yeere to the great Chrim or Can, the Ruſſe Emperour ſtanding on foot and feeding the Chrims horſe, (himſelfe ſitting on his backe) with oates out of his owne cappe, in ſtead of a bowle or manger, and that within the caſtle of Mosko. And this homage (they ſay) was done till the time of Baſileus grandfather to this man. Who ſurpriſing the Chrim Emperour by a ſtratageme done by one of his nobilitie (called Iuan Demetrowich Belſchey) was content with this raunſome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of furres: which afterwards alſo was denied to be paide by this Emperors father.

Homage done by the Ruſſe to the Chrim Tartar.

Hereupon they continue yͤ quarrel, the Ruſſe defending his countrey, & that which he hath won, yͤ Chrim Tartar inuading him once or twiſe euery yere, ſomtime about Whitſontide, but oftner in harueſt. What time if the great Can or Chrim come in his owne perſon, he bringeth with him a great armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwiſe they make ſhort & ſudden rodes into the countrey with leſſer numbers, running about the liſt of the border as wild geeſe flie, inuading and retiring where they ſee aduantage.

Their common practiſe (being very populous) is to make diuers armies, and ſo drawing the Ruſſe to one or two places of the frontiers, to inuade at ſome other place, that is left without defence. Their maner of fight, or ordering of their forces is much after the Ruſſe maner (ſpoken of before) ſaue that they are all horſemen, and carie nothing els but a bowe, a ſheafe of arrowes, and a falcon ſword after the Turkiſh faſhion. They are very expert horſemen, and vſe to ſhoote as readily backward, as forward. Some wil haue a horſmans ſtaffe like to a bore ſpeare, beſides their other weapons. The cõmon ſouldier hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke ſheeps ſkin with the wool ſide outward in the day time, and inwarde in the night time, with a cap of the ſame. But their Morſeys or noblemen imitate the Turk both in apparel and armour. When they are to paſſe ouer a riuer with their armie, they tie three or foure horſes together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them faſt to the tailes of their horſe: ſo ſitting on the poles they driue their horſe ouer. At handie ſtrokes (when they ioyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Ruſſe people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practiſe of warre: as men knowing no artes of peace, nor any ciuil practiſe.

The maner of the Tartars fight, and armour.

Yet their ſubtilty is more then may ſeeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reaſon they are practiſed to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuiſe ſtratagems vpon the ſudden for their better aduantage. As in theit warre againſt Beala the fourth, king of Hungarie, whome they inuaded with 500000. men, and obtained againſt him a great victorie. Where, among other, hauing ſlaine his Chancelor called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the kings priuy ſeale. Whereupon they deuiſed preſently to counterfeit letters in the kings name, to the cities and townes next about the place, where the field was fought: with charge that in no caſe they ſhould conuey thēſelues, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide ſafely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the countrey deſolate to the poſſeſſion of ſo vile and barbarous an enemie, as was the Tartar nation, terming themſelues in all reprochful maner. For notwithſtanding he had loſt his carriages, with ſome few ſtraglers that had marched diſorderly, yet he doubted not but to recouer that loſſe, with the acceſſe of a notable victorie, if the ſauage Tartar durſt abide him in the field. To this purpoſe hauing written their letters in the Poliſh character, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and ſigned them with the Kings ſeale, they diſpatched them forth to all the quarters of Hungaria, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the Vngarians that were now flying away with their goods, wiues, and children, vpon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort of theſe counterfeit letters, ſtaied at home. And ſo were made a pray, being ſurpriſed on the ſudden by this huge number of theſe Tartars, that had compaſſed them about before they were aware.

The ſubtiltie of the Tartar.

When they beſiege a towne or fort, they offer much parle, and ſend many flattering meſſages to perſwade a ſurrendry: promiſing all things that the inhabitants will require: but being once poſſeſſed of the place, they vſe all maner of hoſtilitie, and crueltie. This they doe vpon a rule they haue, vz. that iuſtice is to bee practiſed but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue ſome ambuſh, whereunto (hauing once ſhewed themſelues, and made ſome ſhort conflict) they retire as repulſed for feare, and ſo draw the enemie into it if they can. But the Ruſſe beeing well acquainted with their practiſe is more warie of them. When they come a rouing with ſome ſmall number, they ſet on horſebacke counterfaite ſhapes of men, that their number may ſeeme greater.

When they make any onſet, their maner is to make a great ſhoute, crying all out together Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe vs, God help vs. They contemne death ſo much, as that they chuſe rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemie, and are ſeene when they are ſlain to bite the very weapon, when they are paſt ſtriking or helping of themſelues. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his deſperate courage from the Ruſſe and Turke. For the Ruſſe ſouldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his ſafetie in his ſpeedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himſelfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning ſtraight to die. The Turk commonly, when he is paſt hope of eſcaping, falleth to intreatie, and caſteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them, as it were to be tied: hoping to ſaue his life, by offering himſelfe bondſlaue.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars ſeeke for in all their warres is to get ſtore of captiues, ſpecially young boyes, and girles, whome they ſell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpoſe they take with them great baſkets made like bakers panniers to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tire, or to be ſicke by the way, they daſh him againſt the ground, or ſome tree, and ſo leaue him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captiues and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they haue certaine bandes that intend nothing elſe, appoynted of purpoſe to receiue and keepe the captiues and the other praye.

The Tartar religion.

The Ruſſe borderers (being vſed to their inuaſions lightly euery yere in the Sommer) keepe keepe fewe other cattell on the border partes, ſaue ſwine onely which the Tartar will not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the Turkiſh religion, and will eate no ſwines fleſh. Of Chriſt our Sauiour they confeſſe as much as doeth the Turke in his Alkaron, viz. that he came of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that he was a great Prophet, and ſhall be the Iudge of the worlde at the laſt day. In other matter likewiſe, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: hauing felt the Turkiſh forces when hee wonne from them Azou and Caffa, with ſome other townes about the Euxine or blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Crim Tartar. So that now the Emperor of the Crims for the moſt part is choſen one of the Nobility whom the Turke doeth commend: whereby it is brought nowe to paſſe, that the Crim Tartar giueth to the Turke the tenth part of the ſpoyle which hee getteth in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

Herein they differ from the Turkiſh religion, for that they haue certaine idole puppets made of ſilke, or like ſtuffe, of the faſhion of a man, which they faſten to the doore of their walking houſes, to be as Ianuſſes or keepers of their houſe. And theſe idoles are made not by all, but by certaine religious women which they haue among them for that and like vſes. They haue beſides the image of their King or great Can, of an huge bigneſſe, which they erect at euery ſtage when the army marcheth: and this euery one muſt bend and bowe vnto as he paſſeth by it, be he Tartar or ſtranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures vpon euery accident which they heare or ſee.

In making of mariages they haue no regard of alliance or conſanguinitie. Onely with his mother, ſiſter, and daughter a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his houſe, and accompany with her, yet he accounteth her not for his wife till he haue a childe by her. Then hee beginneth to take a dowry of her friends of horſe, ſheepe, kine, &c. If ſhe be barren after a certaine time, he turneth her home againe.

The Tartar nobilitie.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certaine Dukes, whome they call Morſeis or Diuoymorſeis, that rule ouer a certaine number of 10000. 20000. or 40000. a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any vſe of them to ſerue in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certain number, euery man with his two horſe at the leaſt, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his horſe eatē. For their chiefe vitaile is horſe fleſh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Ruſſe, he ſhall be ſure lightly to finde a horſe-legge, or ſome other part of him at his ſaddle bowe.

The Tartar diet.

1588.

This laſt yeere when I was at the Moſco, came in one Kiriach Morſey, nephew to the Emperour of the Crims that nowe is (whoſe father was Emperour before) accompanied with 300.

Tartars, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being intertained in very good ſort after the Ruſſe maner, hee had ſent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his ſupper and his companies, two very large and fat horſes, ready flayed in a ſled. They prefer it before other fleſh, becauſe the meate is ſtronger (as they ſay) then Beefe, Mutton, and ſuch like. And yet (which is marueile) though they ſerue all as horſemen in the warres, and eate all of horſe fleſh, there are brought yeerely to the Moſco to bee exchanged for other commodities 30. or 40. thouſand Tartar horſe, which they call Cones. They keepe alſo great heards of kine, & flocks of blacke ſheepe, rather for the ſkins and milke (which they carie with them in great bottels) then for the vſe of the fleſh, though ſometimes they eate of it. Some vſe they haue of ryſe, figs, and other fruits. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the moſt part card them both together. They vſe ſometime as they trauel by the way, to let their horſe blood in a vaine, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his bodie.

The Tartars dwelling.

Townes they plant none, nor other ſtanding buildings, but haue walking houſes, which the latines call Veij, built vpon wheeſes like a ſhepheards cottage. Theſe they drawe with them whitherſoeuer they goe, driuing their cattell with them. And when they come to their ſtage, or ſtanding place, they plant their carte houſes verie orderly in a ranke: and ſo make the forme of ſtreetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperor himſelfe, who hath no other ſeat of Empire but an Agora, or towne of wood, that moueth with him whitherſoeuer hee goeth. As for the fixed and ſtanding building vſed in other countreyes, they ſay they are vnwholeſome and vnpleaſant.

They begin to mooue their houſes and cattell in the Spring time from the South part of their Countrey towards the North partes. And ſo driuing on till they haue graſed all vp to the fartheſt part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by 10. or 12. miles a ſtage: in the meane while the graſſe being ſprung vp againe, to ſerue for their cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caſpian ſea, to the Ruſſe frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, ſpecially on the South and Southeaſt parts, but loſt for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vſe at all, and therefore prefer braſſe and ſteele before other mettals, ſpecially bullate, which they vſe for ſwordes, kniues, and other neceſſaries. As for golde and ſiluer they neglect it of very purpoſe, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to bee more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey leſſe ſubiect to inuaſions. Which giueth them great aduantage againſt all their neighbors, euer inuading, and neuer beeing inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of oldetime Cyrus and Darius Hyſtaſpis, on the Eaſt and Southeaſt ſide) haue done it with very ill ſucceſſe: as wee finde in the ſtories written of thoſe times. For their manner is when any will inuade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they haue drawen them ſome good way within their countrey. Then when they begin to want victuall and other neceſſaries (as needes they muſt where nothing is to be had) to ſtoppe vp the paſſages, and incloſe them with multitudes. By which ſtratagem (as wee reade in Laonicus Chalcacondylas in his Turkiſh ſtorie) they had welnigh ſurpriſed the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee retired with all ſpeede hee could towardes the riuer Tanais or Don, not without great loſſe of his men, and cariages.

Pachymerius.

In the ſtorie of Pachymerius the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperors of Conſtantinople from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palæologus to the time of Andronicus the elder) I remember he telleth to the ſame purpoſe of one Nogas a Tartarian captaine vnder Cazan the Emperor of the Eaſt Tartars (of whom the citie and kingdome of Cazan may ſeeme to haue taken the denomination) who refuſed a preſent of Pearle and other iewels ſent vnto him from Michael Palæologus: aſking withall, for what vſe they ſerued, and whether they were good to keepe away ſickneſſe, death, or other miſfortunes of this life, or no. So that it ſeemeth they haue euer, or long time bene of that minde to value things no further, then by the vſe and neceſſitie for which they ſerue.

For perſon and complexion they haue broade and flatte viſages, of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne haired vpon the vpper lippe, and pitte of the chinne, light and nimble bodied, with ſhort legges, as if they were made naturally for horſemen: whereto they practiſe themſelues from their childhood, ſeldome going afoot about anie buſineſſe. Their ſpeech is verie ſudden and loude, ſpeaking as it were out of a deepe hollowe throate. When they ſing you would thinke a kowe lowed, or ſome great bandogge howled. Their greateſt exerciſe is ſhooting, wherein they traine vp their children from their verie infancie, not ſuffering them to eate, till they haue ſhot neere the marke within a certaine ſcantling. They are the very ſame that ſometimes were called Scythæ Nomades, or the Scythian ſhepheards, by the Greekes and Latines. Some thinke that the Turks took their beginning from the nation of the Crim Tartars. Of which opinion is Laonicus Calcocondylas the Greek Hiſtoriographer, in his firſt booke of his Turkiſh ſtorie. Wherein hee followeth diuers verie probable coniectures. The firſt taken from the verie name it ſelfe, for that the worde Turk ſignifieth a Shepheard or one that followeth a vagarant and wilde kinde of life. By which name theſe Scythian Tartars haue euer beene noted, being called by the Greekes σκύθαι νομάδες or the Scythian ſhepheards. His ſecond reaſon, becauſe the Turkes (in his time) that dwelt in Aſia the leſſe, to wit, in Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia, ſpake the very ſame language that theſe Tartars did, that dwelt betwixt the riuer Tanais or Don, and the countrey of Sarmatia, which (as is well knowen) are theſe Tartars called Crims. At this time alſo the whole nation of the Turkes differ not much in their common ſpeech from the Tartar language. Thirdly because the Turke and the Crim Tartar agree ſo well together, as well in religion, as in matter of trafique neuer inuading, or inurping one another: ſaue that the Turke (ſince Laonicus his time) hath encroched vpon ſome Townes vpon the Euxin Sea, that before perteined to the Crim Tartar. Fourthly, becauſe Ortogules ſonne to Oguzalpes, and father to Otoman the firſt of name of the Turkiſh nation made his firſt roads out of thoſe parts of Aſia, vpon the next borderers, till hee came towardes the countreys about the hill Taurus, where hee ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and ſo enlarged the name and territorie of the Turkiſh nation, till hee came to Eubæa and Attica, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of Laonicus, who liued among the Turkes in the time of Amurat the firſt Turkiſh Emperour, about the yeere 1400. when the memorie of their originall was more freſh: and therefore the likelier hee was to hit the trueth.

Laonicus Calcocondylas.

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There are diuers other Tartars that border vpon Ruſsia, as the Nagayes, the Cheremiſſens, the Mordwites, the Chircaſſes, and the Shalcans, which all differ in name more then in regiment, or other condition, from the Crim Tartar, except the Chircaſſes that border Southweſt, towardes Lituania, and are farre more ciuill then the reſt of the Tartars, of a comely perſon, and of a ſtately behauiour, as applying themſelues to the faſhion of the Polonian. Some of them haue ſubiected themſelues to the Kings of Poland, and profeſſe Chriſtianitie. The Nagay lieth Eaſtwarde, and is reckoned for the beſt man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie ſauage, and cruell aboue all the reſt. The Cheremeſſen Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Ruſſe and the Nagay, are of two ſorts, the Lugauoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly countrey. Theſe haue much troubled the Emperours of Ruſsia. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of thē, vnder pretence of giuing a yeerely penſion of Ruſſe commodities to their Morſeys, or Diuoymorſeis, that are chiefe of their tribes. For which alſo they are bound to ſerue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are ſaid to be iuſt and true in their dealings: and for that cauſe they hate the Ruſſe people, whom they account to be double, and falſe in al their dealing. And therefore the common ſort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their Morſeis, or Dukes for their penſions ſake.

The Nagay Tartar the crueleſt.
The Chircaſce the ciuilleſt Tartar.

The Cheremiſſen Tartar of two ſorts: the Lugauoy and the Nagornay.

The moſt rude & barbarous is counted the Mordwit Tartar, that hath many ſelfe-faſhions and ſtrange kinds of behauiour, differing from the reſt. For his religion, though he acknowledge one God, yet his maner is to worſhip for God, that liuing thing ÿ he firſt meeteth in the morning, & to ſweare by it all that whole day, whether it be horſe, dog, cat, or whatſoeuer els it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his beſt horſe, and hauing ſlayed off the ſkinne hee carieth it on high vpon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doeth (as the Ruſſe ſaieth) that his friend may haue a good horſe to carie him to heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the beſt thing that he hath.

The Mordwit Tartar ÿ moſt barbarous of the reſt.

Next to the kingdome of Aſtracan, that is the fartheſt part Southeaſtward of the Ruſſe dominion, lyeth the Shalcan, and the countrey of Media: whither the Ruſſe marchants trade for rawe ſilkes, ſyndon, ſaphion, ſkinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media where the Ruſſe tradeth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the inhabitants ſay) and Zamachi where the ſtaple is kept for rawe ſilkes. Their maner is in the Spring time to reuiue the ſilke-wormes (that lie dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme ſunne, and (to haſten their quickening that they may ſooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and ſo to hang them vnder their childrens armes. As for the woorme called Chrinisin (as wee call it Chrymſon) that maketh coloured ſilke, it is bred not in Media, but in Aſſyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachi for rawe ſilkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as alſo into Perſia, and Bougharia downe the riuer of Volga, and through the Caſpian ſea, is permitted aſwell to the Engliſh as to the Ruſſe merchants, by the Emperours laſt grant at my being there.

The reuiuing of ſilkwormes.

Chriniſin a kind of ſilkworme.

Libertp to trade downe the Caſpian ſea.

Which he accounteth for a very ſpeciall fauour, and might proue indeede very beneficiall to our Engliſh merchants, if the trade were wel and orderly vſed.

The whole nation of the Tartars are vtterly voide of all learning, and without written Law: yet certaine rules they haue which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practiſe of their life. Which are of this ſort. First, To obey their Emperour and other Magiſtrates, 1
whatſoeuer they commaund about the publike ſeruice. 2 Except for the publike behoofe, e- 2
uery man to be free and out of controlment. 3 No priuate man to poſſeſſe any lands, but the 3
whole countrey to be as common. 4 To neglect all daintineſſe and varietie of meates, and 4
to content themſelues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardneſſe, and readines in the executing of their affaires. 5 To weare any baſe attire, and to patch their clothes 5
whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no ſhame to weare a patcht
coate. 6 To take or ſteale from any ſtranger whatſoeuer they can get, as beeing enemies to 6
all men, ſaue to ſuch as will ſubiect themſelues to them. 7 Towards their owne hoorde and 7
nation to be true in worde and deede. 8 To ſuffer no ſtranger to come within the Realme. If 8
any doe, the ſame to be bondſlaue to him that firſt taketh him, except ſuch merchants and other as haue the Tartar Bull, or paſport about them.

No ſtranger without paſport admitted.

Of the *Permians*, *Samoites*, and *Lappes*.

The Permians and Samoites that lye from Ruſſia, North and Northeaſt, are thought likewiſe to haue taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly bee geſſed by the faſhion of their countenance, as hauing all broade and flat faces as the Tartars haue, except the Chircaſſes. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are nowe ſubiect to the Ruſſe. They liue by hunting, and trading with their furres, as alſo doeth the Samoit, that dwelleth more towardes the North Sea. The Samoit hath his name (as the Ruſſe saith) of eating himſelfe: as if in times paſt, they liued as yͤ Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, becauſe at this time they eate all kind of raw fleſh, whatſoeuer it be, euen the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoits themſelues will ſay, they were called Samoie, that is, of themſelues, as though they were Indigenę, or people bred vpon that very ſoyle, that neuer changed their ſeate from one place to another, as moſt nations haue done. They are ſubiect at this time to the Emperour of Ruſſia.

The Permians.

The Samoit.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but repreſent him by ſuch things as they haue moſt vſe and good by. And therefore they worſhip the Sunne, the Ollen, the Loſh, and ſuch like. As for the ſtory of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I haue read in ſome mappes, and deſcriptions of theſe countries, to be an idole after the forme of an olde woman) that being demanded by the Prieſt, giueth them certaine Oracles, concerning the ſucceſſe, ond euent of things, I found it to be a very fable. Onely in the Prouince of Obdoria vpon the ſea ſide, neare to the mouth of the great riuer Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being ſomewhat helped by imagination) may ſeeme to beare the ſhape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes (as the rocke by the North Cape the ſhape of a Frier) where the Obdorian Samoites vſe much to reſort, by reaſon of the commoditie of the place for fiſhing: and there ſometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practiſe their ſorceries, and ominous coniecturings about the good or bad ſpeede of their iourneies, fiſhings, huntings, and ſuch like.

The Samoits religion.

Slata Baba or the goldē hag.

A fable.

The Sea.

Fiſhing or ſea.

They are clad in Seale ſkins, with the hairie ſide outwards downe as low as the knees, with their breeches and netherſtockes of the ſame, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, naturally beardleſſe. And therefore the men are hardly diſcerned from the women by their lookes: ſaue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue in a manner a wilde and ſauage life, rouing ſtill from one place of the countrey to another, without any property of houſe or land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in euery companie, is their Papa or Prieſt.

The Samoits habit and behauiour.

The people of Meta Incognita ſuch.

On the North ſide of Ruſſia next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the fartheſt point Northward, (towards the Northcape) to the fartheſt part Southeaſt (which the Ruſſe calleth Sweetneſſe or Holy noſe, the Engliſh men Capegrace) about 345. verſt or miles. From Sweetneſſe to Candelox by the way of Verſega (which meaſureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles or thereabouts. The whole countrey in a maner is either lakes, or mountaines, which towardes the Sea ſide are called Tondro, becauſe they are all of harde and craggy rocke, but the inland partes are well furniſhed with woods that growe on the hilles ſides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and ſimple. Bread they haue none,

The Lappes.

none, but feede onely vpon fiſh and foule. They are ſubiect to the Emperor of Ruſſia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact tribute and cuſtome of them (as was ſaide before) but the Emperor of Ruſſia beareth the greateſt hand ouer them, and exacteth of them farre more then the reſt. The opinion is that they were firſt termed Lappes of their briefe and ſhort ſpeech. The Ruſſe diuideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two ſortes. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Noruegian Lappes becauſe they be of the Daniſh religion. For the Danes and Noruegians they account for one people. The other that haue no religion at all but liue as brute and heatheniſh people, without God in the worlde, they cal Dikoy Lapary, or the wilde Lappes.

The whole nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not ſo much as the vſe of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practiſe of witchcraft and ſorcerie they paſſe all nations in the worlde. Though for enchanting of ſhips that ſaile along their coaſt, (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots vpon a rope (ſomewhat like to the tale of Æolus his windbag) is a very fable, deuiſed (as may ſeeme) by themſelues, to terrifie ſailers for comming neere their coaſt. Their weapons are the long bow, and handgunne, wherein they excell, aſwell for quickneſſe to charge and diſcharge, as for neereneſſe at the marke by reaſon of their continual practiſe (whereto they are forced) of ſhooting at wild fowle. Their maner is in Sommer time to come downe in great companies to the ſea ſide, to Wardhuyſe, Cola, Kegor, and the bay of Vedagoba, and there to fiſh for Codde, Salmon, & But-fiſh, which they ſel to the Ruſſes, Danes, & Noruegians, and nowe of late to the Engliſh men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Laps & Corelians for their fiſh, oyle, and furres, whereof alſo they haue ſome ſtore. They holde their mart at Cola on S. Peters day: what time the captaine of Wardhuyſe (that is reſiant there for the king of Denmark) muſt be preſent, or at leaſt ſend his deputie to ſet prices vpon their ſtockfiſh, train oile, furres, and other commodities: as alſo the Ruſſe Emperors cuſtomer, or tribute taker, to receiue his cuſtome, which is euer paide before any thing can bee bought or ſolde. When their fiſhing is done, their manner is to drawe their carbaſſes or boates on ſhore, and there to leaue them with the keele turned vpwardes, till the next ſpring tide. Their trauaile to and fro is vpon ſleddes drawen by the Olen Deere: which they vſe to turne a graſing all the Sommer time in an Iſland called Kildyn, (of a verie good ſoyle compared with other partes of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the ſnowe beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe for the vſe of their ſledde.

The mart at Cola.

Sleds drawen with Deere.

The deſcription of the regions, people, and riuers, lying North and Eaſt from *Moſcouia*: as the way from *Moſcouia* to the riuer *Petzora*, and the Prouince *Iugaria* or *Iuhra*, and from thence to the riuer *Obi*. Likewiſe the deſcription of other countreys and regions, euen vnto the Empire of the great *Can* of *Cathay*, taken out of *Sigiſmundus ab Herberſtein*.

The dominion of the Duke of Moſcouia.

Vologda.
Verſt.
Vſtiug.

THE dominion of the Prince of Moſcouia, reacheth farre toward the Eaſt and North, vnto the places which we will now deſcribe. As concerning which thing, I tranſlated a book ẏ was preſented vnto me in the Moſcouites tongue, and haue here made a briefe rehearſall of the ſame. I will firſt therefore deſcribe the iourney from Moſcouia to Petzora, and ſo to Iugaria and Obi. From Moſcouia to the citie of Vologda, are numbred fiue hundred verſts, one verſt conteyning almoſt the ſpace of an Italian myle. From Vologda to Vſtiug toward the right hand, deſcending with the courſe of the riuer of Vologda and Suchana with whom it ioyneth, are counted fiue hundred verſtes, where within two verſts of the towne called Strelze, and hard by the citie of Vſtiug, Suchana ioyneth vnto Iug, which runneth from the South: from whoſe mouth vnto the ſprings of the ſame, are numbred fiue hundred verſts.

Suchana.
Iug. So called of his ſwift and pleaſant ſtreame.

But Suchana and Iug, after they ioyne together, loſe their firſt names, and make but one riuer named Dwina, by the which the paſſage to the citie of Colmogro conteineth fiue hundred verſts, from whence, in the ſpace of ſixe dayes iourney, Dwina entreth into the North Ocean at ſixe mouthes. And the greateſt part of this iourney conſiſteth by Nauigation. For by lande from Vologda vnto Colmogro, paſſing ouer the riuer Vuaga, are a thouſand verſtes. Not farre from Colmogro, the riuer Pienega running from the Eaſt on the right hand for the ſpace of ſeuen hundred verſts, falleth into Dwina. From Dwina by the riuer Pienega, by the ſpace of two hundred verſts, they come to a place called Nicholai, from whence within halfe a verſt ſhips haue paſſage into the riuer Kuluio, which hath his originall from a lake of the ſame name towarde the North,

from

Pienega.

Nicholai.

Kuluio.

from whoſe ſprings is eight daies viage to the mouth of the ſame, where it entreth into the Ocean.

Sayling by the coaſts of the right hand of the ſea, they paſſe by the regions of Stanuwiſche, Calunczicho, and Apnu: And ſayling about the promontorie or cape of Chorogoski Noſz, Stanuwiſche, Camenckh, and Tolſtickh, they come at length into the riuer Mezen, and from thence in the ſpace of ſixe dayes, to a village of the ſame name, ſtanding in the mouth of the riuer Pieza, by the which againe aſcending toward the left hand & ſommer Eaſt, they come to the riuer Pieſcoia: from whence ſayling for the ſpace of fiue verſts, they come into two lakes, in the which are ſeene two wayes: whereof one on the right ſide, goeth to the riuer Rubicho, by the which they paſſe to the riuer Czircho. Other, by an other and ſhorter way, bring their ſhips from the lake directly into Czircho: from whence, except they be hindered by tempeſt, they come in the ſpace of three weekes to the riuer and mouth of Czilma, flowing into the great riuer Petzora, which in that place is two verſts in breadth. Sayling from thence, they come in the ſpace of ſixe dayes to the Towne and caſtle of Puſtoſero, neare vnto the which, Petzora entreth into the North Ocean at ſixe mouthes. The inhabitants of this place, are men of ſimple wit: they receiued the faith of Chriſt, and were baptiſed in the yeare M.D.xviii.

The regions by the North ſea.

Pieza.

Pieſcoia.

Rubicho.

Czircho.

Czilma.

Petzora.

Puſtoſero.

From the mouth of Czilma vnto the mouth of the riuer Vſſa, going by Petzora, is one moneths viage. Vſſa hath his ſprings in the mountaine *Poyas Semnoi, being on the left hand toward the ſommer Eaſt, and ſpringeth out of a great ſtone of the ſame mountaine, called Camen Bolſchoi. From the ſprings of Vſſa to the mouthes of the ſame, are numbered more then a thouſand verſts. Furthermore, Petzora runneth from this ſouth winter part, from whence aſcending from the mouthes of Vſſa, vnto the mouthes of the riuer Stzuchogora, is three weekes viage. They that deſcribed this vyage ſayd that they reſted betweene the mouthes of the riuers of Stzuchogora and Potzſcheriema, and left their victuals there which they brought with them from Ruſſia. Beyond the riuers of Petzora and Stzuchogora toward the mountaine Camenipoias, and the ſea with the Ilands thereabout, and the Caſtle of Puſtoſero, are diuers and innumerable nations, which by one common name are called Samoged (that is) ſuch as eate themſelues. They haue great increaſe of foules, birdes, and diuers kindes of beaſtes: as Sables, Marternes, Beuers, Otters, Hermelines, Squirrels: and in the Ocean the beaſt called a Mors: Alſo Veſſe, white Beares, Wolues, Hares, Equiwoduani, great Whales, and fiſh called Semſt, with diuers other. The people of theſe nations come not to Moſcouia: For they are wilde, and flee the company and ſociety of other men.

Vſſa.

*Cingulus mundi

Stzuchogora.

Potzſcheriema.

Camenipoias.

Samoged.

Foules and beaſts.

Wilde people.

From the mouthes of Stzuchogora, ſayling vp the riuer vnto Poiaſſa, Artawiſche, Cameni, and Poiaſſa the greater, is three weekes vyage. Furthermore, the aſcending to the mount Camen, is three dayes iourney: from the which deſcending they come to the riuer Artawiſcha, and from thence to the riuer Sibut, from whence they paſſe to the Caſtle of Lepin, and from Lepin to the riuer Soſſa. The people that inhabite the region by this riuer, are called Vuogolici. Leauing Soſſa on the right hande, they come to the great riuer Obi, that ſpringeth out of the lake Kitaisko, the which, with all the haſte they could make, they could ſcarcely paſſe ouer in one day, the riuer being of ſuch breadth that it reacheth foureſcore verſts. The people alſo that dwell about the riuer, are called Vuogolici and Vgritzſchi. From the Caſtle of Obea, aſcending by the riuer of Oby, vnto the riuer Irtiſche, into the which Soſſa entereth, is three moneths iourney. In theſe places are two Caſtles named Ierom and Tumen, kept by certaine Lords called Kneſi Iuhorski, being tributaries to the great Duke of Moſcouia, as they ſay. Here are diuers kinds of beaſts and furres.

Poiaſſa.

Camen.

Artawiſcha.

Sibut.

Lepin.

Soſſa.

Obi.

Kitaisko.

Vuogolici.

Irtiſche.

Ierom.

Tumen.

From the mouth of the riuer Irtiſche to the Caſtle of Gruſtina, is two moneths iourney: from whence to the lake Kitai, by the riuer Oby (which I ſaid to haue his ſprings in this lake) is more then three moneths iourney. From this lake come many blacke men, lacking the vſe of common ſpeech. They bring with them diuers wares, and eſpecially pearles and precious ſtones, which they ſell to the people called Gruſtintzi and Serponowtzi. Theſe haue their name of the Caſtle Serponow, ſituate in the mountaines of Lucomoria, beyond the riuer Obi. They ſay that to the men of Lucomoria chaunceth a marueilous thing and incredible: For they affirme, that they die yeerely at the xxvii. day of Nouember, being the feaſt of S. George among the Moſcouites: and that at the next ſpring about the xxiiii. day of Aprill, they reuiue againe as doe Frogges.

Gruſtina.

Kitai.

Blacke men without ſpeech.

Serponow.

Lucomoria.

Men that yeerely die and reuiue.

With theſe alſo, the people of Gruſtintzi and Serponowtzi exerciſe a new and ſtrange kinde of trade: For when the accuſtomed time of their dying, or rather of ſleeping, approcheth, they leaue their wares in certaine places appointed, which the Gruſtintzi and Serponowtzi carry away, leauing other wares of equall value in their places: which if the dead men at the time of their reuiuing perceiue to be of vnequall price, they require their owne againe: by reaſon whereof, much ſtrife and fighting is betweene them.

A ſtrange trade of marchandiſe.

Obi.
Calami.
Riuers.

From the riuer of Obi deſcending toward the left hand, are the people called Calami, which came thither from Obiowa and Pogoſa. Beneath Obi, about Aurea Anus (that is, the golden old wife) are the riuers Soſſa, Berezuua, and Danadim, all which ſpring out of the mountaines Camen, Bolſchega, Poiaſſa, and the rockes ioyning to the ſame. All the nations that inhabite from theſe riuers to Aurea Anus, are ſubiect to the prince of Moſcouia.

Aurea Anus.
Obdora.

Aurea Anus, called in the Moſcouites tongue, Slata Baba, is an idol, at the mouthe of Obi in the prouince of Obdora, ſtanding on the furtheſt banke toward the ſea. Along by the bankes of Obi, & the riuers neare there about, are here and there many caſtles and fortreſſes: all the lordes whereof, are ſubiect to the prince of Moſcouia, as they ſay. They ſay alſo, or rather fable, that the idol called Aurea Anus, is an image like vnto an old wife, hauing a child in her lap, and that there is now ſeene another infant, which they ſay to be her nephew: Alſo, that there are certaine inſtruments that make a continuall ſound like the noyſe of Trumpets, the which, if it ſo be, I thinke it to be by reaſon of the winde, blowing continually into the holow places of thoſe inſtruments.

Coſſin.
Caſſima.
Tachnin a great riuer.
People of mõſtrous ſhape.
A fiſh like a man.
Plinie writeth of the like fiſh.

The riuer Coſſin falleth out of the mountaines of Lucomoria: In the mouth of this is a caſtle, whither from the ſprings of the great riuer Coſſin, is two monethes viage. Furthermore, from the ſprings of the ſame riuer, the riuer Caſſima hath his originall, which running through Lucomoria, falleth into the great riuer Tachnin, beyond the which (as is ſaid) dwell men of prodigious ſhape, of whom, ſome are ouergrowen with haire like wilde beaſtes, other haue heads like dogges, and their faces in their breaſts, without neckes, and with long hands alſo, and without feete. There is likewiſe in the riuer Tachnin a certaine fiſh, with head, eyes, noſe, mouth, hands, feete, and other members vtterly of humane ſhape, and yet without any voyce, and pleaſant to be eaten, as are other fiſhes.

The end of the iournall.

All that I haue hitherto rehearſed, I haue tranſlated out of the ſaide iourney which was deliuered me in the Moſcouites tongue: In the which, perhaps ſome things may ſeeme fabulous, and in maner incredible, as of the dombe men, and the dead reuiuing, the Aurea Anus alſo, and the monſtrous ſhapes of men, with the fiſh of humane fourme: whereof, although I haue made diligent inquiſition, yet could I knowe nothing certaine of any that had ſeene the ſame with their eyes: neuertheleſſe, to giue further occaſion to other to ſearch the trueth of theſe things, I haue thought good to make mention hereof.

Noſſ in the Moſcouites tongue ſignifieth a noſe, and therefore they call all capes or points, that reach into the ſea, by the ſame name.

Mountaines.

The mountaines about the riuer of Petzora are called Semnoi Poyas, or Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world, or of the earth.

The great Can of Cathay.

Kithai is a lake, of which the great Can of Cathay, whom the Moſcouians cal Czar Kithaiski, hath his name: For Can in the Tartars language ſignifieth, A King.

Moria is the ſea.
Lucomoria.
Tumen.

The places of Lucomoria, neare vnto the ſea, are ſaluage, full of woods, and inhabited without any houſes. And albeit, that the author of this iourney, ſaid, that many nations of Lucomoria are ſubiect to the prince of Moſcouia, yet for as much as the kingdome of Tumen is neare thereunto, whoſe prince is a Tartar, and named in their tongue, Tumenski Czar, that is, a king in Tumen, and hath of late done great domage to the prince of Moſcouia: it is moſt like that theſe nations ſhould rather be ſubiect vnto him.

Petzora.
Papin.
High mountaines, ſuppoſed to be Hyperborei, and Rhiphei.

Neare vnto the riuer Petzora (whereof mention is made in this iourney) is the citie and caſtle of Papin, or Papinowgorod, whoſe inhabitants are named Papini, and haue a priuate language, differing from the Moſcouites. Beyond this riuer are exceeding high mountaines, reaching euen vnto the bankes, whoſe ridges or tops, by reaſon of continuall windes, are in maner vtterly barren without graſſe or fruits. And although in diuers places they haue diuers names, yet are they commonly called Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world. In theſe mountaines doe Ierfalcons breede, whereof I haue ſpoken before. There growe alſo Cedar trees, among the which are found the beſt and blackeſt kinde of Sables: and onely theſe mountaines are ſeene in all the dominions of the prince of Moſcouia, which perhaps are the ſame that the old writers call Rhipheos, or Hyperboreos, ſo named of the Greeke word, Hyper, that is, Aboue, and Boreas, that is, the North: for by reaſon they are couered with continuall ſnow and froſt, they can not without great difficultie be trauayled, and reach ſo farre into the North, that they make the vnknowen land of Engronland. The Duke of Moſcouia, Baſilius the ſonne of Iohn, ſent on a time two of his Captaines, named Simeon Pheodorowich Kurbski, & Knes Peter Vſchatoi, to ſearch the places beyond theſe mountaines, and to ſubdue the nations thereabout. Kurbski was yet aliue at my being in Moſcouia, & declared vnto me that he ſpent xvii. daies in aſcending the mountaine, & yet could not come to the top therof, which in their tongue is called Stolp, that is, a piller. This mountaine is extended into the Ocean vnto the mouthes of the riuers of Dwina and Petzora.

But now hauing ſpoken thus much of the ſaid iourney, I will returne to the dominions of Moſcouia, with other regions lying Eaſtward & South from the ſame, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay. But I will firſt ſpeake ſomewhat briefly of the prouince of Rezan, and the famous riuer of Tanais.

Cathay.

The prouince of Rezan, ſituate betweene the riuers of Occa and Tanais, hath a citie builded of wood, not from the banke of Occa: there was in it a Caſtle named Iaroſlaue, whereof there now remaineth nothing but tokens of the old ruine. Not farre from that citie, the riuer Occa maketh an Iland named Strub, which was ſometime a great Dukedome, whoſe prince was ſubiect to none other. This prouince of Rezan is more fruitful then any other of the prouinces of Moſcouia: Inſomuch that in this (as they ſay) euery graine of wheat bringeth forth two, and ſometimes more eares: whoſe ſtalkes or ſtrawes grow ſo thicke that horſes can ſcarſely go through them, or Quayles flie out of them. There is great plenty of hony, fiſhes, foules, birdes, and wilde beaſts. The fruits alſo doe farre exceede the fruits of Moſcouia. The people are bolde and warlike men.

The fruitfull prouince of Rezan.
Iaroſlaue.
Hony.

A ſpeciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Coſmographer M. *John Baptiſta Ramuſius* out of the Arabian Geographie of *Abilfada Iſmael*, concerning the trending of the Ocean ſea from *China* Northward, along the coaſt of *Tartarie* and other vnknowen lands, and then running Weſtwards vpon the Northerne coaſts of *Ruſſia*, and ſo farther to the Northweſt.

DEſcriuendo poi il predetto Abilfada Iſinael *i luoghi della terra habitabile, che circuendo il mar Oceano tocca, dice coſi.*

Riuoltaſi l'Oceano da leuante verſo la regione delle Cine, & và alla volta di Tramontana, et paſſata finalmente la detta regione, ſe ne giunge a Gogi & Magogi, cio è alli confini de gli Vltimi Tartari, et di quivi ad Alcune Terre che ſono Incognite: Et correndo ſempre per Ponente, paſſa ſopra li confini Settentrionali della Roſſia, et và alla volta di Maeſtro.

La regione delle Cine.
Confini delli vltimi Tartari.
Alcune Terre Incognite.
Confini Settentrionali della Roſſia.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The aforeſaid Abilfada Iſinael deſcribing afterward the habitable places of the earth, which the Ocean ſea in his circuit toucheth, ſayth in this manner following.

The Ocean ſea turneth from the Eaſt toward the Countrey of the Chinaes, and ſtretcheth toward the North, and at length hauing paſſed the ſayd Countrey, it reacheth vnto the Gogi and Magogi, that is, to the confines of The vttermoſt Tartars, and from thence, vnto certaine vnknowen Countreys: and running ſtill Weſtward it paſſeth vpon the Northerne coaſts of Ruſſia, and from thence it runneth toward the Northweſt. (which it doth indeede vpon the coaſt of Lappia.) By this moſt notable teſtimony it appeareth, that the Ocean ſea compaſſeth and enuironeth all the Eaſt, Northeaſt, and North parts of Aſia and Europe.

The Countrey of China.
The coaſts of the vttermoſt Tartars.
Certaine vnknowne Countreys.
The Northern coaſts of Ruſſia.
The Northweſt.

The Emperors priuate or houſhold Officers.

The chiefe Officers of the Emperors houſhold are theſe which follow. The firſt is the office of the Boiaren Coneſheua, or maſter of the Horſe. Which conteineth no more then is expreſſed by the name, that is, to be ouerſeer of the Horſe, and not Magiſter equitum, or Maſter of the Horſemen. For he appointeth other for that ſeruice, as occaſion doth require, as before was ſayd. He that beareth that office at this time, is Boris Pheodorowich Godonoe, brother to the Empreſſe. Of Horſe for ſeruice in his warres (beſides other for his ordinary vſes) he hath to the number of ten thouſand which are kept about Moſco.

Maſter of the Horſe.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houſhold at this time, one Gregory Vaſilowich Godonoe. The third is his Treaſurer, that keepeth all his moneis, iewels, plate, &c. now called Stephan Vaſilowich Godonoe. The fourth his Controller, now Andreas Petrowich Cleſinine. The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that office at this time, is called Eſtoma Biſabroza Paſtelniſchay. The ſixt his Taſters, now Theodor Alexandrowich, and Iuan Vaſilowich Godonoe. The ſeuenth his Harbengers, which are three Noble men, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the office vnder them. Theſe are his ordinary officers, and offices of the chiefeſt account.

The L. Steward.
The L. Treaſurer.
Controller.
Chamberlaine.
Taſters.
Harbengers.

Of Gentlemen, beſide them that waite about his chamber, and perſon (called Shilſey Strapſey) there are two hundred, all Noblemens ſonnes. His ordinary Garde is two thouſand Hagbutters readie with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other neceſſarie furniture

Gentlemen of the chamber.
The Gard.

continually day and night: which come not within the houſe, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of beſt truſt about him. A ſecond chamber off, there lodge ſixe other of like account for their truſt and faithfulneſſe. In the thirde chamber lie certaine young Gentlemen, of theſe two hundred, called Shilſey Strapſey, that take their turnes by forties euery night. There are Groomes beſides that watch in their courſe, and lie at euery gate and doore of the Court, called Eſtopnick.

Groomes.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thouſand (as was ſaid before) watch about the Emperours lodging, or bed chamber by courſe 250. euery night, and 250. more in the Court-yarde, and about the Treaſure houſe. His Court or houſe at the Moſco is made Caſtle wiſe, walled about, with great ſtore of faire ordinance planted vpon the wall, and conteyneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houſes: Which are appointed for ſuch as are knowen to be ſure, and truſtie to the Emperor.

Of the priuate behauiour, or qualitie of the Ruſſe people.

Conſtitution of their bodies.

THE priuate behauiour and qualitie of the Ruſſe people, may partly be vnderſtood by that which hath beene ſayd concerning the publique ſtate and vſage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are for the moſt part of a large ſize, and of very fleſhly bodies: accounting it a grace to be ſomewhat groſſe and burley, and therefore they nouriſh and ſpread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But for the moſt part they are very vnwieldy and vnactiue withall. Which may be thought to come partly of the climate, and the numbneſſe which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet that ſtandeth moſt of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and ſuchlike things that breede groſſe humors, which they vſe to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their diet.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a Charke or ſmall cuppe of Aqua vitæ, (which they call Ruſſe wine) and then drinke not till towardes the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kiſſing one another at euery pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his afternoones ſleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights reſt. When they exceede, and haue varietie of diſhes, the firſt are their baked meates (for roſte meates they vſe litle) and then their broathes or pottage. Their common drinke is Mead, the poorer ſort vſe water, and a third drinke called Quaſſe, which is nothing elſe (as we ſay) but water turned out of his wits, with a litle branne meaſhed with it.

This diet would breede in them many diſeaſes, but that they vſe bathſtoues, or hote houſes in ſteade of all Phiſicke, commonly twiſe or thriſe euery weeke. All the winter time, and almoſt the whole Sommer, they heat their Peaches, which are made like the Germane bathſtoues, and their Poclads like ouens, that ſo warme the houſe that a ſtranger at the firſt ſhall hardly like of it. Theſe two extremities, ſpecially in the winter of heat within their houſes, and of extreame colde without, together with their diet, make them of a darke, and ſallow complexion, their ſkinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: ſpecially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worſe complexions, then the men. Whereof the cauſe I take to be their keeping within the hote houſes, and buſying themſelues about the heating, and vſing of their bathſtoues, and peaches.

The Ruſſe becauſe that he is vſed to both theſe extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then ſtrangers can doe. You ſhall ſee them ſometimes (to ſeaſon their bodies) come out of their bathſtoues all on a froth, and fuming as hoat almoſt as a pigge at a ſpit, and preſently to leape into the riuer ſtarke naked, or to powre cold water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldeſt of all the winter time. The women to mende the bad hue of their ſkinnes, vſe to paint their faces with white and red colours, ſo viſibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, becauſe it is common, and liked well by their huſbands: who make their wiues and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themſelues much to ſee them of fowle women to become ſuch faire images. This parcheth the ſkinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

An admirable induring of extreme heat, and colde at one and the ſame time.

The Noble mans attire.

They apparell themſelues after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this faſhion. Firſt a Taffia, or little night cappe on his head, that couereth litle more then his crowne, commonly verie rich wrought of ſilke and golde threede, and ſet with pearle and precious ſtone. His head he keepeth ſhauen cloſe to the very ſkinne, except he be in ſome diſpleaſure with the Emperour. Then hee ſuffereth his haire to growe and hang downe vpon his ſhoulders, couering

ring his face as vgly and deformedly as he can. Ouer the Taffia hee weareth a wide cappe of blacke Foxe (which they account for the beſt furre) with a Tiara or long bonnet put within it, ſtanding vp like a Perſian or Babylonian hatte. About his necke (which is ſeene all bare) is a coller ſet with pearle and precious ſtone, about three or foure fingers broad. Next ouer his ſhirt, (which is curiouſly wrought, becauſe hee ſtrippeth himſelfe into it in the Sommer time, while he is within the houſe) is a Zipon, or light garment of ſilke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a Caftan or a cloſe coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Perſian girdle, whereat he hangs his kniues and ſpoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as lowe as his ancles. Ouer that hee weareth a looſe garment of ſome rich ſilke, furred and faced about with ſome golde lace, called a Ferris. Another ouer that of chamlet, or like ſtuffe called an Alkaben, ſleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched, and ſet all with pearle. When hee goeth abroad, he caſteth ouer all theſe (which are but ſleight, though they ſeeme to be many) an other garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, ſaue that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camels haire. His buſkins (which he weareth in ſtead of hoſe, with linnen folles vnder them in ſtead of boot hoſe) are made of a Perſian leather called Saphian, embrodered with pearle. His vpper ſtockes commonly are of cloth of golde. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horſebacke, though it be but to the next doore: which is the maner alſo of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Gentlemans apparell.

The Boiarskey or Gentlemans attire is of the ſame faſhion, but differeth in ſtuffe: and yet he will haue his Caftan or vndercoat ſometimes of cloth of golde, the reſt of cloth, or ſilke.

The Noble womans attire.

The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarſhena) weareth on her head, firſt a caull of ſome ſoft ſilke (which is commonly redde) and ouer it a fruntlet called Obroſa of white colour. Ouer that her cappe (made after the coife faſhion of cloth of gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with ſome rich furre, and ſet with pearle and ſtone. Though they haue of late begunne to diſdaine embrodering with pearle aboue their cappes, becauſe the Diacks, and ſome Marchants wiues haue taken vp the faſhion. In their eares they weare earings (which they call Sargee) of two inches or more compaſſe, the matter of gold ſet with Rubies, or Saphires, or ſome like precious ſtone. In Sommer they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawne, or cambricke, faſtned vnder the chinne, with two long taſſels pendent. The kerchiefe ſpotted and ſet thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bandes, called Stapa Zemskoy. About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, ſet with rich pearle and precious ſtone. Their vpper garment is a looſe gowne called Opashen commonly of ſcarlet, with wide looſe ſleeues, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great golde buttons, or at leaſt ſiluer and guilt nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging ouer it faſtned vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of ſome rich furre, that hangeth downe almoſt to the middes of their backes. Next vnder the Opoſken or vpper garment, they weare another called a Leitnick that is made cloſe before with great wide ſleeues, the cuffe or halfe ſleeue vp to the elbowes, commonly of cloth of golde: and vnder that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth looſe buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hand wreſts they weare very faire braſelets, about two fingers broad of pearle and precious ſtone. They goe all in buſkins of white, yellow, blew, or ſome other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noblewoman of Ruſſia, when ſhe maketh the beſt ſhewe of her ſelfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the ſtuffe, but is all one for the making or faſhion.

The Mouſicks or common mans attire.

As for the poore Mouſick and his wife they goe poorely cladde. The man with his Odnoratkey, or looſe gowne to the ſmall of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of courſe white or blew cloth, with ſome Shube or long waſtcoate of furre, or of ſheepeſkinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buſkins. The poorer ſort of them haue their Honoratkey, or vpper garment, made of Kowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the ſommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their ſhirts on their backes, and buſkins on their legges. The woman goeth in a red or blew gowne, when ſhe maketh the beſt ſhewe, and with ſome warme Shube of furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the ſommer, nothing but her two ſhirts (for ſo they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare caps of ſome coloured ſtuffe, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold: but for the moſt part kerchiefs. Without earings of ſiluer or ſome other mettall, and her croſſe about her necke, you ſhall ſee no Ruſſe woman, be ſhe wife, or maide.

The Lord *Boris Pheodorowich* his letter to the Right Honorable *William Burghley* Lord high Treaſurer of England, &c.

BY the grace of God the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, of Volodemer, Moſco, and Nouogorod, king of Cazan, and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Tuer, Yghori, Permi, Viatsko, Bolgorie, and other places, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod in the Lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Roſtoue, Yeroſlaue, Bealozera, and Liefland, of Oudorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and commander of all Sibierland, and the North coaſts, great Lorde ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Griſinski, Emperor of Kabardinski, and of the Countrey Charchaski, and the Countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other regions.

The Emperors ſtile increaſed.

From Boris Pheodorowich his Maieſties brother in law, maſter of his horſes, gouernour of the territories of Cazan and Aſtracan, to William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treaſurer to the moſt vertuous Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and other dominions: I receiued your Lordſhips letters, wherein you write that you haue receiued very ioyfully my letters ſent vnto you, and aduiſedly read them, and imparted the ſame vnto her Maieſtie: and that your Merchants finde themſelues agreeued, that when they approch theſe parts, and are arriued here, they are not permitted to enter into a free and liberall courſe of barter, traffike, and exchange of their commodities, as heretofore they haue done, but are compelled before they can enter into any traffike to accept the Emperours ware, and other goods, at high rates farre aboue their value, to their great loſſe: and that they are by reaſon of this reſtraint long holden vpon theſe coaſts to the danger of wintering by the way. Hereafter there ſhalbe no cauſe of offence giuen to the Marchants of the Queenes Maieſtie Queene Elizabeth: they ſhall not be forced to any thing, neither are there or ſhall be any demands made of cuſtome or debts. Such things as haue beene heretofore demaunded, all ſuch things haue beene already vpon their petition and ſupplication commaunded to be diſcharged. I haue ſollicited his Maieſtie for them, that they be not troubled hereafter for thoſe matters, and that a fauourable hand be caried ouer them. And according to your requeſt I will be a meane to the Emperour for them in all their occaſions, and will my ſelfe ſhew them my fauorable countenance. And I pray you (William Burghley) to ſignifie to her Maieſties Merchants that I promiſe to haue a care of them, and for the Queenes Maieſtie of Englands ſake. I will take her Merchants into my protection, and will defend them as the Emperours ſelected people vnder the Emperors commiſſion: and by mine appointment all his Maieſties officers and authorized people ſhall be carefull ouer them. The Emperors gracious fauor towards them was neuer ſuch as it is now. And where you write that at the port the Emperors Officers ſell their ware by commiſſion at a ſet rate giuen them, farre aboue the value, and that they enforce your Marchants to accept it, they deny that they take any ſuch courſe, but ſay they barter their ware for other wares, and alſo put their ware to ſale for readie money to your Merchants, according to the worth thereof, and as the price goeth in the cuſtome houſe here. It hath beene heretofore deare, and now is ſold as good cheape as in any other place, and as they can beſt agree: they enforce no man to buy it, but rather kept it: therefore your Marchants haue no iuſt cauſe to make any ſuch report. I haue expreſſely giuen order, that there ſhall be no ſuch courſe vſed to enforce them, but to buy according to their owne willes, and to tarrie at the port or to depart at their pleaſure. And as touching the cuſtomes alreadie paſt, and debts demanded at your Merchants hands, whereof you write: Our Lord great Emperour and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Ruſſia of famous memory hath ſhewed his Maieſties eſpecial fauour and loue, for the great loue of his welbeloued ſiſter Queene of England, and by my petition and mediation, whereas there was commandement giuen to take Marſhes whole debt of your Merchants and factors, it is moderated to the halfe, and for the other halfe, commandement giuen it ſhould not be taken, and the Merchants billes to be deliuered them. And to the end hereafter that her Maieſties Marchants moue no contention betwixt our Lord the Emperor and great Duke of Ruſſia, and his welbeloued ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, his Maieſtie deſireth order to be giuen, that your Marchants doe deale iuſtly in their traffike, and plainely without fraud or guile. And I will be a fauourer of them aboue all others, vnder his Maieſties authoritie: themſelues ſhall ſee it. Written in our great Lorde the Emperours citie of Moſco in the moneth of Iuly, 7099.

The Engliſh Marchants complaints.

Engliſh Marchants in great fauour with the Emperor.

Halfe the debt of Antony Marſh remitted.

Ann. Dom. 1590.

The Queenes Maieſties letter to *Theodore Iuanouich* Emperour of *Ruſsia,* 1591.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the right high, mighty, and right noble prince Theodore Iuanouich great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſsia, Volodemer, Moſco, Nouogrod, King of Cazan, and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatski, Bolgory, and other places: Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Roſtoue, Yeraſlaue, Bealozero, and Lifland, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all Sibierland and the North coaſts, great Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, Griſinsky, Emperor of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys, our moſt deare and louing brother, greeting. Right noble and excellent prince, we haue receiued your Maieſties letters brought ouer by our merchants in their returne of their ‖ laſt voyage from 1590
your port of S. Nicholas; which letters we haue aduiſedly read and conſidered, and thereby perceiue that your Maieſty doth greatly miſlike of our late imployment of Ierome Horſey into your dominions as our meſſenger with our Highneſſe letters, and alſo that your Maieſty doth thinke that we in our letters ſent by the ſayd meſſenger haue not obſerued that due order or reſpect which apperteined to your princely maieſty, in the forme of the ſame letter, aſwel touching the inlargement of your Maieſties ſtile and titles of honor which your Maieſty expected to haue bene therein more particularly expreſſed, as alſo in the adding of our greateſt ſeale or ſignet of armes to the letters which we ſend to ſo great a Prince as your Maieſty is: in any of which points we would haue bene very loth willingly to haue giuen iuſt cauſe of offence thereby to our moſt deare and louing brother. And as touching the ſayd meſſenger Ierome Horſey we are ſory that contrary to our expectation he is fallen into your Maieſties diſpleaſure, whom we minde not to mainteine in any his actions by which he hath ſo incurred your Maieſties miſlike: yet that we had reaſon at ſuch time as we ſent him to your Maieſty to vſe his ſeruice as our meſſenger, we referre our ſelues to your princely iudgement, praying your Maieſty to reduce into your minde the eſpeciall commendation, which in your letters written vnto vs in the yeere 1585, you made of the 1585
ſayd Ierome Horſey his behauiour in your dominions: at which time your Maieſty was pleaſed to vſe his ſeruice as your meſſenger to vs, requiring our anſwere of your letters to be returned by him and by none other. That imployment, with other occaſions taken by your Maieſty to vſe the ſeruice of the ſayd Ierome Horſey (as namely in the yeere 1587) when your Maieſty ſent him to vs againe with your letters, and your liberall and princely priuiledge at our requeſt granted to our merchants (for which we haue heeretofore giuen thanks to your Maieſty, ſo doe we hereby reiterate our thankefulneſſe for the ſame) mooued vs to be of minde, that we could not make choiſe of any of our ſubiects ſo fit a meſſenger to your Maieſty as he, whom your Maieſty had at ſeuerall times vſed vpon your owne occaſions into this our Realme. But leaſt your highneſſe ſhould continue of the minde that the letters which you ſent by cur ambaſſador Giles Fletcher (wherein ſome mention was made of your conceiued diſpleaſure againſt the ſayd Horſey) came not to our hands, and that wee were kept ignorant of the complaint which your Maieſty made therein againſt the ſayd Horſey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted aſwell by our ambaſſadour as by thoſe letters of ſome diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him by your Maieſty: but your ſayd letters giuing onely a ſhort generall mention of ſome miſdemeanour committed by him, expreſſing no particulars, we were of opinion that this offence was not ſo hainous, as that it might vtterly extinguiſh all your former princely fauour towards him, but that vpon his humble ſubmiſſion to your Maieſty, or vpon better examination of the matter of the diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him, the offence might haue beene either remitted, or he thereof might haue cleared himſelfe. And to that end we were not onely by his great importunity long ſollicited, but by the interceſſion of ſome of our Nobility giuing credit to his owne defence, we were intreated on his behalfe to vſe his ſeruice once againe into Ruſſia as our meſſenger to your Maieſty, whereby he might haue opportunity to cleare himſelfe, and either by his anſwere or by his ſubmiſſion recouer your Maieſties former fauour: whereunto our princely nature was mooued to yeeld, wiſhing the good of our ſubiect ſo farre foorth as his deſert might carry him, or his innocencie cleare him.

Thus noble Prince, our moſt louing and deareſt brother, it may appeare vnto your Maieſty how we were induced to vſe the ſeruice of the ſayd meſſenger, aſwell for the recouery of your

Maieſties fauor towards him (if he had bene found worthy of it) as for experience of the maners and faſhions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conuerſant. But ſith by your Maieſties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himſelfe in your Maieſties ſight, we meane not to vſe him in any ſuch price hereafter.

And as touching your Maieſties conceit of the breuitie which we vſed in the ſetting downe of your Maieſties ſtile and titles of honour: as nothing is further from vs, then to abridge ſo great and mighty a Prince of the honour due vnto him (whom we holde for his greatneſſe to deſerue more honour then we are able to giue him) ſo ſhall we need no further nor ſurer argument to cleare vs of the ſuſpition of the detracting from your Maieſty any part of your iuſt and princely honor and greatneſſe, then the conſideration of our owne ſtile, which is thus contracted, videlicet, Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. which kingdomes and dominions of ours are expreſſed by theſe generall words, videlicet, England, France, and Ireland: in euery of which there are ſeuerall principalities, dukedomes, earledomes, prouinces and countreys: which being ſeuerally expreſſed would enlarge much our ſtile, and make it of great length; which by our progenitours hath not bene vſed: notwithſtanding, we thinke it no diſhonour to vs, compendiouſly to abridge the ſame in all our writings and letters written to what Prince, King, or Potentate ſoeuer. Whereupon we inferre, that holding your Maieſties generall ſtile, we offer your Highneſſe no diſhonour in not expreſſing all the particular prouinces: albeit we can willingly content our ſelfe, vpon the knowledge of your vſages and cuſtomes, to obſerue that courſe, which your ſelfe ſhall thinke moſt honourable. And for the ſealing vp of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinſemen, and friends, Kings and Princes, we haue in vſe two ſeuerall ſeales; both which we eſteeme alike honourable, being our princely ſeales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or ſmall, ſo accordingly is our greater or leſſer ſeale annexed to the ſayd letters, without eſteeming either of them more or leſſe honourable then the other. So as, our moſt louing and deareſt brother, in the ſaid letters there was nothing done of purpoſe to detract from your Maieſty any thing of the vſuall regard, which our Highneſſe was wont to yeeld vnto your moſt noble father of famous memory Iuan Baſiliuich Emperor of al Ruſſia, or to your ſelfe, our deareſt brother. For the reſidue of the points of your Maieſties letters concerning the entertainement of our ambaſſadour, and proceeding in the cauſe of Anthonie Marſh we holde our ſelfe ſatiſfied with your princely anſwere, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Maieſtie to preuent the like troubles, controuerſies and ſutes, that Marſhes cauſe ſtirred vp betweene our merchants and your ſubiects, which is, that your Maieſtie doeth purpoſe from time to time to purge your Countrey of ſuch ſtraglers of our ſubiects, as doe or ſhall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuouſly depart out of our land without our Highneſſe licence: of which ſort there are preſented vnto vs from our merchants the names of theſe ſeuerall perſons, videlicet, Richard Cocks, Bennet Iackman, Rainold Kitchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worſenham; whom it may pleaſe your Maieſty by your princely order to diſmiſſe out of your land, that they may be ſent home in the next ſhippes, to auoid the miſlike which their reſidence in thoſe parts might breed to the diſturbance of our brotherly league, and the impeaching of the entercourſe.

And whereas, moſt louing and deareſt brother, one William Turnebull a ſubiect of ours is lately deceaſed in your kingdome, one with whom our merchants haue had much controuerſie for great ſummes of money due vnto them by him while he was their Agent in their affayres of merchandiſes: which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the ſumme of 3000 rubbles, and ſo much ſhould haue beene payed by him as may appeare by your Maieſties councell or magiſtrates of iuſtice by very credible information and teſtimony: and whereas alſo the ſayd Turnbull was further indebted by billes of his own hand to diuers of our ſubiects, amounting in the whole, to the ſumme of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified vnder our great ſeale of England, and to be ſent ouer with this bearer: of which ſummes he hath often promiſed payment: it may pleaſe your moſt excellent Maieſtie in your approoued loue to iuſtice, to giue order to your fauourable councell and magiſtrates, that thoſe ſeuerall debts may be ſatiſfied to our merchants and ſubiects out of the goods, merchandiſe, and debts which are due to the ſtate of the ſayd Turnbull: whereof your Maieſties councell ſhalbe informed by the Agent of our merchants.

The Emperor ſeiſed our merchants goods.

We truſt we ſhall not need to make any new requeſt by motion to your Maieſty that ſome order might be taken for the finding out of the reſt of our merchants goods ſeiſed to your maieſties vſe in the hands and poſſeſſion of Iohn Chappel their ſeruant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Maieſties order. We therfore intreat your Maieſty, that as conueniently as may be, ſatiſfaction or recompenſe be giuen to our ſaid merchants towards the repairing of their ſundry great loſſes, aſwell therein as otherwiſe by them of late ſundry wayes ſuſtained. And laſtly, our moſt deare and louing brother, as nothing in all theſe our occaſions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, deſcending vpon vs as an inheritance, in ſucceſſion from both our anceſtours and noble progenitours: ſo let vs be carefull on both ſides by all good meanes to holde and continue the ſame to our poſterity for euer. And if any miſtaking or errour of either ſide do riſe, in not accõpliſhing of circumſtances agreeable to the faſhion of either of our countreys and kingdomes, let the ſame vpon our enterchangeable letters be reconciled, that our league and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occaſion whatſoeuer. And thus we recommend your Maieſty to the tuition of the moſt High. From our royall Palace of Whitehall the 14 of January, anno Domini 1591. 1591

The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich.*

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to the right honourable and noble Prince Lord Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Maſter of the horſes to the great and mightie Emperour of Ruſſia, his Highneſſe lieutenant of Cazan and Aſtracan, our moſt deare and louing couſin, greeting. Right honourable, it hath appeared vnto vs vpon the reading and peruſing of the Letters lately ſent vnto our Highneſſe from our deare and louing brother the Emperour, in what part his Maieſtie tooke the late imployment of our meſſenger Ierome Horſey in our affaires into Ruſſia: wherein we doe alſo finde the honourable endeuour vſed by your Lordſhip to appeaſe his Highneſſe miſlike and exception taken aſwell to the perſon of our Meſſenger, as to our princely letters ſent by him: both of which points we haue anſwered in our letters ſent by this bearer directed to our ſayd louing brother the Emperour: vpon peruſing whereof we doubt not but his Maieſtie will be well ſatisfied touching our ſayd Meſſenger and former letters. And for the honourable courſe holden by your Lordſhip in the interpoſing of your opinion and fauourable conſtruction in a thing which might grow to the offence of the league and amitie ſtanding betweene your Soueraigne Lord and vs (wherein your Lordſhip performed the office of an honourable and graue Counſellour) we take our ſelfe beholding to your Lordſhip for your readineſſe in that behalfe, and doe aſſure our ſelfe that the ſame did proceed of the eſpeciall loue and kinde affection that your Lordſhip hath euer borne and continued towards vs, whereof our princely nature will neuer be vnmindfull. We haue bene alſo from time to time made acquainted by our chiefe and principall Counſellour William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treaſurour of our Highneſſe Realme of England, of your letters which haue paſſed betweene your Lordſhip and him, concerning the entercourſe of our Merchants trafficke in your Countreys, and of the honourable offices done by your Lordſhip with the Emperour in fauour of our ſayd Marchants. And laſtly (which wee take a moſt aſſured argument of your vndoubted loue and affection towards vs) that your Lordſhip hath vouchſafed, and of purpoſe taken into your hands the protection of our ſayd Merchants, and the hearing and determining of all their cauſes and occaſions whatſoeuer, which ſhall concerne them or their trade. All which wee conceiue to be done for our ſake, and therefore do acknowledge our ſelues to be, and ſtill will continue beholding vnto you for the ſame.

And whereas we haue made mention in our ſayd letters written to our louing brother the Emperour of certeine debts due aſwell to our merchants, as to other of our ſubiects by one William Turnebull a ſubiect of ours late deceaſed in Ruſſia, wee pray you to be referred to the ſayd letter. And foraſmuch as the ſayd cauſe will fall vnder your Lordſhips iuriſdiction by reaſon of your acceptation of all their cauſes into your patronage and protection: we are ſo well aſſured of your honourable inclination to iuſtice, and your good affection towards our merchants for our ſake, that we ſhall not need to intreat your honourable furtherance either of iuſtice or expedition in the ſayd cauſe. And laſtly conſidering that your noble linage together with your great wiſedome and deſert hath made you a principall Counſellour and directour of the ſtate of ſo great a Monarchie, whereby your aduice and direction is followed in all things that doe concerne the ſame, we haue giuen order to our ſayd principall Counſellour William Lord Burghley, treaſurour of our Realme of England, that as any occaſion ſhall ariſe to the hinderance of the entercourſe betweene theſe Countreyes, or of the priuiledges graunted by his Maieſtie to our merchants, that he may by aduertiſement treat with your Lordſhippe thereupon: which we by reaſon of our great princely affayres can not ſo conueniently at all times doe with ſuch expedition as the cauſe may require. And thus with our princely commendations we bidde you farewell. From our royall Pallace of Whitehall the foureteenth day of Ianuariee, Anno Domini 1591.

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich*, Maſter of the horſes to the great and mighty Emperour of *Ruſſia*, his Highneſſe Lieutenant of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, *William Cecill* Lord *Burghley*, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, ſendeth greeting.

Right honourable my very good Lord, vpon the laſt returne of our merchants ſhippes out of Ruſſia, there was brought vnto my handes, by one Francis Cherrie an Engliſh merchant, a letter directed to the Queenes Maieſtie, from the great and mightie Emperour of Ruſſia, and another letter from your Lordſhip directed to me: which ſayd letter written from the Emperor to her Maieſty hath beene conſiderately and aduiſedly by her Highneſſe read and peruſed, and the matter of complaint againſt Ierome Horſey therein compriſed thorowly examined: which hath turned the ſame Horſey to ſome great diſpleaſure. I did alſo acquaint our Maieſty with the contents of your Lordſhips letters written to mee, and enformed her of your Lordſhips honourable fauour ſhewed to her Highneſſe merchants from time to time: who tooke the ſame in moſt gracious part, and confeſſed her ſelfe infinitly beholding vnto your Lordſhip for many honourable offices done for her ſake, the which ſhe meant to acknowledge by her letters to be written to your Lordſhip vnder her princely hand and ſeale. And foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed your good Lordſhippe to take into your handes the protection of her Maieſties merchants, and the redreſſe of ſuch iniuries as are, or ſhall be offered vnto them contrary to the meaning of the priuiledges and the free liberty of the entercourſe, wherein in ſome points your Lordſhip hath already vſed a reformation, as appeareth by your ſayd letters: yet the continuance of traffique mouing new occaſions and other accidents tending to the loſſe of the ſayd merchants, whereof ſome particulars haue beene offered vnto me to treat with your Lordſhip vpon: I thought it good to referre them to your honourable conſideration, that order might be taken in the ſame, for that they are apparantly repugnant to the Emperours letters written to her Maieſtie, and doe much reſtraine the liberty of the trade: one is, that at the laſt comming of our merchants to the port of Saint Michael the Archangel, where the mart is holden, their goods were taken by the Emperours officers for his Highneſſe ſeruice at ſuch rates, as the ſayd officers were diſpoſed to ſet vpon them, ſo farre vnder their value, that the merchants could not aſſent to accept of thoſe prices: which being denied, the ſayd officers reſtrained them of all further traffique for the ſpace of three weekes, by which meanes they were compelled to yeeld vnto their demaund how vnwillingly ſoeuer. Another is, that our ſayd merchants are driuen to pay the Emperours officers cuſtome for all ſuch Ruſſe money as they bring downe from the Moſco to the Sea ſide to employ there at the Mart within the Emperours owne land; which ſeemeth ſtrange vnto me, conſidering the ſame money is brought from one place of the Countrey to another, and there imployed without any tranſport ouer of the ſayd money. Theſe interruptions and impoſitions ſeeme not to ſtand with the liberties of the Emperours priuileges and freedome of the entercourſe, which ſhould be reſtrained neither to times or conditions, but to be free and abſolute: whereof it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to be aduiſed, and to continue your honourable courſe holden betweene the Emperour and her Maieſty, to reconcile ſuch differences as any occaſion doth offer to their league or trafficke. Thus not doubting of your Lordſhips furtherance herein, I humbly take my leaue of your good Lordſhip. From her Maieſties royall palace of Whitehall this 15 of January, 1591.

This is a new port.

The Engliſh merchants 3 weekes reſtrained from their Mart.

1591

A Letter from the Emperour of *Ruſsia*, *Theodore Iuanouich* to the Queenes Maieſtie.

1592

Through the tender mercie of our God, whereby the day-ſpring from on high hath viſited vs, thereby to guide our feet into the way of peace. Euen this our God by mercy we glorifie in Trinitie.

We the great Lord, King and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, gouernour of all Ruſſia, of Volodimer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobſco, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke alſo of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Roſtoue, Yeroſlaue, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Siberia, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Gruſinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more &c. To our louing ſiſter Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Louing ſiſter, your letters ſent by your ſeruant Thomas Lind, we haue receiued, and read what you haue written in the ſame touching our title, and touching your order holden in your letters heretofore ſent vs by your ſeruant Ierome Horſey: wherein you haue anſwered vs ſufficiently and moſt graciouſly.

The Emperors ſtile lately enlarged.

And whereas your Maieſtie hath written in your letter concerning the goods of William Turnebull late deceaſed in our kingdome, that your ſubiects, for whom he was factour, ſhould haue debts growing vnto them from him by account; we at your Maieſties requeſt haue cauſed not onely order to be taken, but for your Highneſſe ſake, louing ſiſter, we haue cauſed the goods to be ſought out and deliuered to your merchants Agent and his company, together with his ſtuffe, bookes, billes and writings, as alſo money to the value of ſixe hundred rubbles, which Chriſtopher Holmes and Francis Cherry are to pay for ‖ycarie: and we haue ſet at libertie the ſayd Turnebulles kinſeman Raynold Kitchin and his fellowes, and deliuered them to your merchants Agent.

‖This is a dainty meat made of the roas of Sturgeons.

And further, where you write vnto vs for ſuch your ſubiects as haue departed out of your maieſties Realme ſecretly without licence, that we ſhould giue order to ſend them home: concerning ſuch your ſubiects for which you haue written vnto our Maieſtie by letters, we will cauſe ſearch to be made, and ſuch as are willing to goe home into your kingdome, we will command forthwith to be deliuered vnto your merchants Agent, and ſo to paſſe. And ſuch of your Maieſties people as haue giuen themſelues vnder our gouernment as ſubiects, we thinke it not requiſite to grant to let them paſſe.

And further, where you haue written vnto vs concerning the goods of Iohn Chappell, we haue written heretofore the whole diſcourſe thereof, not once, but ſundry times, and therefore it is not needfull to write any more thereof. And ſuch goods as were found out of the goods of the ſayd Chappell, the money thereof was reſtored to your Maieſties people William Turnbull and his fellowes. Your Maieſties ſeruant Thomas Lind we haue ſent with our letters the ſame way whereby he came into our kingdome. The long abiding heere of your Maieſties ſeruant in our kingdome, was for the comming of your people from the Sea port. Written in our princely court and royall ſeat in the city of Moſco in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of January.

M. Thomas Lind.

1592

To the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie from the Lord *Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua.*

By the grace of God great Lord and great Duke Theodore Iuanouich gouernour of Ruſſia, Volodimer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Roſtoue, Ieroſlaue, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Gruſinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more, &c.

Moſt reſplendent Queene Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, &c. his princely Maieſties ſeruant, Lord and Maſter of his horſes, and high Steward of his houſe, and Preſident of the territories of Cazan and Aſtracan, Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua, vnto your moſt excellent Maieſty, great Ladie Queene Elizabeth, ſend my humble commendations. It hath pleaſed your Maieſtie to write vnto me your gracious and princely letter by your ſeruant Thomas Lind; which letter I receiued withall humbleneſſe. During the time of the abode of your Meſſenger Thomas Lind here in the Moſco, it pleaſed God of his mercifulneſſe, and our Lady the mother of God, and holy Saints, by the prayers of our lord and king his Maieſtie Theodore Iuanouich ouer all Ruſſia gouernour, the right beleeuer and louer of Chriſt, to ſend our Queene and gracious Lady Irene a yoong Princeſſe, to the great ioy and comfort of our kingdome, named Pheodocine. Wherefore we giue all honour and glory to the almightie God vnſpeakeable,

The Empreſſe Irene deliuered of a daughter.

whoſe giftes had beene manifolde with mercie vnto vs; for which all wee Chriſtians laud and praiſe God.

After all this your ſeruant was occaſioned to ſtay vntill the comming of your merchants from the ſea port.

Touching the letters which you haue receiued from your louing brother our Lord and Maſter by your ambaſſadour, therein you perceiue ſufficiently my good meaning, in trauailing for the continuance of amitie and friendſhip betwixt you mighty great princes, in the which I will continue mine endeuour. Alſo your merchants I haue taken into my protection for to defend them for the loue I beare to your Maieſtie. As heeretofore I haue done it willingly, and with great care of their good, ſo I meane to continue ſo farre as God will giue me leaue; to the end that brotherly loue be holden betweene you Princes without diſturbance.

As I haue beene to your merchants in times paſt, ſo now by the permiſſion and commandement of our Lord and Maſter, I will be their defendour in all cauſes: and will cauſe all our authoriſed people to fauour them and to defend them, and to giue them free liberty to buy and ſell at their pleaſure. The merchants doe not certifie your princely Maieſtie of all our friendſhip and fauour ſhewed vnto them from time to time. And whereas your Maieſtie hath now written to our Lord and Maſter for the debts which your merchants ought to haue of William Turnebull lately diſceaſed, I hauing peruſed your Maieſties letter, whereby I am requeſted to be a meane for the recouerie and obtaining of their ſayd debts, I haue moued it to our Lord and King his Maieſtie, that order may be giuen therein: and that his kinſeman Rainold Kitchin with three perſons more may be ſent ouer together with the ſayd Turnebulles ſtuffe and other things, as billes, books and writings. All which ſhall be deliuered to your merchants Agent and his fellowes, and in money 600 rubbles of the ſayd Turnebulles.

And touching your merchants, I will haue a great care ouer them, and protect them, whereby they ſhall ſuffer no damages in their trade: and all kinde of trafficke in merchandiſe ſhall be at their libertie.

Written in our Lord and Kings Maieſties royall citie of Moſco, in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Ianuarie.

A letter from the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich* to the right honourable Lord *William Burghley*, Lord high Treaſurer of *England*.

BY the grace of God great Lord, King, and great Duke Theodor Iuanouich, gouernour of Ruſſia, Volodimer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Aſtracan, Lord of Vobſco, and great Duke of Smolenſco, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of all Nouogrod in the low countreys, of Chernigo, of Liffeland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commaunder of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Gruſinsky, and of the countreys of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many Countreys more &c. His princely Maieſties ſeruant, Lord and Maſter of his horſes, and high Steward of his houſe, Preſident of the territories of Cazan and Aſtracan, Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, to the moſt honourable Counſeller of the moſt reſplendent mightie great Lady Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, William Burghley, Lord, and Knight of the Garter, high Treaſurour of England, ſendeth greeting.

M. Francis Cherie.

I perceiue by your letter that your merchants laſt ſhippes came home in ſaftie, and that you haue receiued the letters ſent by them, by the hands of Francis Cherie, one from our Lord and great King of all Ruſſia his Maieſty, vnto your Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty, and one from me to her Highneſſe, and one from my ſelfe to you; and the contents thereof you haue cauſed to be read and well vnderſtood at large. And whatſoeuer is therein written concerning Ierome Horſey, you haue ſought out the ground thereof, and that he is in great diſpleaſure. And her Highneſſe hath written in her letter concerning her Maieſties merchants, that whereas I haue taken them into protection, ſhe taketh it very louingly and kindely, that for her ſake they haue receiued ſo great kindneſſe.

And touching the damages and hinderances which your merchaunts haue ſuſtained by meanes of the Emperours authoriſed people and officers, and that they were not permitted to trafficke at libertie at the Sea port in the yeere 1589, for the ſpace of three weekes, it hath beene againſt the Emperours Maieſties will and pleaſure, as alſo againſt mine. Where you deſire and wiſh that betweene our Emperours Maieſtie, and your Queenes Maieſtie, their loue and amitie may not bee ſeperated at any time, but to continue: and you requeſt mee that I ſhould be good vnto the Engliſh merchants, and to defend them from all ſuch domages hereafter: your honours louing letter I haue therein throughly conſidered: and as I haue bene heretofore, ſo I will ſtill continue to be a meane betwixt our Lorde and kings Maieſtie, and your great Lady the Queene her highneſſe, for the mainteyning of brotherly loue and amitie, moſt ioyfully and willingly, as God knoweth, aſwel hereafter as I haue bene heretofore: praying you to doe the like alſo. Mine onely deſire is for your moſt excellent Princeſſe ſake, to do all that lyeth in mee for the ayding, helping and protecting of her Maieſties merchants, by the order and commaundement of our Lord and king his Maieſtie.

And to that ende, I haue giuen order to all our authoriſed people to bee carefull ouer them, and to defende them in all cauſes, and to giue them free libertie to trafficke at their owne willes and pleaſures. It may bee that your merchants doe not certifie you the trueth of all things, nor make knowen vnto your honour my readineſſe to protect them: And howe my Letters and Commiſſions are ſent to all authoriſed people for them, that they ſhoulde ayde and aſſiſt them according to the tenour of my Letters, to all others that bee in authoritie vnder the ſaid Officers or otherwiſe.

Alſo your honour writeth of the debarring of your merchants at the Sea port from their accuſtomed libertie of enterchangeable trafficke and bartar. Touching which complaint ſearch and inquiſition hath bene made, and commaundement giuen, that your Queenes Maieſties merchants at the Seaſide, and in all places where the trade is, doe not ſuſtaine any domage or hinderance hereafter, but that they ſhalbe at libertie without any hindering or letting, either in the Moſco, the Treaſurehouſe, or elſe where by any of our authoriſed people, but abſolutely to bee at free libertie at their owne will and pleaſure. And alſo I will continue to be their protectour and defendour in all cauſes, by our Lorde and kings Maieſties order and commaundement: as it ſhalbe knowen and certified you by your people reſident here in the Moſco.

Written in our Kings Maieſties royall citie of Moſco from the beginning of the world 7101. yeere, in the moneth of January. Anno Domini 1592.

A moſt gracious Letter giuen to the Engliſh Merchants Sir *Iohn Hart* and his company, by *Theodore Iuanowich*, the King, Lord, and great duke of all *Ruſſia*, the onely vpholder thereof.

The onely God omnipotent before all eternitie, his will be done without ende: the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt we glorifie in Trinitie. Our onely God the maker of all things and worker of all in all euery where with plentifull increaſe: for which cauſe he hath giuen life to man to loue him, and to truſt in him: Our onely God which inſpireth euery one of vs his holy children with his word to diſcerne good through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the holy quickning ſpirit of life now in theſe perilous times eſtabliſh vs to keepe the right ſcepter, and ſuffer vs to reigne of our ſelues to the good profit of the land, and to the ſubduing of the people together with the enemies, and to the mainteinance of vertue.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Iuanouich, of all Ruſſia the onely vpholder, of Volodimer, Moſco, and Nouogrod, King of Caſan, and king of Aſtracan, Lord of Vobſco, and great duke of Smolensko, of Otuer, Vghorie, Permia, Viatski, Bulgari, and other regions, great duke alſo of Nouogrod in the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotski, Roſtoue, Yaruſlaue, Bealozero, and of Liefland, of Vdorski, Obdorski, Condenski, and commaunder of all the Countrey of Siberi and of the North parts, and Lord ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Gruſinski, and King ouer the Countrey of Igorski, and ruler ouer many other kingdomes and Lordſhips more.

Our princely Maieſtie at the requeſt of our brother in lawe Boris Feodorowich Godenoua our ſeruant, and Maſter of our horſes, generall Comptroller of our houſe, and gouernour of the Lordſhips and kingdomes of Caſan and Aſtracan; vnto the Engliſh merchants Sir Iohn Hart knight, ſir William Webbe knight, Richard Salkenſtow Alderman, Nicholas Moſeley alderman, Robert Doue, Wil. Garrowe, Iohn Harbey, Robert Chamberlaine, Henry Anderſon, Iohn Woodworth, Frãcis Cherry, Iohn Merrick, & Chriſtopher Holmes; hath graciouſly giuen leaue to come & go with their ſhips into our kingdome & territories of Duina with all kind of commodities at their pleaſures to trafficke frõ the ſeaſide to our roial city of Moſco, & in al other cities, townes, countries and territories of our whole kingdom of Moſco: vpon the humble petition and ſute of the ſaide Engliſh merchants ſir Iohn Hart and his company, wee haue giuen them leaue to paſſe and trafficke into all parts of our dominions and territories of Moſco, and to our inheritance of Nouogrod and Pleſco with their wares and commodities without paying any cuſtome or dueties.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Ruſſia haue firmely giuen and graunted vnto the aforeſaide Engliſh merchants ſir Iohn Hart and his company, for the loue we beare to our deare ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, we I ſay of our gracious goodnes haue giuen leaue to trauel and paſſe to our royal ſeat of Moſco, and to all the parts of our kingdome with all kinde of commodities, and to trafficke with all kinde of wares at their owne pleaſure, without paying any cuſtome of their ſaid wares.

To you our Cuſtomers we wil and command not to take any maner of cuſtome of the ſaid merchants and their company, neither for entering, weying nor paſſing by or through any place of our territories, nor for cuſtome, of iudgement by Lawe, or for their perſon or perſons; nor any duties ouer bridges, or for certificats or proceſſes, or for conducting ouer any ſtreames or waters, or for any other cuſtomes or dueties that may be named; we wil and ſtraitly commaund you not to take any of them in any wiſe.

Prouided alwayes, that the ſaide merchants ſhall not colour any ſtrangers wares, nor bring them into our countrey, nor fauour them colourably, nor ſel for any ſtranger. To you our ſubiects alſo we cōmand, not to meddle or deale with any wares of ſtrangers colourably, nor to haue them by you in keeping, nor to offer to ſel their cōmodities; but themſelues to ſel their owne cōmodities in change or otherwiſe as they may or can. And in al townes, cities, countreys, or any part of our dominions and territories it ſhalbe lawful for the foreſaid merchants and their company to ſell or barter away their owne commodities in change or otherwiſe, for or at their pleaſure as they will. And whenſoeuer the ſaid merchants or any of them come into our territories of great Nouogrod or Pleſco, or to any other parts of our kingdome with their wares, by vertue of theſe our Maieſties letters we ſtraitly charge and command you our Captaines, generals, and all other that be authoriſed or in office, to ſuffer the aforeſaid merchants to paſſe and repaſſe, and to take no kinde of cuſtome or dutie of them, or any of their goods, howſoeuer it may haue name: nor in no place elſe where they ſhal come in all our kingdome. Likewiſe if they ſell not nor buy no wares, you ſhall take no cuſtome, but ſuffer them quietly to paſſe where they will with their goods. Of our gratious goodnes and meere goodwill we haue giuen the ſaid merchants leaue to trafficke throughout all our kingdomes, and in all townes and cities with all maner of wares and commodities without paying any cuſtome or dutie. Whereſoeuer they ſhal happen to ſel or barter away any of their commodities to our ſubiects, they are to barter or ſell by whole ſale, and not by retaile, as by the yard or by the ounce in their houſes or elſewhere: but by the packe or whole clothes, veluets, damaſks, taffaties by the piece, and not by the yard; and al other wares that are to be ſold by weight, they are to be ſold not by the ounce, but by great ſale. Your wines ſhalbe ſold by hogs heads, pipes or buttes, but not by quartes nor pintes.

The ſaid Engliſh merchants are to ſel or barter away their owne cōmodities themſelues, and not to ſuffer any Ruſſes to buy or ſell for them: nor to carry or tranſport any wares of ſtrangers in ſtead of their owne in no wiſe. And if the ſaide Engliſh merchants ſhall be deſirous to ſell any of their commodities at Colmogro, or vpon the Riuer of Duina, or at Vologhda or at Yeraſlaue; when as the ſaide merchants haue ſolde in any of the ſaide Towues, Cities or territories, then you our officers and authoriſed people by vertue of this our gratious letter wee will and ſtraitly commaund not to take any cuſtome of the aforeſaid merchants, howſoeuer it may be named.

Alſo whenſoeuer the ſaide Engliſh merchants or any of their factours ſhalbe deſirous to hire carriers to carry their wares to any place of our dominions or Cities, it ſhalbe at their choyſe and pleaſure to hier them the beſt they can, and where they will, either water men to rowe, or veſſels.

Alſo when any of the ſaid merchants themſelues, or any of theirs are deſirous to trauel into any part of our dominions, or into any other kingdomes, or into their owne kingdome, if any of our treaſure be deliuered to them, they to take it with them, and to ſel it in bartar or otherwiſe for ſuch wares as are moſt requiſit and neceſſary to be brought into our kingdome and to be deliuered into our treaſury. You, our nobilitie, generals & al others in authority ſuffer them to paſſe through al our cities, townes & countries without taking any cuſtome of them. And when the ſaid merchants haue done their traffick in any place & come to the Moſco, they ſhal make it knowen at their arriual at the houſe of Chancery and ſecretariſhip to Vaſili Shalkan. And further when there come any Engliſh merchants with their ſhips or veſſels by ſea, that by miſhap ſhalbe caſt away vpon any of our ſhoars or coſtes, we wil and command you to ayde & helpe them, and to ſeeke for their goods ſo periſhed by any caſualtie, and to be reſtored againe to the ſaide Engliſh merchants or their aſſignes without any prolonging or detayning. As alſo if any of the aforeſaide merchants goods be found in any part of our coaſtes or ſtreames and they not preſent themſelues, let the ſaid goods be taken and layd vp in ſafetie in ſome place or other, and be deliuered to the aforeſaid merchants or their factors vnder penaltie of our diſpleaſure.

Furthermore we King, Lord, and great duke of all Ruſſia, of our gracious goodneſſe giue vnto the Engliſh merchants and their company, their houſe in the Citie of Moſco lying hard by the Church of S.Marke behinde the market place: which they ſhall keepe and remaine therein after their old accuſtomed vſe. Prouided alwayes that they ſhall keepe one Ruſſe porter or one of their owne people, & may keepe any other Ruſſe ſeruant at their diſcretion. Alſo their houſes in ſundry places, as at Ieraſlaue, Vologhda, Colmogro, and at S.Michael Archangel, all theſe houſes they ſhall keepe and vſe at their owne pleaſure, according to our former letters patents without paying any dutie, rent, or cuſtome. Nor you the communaltie of the ſaid townes ſhal take any thing of them or theirs for any duetie that ſhould belong to you, eſpecially of the houſes aforeſaid: but the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſhal enioy them peaceably for themſelues and their families, but ſhall not ſuffer any other ſtrangers Ruſſes or others to vſe the aforeſaid houſes: Alſo you ſhall ſuffer them to lay their wares and commodities in their warehouſes, and to ſell their commodities to whom they pleaſe without let or hinderance, by vertue of this our gratious letter.

Their houſekeeper being a Ruſſe ſhall not vndertake to meddle, or ſell any of their wares without they themſelues be preſent, nor to buy any thing for them.

Alſo it ſhalbe lawfull for the ſaid merchants when they ſhal arriue at their port, to lade and vnlade their merchandiſes as in times paſt they haue done at their pleaſure. And when they lade their ſhips with Ruſſe commodities or vnlade them, it ſhalbe lawfull for them to hire any of our ſubiects to helpe them for the preſent time, and for them to carry their goods to and fro with their owne veſſels to S.Michael Archangel, or elſewhere.

Alſo we command you our authoriſed people at the ſea ſide as wel Cuſtomers as others to take of the foreſaid merchants a note, or remembrance, what goods they bring in and ſhip out: whereby it may be knowen what goods come in and go out. But in no wiſe ſhall you open or vnpacke any of their wares or merchandiſes.

In like maner when as they ſhip or ſende away any of their countrey commodities from S.Michael Archangel to any other place, or to our royall Citie of Moſco yee ſhall not hinder nor let them any maner of wiſe for the ſhipping of their merchandiſes in or out, by vertue of theſe our gratious letters of priuiledge giuen them.

And whenſoeuer any of the ſaid Engliſh merchants haue any occaſion to ſend ouer land out of our dominions into their own countrey any of their ſeruants or factors, by vertue of this our gratious letter we command you to giue them their paſſeport out of the office of our Secretariſhip.

And whenſoeuer any of our ſubiects hath any thing to do with any of the foreſaid merchants by way of contentions: or that they be damnified or hindered by any of our ſubiects: then we appoint and ordeine our Chanceller and Secretary Vaſili Shalcan to heare their cauſes, and finally to determine on both ſides according to equitie and iuſtice: and that he ſhall ſearch the trueth betweene both parties.

And when the trueth, cannot be proued or found out, then to caſt lots by order of the foreſaide Iudge, and he to whom the lot ſhall fall to take his othe.

Furthermore whenſoeuer any of the Engliſh merchants or their factors ſhall come into any parts of our dominions or Cities, and ſhalbe wronged any kinde of wayes in trading, or other wiſe by any abuſed, or haue any occaſion of contention with any by way of trade in merchandiſe or otherwayes: we ſtraitly charge and commaund you our gouernours, and authoriſed ſubiects within all our Realme and territories of the ſame, to miniſter iuſtice vnto the aforeſaide merchants, or to their deputies, and to ſearch the trueth of the contention: And for want of ſufficient proofe caſt lots who ſhall take his oath for the more ready triall of the cauſe: And in no wiſe to take any fee or duetie of the aforeſaid Engliſh merchants for the ſaid iudgement in Lawe.

We wil and commaund all this to be obſerued and kept in all parts of our dominions by all our ſubiects and authoriſed people, by vertue of theſe our royal letters patents: And the ſaid letters not to be diminiſhed in any part or parſell thereof, by any perſons howſoeuer they be named. And whoſoeuer ſhall withſtand & not regard theſe our gracious letters ſhalbe in our high diſpleaſure, and ſhal incurre the loſſe of his life. This our gracious letter was giuen in our kingdom and royal City of Moſco, in the yere from the beginning of the world 7104. in the moneth of May. After our accompt 1596.

Subſcribed by the Emperours Chancellour
and Secretarie *Vaſili Shalcan.*

The contents of *M.Garlands* Commiſsion vnto *Thomas Simkinſon* for the bringing of *M.Iohn Dee* to the Emperour of *Ruſsia* his Court.

FRiend Thomas Simkinſon I pray you goe to Brounſwik or Caſſil and inquire if Maſter Iohn Dee be there or where he is, and when you finde him, certifie him howe that I haue ſent you purpoſely to knowe where hee doeth remaine, and at your returne I will come and ſpeake with him my ſelfe. Alſo you may certefie him that the Emperour of Ruſſeland hauing certaine knowledge of his great learning and wiſdome is marueilous deſirous of him to come into his Countrey. And hath giuen me his letter with his hand and golden ſeale at it for to bring him into the Countrey with mee if it be poſſible, and for his liuing ſhewe him that he ſhall be ſure of 2000. pound yeerely, and alſo all prouiſion for his table out of the Emperours kitchin free: and if he thinke this too little, I will aſſure him that if he aſke aſmuch more, hee ſhall haue it, and for his charges into the Countrey, I haue ſufficient of the Emperours allowance to bring him and all his royalty into the Countrey. And becauſe hee may doubt of theſe proffers, hee ſhall remaine at the borders vntill the Emperour be certified of him, and of his requeſts, which he would haue. And I am ſure he ſhall be conueyed through the land with fiue hundred horſes, and hee ſhalbe accompted as one of the chiefeſt in the land next the Emperour. Alſo ſhew him howe that my Lord Protectour at my comming away did take me in his armes, and deſired me as hee ſhould be my friend to bring him with me, and he would giue him of his owne purſe yeerely 1000. rubbles beſides the Emperours allowance. All theſe foreſaide grauntes and demaunds doe I Thomas Simkinſon acknowledge to be ſpoken by Edward Garland to mee, and to be ſent to declare the ſame vnto Maſter Iohn Dee. And in witneſſe that this is of a trueth I haue written the ſame with my owne hand, and thereunto ſet my name, in Wittingaw, otherwiſe called Trebona, the 18. of September, Anno 1586.

By me *Thomas Simkinſon* of Hull.

A letter to the right worſhipfull M. *Iohn Dee* Eſquire, conteyning the ſumme and effect of M. *Edward Garland* his meſſage, deliuered to Maſter *Dee* himſelfe, (Letterwiſe) for a more perfect memoriall thereof. Anno 1586.

RIght worſhipfull, it may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that I was ſent vnto you from the moſt mightie Prince Feodor Iuanowich, Lord, Emperour and great duke of Ruſsia, &c. As alſo from the moſt excellent prince Boris Feodorowich, Lord Protector of Ruſsia: to giue your worſhip to vnderſtand the great good will and heartie deſire they beare vnto you; for that of long time they haue had great good report of your learning & wiſedom, as alſo of your good counſel vnto Princes: whereupon his Maieſties moſt earneſt deſire and requeſt is vnto you; that you would take the paines to come vnto his citie of Moſco, to viſite his Maieſties Court: for that hee is deſirous of your company, and alſo of your good coumſell in diuers matters that his Maieſtie ſhall thinke needfull. And for the great goodwill that his Maieſtie beareth vnto you, he will giue you yeerely toward your mainteinance 2000. pound ſtarling; and the Lord Protectour will giue you a thouſand rubbles, as alſo your prouiſion for your table you ſhall haue free out of his Maieſties kitchin: And further whatſoeuer you ſhall thinke needefull or conuenient for you, in any part or parts of his dominion, it ſhall be at your worſhips commaundement. And this is the ſumme and effect of my meſſage and commandement giuen me by his Maieſtie and the Lord Protectour.

In witneſſe whereof I haue written this with my owne hand, the 17. of December 1586.

By me *Edward Garland.*

In *Trebona* Caſtel otherwiſe called *Wittingaw* in *Boëmia*: to which place this *M.Edward Garland* came to *M.Dee* with two Moſcouites to ſerue him, &c. He had ſixe more, which by *M.Dees* counſell were ſent backe.

Witneſſe *M.Edward Kelley*, and *M.Francis Garland*,
brother to the foreſaid *Edward*, and diuers others.

IT ſeemeth that this princely offer of the Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, and of the L. Boris Pheodorowich Protectour to his Maieſtie, was made vnto the learned and famous Mathematitian M.Iohn Dee, partly to vſe his counſell & direction about certaine diſcoueries to the Northeaſt; and partly for ſome other weighty occaſions: but becauſe their conqueſt to Siberia was not as then fully ſettled, & for diuers other ſecret reaſons, it was for ẏ time with al thankfulnes refuſed.

A branch

A branch of a letter from *M. Iohn Merick*, Agent vnto the *Moſcouie* company in *Ruſsia*, cloſed vp in the *Moſco* the 14. of March, Anno 1597. touching the death of *Pheodor Iuanowich* late Emperour of all *Ruſsia*, &c.

Hauing thus farre proceeded with this my anſwere vnto the chiefeſt points of your worſhips letters receiued, my deſire was to haue ſent one vnto you long ſince, as you may perceiue by ‖ the firſt date: but by reaſon I could not get leaue, I haue deferred it of till this inſtant, for that there was none ſuffered to paſſe out of the land. The cauſes may be iudged, for that it pleaſed God to call out of this world, the Emperour his Maieſtie, who departed about the 7. of Ianuary: and euer ſince hath bene a mourning time, & no ſuites for any matter could be heard. But it hath bene a very dead ſeaſon. Yet (thankes be to God) through the wiſe gouernment of Lord Boris Pheodorowich the Lord Protector vnto the ſaide late Emperour, ſince his death all things haue bene very quiet without any diſſention; as the like in ſuch a great kingdome I haue not heard of. And now through the prouidence of Almightie God, and by ſurrender of the late Empreſſe Irenia Feodoruna, and the common conſent of the Patriarch, Nobles, Biſhops, and the whole Cleargie, with the whole Commons beſides, choiſe is made of none other but of the ſaid Lord Protector, L. Boris Pheodorowich to be Emperour, and great duke of all Ruſsia, who was moſt vnwilling to receiue the kingdome, but the people would make no other choiſe, nor haue any other. So that with much adoe and entreatie, it hath pleaſed his Maieſtie to take vpon him the kingdome, and he is abſolute Emperor to him and his heires. And certainly God hath done much for this Countrey, and hath made the people greatly happy, in that he hath prouided and appointed ſo famous and worthy a Prince: whoſe excellent gouernment and experience theſe foureteene yeeres hath bene manifeſt to all Ruſsia. God graunt his highneſſe a moſt proſperous and long raigne, with his Lady the Empreſſe, the Prince his ſonne, and the Princeſſe his daughter. All men do reioyce both Ruſſe and ſtrangers for this moſt famous Emperour. The Coronation is thought ſhalbe on the Aſſenſion day next, til which time I cannot depart from Moſco: which is a litle before the time that ordinarily I doe take my iourney from hence. And touching his Maieſties fauour towards me on your behalfe, eſpecially for her Maieſties ſake, as in foretime it was extraordinary, and ſo ſpecially ſhewed to mee, as to none the like: ſo hath his highneſſe promiſed the continuance thereof, with further fauour as ſhalbe deſired. Whereof I haue no doubt: for dayly I do finde the ſame.

10. Febr. 1597.

Prince Boris Pheodorowich by generall conſent choſen Emperour of Ruſsia.

A learned Epiſtle written 1581. vnto the famous Coſmographer *M. Gerardus Mercator* concerning the riuer *Pechora*, *Naramſay*, *Cara reca*, the mighty riuer of *Ob*, the place of *Yaks Olguſh* in *Siberia*, the great riuer *Ardoh*, the lake of *Kitſay* called of the borderers *Paraha*, the Countrey of *Carrah Colmak*, giuing good light to the diſcouery of the Northeaſt paſſage to *Cathay*, *China* and the *Malucaes*.

¶ *Inclyto & celebri Gerardo Mercatori, domino & amico ſingulari in manus proprias Duiſburgi in Cliuia.*

CVm meminiſſem, amice optime, quanta, cum vnà ageremus, delectatione afficerere in legendis Geographicis ſcriptis Homeri, Strabonis, Ariſtotelis, Plinij, Dionis & reliquorum, lætatus ſum eo quod incidiſſem in hunc nuncium, qui tibi has literas tradit, quem tibi commendatum eſſe valde cupio, quique dudum Arusburgi hîc ad Oſſellam fluuium appulit. Hominis experientia, vt mihi quidem videtur, multum te adiuuerit in re vna, eaque ſummis à te votis expetita, & magnopere elaborata, de qua tam varie inter ſe diſſentiunt Coſmographi recentiores; patefactione nimirum ingentis illius Promontorij Tabin, celebriſque illius & opulentę regionis ſub Cathayorum rege per Oceanum ad Orientem brumalem. Alferius is eſt natione Belga, qui captiuus aliquot annos vixit in Moſcouitarum ditione, apud viros illic celeberrimos Yacouium & Vnekium; à quibus Antuerpiam miſſus eſt accerſitum homines rei nauticę peritos, qui ſatis amplo propoſito pręmio ad illos viros ſe recipiant; qui Sueuo artifice duas ad eam patefactionem naues ędificarunt in Duina fluuio. Vt ille rem proponit, quamquam ſine arte, appoſitę tamen, & vt ſatis intelligas, quod quęſo diligenter perpendas, aditus ad Cathayam per Orientem proculdubio breuiſsimus eſt & admodũ expeditus. Adijt ipſe fluuiũ Obam tum terra per Samoedorũ & Sibericorũ regionem, tum mari per littus Pechoræ fluminis ad Orientem. Hac experientia confirmatus certò apud ſe ſtatuit nauim mercibus onuſtã, cuius carinã non nimiũ profundè demiſſam eſſe vult, in Sinũ S.Nicolai conducere in regione Moſcouitarũ, inſtructam illã quidem rebus omnibus ad eam patefactionem ne-

Duæ naues ædificatæ in Duina fluuio ad patefactionem Orientalem.

Dolgoia Inſula.

Inſula Vaigats.

Sinus inter Vaigats & Obam vergens per meridiem.

‖ Vel Naramſey & Cara reca.

Littus Obæ incolitur ab Oſtijs trium dierum itinere.

ceſſarijs, atque illic redintegrato commeatu, Moſcouiticæ nationis notiſsimos iuſta mercede aſciſcere: qui & Samoedicam linguam pulchre teneant, & fluuium Ob exploratum habeant, vt qui quotannis ea loca ventitant. Vnde Maio exeunte conſtituit pergere ad Orientem per continentem Vgoriæ ad Orientales partes Pechoræ, Inſulamque cui nomen eſt Dolgoia. Hîc latitudines obſeruare, terram deſcribere, bolidem demittere, locorumque ac punctorum diſtantias annotare, vbi & quoties licebit. Et quoniam Pechoræ Sinus vel euntibus vel redeuntibus commodiſſimus eſt tum ſubſidij tum diuerſorij locus propter glaciem & tempeſtates, diem impendere decreuit cognoſcendis vadis, facillimoque nauium aditu inueniendo: quo loco antehac aquarum altitudinem duntaxat ad quinque pedes inuenit, ſed profundiores canales eſſe non dubitat: deinde per eos fines pergere ad tria quatuorve milliaria nautica, relicta Inſula quàm Vaigats vocant, media ferè via inter Vgoriam & Nouam Zemblam: tum Sinum quendam præterire inter Vaigats atque Obam, qui per Meridiem vergens pertingit ad terram Vgoriæ, in quem confluunt exigui duo amnes ‖ Marmeſia atque Carah, ad quos amnes gens alia Samoedorum accolit immanis & efferata. Multa in eo tractu loca vadoſa, multas cataractas inuenit; ſed tamen per quas poſſit Nauigari. Vbi ad fluuium Obam peruentum fuerit, qui quidem fluuius (vt referunt Samoedi) ſeptuaginta habet oſtia, quæ propter ingentem latitudinem multas magnaſque concludentem Inſulas, quas varij incolunt populi, vix quiſquam animaduertat, ne temporis nimium impendat, conſtituit ad ſummum tria quatuorve tentare ora, ea præſerim quæ ex conſilio Incolarum, quos in itinere aliquot habiturus eſt, commodiſſima videbuntur, triaque quatuorve eius regionis nauigiola tentandis Oſtijs adhibere, quàm fieri poteſt ad littus proxime, (quod quidem ſub itinere trium dierum incolitur) vt quo loco tutiſſime nauigari poſſit, intelligat.

Yaks Olguſh locus ſuper Obam fluuiũ duodecim dierum itinere à mari.

Ardob flumen influens in lacum Kitthaym: de quo in itinere ad Boghariam ſcribit Antonius Ienkinſonus.

Carrah Colmak eſt Cathaya.

Quod ſi nauim per fluuium Obam aduerſo amne poſſit impellere, prima ſi poterit cataracta, eaque, vt veriſimile eſt, commodiſſima, ad eumque locum appellere, quem aliquando ipſe cum ſuis aliquot per Sibericorum regionem terra adijt, qui duodecim iuxta dierum itinere diſtat à Mari, quà influit in mare flumen Ob, qui locus eſt in continente, propè fluuium Ob cui nomen eſt Yaks Olguſh, nomine mutuato ab illo magno Profluente flumini Ob illabente, tum certè ſperaret maximas ſe difficultates ſuperaſſe. Referunt enim illic populares, qui trium duntaxat dierum nauigatione ab eo loco abfuerunt (quòd illic rarum eſt, eo quòd multi ad vnum duntaxat diem cymbas pelliceas à littore propellentes oborta tempeſtate perierunt, cùm neque à ſole neque à ſyderibus rectionem ſcirent petere) per tranſuerſum fluminis Ob, vnde ſpacioſum eſſe illius latitudinem conſtat, grandes ſe carinas præcioſis onuſtas mercibus magno fluuio delatas vidiſſe per Nigros, puta Æthiopes. Eum fluuium Ardoh illi vocant, qui influit in lacum Kittayum, quem Paraha illi nominant, cui contermina eſt gens illa latiſſimè fuſa, quàm Carrah Colmak appellant, non alia certè quàm Cathaya. Illic, ſi neceſſitas poſtulabit, opportunum erit hybernare, ſe ſuoſque reficere, reſque omnes neceſſarias conquirere. Quòd ſi acciderit, non dubitat interim plurimùm ſe adiutum iri, plura illic quærentem atque ediſcentem. Veruntamen ſperat æſtate eadem ad Cathayorum fines ſe peruenturum, niſi ingenti glaciei mole ad os fluuij Obæ impediatur, quæ maior interdum, interdum minor eſt. Tum per Pechoram redire ſtatuit, atque illic hybernare: vel ſi id non poterit, in flumen Duinæ, quo mature ſatis pertinget, atque ita primo vere proximo in itinere progredi. Vnum eſt quòd ſuo loco oblitus ſum. Qui locum illum Yaks Olguſh incolunt, à maioribus ſuis olim prædicatum aſſerunt, ſe in lacu Kitthayo dulciſſimam campanarum harmoniam audiuiſſe, atque ampla ædificia conſpexiſſe: Et cùm gentis Carrah Colmak mentionem faciunt (Cathaya illa eſt) ab imò pectore ſuſpiria repetunt, manibuſque proiectis ſuſpiciunt in cœlum, velut inſignem illius ſplendorem innuentes atque admirantes. Vtinam Alferius hîc Coſmographiam melius ſaperet, multum ad illius vſum adiungeret, qui ſanè plurimus eſt. Multa prætereo, vir amiciſſime, ipſumque hominem te audire cupio, qui mihi ſpoſpondit ſe in itinere Duisburgi te viſurum. Auet enim tecum conferre ſermones, & procul dubio hominem multum adiuueris. Satis inſtructus videtur pecunia & gratia, in quibus alijſque officijs amicitiæ feci illi, ſi vellet, mei copiam. Deus Optimus maximus hominis votis atque alacritati faueat, initia ſecundet, ſucceſſus fortunet, exitum fœliciſsimum concedat. Vale amicè ac Domine ſingularis.

Arusburgi ad Oſſellam fluuium 20. Februarij 1581.

Tuus quantus quantus ſum

Ioannes Balakus.

To

To the famous and renowmed *Gerardus Mercator*, his Reuerend and ſingular friend at *Duisburgh* in *Clineland*, theſe be deliuered.

Calling to remembrance (moſt deare Friend) what exceeding delight you tooke at our being together, in reading the Geographicall writings of Homer, Strabo, Ariſtotle, Plinie, Dion, and the reſt, I reioyced not a little that I happened vpon ſuch a meſſenger as the bearer of of theſe preſents, (whom I do eſpecially recommend vnto you) who arriued lately here at Aruſburg vpon the riuer of Oſella. This mans experience (as I am of opinion) will greatly auaile you to the knowledge of a certaine matter which hath bene by you ſo vehemently deſired, and ſo curiouſly laboured for, and concerning the which the late Coſmographers do hold ſuch varietie of opinions: namely, of the diſcouerie of the huge promontorie of Tabin, and of the famous and rich countreys ſubiect vnto the Emperor of Cathay, and that by the Northeaſt Ocean ſea. The man is called * Alferius being by birth a Netherlander, who for certaine yeeres liued captiue in the dominions of Ruſſia vnder two famous men Yacouius and Vnekius, by whom he was ſent to Antwerp to procure ſkilfull Pilots and Mariners, (by propounding liberall rewards) to go vnto the two famous perſonages aforeſayd, which two had ſet a Sweden Shipwright on worke to build two ſhips for the ſame diſcouerie vpon the riuer of Dwina. The paſſage vnto Cathay by the Northeaſt (as he declareth the matter, albeit without arte, yet very aptly, as you may well perceiue, which I requeſt you diligently to conſider) is without doubt very ſhort and eaſie. This very man himſelfe hath trauelled to the riuer of Ob, both by land, through the countreys of the Samoeds, and of Sibier, and alſo by Sea, along the coaſt of the riuer Pechora Eaſtward. Being encouraged by this his experience he is fully reſolued with himſelfe to conduct a Barke laden with merchandize (the keele whereof hee will not haue to drawe ouer much water) to the Baie of Saint Nicholas in Ruſſia, being furniſhed with all things expedient for ſuch a diſcouerie, and with a new ſupply of victuals at his arriuall there, and alſo to hire into his companie certaine Ruſſes beſt knowen vnto himſelfe, who can perfectly ſpeake the Samoeds language, and are acquainted with the riuer of Ob, as hauing frequented thoſe places yeere by yeere.

*Or Oliuer.

Two ſhips built vpon the riuer of Dwina for the Northeaſt diſcouerie.

Whereupon about the ende of May hee is determined to ſaile from the Baie of S. Nicholas Eaſtward, by the maine of Ioughoria, and ſo to the Eaſterly parts of Pechora, & to the Iſland which is called Dolgoia. And here alſo hee is purpoſed to obſerue the latitudes, to ſuruey and deſcribe the countrey, to ſound the depth of the Sea, and to note the diſtances of places, where, and ſo oft as occaſion ſhall be offered. And foraſmuch as the Baie of Pechora is a moſt conuenient place both for harbour and victuall, as well in their going foorth as in their returne home in regard of Ice and tempeſt, he is determined to beſtow a day in ſounding the Flats, and in ſearching out the beſt enterance for ſhips: in which place heretofore he found the water to be but fiue foote deepe, howbeit he doubteth not but that there are deeper chanels: and then hee intendeth to proceed on along thoſe coaſts for the ſpace of three or foure leagues, leauing the Iſland called Vaigats almoſt in the middle way betweene Vgoria and Noua Zembla: then alſo to paſſe by a certaine Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob, trending Southerly into the land of Vgoria, whereinto fall two ſmall riuers called * Marmeſia and Carah, vpon the which riuers doe inhabite an other barbarous and ſauage nation of the Samoeds. He found many Flats in that tract of land, and many cataracts or ouerfals of water, yet ſuch as hee was able to ſaile by. When hee ſhall come to the riuer of Ob, which riuer (as the Samoeds report) hath ſeuentie mouthes, which by reaſon of the huge breadth thereof containing many and great Iſlands, which are inhabited with ſundry ſortes of people, no man ſcarcely can well diſcouer, becauſe he will not ſpend too much time, he purpoſeth to ſearch three or foure at the moſt of the mouthes thereof, thoſe chiefly which ſhall be thought moſt commodious by the aduiſe of the inhabitants, of whom hee meaneth to haue certaine with him in his voyage, and meaneth to employ three or foure boates of that Countrey in ſearch of theſe mouthes, as neere as poſſibly he can to the ſhore, which within three dayes iourney of the Sea is inhabited, that he may learne where the riuer is beſt nauigable. If it ſo fall out that he may ſayle vp the riuer Ob againſt the ſtreame, and mount vp to that place which heretofore accompanied with certaine of his friends, he paſſed vnto by land through the countrey of Siberia which is about twelue dayes iourney from the Sea, where the riuer Ob falleth into the Sea, which place is in the Continent neere the riuer Ob, and is called Yaks Olguſh, borowing his name from that mightie riuer which falleth into the riuer Ob, then doubtleſſe hee would conceiue full hope that hee had paſſed the greateſt difficulties: for the people dwelling thereabout report, which were three dayes ſayling onely from that place beyond the

The Iſland of Dolgoia.

The Iſland of Vaigats.

A Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob trending Southerly.

*Or, Naramſey and Cara Reca.

The place vpon the riuer Ob, where he was but 12. dayes iourney frō ẏ mouthes thereof, and is called Yaks Olguſh.

riuer

M. Ienkinſon in his voyage to Boghar ſpeaketh of the riuer Ardok.

riuer Ob, whereby the bredth thereof may be gathered (which is a rare matter there, becauſe that many rowing with their boates of leather one dayes iourney onely from the ſhore, haue bene caſt away in tempeſt, hauing no ſkill to guide themſelues neither by Sunne nor Starre) that they haue ſeene great veſſels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought downe that great riuer by blacke or ſwart people. They call that riuer * Ardoh, which falleth into the lake of Kittay, which they call Paraha, whereupon bordereth that mightie and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other then the nation of Cathay. There, if neede require, he may fitly Winter and refreſh himſelfe and his, and ſeeke all things which he ſhall ſtand in need of: which if it ſo fall out, he doubteth not but in the meane while he ſhall be much furthered in ſearching and learning out many things in that place. Howbeit, he hopeth that hee ſhall reach to Cathaya that very Sommer, vnleſſe he be hindered by great abundance of Ice at the mouth of the riuer of Ob, which is ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſſe. If it ſo fall out, hee then purpoſeth to returne to Pechora, and there to Winter: or if he cannot doe ſo neither, then hee meaneth to returne to the riuer of Dwina, whither he will reach in good time enough, and ſo the next Spring following to proceed on his voyage. One thing in due place I forgate before.

The people which dwell at that place called Yaks Olguſh, affirme that they haue heard their forefathers ſay, that they haue heard moſt ſweete harmonie of bels in the lake of Kitthay, and that they haue ſeene therein ſtately and large buildings: and when they make mention of the people named Carrah Colmak (this countrey is Cathay) they fetch deepe ſighes, and holding vp their hands, they looke vp to heauen, ſignifying as it were, and declaring the notable glory and magnificence of that nation. I would this Oliuer were better ſeene in Coſmographie, it would greatly further his experience, which doubtleſſe is very great. Moſt deare friend, I omit many things, and I wiſh you ſhould heare the man himſelfe which promiſed mee faithfully that he would viſite you in his way at Duisburg, for he deſireth to conferre with you, and doubtleſſe you ſhall very much further the man. He ſeemeth ſufficiently furniſhed with money and friends, wherein and in other offices of curteſie I offered him my furtherance if it had pleaſed him to haue vſed me. The Lord proſper the mans deſires and forwardneſſe, bleſſe his good beginnings, further his proceedings, and grant vnto him moſt happy iſſue. Fare you well good ſir and my ſingular friend. From Arusburg vpon the riuer of Oſſella, the 20. of February, 1581.

Yours wholy at commandement,

Iohn Balak.

Maſter Anthonie Ienkinſon in a diſputation before her Maieſtie with ſir Humfrey Gilbert for proofe of a paſſage by the Northeaſt to Cathaya, among other things alleageth this: videlicet, that there came a continuall ſtreame or currant through Mare glaciale, of ſuch ſwiftneſſe as a Colmak told him, that if you caſt any thing therein, it would preſently be caried out of ſight towards the Weſt, &c.

A teſtimonie of the Northeaſterne Diſcouerie made by the Engliſh, and of the profite that may ariſe by purſuing the ſame: taken out of the ſecond volume of Nauigations and Voyages, fol. 17. of the notable Coſmographer, M. *Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius*, Secretarie to the State of Venice: Written in Italian in the yeere, 1557.

Dalla parte poi di ſotto la noſtra Tramontana, che chiaſcuno ſcrittore & Coſmographo di queſti & de paſſati tempi fin' hora vi ha meſſo & mette mare congelato, & che la terra corra continuamente fino a' 90. gradi verſo il Polo: ſopra queſto mappa-mondo all' incontro ſi vede che la terra và ſolamente vn poco ſopra la Noruega & Suetia, & voltando corre poi Greco & Leuante nel paeſe della Moſcouia & Roſſia, & và diritto al Cataio. Et che cio ſia la verità, le nauigationi che hanno fatte gl' Ingleſi con le loro naui, volendo andare à ſcoprire il Cataio al tempo del Re Odoardo Seſto d' Inghilterra, queſti anni paſſati, ne poſſono far vera teſtimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moſcouia, doue trouarono all' hora regnare Giouanni Vaſiliuich *Imperatore della Roſſia & gran Duca di Moſcouia, il quale con molto piacere & marauiglia vedutogli, fece grandiſſime carezze, hanno trouato quel mare eſſere nauigabile, & non agghiacciato. La qual nauigatione (ancor che con l'eſito fin hora non ſia ſtata bene inteſa) ſe col ſpeſſo frequentarla & col lungo vſo & cognitione de que' mari* *ſi continuerà, è per fare grandiſſima mutatione & riuolgimento nelle coſe di queſta noſtra parte del mondo.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

Moreouer (hauing before ſpoken of diuers particularities, in an excellent Map of Paulus Venetus) on that part ſubiect to our North pole, where euery writer and Coſmographer of theſe and of former times hitherto, haue, and doe place the frozen Sea, and that the land ſtretcheth continually to 90. degrees, towards the pole: contrary wiſe, in this mappe is to bee ſeene, that the land extendeth onely a litle aboue Norway and Swethland, and then turning it ſelfe trendeth afterwards towards the Southeaſt and by Eaſt, vnto the countrey of Moſcouie and Ruſſia, and ſtretcheth directly vnto Cathay. And that this is true, the nauigations which the Engliſh men haue of late made, intending to diſcouer Cathay, in the time of Edward the ſixt, king of England, are very ſufficient witneſſes. For in the midſt of their voiage, lighting by chance vpon the coaſt of Moſcouie (where they found then reigning John Vaſiliwich Emperor of Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſcouia, who after he had, to his great delight and admiration, ſeene the Engliſh men, entertained them with exceeding great curteſies) found this ſea to be nauigable, and not frozen.

Which nauigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet thoroughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the ſame, and by long vſe and knowledge of thoſe ſeas it bee continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and reuolution in the ſtate of this our part of the world.

The great hope of the Northeaſterne diſcouerie.

The teſtimonie of *Gerardus Mercator* in his laſt large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable diſcoueries of the Engliſh, made of Moſcouie by the Northeaſt.

Magnam occaſionem certámque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappiæ Moſcouiæque iuxta cœli ſitum, mundíque plagas digeſta habet. Exacta etiam vrbis Moſcuæ latitudo ab Anglis obſeruata, interiorum Regionum emendatiùs deſcribendarum infallibilem legem præſcripſit: Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putaui tabulam hanc caſtigatiorem non reddere.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The moſt famous nauigation of the Engliſh men by the Northeaſt ſea hath offered vnto me a great occaſion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which diſcouerie hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moſcouie, laied out according to the iuſt eleuation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true obſeruation of the latitude of the city of Moſco, made by the foreſaid Engliſhmen, hath yeelded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the ſituation of the inland countries: which notable helps being miniſtred vnto me, I thought it my duetie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect then hitherto it hath bene publiſhed.

Another teſtimonie of *Ioannes Metellus Sequanus* concerning the ſame Nauigation and Diſcouerie in his Preface prefixed before *Oſorius de rebus geſtis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ*, written about the yeere, 1574.

At ne omnis, vnis Hiſpanis, Oceani maris gloria totáque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones noua in Moſcouiam nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginti plus minùs illuſtrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moſcouitarum, Naruæque Liuoniæ excluſi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Noruegiæ, Finmarchiæ, Lappiæ, Scricfinniæ, Biarmiæque; illinc Groenlandiæ littora præteruecti, vltrà Septuageſimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum ſibi patefaciunt. Quam nauigationem Belgæ poſteà, non ſine tamen cum cum iiſdem Britannis velitatione, ſunt ſecuti. Eò vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineáſque veſtes propè detritas, omníſque generis minutiores merces, ad vſum, cultúmque corporis hominum vtriuſque ſexus, veluti lintea & byſſea cingula, periſcelides, crumenas, cultros, & id genus ſexcenta. A Moſchis autem pelles omnis generis pretioſas adferunt, & ſalmones ſalitos, fumóque duratos.

The ſame in Engliſh.

But leaſt all and the whole glory of diſcouering the Ocean ſea ſhould be aſcribed to the Spaniards, the Engliſhmen about twentie yeeres paſt, by a new nauigation into Moſcouie, diſcouered the Northeaſt partes. For they by reaſon of the warres of Swethland being hindered from the traffique of the Moſcouites and of the Narue in Liefland, opened a paſſage for themſelues by the Ocean ſea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees: hauing in their courſe on the one ſide the coaſtes of Norway, Finmark, Lapland, Scrickfin and Biarmia: On the other ſide the coaſt of Gronland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterwarde entred into, but not without ſome conflict with the Engliſh. They cary thither old plate and courſe linnen cloth, and all kind of ſmall Mercerie wares, ſeruing for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and ſilke girdles, garters, purſes, kniues, and many ſuch like things. And they bring away from the Moſcouites, all kinde of precious Furres, and Salmons ſalted and dried in the ſmoke.

BREVIS
COMMENTARIVS
DE ISLANDIA: QVO SCRIPTORVM DE HAC
Inſula errores deteguntur, & extraneorum quorundam conuitijs, ac calumnijs,
quibus Iſlandis liberiùs inſultare
ſolent, occurritur:
per
ARNGRIMVM IONAM ISLANDVM.

SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI AC DOMINO,
Domino CHRISTIANO IIII. DANIAE, *Noruegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorúmq;, Regi electo: Sleſuici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ & Dithmarſiæ Duci: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorſt:* Domino
ſuo clementiſſimo.

PRæclaram ſanè apud Hiſtoricos meretur laudem, Sereniſſ. Princeps, Anchuri illius Midæ regis filij auſus pluſquam humanus, & in patriam pietas, ferè exemplo carens, quòd ad occludendum ingentem circa Celænam Phrygiæ oppidum, terræ hiatum, quotidie homines haud exiguo numero, & quicquid in propinquo erat, abſorbentem, ſeſe vltrò obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midas pater accepiſſet, non prius concluſum iri iſtam voraginem, quam res eò precioſiſſimæ immitterentur: Anchurus exiſtimans, nihil eſſe anima pretioſius, ſeſe viuum in illud profundiſſimum chaſma præcipitem dedit: idq; tanto animi cum feruore, vt neque parentus deſiderio, neque dulciſſimæ coniugis amplexu vel lachrymis, ab iſto propoſito ſe retrahi paſſus ſit.

Nec inferiorem multò conſecuti ſunt gloriam Sperthius & Bulis, Lacedæmonij, qui ad auertendam potentiſſimi Regis Perſarum Xerxis, *ob occiſos à Lucedemonijs* Darij *patris legatos, vltionem, ad Regem profecti ſunt, & vt legatorum necem in ſe, non in patria vlciſceretur, erectis & conſtantibus animis ſeſe obtulerunt.*

Quæ verò res, Sereniſſ. Princeps, illos ac alios complures mouit, vt patriæ flagrantes amore, nullũ pro ea periculum, nullas moleſtias, imò ne mortẽ ipſam recuſarint, ea profectò me quoque impulit, non quidem, vt quemadmodum illi, mortem ſponte oppeterem, aut me mactandum vltrò offerrem, ſed tamen, vt id quod ſolum poſſem, in gratiam patriæ tentarem: Hoc eſt, vt ſcriptorum de ea errores colligerem & rumuſculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita rem profectò periculoſam, & multorum forſan ſiniſtro obnoxiam iudicio, aggrederer.

In eo propoſito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmauit: Quem rei frumentariæ apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in ſumma Vrbis annonæ charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia & Africa frumentum collegiſſet, maiorem patriæ, quàm ſui, tradunt rationem habuiſſe. Cum enim Romam verſus properaret, & ingenti ac periculoſa oborta tempeſtate, Naucleros trepidare, nec ſe ventorum aut maris ſæuitiæ committere velle animaduerteret, ipſe nauim primus ingreſſus, anchoras tolli iuſſit, in hæc verba exclamans: Vt nauigemus vrget neceſſitas: vt viuamus, non vrget. *Quibus vir prudentiſſimus innuiſſe videtur, patriæ periclitantis maiorem habendam rationem, quàm priuatæ incolumitatis.*

Hunc ego ſic imitor,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muſcam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis ac comportatis ijs, quibus ad ſuccurrendum gentis noſtræ nomini ac famæ, apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam inuidia iam diu laboranti vterer; paucula hæc in lucem emittere, méque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cúmque illo exclamare non dubitem: Vt ſcribamus, vrget neceſſitas: Vt verò ſcriptum noſtrum, cuiuſuis delicato palato, vbiq; ſatisfaciat, aut omnem Momi proteruiam effugiat, non vrget. *Inſtitutum meum complures probaturos ſpero: ſucceſſum forſan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patriæ, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias ſuſtinentis, quàm ſiue laudis, ſiue vituperationis, ad me ipſum hinc forſan redituræ, exiſtimabam. Quid enim cauſæ eſſe poteſt, cur nonnullorum odium & inuidentiam, cum hoc patriæ, benefaciendi ſeu gratificandi ſtudio fortè coniunctam recuſem?*

Quodſi ſcriptorum errores liberius notare, ſi quorundam calumnias durius perſtringere videbor, eos tamen æquos me habiturum cenſores confido, qui paulò diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parùm tolerabiles ſint ſcriptorum de noſtra gente errores: quot etiam & quàm graues quorundam in nos calumniæ, quibus nationem noſtram varijs modis laceſſiuere, & etiamnum laceſſere non deſiſtunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito ſoli natalis amori eſt; Dandum iuſto, ob hanc patriæ illatam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, vbiq́ mihi temperaui, ac à conuitijs abſtinere volui: quòd ſi quid videatur mollius dicendum fuiſſe, id prædicta ratione veniam, ſpero, merebitur.

Cum igitur hæc mihi ſubeunda ſit alea, quod omnibus ſcriptum aliquod edituris in more poſitum animaduerto, id mihi hoc tempore ſolicitè curandum eſt: Nempè vt patronum & mecœnatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quæram, ſub cuius nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, veſtra, clementiſsime Princeps, Sereniſs. Maieſtate: Etenim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas noſtras in ſuam poteſtatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis noſtræ innocenter contaminatum, curæ vt ſit, ſupplices rogamus.

Imò verò, Rex clementiſſ. non ſolùm ad hanc rem, S. Maieſtatis V. clemens implorare auxilium neceſſum habemus; Sed ad multa quoq; alia, quæ in noſtra patria deſiderantur, aut quæ alioqui ad huius vtilitatem & ſalutem communem ſpectant: quæq́ non per me, ſed per ſummorum noſtræ gentis virorum libellos ſupplices hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certè breui exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maieſtas, Chriſtianiſſimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam noſtram patriam, inter reliquas imperij ſui Inſulas, ſua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam quæ noſtra eſt ad S. Maieſtatem V. confugiendi neceſſitas, ea eſt S. Maieſtatis V. in nobis ſubleuandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria: Et ob nutritam extremi ferè orbis Arctoi eccleſiam, in remotiſſimis M. V. imperij finibus, quæ tranquillitatem & tuta ſingulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, præmium, ac repoſita in cœlis immarceſſibilis vitæ æternæ corona.

Cæterum cùm illa huius loci non ſint, id quod mei eſt propoſiti ſubiũgo: & à S. Maieſtate V. ea, qua par eſt, animi ſubmiſſione peto, vt huic meæ opellæ & ſtudio in patriam collato, fauere, & patroni benigni eſſe loco, clementer dignetur. Quod ſupereſt, Sereniſſ. Princeps, Dom. clementiſſime, Maieſtatem V. ſapientiæ & prudentiæ, omniúmq́ adeò virtutum heroicarum indies incrementa ſumentem, ad ſummum imperij faſtigium, ſummus ille regnorum, omniúmq; adeò rerum humanarum diſpenſator, Deus opt. max. euehat: Euectam, omni rerum fœliciſſimo ſucceſſu continuè beet: Beatámque hoc modo, vt ſummum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, præſidium, Eccleſiæ clypeum & munimen, quàm diutiſſimè conſeruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in ſolido regni cœleſtis gaudio, cum præcipuis eccleſiæ Dei nutritijs, ſyderis inſtar, illuſtrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiã idem Pater clementiſ. vt hæc vota, quantò ſæpius, in ampliſſimorum Maieſtatis V regnorũ & Inſularum quouis angulo, quotidiè repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tantò rata magis & certiora maneant.

Hafniæ 1593. Menſe Mart.

S. M. V. humiliter ſubiectus:

Arngrimus Ionas Iſlandus.

Benigno & pio Lectori ſalutem.

IN lucem exijt circa annum Chriſti 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valdè deformis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur ſpurciſſimi & mendaciſſimi in gentem Iſlandicam. Nec ſufficiebat ſordido Typographo ſordidum illum fœtum ſemel emiſiſſe, niſi tertiùm etiam aut quartùm publicaſſet, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, alióſque vicinos populos ſummam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipſo fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odi ũfuit, & ex re illic ita lucri auiditas. Et hoc in illa ciuitate, quę plurimos annos commercia ſua magno ſuorum cum lucro in Iſlandia exercuit, impunè fecit. *Ioachimus Leo* nomen illi eſt, dignus certè qui Leones paſcat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alij ſcriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Inſula creduntur eſſe plurima, & gentis Iſlandicæ mores ac inſtituta deſcribere ſe velle putant, à re ipſa & veritate prorſus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas pluſquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vaniſſimas ſecuti. Hi Scriptores etſi non tam ſpurca & probroſa reliquerunt, quàm ſordidus iſte Rhythmiſta: multa tamen ſunt in illorum ſcriptis, quæ illos excuſare non poſſunt, aut prorſus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem ſuis ſcriptis deridendam alijs expoſuerint. Hæc animaduertens, legens, expendens, ſubinde nouis, qui Iſlandorum nomen & æſtimationem læderent, ſcriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum ſuffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non deſinunt gentem noſtram nouis conſpurcare mendacijs, lectoréſque noua monſtrorum enumeratione & deſcriptionibus fictis deludere, ſæpe optabam eſſe aliquem, qui ad errata Hiſtoricorum, & aliorum iniquorum cenſorum reſponderet, quíque aliquo ſcripto innocentem gentem à tot conuicijs ſi non liberaret, certè aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet. Quare hoc tempore Author eram honeſto ſtudioſo, *Arngrimo Ionæ* F. vt reuolutis ſcriptorum monumentis, qui de Iſlandia aliquid ſcripſerunt, errores & mendacia ſolidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etſi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amórque communis patriæ, ita vt hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conſcriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, ſed & ex ſua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus ſumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo eſt aggreſſus inſtinctu, viciſſim à me ſuo quaſi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vèl tribus ſaltem verbis præfarer: exiſtimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opuſculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem & honeſtam & neceſſariam quoque operam nauaſſe eum iudico, qui non modò ſcriptorum varias ſententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientiæ cenſuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam ſycophantarum morſibus vindicare conatus ſit. Æquum eſt igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc eſt opuſculi, velut ſanctiſſimo veritatis & patriæ amore aduerſus Zoilorum proteruiam munitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorliacus Epiſcopus
Holenſis in Iſlandia.
Anno 1592. Iul. 29.

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.

IMbute Lector ſuauis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne, humane, multùm candide,
Qui cuncta ſcis collis ſacri myſteria:
Has videris ſi fortè quando paginas
Non lectione ſicq; dedignabere,
Fac, nos tuo candori vt hæc committimus
Et æquitati, fronte ſic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec iſta quando turbido:
Communis vnquam ſortis haud ſis immemor,
Infirmitas quam noſtra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis eſt mortalium
Erroribus næuiſque ſemper plurimis?
Quod ſi diu multúmque cogitaueris,
Noſtris eris conatibus paulò æquior,
Tuis & iſto ritè pacto conſules:
Candore nam quo noſtra tractans vtere,
En te legentes rurſus vtentur pari:
Sic ipſe ſemper alteri quæ feceris,
Aequalitatis lege & hæc fient tibi.
De gente multis prædicata Iſlandica
Authoribus quam vis probata maximis,
Noſtro periclo hucúſq; vulgò credita,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non vt notam ſcriptorum inuram nomini,

Noſtrum ſed à nota probroſa vindicem:
Hoc inſtitutum iúsq; fásq; comprobant:
Hoc noſtra conſuetudo léxque comprobant:
Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant.
Ergo faue: noſtris faue conatibus,
Sis mitis, indulgens & æquus arbiter,
O Lector arte imbute ſuauis Palladis,
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Qui cuncta ſcis collis ſacri myſteria.

COMMENTARII DE ISLANDIA *INITIVM.*

QVemadmodum in militia caſtrenſi, alios nulla æqua ratione adductos, ſed ambitione, inuidia & auaritia motos, Martis caſtra ſequi animaduertimus: Alios verò iuſtis de cauſis arma ſumere; vt qui vel doctrinæ cœleſtis propagandæ aut ſeruandæ ergò bella mouent, vel aliquo modo laceſſiti paratam vim ac iniuriam repellunt, vel ſaltem non laceſſiti, propter obſidentem hoſtem metu in armis eſſe coguntur: Non ſecus Apollini militantes: alij animo nequaquam bono, Philoſophico ſeu verius Chriſtiano, ad ſcribendum feruntur: puta qui gloriæ cupiditate, qui liuore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios ſugillant, vt ipſi potiores habeantur, nunc in perſonam, nomen ac famam alicuius, nunc in gentem totam ſtylum acuentes, atque impudenter quaſi mentiendo, inſontem nationem & populós commaculantes: Alij verò contrà, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando inueſtigant & in lucem emittunt; vt qui ſcientiam Theologicam & Philoſophicam ſcriptis mandarunt, quíque ſuis vigilijs veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt: qui quicquid in illis obſcurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduerterunt, vſu & experientia duce illuſtrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt: qui mundi hiſtorias, bona fide, æternæ memoriæ conſecrarunt: qui linguarum cognitionem ſuis indefeſſis laboribus iuuerunt: denique qui aliorum in ſe ſuamue gentem vel patriam, licentioſam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quaſi vim iniuſtam propulſare annixi ſunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui diuinæ Palladi nomen dederunt, longè infimus (vt id ingenuè de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certè non poſſum, quin me in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis ſuæ maculam abluere, veritatem ipſam aſſerere, & conuitiantium iugum detrectare ſtuduerunt: Maiora ingenio ſors denegauit: Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipſius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patriæ, quam extraneos nonnullos falſis rumoribus deformare, varijs conuitijs, magna cum voluptate proſcindere, aliíſq; nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantiæ occurrere, & criminationes falſas, detectis ſimul ſcriptorum de hac Inſula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus ſui ſemper ſimile, falſi & vanitenaciſſimum, non eſt quòd ſperem me ab hac inueterata opinione abducere poſſe) diluere hoc commentariolo decreui.

Etſi autem Iſlandia multos habet, vt ætate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longè ſuperiores, ideóq; ad hanc cauſam patriæ ſuſcipiendam multò magis idoneos: Ego tamen optimi & clariſſimi viri, Dom. *Gudbrandi Thorlacij*, Epiſcopi Holenſis, apud Iſlandos, ſollicitationibus motus communi cauſæ, pro viribus, nequaquam deeſſe volui, tum ut æquiſſimæ poſtulationi ipſius parerem, atque amorem & ſtudium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquos ſympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum ſcientia fœlicius verſatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione vlterius progreſſos, ad hoc gentis noſtræ patrocinium inuitarem: Tantum abeſt, vt ijs qui idem conabuntur, obſtaculo eſſe voluerim.

Cæterum vt ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicunque ſunt noſtræ gentis obtrectatores, teſtimonio ſcripto ſe vti ac niti iactitant: videndum omnino eſt, quidnam de Iſlandia, & quàm vera ſcriptores prodiderint, vt ſi fortè iſti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occaſionem dederint, patefactis ipſorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quàm meritò nos calumnientur, reliquis planum fiat. Porrò, quamuis vetuſtiorum quorundam ſcripta de hac Inſula, ad veritatis & experientiæ normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui ſacra eſt memoria, reuerenda dignitas, ſuſpicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam ſtudium: Nouitij verò, ſi qui ſunt id genus ſcriptores, aut verius paſquilli, cum ijs longè veriora quàm ſcripſerant, audire & noſſe de Iſlandia licuerit, ſua leuitate & ingenio malè candido, nihil niſi inuidiæ & calumniæ maculam lucrati eſſe videbuntur.

Commentarij duæ partes.

Atque vt Commentarius hic noſter aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt propoſitæ orationis capita, vnum de Inſula, de incolis alterum: quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in noſtris manibus verſantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam vltra has metas vagari, vel plura quàm hæc ipſa, & quæ huc pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex profeſſo Hiſtoricum vel Geographum ſed diſputatorem tantùm agimus. Itaque omiſſa longiore præfatione partem primam, quæ eſt de ſitu, nomine, miraculis, & alijs quibuſdam adiunctis Inſulæ, aggrediamur.

Primæ partis tractatio.

SECTIO PRIMA.

Inſula Iſlandia, quæ per immenſum à cæteris ſecreta longè ſita eſt in Oceano, vixq́ à nauigantibus agnoſcitur, &c.

Munſt. lib. 4. Coſmograph.

ETſi hæc tractare, quæ ipſam terram vel illius adiuncta ſeu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas à calumniantium morſu vindicandos parùm faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primùm, & quidem prolixiùs aliquantò agendum eſt, vt perſpecto, quàm vera de hac re tradant illi Iſlandiæ ſcriptores, facilè inde candidus Lector, in ijs quæ de Incolis ſcripta reliquerunt, quæq́ue ab illis alij, tanquam Dijs prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde ſua in gentem noſtram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet.

Primum igitur diſtantiam Iſlandiæ à reliquis terris non immenſam eſſe, nec tantam, quanta vulgò putatur, ſi quis inſulæ longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facilè demonſtrari poſſet. Non enim id alio, quàm iſto cognoſci exactè poſſe modo exiſtimârim, cum nulli dubium ſit, quàm ſemper nautarum vel rectiſſimus, vt illis videtur, curſus aberret. Quare varias authorum de ſitu Iſlandiæ ſententias ſubiungam, vt inde quiuis de diſtantia id colligat, quod maximè veriſimile videbitur, donec fortè aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque ſententiam ſi non interponam, tamen adiungam.

Munſterus *Iſlandiam collocat*	*Longit.*		*Latitud.*	
ſub gradibus ferè	20		68.	
Gerardus *Mercator*	352		68.	
Gemma Friſius:				
Medium Iſlandiæ:	7.	0	65.	30
Herſee:	7.	40	60.	42
Thirtes:	5.	50	64.	44
Nadar:	6.	40	57.	20
Iacobi Ziegleri:				
Littus Iſlandiæ Occident.	20.		63.	
Chos promontorium:	22.	46	63.	
Latus orientale extenditur cõtra Septentrionem: & finis extenſionis habet	30.		68.	
Latus ſeptentrionale contra occidentem extenditur, & finis extenſionis habet	28.		69.	
Lateris Occidentalis deſcriptio.				

Heckelfel promontorium	25.	67.
Madher promontorium	21.20	65.10
Ciuitates in ea mediterraneæ ſunt		
Holen Epiſcopalis	28.	67. 50
Schalholten Epiſcopalis	22	63. 30
Reinholdus.		
Per Holen Iſlandiæ.		68.
Ioh. Myritius.		
Per Med. Iſlandiæ.		69. ½
Neander.		
Iſlandia tribus gradibus in circulum vſque Arcticum ab æquinoctiali excurrit, adeò ferè, vt mediam circulus ille ſecet, &c.		

Et ſi qui ſunt præterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui ſuis ſcriptis Inſulæ ſitum notarunt, quorum plures ſententias referre nihil attinet, cum quò plures habeas, eò magis diſſidentes reperias. Ego quamuis veriſimiles coniecturas habeo, cur nullæ citatæ de Iſlandiæ ſitu ſententiæ aſſentiar, quin potius diuerſum quippiam ab ijs omnibus ſtatuam, tamen id ipſum in dubio relinquere malo, quàm quicquam non exploratum ſatis affirmare, donec, vt dixi, fortè aliquando non coniecturam, ſed obſeruationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

Diſtantiam ab oſtio Albis ad portum Iſlandię meridionalis Batzende, quidam ſcripſerat eſſe circiter 400. milliarium: Vnde ſi longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgenſem ſupputaueris, nullam modò poſitarum longitudinum habebit illo in loco Iſlandia. Ego ternis Hamburgenſium nauigationibus docere poſſum, ſeptimo die Hamburgum ex Iſlandia peruentum eſſe. Præterea etiam, Inſulæ quæ ab ouium multitudine Færeyjar, ſeu rectius Faareyjar dictæ ſunt, bidui nauigatione, vt & littora Noruagiæ deſerta diſtant. Quatridui verò nauigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari ferè temporis interuallo, ad prouinciam Noruagiæ Stad. inter opida Nidroſiam & Bergas ſitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetuſtis codicibus reperimus.

Bidui nauigatio ab Iſlandia ad Noruagiam deſertam.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Munſterus, Olaus magnus: & reliqui.

In hac, æſtiuo ſolſtitio, ſole ſignum Cancri tranſeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solſtitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadianus. In ea autem Inſula quæ longe ſupra Arcticum circulum in ampliſſimo Oceano ſita eſt, Iſlandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas Entgronlandt *vocant, menſes ſunt plures ſine noctibus.*

NVllum eſſe hyemali ſolſtitio diem, id eſt, tempus quo ſol ſupra horizontem conſpicitur in illo tantum Iſlandiæ angulo, ſi modò quis eſt, fatemur, vbi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, quæ eſt ſedes Epiſcopalis Borealis Iſlandiæ, ſita etiam in anguſtiſſima & profundiſſima conualle, latitudo eſt circiter grad. 65. 44. min. vt à Domino *Gudbrando* eiuſdem loci Epiſcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuiſſimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Iſlandia longiorem, vt ex artificum tabulis videre eſt. Vnde conſtat nec Iſlandiam vltra Arcticum circulum poſitam eſſe, nec menſes plures noctibus in æſtiuo, vel diebus in brumali ſolſtitio carere.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Munſterus. Saxo.

Nomen habet à glacie quæ illi perpetuo ad Boream adhæret. Item. A latere Occidentali Noruagiæ Inſula, quæ Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfuſa Oceano reperitur, obſoletæ admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hæc eſt Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata.

Snelandia.

N*Omen habet à glacie)* Tria nomina conſequenter ſortita eſt Iſlandia. Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuiſſe creditur *Naddocus* genere Noruagus, cũ verſus inſulas Farenſes nauigaret tēpeſtate valida, ad littora Iſlandiæ Orientalis fortè appulit: vbi cum fuiſſet aliquot ſeptimanas cum ſocijs commoratus, animaduertit immodicam niuium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque ideò à niue nomen Inſulæ *Snelandia* indidit. Hunc ſecutus alter, *Gardarus*, fama quam de Iſlandia *Naddocus* attulerat impulſus, Inſulam quæſitum abijt, reperit, & nomen de ſuo nomine *Gardarsholme* id eſt, *Gardars* Inſula impoſuit, Quin & plures nouam terram viſendi cupido inceſſit: nam & poſt illos duos adhuc tertius quidam *Noruagus* (Floki nomen habuit) contulit ſe in Iſlandiam, illiq; à glacie qua viderat ipſam cingi nomen fecit.

Obſoletæ admodum) Ego ex iſtis verbis Saxonis hanc ſententiam nequaquam eruo, vt quidam, quòd inde ab initio habitatam eſſe Iſlandiam, ſeu vt verbo dicam, Iſlandos autocthonas dicat, cum conſtet vix ante annos 718. incoli cœptam.

874

Hæc eſt Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc ſub iudice lis eſt. Quam tamen facilè dirimi poſſe crediderim, ſi quis animaduertat, circa annum Domini 874 primùm fuiſſe inhabitatam. Niſi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipſi nomen dediſſe putant, ad Inſulam iam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetraſſe. Illud verò rurſus ſi quis neget, per me ſanè licebit, vt illud ſit quoddam quaſi ſpectaculum, dum ita in contrarias ſcinduntur ſententias. Vnus affirmat eſſe Iſlandiam. Alter quandam inſulam, vbi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, ſiue vltimam in ditione Scoti, vt *Ioannes Myritius & alij*, qui nomen illius referunt *Thylenſey*, quod etiam *Virgilius* per ſuam vltimam Thylen ſenſiſſe videtur. Siquidem ultra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos ſtatueret. Quod vel ex illo *Virgilij* Eclog. 1. apparet.

Et penitus toto diuiſos orbe Britannos. Quartus vnam ex Farenſibus. Quintus Telemarchiam *Noruagiæ*. Sextus Schrichfinniam.

Glacies Aprili aut Maio ſoluitur

Perpetuò ad Boream *adhæret.)* Illud verò, *Glaciem Inſulæ perpetuò*, vel vt paulò poſt aſſerit *Munſterus*: *Octo continuis menſibus adhærere:* neutrum verum eſt. Nam vt plurimum in menſe Aprili aut Maio ſoluitur, & Occidentem verſus propellitur, nec ante Ianuarium aut Februarium ſæpiſſimè etiam tardius redit. Quid? quòd plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam huius nationis immite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Iſlandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum eſt. Vnde conſtat quàm verè à *Friſio* ſcriptum ſit, *nauigationem ad hanc inſulam tantùm quadrimeſtrem patere, propter glaciem & frigora, quibus intercludatur iter*, Cùm Anglicæ naues quotannis nunc in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quædam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Iunio, plærumque ad nos redeant, & harum quædam non ante Auguſtum iterum hinc ſoluant. Superiore autem anno 1591. quædam nauis Germanica, cupro onuſta, portum Iſlandiæ Vopnafiord 14. dies circiter in Nouembri occupauit, quibus lapſis inde fœliciter ſoluit. Quare cum glacies Iſlandiæ, nec perpetuò, neque octo menſibus adhæreat, *Munſterus* & *Friſius* manifeſtè falluntur.

SECTIO

SECTIO QVARTA.

Tam grandis Inſula, vt populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus, Situs Inſulæ extenditur inter auſtrum & boream ducentorum prope Schænorum longitudine.

Kranzius. Munſterus.

G*Randis.)* Wilſtenius quidam, rector Scholæ OLDENBVRGENSIS Anno 1591. ad auunculum meum in Iſlandia Occidentali miſit breuem commentarium, quem ex ſcriptorum rapſodijs de Iſlandia collegerat. Vbi ſic reperimus: *Iſlandia duplo maior Sicilia, &c.* Sicilia autem ſecundum *Munſterum* 150. milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet. Noſtræ verò Inſulæ ambitus etſi nobis non eſt exactè cognitus, tamen vetus & conſtans opinio, & apud noſtrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Iſlandiæ inſigniora, quæ ſingula 12. inter ſe milliaribus diſtent, aut circiter, quæ collecta prædictam ſummam oſtendunt.

Magnitudo Iſlandiæ.

Populos multos) Gyſſerus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090. Epiſcopus *Schalholtenſis* in Iſlandia, omnes Inſulæ colonos ſeu ruſticos qui tantas facultates poſſiderent, vt regi tributum ſoluere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum fœminis & promiſcuo vulgo omiſſis) luſtrari curauit, reperítque in parte Inſulæ Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa ſoluentium. Iam ſi quis experiatur, inueniet Inſulam plus dimidio fuiſſe inhabitatam.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Inſula multa ſui parte montoſa eſt & inculta. Qua parte autem plana eſt præſtat plurimùm pabulo, tam læto, vt pecus depellatur à paſcuis, ne ab aruina ſuffocetur.

Munſt. Friſius, Ziegler.

ID ſuffocationis periculum nullo teſtimonio, nec noſtra nec patrum noſtrorum, vel quàm longè retrò numeraris, memoria confirmari poteſt.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Sunt in hac Inſula montes elati in cœlum, quorum vertices perpetua niue candent, radices ſempiterno igne æſtuant. Primus Occidentem verſus eſt, qui vocatur Hecla, alter Crucis, tertius Helga. Item Zieglerus. *Rupes ſiue promontorium Hecla æſtuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Inſula mons eſt, qui rupem ſideream perpetuæ flagrationis æſtibus imitatus, incendia ſempiterna iugi flammarum eructatione continuat.*

Munſt. Friſius.

MIracula Iſlandiæ *Munſterus* & *Friſius* narraturi mox in veſtibulo, magno ſuo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hîc de monte Hecla aſſerunt, etſi aliquam habet veritatis ſpeciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo igne æſtuantibus dicunt, manifeſtè erroneum eſt. Illi enim in Iſlandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto ſcriptorum errori occaſionem dederit, imaginari poſſumus. Facta tamen eſt, ſed nunc demum Anno 1581. ex monte quodam auſtralis Iſlandiæ, maritimo, perpetuis niuibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flammæ eruptio, magna ſaxorum ac cineris copia eiecta. Cæterum ille mons longè eſt ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diuerſiſſimus. Porrò etſi hæc de montibus ignitis maximè vera narrarent, annon naturaliter iſta contingerent? An ad extruendam illam, quæ mox in *Munſtero, Zieglero* & *Friſio* ſequitur, de orco Iſlandico opinionem aliquid faciunt? Ego ſanè nefas eſſe duco, his vel ſimilibus naturæ miraculis ab abſurda aſſerenda abuti, vel hæc tanquam impoſſibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quaſi verò non concurrant in huiuſmodi incendijs cauſæ ad hanc rem ſatis validæ. Eſt in horum montium radicibus materia vri aptiſſima, nempe ſulphurea & bituminoſa. Accedit aër per poros ac cauernas in terræ viſcera ingreſſus, ac illum maximi incendij fomitem exſufflans vnà cum nitro, qua exſufflatione tanquam follibus quibuſdam, ardentiſſima excitaur flamma. Habet ſiquidem ignis, his ita conenientibus, quæ tria ad vrendum ſunt neceſſaria, materiam ſcilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam ideóque flammas diuturnas alentem: Motum præſtat per terræ cauernas admiſſus aër: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis inuicta, ſine reſpiraculo eſſe neſcientis, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non ſecus ac in cuniculis machiniſue ſeu tormentis bellicis, globi è ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac ſtrepitu, à ſulphure & nitro, è quibus pyrius puluis conficitur, excitato, eijciuntur) lapides & Saxa in iſta voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, colliquefacta cum immodica arenæ & cinerum copia, exſpuentis & eiaculantis, idque vt plurimum, non ſine terræmotu: qui ſi ſecundum profunditatem terræ fiat, ſuccuſſio à Poſſidoneo appellatur, vel hiatus erit, vel pulſus.

Lib.2.cap.20. Hiatu terra dehiſcit: pulſu eleuatur intumeſcens, & nonunquam, vt inquit *Plinius*, moles magnas egerit: Cuiuſmodi terræmotus iam mentionem fecimus, maritima Iſlandiæ Auſtralis Anno 1581 infeſtantis, quíque à Pontano his verbis ſcitiſſimè deſcribitur.

Ergo incerta ferens raptim veſtigia, anhelus
Spiritus incurſat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc,
Explorátque abitum inſiſtens, & ſingula tentat,
Si quâ forte queat victis erumpere clauſtris.
Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam
Terra, ſuis quatiens latas cum mœnibus vrbes:
Diſſiliunt auulſa iugis immania ſaxa, &c.

Hæc addere libuit, non quòd cuiquam hæc ignota eſſe exiſtimemus; Sed ne nos alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad ſuas fabulas, quas hinc exſtruunt, confugere velle.

Cæterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam ſcriptoribus moueat, in his, quos ignoranter fingunt, tribus Iſlandiæ montibus, videlicet cum eorum baſin ſemper ardere dicant, ſummitates tamen nunquã niue careant. Porrò id admirari, eſt præter authoritatem tãtorum virorum, quibus Ætnę incendium optimè notum erat, quæ, cùm ſecundum *Plinium* hybernis temporibus niualis ſit, noctibus tamen, eodem teſte, ſemper ardet. Quare etiam ſecundũ illos, ille mons, cum adhuc niuium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat, ſordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod Heclæ propter niues in ſummo vertice & baſin æſtuantem, adſcribere non dubitarunt. Vix autem mirum eſſe poteſt, quòd ignis montis radicibus latens, & nunquã, niſi rariſſimè erumpens, excelſa montis cacumina, quæ niuibus obducuntur, non colliquefaciat. Nam & in *Caira*, altiſſima montis cacumina niuibus ſemper cãdentia eſſe perhibentur: & in *Beragua* quidem ſimiliter, ſed 5000 paſſuum in cœlum elata, quæ niuibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantùm decem ab æquatore diſtent. Vtrámq; hanc prouinciam iuxta Pariam eſſe ſitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Teneriffæ (quæ una eſt ex inſulis Canarijs, quæ & Fortunatæ) pyramis, ſecundum *Munſterum*, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altitudine in aëra aſſurgens, atq; inſtar Aetnæ iugiter conflagrans, niues, quibus media cingitur, teſte *Benzone* Italo, Indiæ occidentalis Hiſtorico, non reſoluit. Quod ipſum in noſtra Hecla quid eſt, quod magis miremur? Atque hæc ita breuiter de incendiis montanis. Cardanus.

Nunc illud qnoq; caſtigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in cœlum vſq; attolli ſcribant. Habent enim nullã præ cæteris Iſlandiæ montibus notabilem altitudinem: Præcipuè tertius ille Helga à *Munſtero* appellatus, nobis Helgafel. i. Sacer mons, apud monaſterium eiuſdẽ nominis, nulla ſui parte tempore æſtiuo niuibus obductus, nec montis excelſi, ſed potius collis humils nomen meretur, nunquã, vt initio huius ſectionis dixi, de incendio ſuſpectus. Nec verò perpetuę niues Heclæ, vel paucis alijs adſcribi debebant: Permultos enim habet eiuſmodi mõtes niuoſos Iſlandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facilè collegerit aut connumerarit, horum prædicator & admirator Coſmographus. Quin etiam id non ngligendum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem verſus, vt à *Munſtero* & *Zieglero* annotatum eſt, ſed inter meridiem & orientem poſitus ſit. Nec promontorium eſt: ſed mons ferè mediterraneus.

Incendia perpetua iugi, &c. Quicunq; perpetuam flammarum eructationem Heclæ adſcripſerunt, toto cœlo errarunt, adeò, vt quoties flammas eructârit, noſtrates in annales retulerint, viz. anno Chriſti 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit, vſque ad annum 1558. quæ vltima fuit in illo monte eruptio. Interea non nego, fieri poſſe, quin mons infernè latentes intus flammas & incendia alat, quæ videlicet ſtatis interuallis, vt hactenus annotatum eſt, eruperint, aut etiam forte poſthac erumpant. Annales Iſlandię.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Friſius. Munſt. *Montis Heclæ flamma nec ſtuppam lucernarum luminibus aptiſſimam adurit, neque aqua extinguitur: Eóque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi eijciuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & ſulphuris commixtione. Is locus à quibuſdam putatur carcer ſordidarum animarum, Item* Zieglerus. *Is locus eſt carcer ſordidarum animarum.*

NEc *ſtuppam adurit.*) Vnde habeant Scriptores, non ſatis conijcitur. Hæc enim noſtris hominibus prorſus ignota, nec hîc vnquam, niſi prodidiſſent illi, audita fuiſſent. Nemo enim eſt apud nos tam temerariæ curioſitatis, vt huius rei periculum, ardente monte, facere auſit, vel quod ſcire licuit, vnquã auſus fuerit. Quod tamen *Munſterus* aſſerit. *Qui, inquit, naturam tanti incendij contẽplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos vna aliqua vorago viuos abſorbet, &c.* Quæ res, vt dixi, noſtræ genti eſt ignota prorſus. Exſtat tamen liber veteri Noruagorum lingua ſcriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aëris, &c. miracula aliquot con-fuſa reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana &falſa. Vnde facile apparet, à Sophis quibuſdam, ſi dijs placet, in Papatu olim eſſe conſcriptum: *Speculum Regale* nomen dederunt, propter vaniſſima mendacia, quibus totus, ſed plærumque ſub religionis & pietatis prætextu (quo difficilius eſt fucum agnoſcere) ſcatet ſpeculum minimè regale, ſed *Anile & Irregulare*. In hoc ſpeculo figmenta quædam de Heclæ incendio, his quæ nunc tractamus non multum diſſimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quàm hæc ſtabilita, ideóque explodenda.

Speculum Regale

Cæterum ne audaculus videar, qui ſpeculum illud Regale mendacij accuſem; nullum verò ex his quę minus credibilia affert, recenſeam; Accipe horum pauca Lector, quæ fidem minimè mereri exiſtimarim.

1 De quadam Inſula Hyberniæ; quæ templum & Parochiam habet: Cuius incolæ decedentes non inhumantur: ſed ad aggerem ſeu parietem cœmeterij, viuorum inſtar erecti, conſiſtunt perpetuò: Nec vlli corruptioni, nec ruinæ, obnoxij: vt poſterûm quiuis ſuos maiores ibi quærere & conſpicere poſſit.

2 De altera Hyberniæ Inſula, vbi homines emori nequeant.

3 . De omni terrâ & omnibus arboribus Hyberniæ, quæ omnibus omninò venenis reſiſtant, ſerpentes & alia venenata, vbiuis terrarum, ſolâ virtute & præſentiâ, etiam ſine contactu, enecent.

4 De tertia Hyberniæ Inſula: Quòd hæc dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta ſit. In dimidiam vero propter templum ibidem exſtructum, iuris habeant nihil, licet & paſtore (vt tota Inſula incolis) & ſacris perpetuò careat: idque per naturam ita eſſe.

5 De quarta Hyberniæ Inſula, quæ in lacu quodam ſatis vaſto fluitet: cuius gramina, quibuſuis morbis præſentiſſimum remedium exiſtant: Inſula verò ripam lacus ſtatis temporibus accedat, idque vt plurimum, diebus Dominicis, vt tum quiuis facilè eam veluti nauim quandam, ingrediatur: id quod tamen pluribus ſimul, per fatum licere negat. Hanc vero Inſulam ſeptimo quoque anno ripæ adnaſci tradit, vt à continente non diſcernas: In eius autem locum mox ſuccedere alteram, priori, naturâ, magnitudine & virtute conſimilem: quæ vnde veniat, neſciri: idque cum quodam quaſi tonitru contingere.

6 De venatoribus Noruegiæ, qui lignum domare (ſic enim loquitur, quantumuis impropriè: cùm ligno vt non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeò docti ſint, vt aſſeres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelſis montibus, promoueant, vt non modò canum venaticorum, aut caprearum curſu, ſed etiam auium volatu ſuperari nequeant: atque vnico curſu, vnico etiam haſtæ ictu, nouem vel plures capreas feriant. Hæc & ſimilia, de Hybernia, Norvegia, Iſlandia, Gronlandia, de aquæ & aëris etiam miraculis, centonum ille magiſter, in ſuum ſpeculum collegit: Quibus, licet ſuis admirationem, vulgo ſtuporem, nobis tamen riſum concitauit.

Gronlandia.

Sed Friſium audiamus. *Flamma*, inquit, *Montis Heclæ nec ſtuppam, lucernarũ luminibus aptiſſimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur*. Atqui, inquam, ex Schola veſtra Philoſophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Phyſici, *commune eſſe validioribus flammis omnibus vt ſiccis extinguantur, alantur verò humidis: Vnde etiam fabri, aqua inſperſa, ignem excitare ſolent. Cùm enim, aiunt, ardentior fuerit ignis, à frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, quorum vtrumq; aquæ ineſt. Item: Aqua ſolet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipſum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec à circumfuſo fumo abſumitur, ſed totum ignis ipſe depaſcitur, quò purior inde factus, ac ſimul collectus, à frigido alacrior inde redditur. Vnde etiam ignes artificioſi aqua minimè extinguibiles. Item: Sunt ſulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, quæ ſponte ardent, quorum flamma aqua minimè extinguitur.* Prodidit etiam Philoſophus, *Aqua ali ignem*. Ariſt. 3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2. Nat. Hiſtor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. *In Nymphæo exit è Petra flamma, quę aquâ accenditur*. Idem, *Viret æternum contexens fontem igneum fraxinus*. Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis exiſtere, vt Thraſumenum lacum in agro Peruſino arſiſſe totum, idem autor eſt. Et anno 1226, & 1236. non procul à promontorio Iſlandiæ Reykianes, flamma ex ipſo mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuiſſe, vt Seruio Tullio dormienti, è capite flammam exſilijſſe: Et L. Martium in Hiſpania, interfectis Scipionibus, concionem ſeu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad vltionem exhortantem, conflagraſſe, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius flammæ montanæ, quæ vt aqua accendatur, ita terra aut fœno extinguatur. Item, Alterius campeſtris, quę frondem denſi ſupra ſe nemoris non adurat. Quæ cum ita ſint, mirum, homines id in ſolà Heclâ mirari (ponam enim iam ita eſſe, cum non ſit tamen, quòd à quoquam ſcire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus ſeu locis, tam montanis, quàm campeſtribus, cum ea commune eſſet.

Chronica Iſlandię

Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munſterus. *Mons ipſe cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua inſonat, proycit ingentia Saxa, ſulphur euomit, cineribus egeſtis, tam longè terram circumcirca operit,*

Friſius.

operit, vt ad viceſimum lapidem coli non poſſit, &c. Cæterum oportuit potius cum Ætnâ, aut alijs montibus flammiuomis, quos mox recitabo, comparaſſe, cum non deeſſet, non modò ſimile, ſed prope idem: Niſi fortè quòd incendia rarius ex Heclâ erumpant, quàm alijs id genus montibus. Nam proximis 34. annis prorſus quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An. 1558 vt ſuperius annotauimus. Et nihil tam magnificè dici poteſt de noſtra Hecla, quin idem, vel maius cæteris montibus flammiuomis competat, vt mox apparebit. Quòd verò ſulphur eiaculetur, manifeſtum eſt commentum, nullo experimento apud noſtrates cognitum.

Is locus eſt carcer ſordidarum animarum. Hîc præfandum eſſe mihi video, atque veniam à Lectore petendam, quòd, cum initio propoſuerim, de terra & incolis diuiſim agere, in hac prima parte tamen, quæ ſunt meritò ſecundæ partis, miſcere cogar. Euenit hoc ſcriptorum culpa, qui Inſulæ ſitui ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam vt hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur iſthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Hiſtoria poſitum eſſe? Quis non miretur, viros ſapientes eò perduci, vt hæc vulgi deliramenta auſcultent, nedum ſequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluuies nautica, (hîc enim ſaniores omnes, tam inter nautas quam reliquos, excipio,) de hoc inſolito naturæ miraculo audiens, ingenito ſtupore ad iſtam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam ſubſterni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domeſticis focis fieri conſueuit. Atque hac perſuaſione vulgi fama inoleuit, dum (vt ad maledicta optimè aſſuefactum eſt) vnus alteri huius montis incendium imprecatur. Quaſi verò ignis elementaris & materiatus ac viſibilis, animas, i. ſubſtantias ſpirituales comburat. Quis denique non miretur, cur eundem carcerē damnatorum, non in Ætnâ etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendijs celebri, confingant? At confinxit, dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur eſt. Sit ſanè: Eadem igitur huius carceris veritas, quæ & purgatorij. Sed priuſquā longius procedamus, libet hîc referre fabulam perlepidam, huius opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum naui Iſlandiam relinquenti, & turgidis velis, citiſſimo curſu iter ſuum rectà legenti, factam obuiam alteram, ſimiliter impigro curſu, ſed contra vim tempeſtatum, velis & remis nitentem: cuius præfectus rogatus, quinam eſſent? Reſpondiſſe fertur: De Biſchop van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom Heckelfeldt tho, Thom Heckelfeldt tho. Hæc videns Lector vereor, ne peluim poſtulet dari: Eſt enim mendacium adeo deteſtandum, vt facilè nauſeam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynoſarges & ranas paluſtres: illud enim eiuſdē facimus atq; illarū coax, coax. Nec verò dignum eſt hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum inſanis Papiſtis nugari: Quin potius ad ſcriptores noſtros conuertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hîc, clariſſimi viri, D. Caſparis Peuceri, illud præterire. *Eſt in Iſlandia,* inquit, *mons Hecla, qui immanis barathri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, eiulantium miſerabili & lamentabili ploratu perſonat, vt voces plorantium circumquaq;, ad interuallum magni milliaris, audiantur. Circumuolitant hunc coruorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, quæ nidulari ibidē ab incolis exiſtimantur. Vulgus incolarum deſcenſum eſſe per voraginem illam ad inferos perſuaſum habet: Inde, cum prælia committuntur alibi in quacunq; parte orbis terrarum, aut cædes fiunt cruenta, commoueri horrendos circumcirca tumultus, & excitari clamores, atq; eiulatus ingentes longâ experientia didicerunt.* Quis verò rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctiſſime perferre auſus fuit? Nec enim vultures habet Iſlandia, ſed genus aquilarum ſecundum, quod ab albicante caudâ Plinius notauit, & Pygarſum appellauit. Nec vlli ſunt huius ſpectaculi apud nos teſtes: Nec deniq; ibidem coruos aut aquilas nidificare probabile eſt, quæ, igni & fumo ſemper inimiciſſimo, potius à focis vel incendijs arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei teſtimonium, *(vt & exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,)* experientiam incolarum allegant, quæ certè contraria omnia teſtatur. Vnde verò foramen vel feneſtra illa montana, per quam clamores, ſtrepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, periæcos & antæcos factos exaudiremus? De quâ re multa eſſent, quæ authorem iſtius mendacij interrogatum haberem, modò quid de illo nobis conſtaret: qui vtinam veriora narrare diſcat, nec tam perfrictâ fronte ſimilia, incomperta, atq; adeò incredibilia, clariſſimo viro Peucero, aut alijs referre præſumat.

Aſt verò Munſterus cum incendij tanti & tam incredilis cauſſas in famoſiſſimâ Ætna inueſtigare conatus ſit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hîc verò præternaturalē imo infernalem faciat, an non monſtri ſimile eſt? Cæterùm de Æthnâ quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Heclæ incendio aliâs ſentiat Munſterus.

Munſterus Coſmograph vniuerſal. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Dubium non eſt, inquit, *montes olim & campos arſiſſe in orbe terrarum: Et noſtra quidem ætate ardent. Verbi gratia: In Iſlandia mons Hecla ſtatis temporibus foras proycit ingentia Saxa, euomit ſulphur ſpargit cineres, tam longè circumcirca, vt terra ad viceſimum lapidem coli non poſſit. Vbi autem montiū incendia perpetua ſunt, intelligimus nullam eſſe obſtructionem meatuum, per quos modò,* *quaſi fluuium quendam,ignes,modò flammas,nunc verò fumum tantùm euomunt. Sin per temporum interualla increſcunt,internis meatibus obturatis, eius viſcera nihilominus ardent. Superioris autem partis incendia,propter fomitis inopiam,non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Aſt vbi ſpiritus vehementior, rurſus recluſis meatibus iiſdem vel alijs,ex carcere magnâ vi erumpit,cineres,arenam,ſulphur,pumices,maſſas,quæ habent ſpeciem ferri, ſaxa,aliaſq; materias foras proijcit, plerunq; non ſine detrimento regionis adiacentis.* Hæc Munſterus. Vbi videas quæſo Lector, quomodo ſuo ſe iugulet gladio,videas inquam hîc eâdem de incendio Heclæ & AEtnæ opinionem & ſententiam, quæ tamen lib.4.eiuſdem,admodum eſt diſpar,vt illic ad cauſas infernales confugiat.

Habet profectò Indię occidentalis mons quidam flammiuomus æquiores multò,quàm hic noſter,cenſores & hiſtoricos,minimè illic barathrum exædificantes: Cuius hiſtoriam, quia & breuis eſt,& non illepida,ſubijciam,ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Hiſtoriar.noui orbis,lib.2. his verbis deſcriptam.

Triginta quinq;,inquit,*milliarium interuallo abeſt Legione mons flammiuomus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos ſæpe flammarum globos eructat,vt noctu latiſſimè vltra 10000. paſſuum incendia reluceant. Nonnullis fuit opinio,intus liquefactum aurum eſſe,perpetuam ignibus materiam. Itaq; Dominicanus quidam monachus,cum eius rei periculum facere vellet, ahenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat,moxq; in montis iugum cum quatuor alijs Hiſpanis aſcendens,catenam cum aheno ad centum quadraginta vlnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis feruore,ahenum cum parte catenæ liquefactum eſt. Monachus non leuiter iratus Legionem recurrit,fabrum incuſat,quòd catenam tenuiorem multò,quàm iuſſiſſet ipſe,eſſet fabricatus. Faber aliam multo craſſiorem excudit. Monachus montem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incœpto ſimilem exitum habuit. Nec tantùm reſolutus lebes euanuit,verū etiā flammæ globus repentè è profundo exſiliens, propemodū & Fratrem & ſocios abſumpſit. Omnes quidem adeo perculſi in vrbem reuerſi ſunt,vt de eo incœpto exequendo nunquam deinceps cogitarent,&c.*

O quam cenſura diſpar? In montano Indiæ occidentalis camino aurum: Iſlandię verò,infernum quærunt. Sed hoc vt nimis recens,ac veteribus ignotum fortaſſe reijcient: Cur igitur eundē,quem in Hecla Iſlandię,animarū carcerē,in Chimæra, Lyciæ monte,cuius noctu diuq; flamma immortalis perhibetur,non ſunt imaginati ſcriptores? Cur nō in Epheſi montibus,quos tæda flāmante tactos,tantū ignis cōcipere accepimus,vt lapides quoq; & arenæ in ipſis aquis ardeāt,& ex quibus accenſo baculo,ſi quis ſulcū traxerit,riuos igniū ſequi narratur à Plinio? Cur non in Cophantro Bactrorum monte,noctu ſemper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Inſula, in medio mari ardente? Cur non in Aeolia, ſimiliter in ipſo mari olim dies aliquot aliquot accenſa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo,interdiu flagrante? Cur non in Aethiopum campis,Stellarum modo,noctu ſemper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Liparæ tumulo,ampla & profunda voragine hiante,teſte Ariſtotele,ad quē non tutò noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorū ſonitus,crotalorum boatus,cum inſolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur nō in illa ſuperius cōmemorata Teneriffę pyramide montana,inſtar Aetnæ,iugiter ardente,& lapides,vt ex Munſtero videre eſt, in aëra exſpuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum iugo, quod Plinius teſtatur,horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non denique in Veſuuio monte, non ſine inſigni vicinię clade,& C.Plinij exitiali detrimēto,dum inſueti incendij cauſas perſcrutaturus venit,nubium tenus flammas cum ſaxis euomēte, pumicum & cinerum ineffabili copiâ aëra replente,& ſolem meridianum per totam viciniam denſiſſimis tenebris intercipiente? Dicam,& dicam quod res eſt: Quia ſcilicet illis,vtpote notioribus,fidem, etſi inferni eſſe incendia finxiſſent,minimè adhiberi præuidebant: Heclę verò æſtum, cuius rumor tardius ad eorum aures peruenit, huic commento vaniſſimo ſtabiliendo, magis inſeruire putabant. Sed faceſſite: Depręhenſa fraus eſt: Deſinite poſthac illam de inferno Heklenſi opinionem cuiquam velle perſuadere. Docuit enim & nos,& alios,vobis inuitis,conſimilibus incendijs, operationes ſuas Natura,non Infernus. Sed videamus iam plura eiuſdem farinæ vulgi mendacia,quæ Hiſtoricis & Coſmographis noſtris adeò malè impoſuerunt.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Iuxta hos montes (tres prædictos Heclam,&c.) *ſunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potiſſimum, ne Lynceus quidem perſpicere queat: Sed apparent ipſum inſpicientibus,homines primùm ſubmerſi, adhuc ſpiritum exhalantes, qui amicis ſuis, vt ad propria redeant,hortantibus, magnis ſuſpirijs ſe ad montem Heclam proficiſci debere reſpondent: Sicque ſubitò euaneſcunt.* Friſius Zieglerus, Olauus Magn.

AD confirmandum ſuperius mendacium de Inferno terreſtri ac viſibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumnioſum (etſi facilè largiar,Friſium non tam calumniandi,quàm noua &

inaudita prædicandi animo iſta ſcripſiſſe) quàm falſum ac gerris Siculis longè vanius ac deteſtabilius, excogitarũt homines ignaui, nec cœlũ nec infernũ ſcientes. Quos ſcriptores iſti, viri alioqui pręclariſſimi & optimè de Repub. literaria meriti, nimiũ pręproperò iudicio ſecuti ſunt.

Cæterum optandum eſſet, nullos tanto nouitatis ſtudio Hiſtorias ſcribere, vt non vereantur aniles quaſuis nugas ijs inſerere, atq; ita aurum purũ cœno aſpergere. Qui verò demũ ſunt homines illi ſubmerſi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea, cum ſua Euridice, in Stygias relabente vndas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrumque niualem, cantus exercentem lyricos, rediuiuum dabitis? Certè, etſi nolint alij futilem huiuſmodi ineptiarum leuitatem ac mendacium agnoſcere, agnouit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens æſtimator Cardanus, lib. 18. ſubtil. cuius hæc ſunt verba.

Eſt Hecla mons in Iſlandia, ardetq; non aliter ac Ætna in Sicilia per internalla, ideoq; perſuaſione longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur animæ... Alij, ne vani ſint, affingunt inania fabulæ, vt conſona videantur. Quæ ſunt autem illa inania? Quòd ſpectra comminiſcuntur, ſe ad montem Heclam ire reſpondentia, ait idem. Et addit. *Nec in Iſlandia ſolum, ſed vbiq; licet rarò, talia contingunt:* Subditq; de laruâ homicida Hiſtoriam, quæ ſic habet. *Efferebatur, inquit, anno præterito, funus viri plebeij Mediolani, orientali in porta iuxta templum maius foro venali, quod à caulium frequentia nomen caulis noſtra lingua ſonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, vt medicorum moris eſt, quo morbo exceſſerit? Reſpondet ille: conſueſſe hunc virum hora noctis tertia à labore redire domum: Vidit lemurem nocte quadam inſequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, ocyus citato pede abibat: Sed à ſpectro captus atq; in terram proiectus videbatur. Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem, cum diu in terra cum larua volutatus eſſet, inuentus à prætereuntibus quibuſdam, ſemiviuus domum relatus, cum reſipuiſſet, interrogatus, hæc quæ minus expectabantur, retulit. Ob id animam deſpondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec ſacerdotibus perſuaderi potuiſſet, inania eſſe hæc, octo inde diebus perijt. Audiui poſtmodum & ab alijs, qui vicini eſſent illi, neminem ab inimico vulneratum tam conſtanter de illo teſtatum, vt hic, quod à mortuo fuiſſet in terram prouolutus. Cum quidam quærerent, quid ille poſtquam in terram volutaretur ageret? Conatum, inquit, mortuum adhibitis gulæ manibus, vt eum ſtrangularet: Nec obſtitiſſe quicquam, niſi quòd ſe ipſum tueretur manibus. Cum alij dubitarent, ne forte hæc à viuo paſſus eſſet, interrogarentq;, in quo mortuum a viuo ſecernere potuiſſet? Cauſſam reddidit ſatis probabilem, dicens ſe tanquam cottum attrectaſſe, nec pondus habuiſſe, niſi vt premebatur.* Et paulò poſt addit. *Eadem verò ratione, qua in Iſlandia, in arenæ ſolitudinibus Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæq;, vbi Sol ardet, eædem imagines, eadem ſpectra viatores ludificare ſolent.* Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluſerit, ſicut de Iſlandia ſcriptores noſtri faciunt, in illis Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæq; locis, carcerem exiſtere damnatorum.

Hæc ex Cardano adſcribere libuit, vt etiam extraneorum teſtimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus. Conuincit autẽ præſens Cardani locus hæc duo, ſcilicet: nec eſſe Iſlandiæ proprias ſpectrorũ apparitiones: (quod etiã omnes norunt, niſi eius rei ignorantiã nimis affectent) nec illud mortuorũ cũ viuis, in hiatu Heclenſi, colloquium, niſi ementitis hominum fabulis, quauis ampulla vanioribus, niti, quibus beluæ vulgares, ad confirmandã de animarũ cruciatibus opinionẽ, vſę fuerant. Et quiſquã eſt, qui illis ſcriptorũ hiatibus, mortuorũ miraculis ad ſummum vſque refertis, adduci poteſt vt credat? Quiſquam, qui vanitatẽ tantam non cotẽnat? Certè. Nam & hinc conuicia in gentem noſtram rectè ſumi aiunt: Nihil ſcilicet hac proiectius ac deterius eſſe vſquã, quæ intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc cõmodi nobis peperit Hiſtoricorum ad res nouas diuulgandas auiditas. Verum illa è vulgi dementia nata opinio, vt ſtulta ac inanis, & in opprobrium noſtræ gentis conficta, hactenus, vt ſpero, ſatis labefactata eſt. Quare iam perge Lector, vlterius hanc de ſecretis infernalibus Philoſophiam cognoſcere.

SECTIO NONA.

Friſius & Munſt. *Circum verò Inſulam, per ſeptem aut octo menſes fluctuat glacies, miſerabilem quendam gemitum, & ab humana voce non alienum, ex colliſione edens. Putant incolæ, & in monte Hecla, & in glacie loca eſſe, in quibus animæ ſuorum crucientur.*

EGregium ſcilicet Hiſtoriæ augmentum, de Orco Iſlandico in vnius montis baſin, haud ſanè vaſtam, coacto: Et interdum (ſtatis forſan temporibus) loca commutante. Vbi ſcilicet domi in foco mõtano deliteſcere piget, & exire, pelagúſq;, ſed ſine rate, tentare iuuat, ſeſeq; in glaciei fruſtella colligere. Audite porrò, huius ſecreti admiratores: En porrigã Hiſtoricis aliud Hiſtoriæ auctarium nequaquam contemnendum. Scribant igitur, quotquot his ſcriptorũ cõmentis adhęrent, Iſlandos non ſolùm infernum intra limites habere, ſed & ſcientes volentes ingredi, atq; intactos eodẽ die egredi. Quid ita? Quia peruetus eſt Inſulæ cõſuetudo, vt maritimi in hanc glaciem, ab Hiſtoricis infernalem factam, manè phocas, ſeu vitulos marinos captum eant, ac veſperi incolumes redeant. Addite etiam, in ſcrinijs & alijs vaſis ab Iſlandis carcerem damnatorum aſſeruari, vt paulò poſt ex Friſio audiemus.

Sed maturè prævidendum erit vobis, ne Iſlandi fortitudinis & conſtantiæ laudem veſtris nationibus præripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (vt hiſtoricis veſtris placet) barathri ſuſtinuiſſe & velint & poſſint, illáq; ſine vllo grauiore damno perrũpere atq; effugere valeant, quod quidem ipſum ex iam dictis efficitur: Et multos noſtratium enumerare poſſum, qui in ipſo venationis actu longiuſculè à littore digreſſi, glacie à Zephyris diſſipata, multa milliaria glaciei inſidẽtes, tempeſtatis violentia profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudeliſſimi pelagi fluctibus iactati, ſicque (id enim, inquam, ex præſenti Hiſtoricorum problemate conſequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti ſunt: Qui tandem mutata tempeſtate, atq; à Borea ſpirantibus ventis, ad littora, cum hoc ſuo glaciali nauigio rurſus adacti, incolumes domum peruenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitaris auidi arripiant, indeque, ſi placet, iuſtum volumen conficiant, atque ad Hiſtoriam ſuam apponant. Nec enim vaniſſima illa commenta aliter, quàm eiuſmodi iocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Cæterum, ioco ſepoſito, vnde digreſſi ſumus, reuertamur.

Primùm igitur ex ſectione ſecunda ſatis conſtat, glaciem, neque ſeptem, neque octo menſibus circa ipſam Inſulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, etſi interdum ex colliſione grandes ſonitus & fragores edit, interdum propter vndarum alluuionem, raucum murmur perſonat, quicquam tamen humanæ voci ſimile reſonare aut eiulare minimè fatemur.

Quod autem dicunt, nos *& in glacie, & in monte Hecla loca ſtatuere, in quibus animæ noſtrorũ crucientur*, Id verò ſeriò pernegamus, Deóq; ac Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, qui nos à morte & inferno eripuit, & regni cœleſtis ianuam nobis reſerauit, gratias ex animo agimus, quod nos de loco, in quem animę noſtrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quàm dicunt iſti Hiſtorici, inſtituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatorium Pontificiorum, aut campos Elyſios, ſed in ſinum Abrahæ, in manum Dei, in Paradiſum cœleſtem, mox ê corporis ergaſtulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem noſtris oculis expoſitam, deflectere, ſed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, vbi eſt fletus & ſtridor dentiũ, vbi eſt frigus, vbi eſt ignis ille, non vulgaris, ſed extra noſtrã ſcientiã & ſubtilem diſputationem poſitus. Vbi non modò corpora, ſed animæ etiam. i. ſubſtantiæ ſpirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoſo carceri non Iſlandos viciniores, quàm Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamvis aliam gentem, quoad loci ſitum, ſtatuimus. Nec de huius carceris loco ſitúue quicquã diſputare attinet: Sufficit nobis abundè, quòd illius tenebricoſum fœtorem & reliqua tormẽta, dante & iuuante Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, cuius precioſo ſanguine redempti ſumus, nunquam ſimus viſuri aut ſenſuri. Atque hîc de orco Iſlandico diſputationis colophon eſto.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Quòd ſi quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eámque vaſi aut ſcrinio incluſam, quàm diligentiſſimè aſſeruarit, illa tempore glaciei, quæ circum inſulam eſt, degelantis, euaneſcit, vt neque minima eius particula vel guttula aquæ reperiatur.

Friſius, Zieglerus Saxo fere ſimiliter.

ID profectò neceſſariò addendum fuit: Hanc ſcilicet glaciem, voces humanas, ſecundum Hiſtoricos, repreſentatem, & damnatorum receptaculum exiſtentem, non eſſe, vt reliqua in vaſtiſſima hac vniuerſitate omnia, ex Elementi alicuius materia conflatam. Siquidem cum corpus eſſe videatur, corpus tamen non ſit, (quod ex Friſij paradoxo rectè deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & ſolida perrumpat, non ſecus ac ſpectra & genij: Reſtat igitur cum non ſit elementaris naturæ, vt vel ſpiritualem habeat materiam, vel cœleſtem, vel quod ipſi forſan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen eſſe non aſſentiemur, quia ad aures noſtras peruenit frigus infernale longè eſſe intractabilius, quam eſt hęc glacies, humanis manibus in ſcrinio repoſita, nec quicquã ſuo contactu, vel nudatam carnem lædere valens. Nec profectò ſpiritualem eſſe dabimus; accepimus enim à Phyſicis, ſubſtantias ſpirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec ijs quicquam decedere poſſe: Quæ tamen omnia in hanc hiſtoricorum glaciem, quantumuis, ſecundum illos, hyperphyſicam, cadere certum & manifeſtum eſt. Præterea & hoc veriſſimum eſt, eam calore ſolis reſolutam, ac in ſuperficie ſua ſtagnantem, ſiti piſcatorum reſtinguendæ, nõ ſecus ac riuos terreſtres, inſeruire: Id quod ſubſtantiæ ſpirituali denegatũ eſt. Non eſt igitur ſpiritualis, vt nec infernalis. Iam verò cœleſtem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne forte inde aliquis ſuſpicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Hiſtorici affingũt, ſecum ê cœlo traxiſſe: Vel id cœlo, quippe eiuſdem materię cum glacie, commune eſſe, atq; ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiſo cœleſti loca commutaſſe, Hiſtoricorum culpa putetur.

Quare cum glacies hæc Hiſtorica nec ſit elementaris,vt ex præſenti loco Friſij optimè ſequi iam toties monuimus : nec ſpiritualis,nec infernalis, quod vtrumq; breuibus, ſolidis tamen,rationibus demonſtrauimus ; nec cœleſtis materiæ, quod opinari religio vetat : relinquitur omnino,vt ſecundum eoſdem Hiſtoricos nulla ſit,quam tamē illi tàm cum ſtupendâ admiratione prædicant,& nos videri ac tangi putamus. Eſt igitur,& non eſt : Quod axioma vbi ſecundum idem,& ad idem,& eodem tempore,verum eſſe poterit, nos demum miraculis iſtis glacialibus credemus. Itaq; iam vides Lector,ad hæc refellenda nullo alio eſſe opus, quàm mōſtrari quomodo ſecum diſſideant. Sed haud mirum,eum qui ſemel vulgi fabuloſis rumoribus ſe permiſit, ſæpius errare. Cuiuſmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciei huius Sympathiâ , quòd videlicet molis,cuius pars eſſet,diſceſſum inſequeretur,vt omnem obſeruationis diligentiam ineuitabili fugæ neceſſitate deciperet. Atqui ſæpe vidimus eiuſmodi ſolitariam molem poſt abactam reliquam glaciem,nullis vectibus,nullis machinis detentam,ad littus multis ſeptimanis conſiſtere. Palam eſt igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quàm eſt ipſa glacies, magis lubrico.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Friſius.

Non procul ab his montibus, (tribus prædictis) *ad maritimas oras vergentibus , ſunt quatuor fontes,diuerſiſſima naturæ. Vnus ſuo perpetuo ardore omne corpus ſibi immiſſum raptim conuertit in ſaxum,manente tamen priore formâ. Alter eſt algoris intollerabilis. Tertius vel melle dulcior, & reſtinguendæ ſiti iucundiſſimus. Quartus planè exitialis,peſtilens,& virulentus.*

ETiam hæc fontium topographia ſatis apertè monſtrat, quàm ex impuro fonte has ſuas narrationes omnes miraculoſas hauſerit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur: Montes hos tres prædictos ferè cōtinguos eſſe: Siquidē tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiſcertè adſcribit. Alioqui ſi non vicinos ſtatuiſſet, vni alicui horum , duos fontes adſcripſiſſet. Sed neque hi montes contigui ſunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem diſſiti) neque iuxta hos fontes illi quatuor repeniuntur: quod,qui credere nolit,experiatur. Cæterum ad hæc confundenda ſufficit,credo,ipſorum hiſtoricorū contrarietas. Nam de duobus fontibus quidam Friſio his verbis contradicit. *Erumpunt ex eodem monte* (Heclâ) *fontes duo,quorum alter aquarum frigiditate,alter feruore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim.* Hi duo ſunt primi illi Friſij fontes, niſi quod hîc miraculum indurandi corpora,alteri fontium attributum,omiſſum ſit. Atqui non ſimul poſſunt ex ipſo monte,& iuxta montem erumpere.

Hîc vero libenter quæſierim, quâ ratione quiſquam ex Peripateticis dicat, aliquid ipſo elemento aquæ frigidius, aut igne calidius? Vnde demum, ſcriptores, iſta frigiditas? Vnde iſte feruor? Nonne è Schola veſtra accepimus aquam eſſe elementum frigidiſſimum & humidum, atque adeò frigidiſſimum,vt ad conſtituendas qualitates ſecundas, remitti ſit neceſſe, nec ſimplicem vſibus humanis inſeruire? (Hæc ego nunc Phyſicorum oracula fundo, vera an falſa, neſcio.) Teſtis eſt vnus omnium, & pro omnibus, Iohannes Fernelius lib. 2. Phyſiologiæ, cap. 4. *Sic,inquit, qualitates hæ (quatuor primæ) quatuor rerum naturis ſummæ obtigerunt, vt quemadmodum puro igne nihil calidius,nihilque leuius : Sic terra nihil ſiccius, nihil gravius : Aquam ſinceram,nullius medicamenti vis gelida euincit , vt nec aërem, vllius humor. Summæ præterea ſic illis inſunt,vt ne minimum quidem poſſint augeſcere,remitti verò poſſint.* Nolo huc rationes ſeu argumenta Phyſicorum aggregare. Vnum profectò hîc cauendum eſt, ne dum fontium miracula prædicant ſcriptores,vt glaciem Iſlandorum,ita etiam fontes,creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adiuncta, quæ huc ſcriptores pertraxerunt, ordine perſequemur. *Primus ſuo perpetuo calore)* Plurimæ ſunt in Iſlandia thermæ ſeu fontes calidi : Pauciores ardentes: quos neque cuiquam miraculo eſſe debere exiſtimamus,cum huiuſmodi,vt a ſcriptoribus didici, paſſim abundet Germania,præcipuè in ijs locis,quæ non ſunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota eſt fama thermarum Badenſium, Gebarſuilienſium,Calbenſium,in ducatu Wirtēbergenſi,& multarum aliarum quarum meminit Fuchſius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non ſolum Germania,ſed etiam Gallia , & longè magis omnium bonorum parens Italia,inquit Cardanus. Et Ariſtoteles narrat,circa Epyrum calidas aquas ſcaturire, vnde locus pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atq; inquàm, hæc ideo minus miranda , quod vt incendij montani, ita feruoris aquei cauſſas indagarint Naturæ ſpeculatores : Aquam ſcilicet per terræ venas ſulphureas, aut aluminoſas labi, indeq; non calorem ſolùm,ſed ſaporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Ariſtoteles libro de mundo. *Continet, inquit, terra in ſe multos fontes, vt aquæ, ita & ſpiritus & ignis : Quidam amnium more fluunt, & vel igneſcens eijciunt ferrum : Nunc tepidæ aquæ erumpunt,nunc ferrentiſſimæ, nunc temperatæ.* Et Seneca : *Empedocles exiſtimabat ignibus, quos multis locis opertos tegit terra, aquam caleſcere,ſi ſubiecti ſint ſolo, per quod aquæ tranſitus eſt.* Et ſcitè de thermis Baianis Pontanus,

Lib. 3. Nat. queſt.

Baiano ſed ne fumare in littore thermas
Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:
Vulcani fora ſulphureis incenſa caminis
Ipſa monent, latè multùm tellure ſub ima
Debacchari ignem, campoſq; exurere opertos.
Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,
Vnda fugax, tectis feruent & balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratiſſimus hiſtoricus, *Iſlandiæ fontes quoſdam nunc ad ſummum excreſcere, & exũdare: Nunc adeò ſubſidere, vt vix fontes agnoſcas.* Qui etſi rariores apud nos inueniuntur, adſcribam tamen ſimiles, etiam alibi à natura productos, ne quis hîc monſtri quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Inſula vnum, qui ſemper à tertia noctis hora, in ſextam ſolſtitio æſtiuo exundet. In agro Pitinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluuium eſſe, qui omnibus Solſtitijs æſtiuis exundet, brumali tempore ſiccetur. Refert etiam de fonte quodã ſatis largo, qui ſingulis horis intumeſcat & reſidat. Nec id magis negligendum: ſubire terras flumina, rurſuſque redire: vt Lycus in Aſia, Eraſinus in Argolica, Tigris in Meſopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moſcouia: Et quæ in Æſculapij fonte Athenis immerſa ſunt, in Phaletico reddi. Et Seneca ſcribit eſſe flumina, quæ in ſpecum aliquem ſubterraneum demiſſa, ex hominum oculis ſe ſubducunt, quæ cõſumi paulatim & intercidere conſtet: Eademq; poſt interuallum reuerti, recipereq; & nomen & curſum priorem. Et iterum Plinius; fluuium in Atinate campo merſum, poſt 20 millia paſſuum exire. Quæ omnia, & his ſimilia, Iſlandiæ fontes, miraculo nullo, præ cæteris eſſe debere, oſtendunt.

Omne corpus immiſſum continuò conuertit in ſaxum. His duobus adiunctis, feruore nempe, ſeu ardore vehementiſſimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum ſuũ fontem deſcribit Friſius. Et fama quidem accepi, ipſe non ſum expertus, exiſtere ſimilem fontẽ in Iſlandia, non procul à ſede Epiſcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet ſimile Seneca, dicens, *fontẽ quendam eſſe, qui ligna in lapides conuertat, hominumq; viſcera indureſcere, qui aquam eius biberint:* Et addit eiuſmodi fontes in quibuſdam Italiæ locis inueniri: quod Ouidius Ciconum flumini tribuit 15. Metamorph.

Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum ſaxea reddit
Viſcera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: *Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu iuxta oppidum à falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpooe abietes in lapidem conuerſas eſſe, atq;, quod maius eſt, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere. Et Domitius Bruſonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis eius, qui eſt in agro vrbis Vrſentinorum olim, nunc Conturſij, lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides tranſire, non fide aliorum, ſed propria, vt qui incola ſit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius aſtipulatur) narrat, cortices autẽ lapidũ, annos numero oſtendere.* Sic (ſi ſcriptoribus credimus) guttæ Gotici fontis ſparſę lapideſcunt. Et in Vngaria, Cepuſij aqua, in vrceos infuſa, lapideſcit. Plinius refert etiam, vt in Ciconum flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, lignum deiectum, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus algoris intolerabilis. Quantum ad ſecundum fontem attinet, nullus hîc eſt quòd quiſquã ſciat, algoris intolerabilis, ſed plurimi bene frigidi, ita vt vulgaribus riuis æſtiuo ſole tepeſcentibus, non ſine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longè frigidiores fortè alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio è montis vertice fluentem riuum commemorat, niue frigidiorem: Et intra primum à Culma lapidem, Inſanam vocatum: quæ aqua cũ feruere videatur, ſit tamen longè frigidiſſima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neq; id proſus verum eſt. Non enim eſt vllus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri poſſit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures ſunt) *in Iſtandia dicit inueniri Cerealem referentes liquorem, vt* etiam ibidem non diuerſi ſaporis ſolùm, ſed diuerſi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.

Etſi autem tradunt Phyſici aquam naturaliter ex ſe neq; ſaporem neq; odorem habere, tamen, vt ſuperius attigimus, veriſimile eſt, quod alij per accidens vocant, eam ſæpe referre qualitatem terræ, in qua generatur, & per cuius venas ttanſitum atq; excurſum habet: Atq; hinc aquarum odores, colores, ſapores, alios atq; alios exiſtere. Cuiuſmodi ſunt, de quibus narrat Seneca, quorum alij famem excitent, alij bibentes inebrient, alij memoriæ officiant, alij iuuent eandem, alij vini ſaporem & virtutem repræſentent: Vt ille apud Plinium in Andro Inſula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Ian: vini ſapore fluat. Et apud Ariſtotelem fons in agro Carthaginenſi, qui oleũ præbeat, & guttulas Cedri odore repræſentet. Item, Orcus fluuius Theſſaliæ, influens in Peneum, olei inſtar ſupernatans: Cuiuſmodi etiam narrat Cardanus in Saxonia eſſe, iuxta Brunonis oppidum, fontem oleo perfuſum: Et in Sueuia, iuxta Cœnobium,

Lib. de mirab. auſcultat.

Lib. 2. de Element.

cui Tergenſche nomen eſt. Itẽ, in valle montis Iuraſſi. Cauſam huius rei putat eſſe bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum ſine dubio contineat. Idem, famam eſſe ait, in Cardia, iuxta locũ Daſchyli, in campo albo aquam eſſe lacte dulciorem. Aliã quoq; iuxta pontem, qua Valbeburgum itur. Iam aquarũ vini ſaporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
Vnde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

Eſt autem Naxus Inſula vna ex Cycladibus, in mari Ægeo. Cauſam huius aſſignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetuſtate tranſeat in vinum. Ariſtoteles commemorat Siciliæ fontem, quo incolæ loco aceti vtantur. Idem ſaporum aquæ cauſam in calorem retulit, quòd terra excocta mutet & præbeat ſaporem aquæ.

Iam de aquæ coloribus ita Cardanus. *Eadem eſt ratio colorum aquæ, ait, quæ & ſaporum: videlicet à terra originem trahere. Nam Candida eſt aqua, ad ſecundum lapidem à Glauca, Miſenæ oppido: Rubea, vt in Radera Miſenæ fluuio, iuxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Iudæa iuxta Ioppen: Viridis, in Carpato monte, iuxta Neuſolam: Cærulea aut blaua, inter Feltrium & Taruiſium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuiſſe referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluuio Saxoniæ, vbi in Viſurgim ſe exonerat. Cauſſæ ſunt argillæ colores, ſed tenuiores.* Item Ariſtoteles: circa Iapygiam promontoriũ, eſſe fontem, qui ſanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem ſuo fœtore nauigantes procul arcere. Aiunt præterea in Idumæa fontem eſſe, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum ſit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc ſanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odore ſic Cardanus. *Similis ratio differentiæ eſt in odoribus. Plerumq; tamen aquarum odores iniucundi ſunt, quòd raró terra bene oleat. Peſſimè olim fœtabat in Ælide, Anigri fluminis aqua, vſq; ad perniciem, non ſolum piſcium, ſed etiam hominum. Iuxta Metonem in Meſſania, in puteo quodam optimè olens aqua hauriebatur.* Hæc ideo recito, vt nullus magis in Iſlandia quàm alibi, aquarum, colores odores, ſapores, miretur.

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor eſt Iſidorus, eſſe fontem quendam, cuius aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: *Iuxta Nonarim, inquit, Arcadiæ, Styx* (iuxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi vngula continebatur: referunt ea ſublatum Alexandrum magnũ) *nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat.* Idem, *In Beroſo Taurorum colle ſunt tres fontes ſine remedio, ſine dolore mortiferi:* Et quod longè maximum eſt, quod Seneca ſtagnum eſſe dicat, in quod proſpicientes ſtatim moriantur. Nos verò Iſlandi etiam hunc quartum Friſij fontẽ, cuius etiam Saxo meminit, vt antehac ſemper, itidem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum teſtamur: Hocq; igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quòd ab eiuſmodi fontibus & ſerpẽtibus, inſectis venenatis, ac alijs peſtiferis & contagioſis, eſſe nos immunes voluerit.

Præterea eſt apud prædictos fontes tanta ſulphuris copia. Montes tres à Munſtero & Friſio igniuomi dicti, omnes longiſſimo interuallo à noſtris fodinis diſtant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes, fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & ſitum faciant, neceſſe eſt eos fontes pari ferè interuallo à fodinis ſulphureis remotos eſſe. Nec verò apud montem Heclam, vt Munſterus, nec apud hos Friſij fontes (quorum rumor quàm verus ſit, hactenus oſtenſum eſt) ſulphur effoditur: Nec patrum noſtrorum memoria effoſſum eſſe arbitramur. Neq; verum eſt, quod de ſulphuris copia tradit Munſterus, eſſe videlicet penè vnicum Inſulæ mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum inſula in quatuor partes diuiſa ſit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc vtitur mercimonio, nec ſulphuris mica in vectigal Iuſulæ penditur.

Sulphur in boreali Iſlandiæ parte

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

Munſt.

Piſcium tanta eſt copia in hac Inſula, vt ad altitudinem domorũ ſub aperto cœlo vendẽdi exponantur.

SVb aperto cœlo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naues mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipiãtq; eaſdem rurſus piſcibus & reliquis noſtratium mercibus onerare. An verò noſtri homines id aliquando fecerint, non ſatis liquet. Certè copioſa illa & vetus piſcium abundantia iam deſijt, Iſlandis & iſtius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis noſtræ flagellum, quod vtinam ritè agnoſcamus, immittente.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

Friſius.

Equos habent velociſſimos, qui ſine intermiſſione 30. millaria continuo curſu conficiunt.

QVidam in ſua mappa Iſlandiæ, 20. millaria continuo curſu aſſequi tradit cuiuſdam parœciæ equos. Sed vtrumque impoſſibile ducimus. Nam maximæ celeritatis & roboris beſtias (Rangiferos appellant) ſcribit Munſterus non niſi 30. millaria 24. horarum ſpacio conficere.

SECTIO

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

Munſt. *Cete grandia inſtar montium prope Iſlandiam aliquando conſpiciuntur, quæ naues euertunt, niſi tubarum ſono abſterreantur, aut miſſis in mare rotundis & vacuis vaſis, quorum luſu delectantur, ludificentur. Fit aliquando, vt nautæ in dorſa cetorum, quæ Inſulas eſſe putant, anchoras figentes, ſæpe periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua* Trollwal, Tuffelwalen.i. *Diabolica cete.*

INſtar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munſteri Telenicia Echo, & cæcum, vt dici ſolet, inſomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeò mendax & abſurda hyperbole hiſtoriam, idque tantò magis quantò minus eſt neceſſaria. Nam quorſum attinet mentiri Hiſtoricum, ſi hiſtoria eſt rei veræ narratio? Quorſum tropicas hyperboles aſſumet? Quid conabitur perſuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, ſiquidem nihil niſi ſimplicem rerum expoſitionem ſibi proponit?

Pictoribus atq; Poëtis,
Quodlibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas:
Non itidem Hiſtoricis.

Dorſa cetorum, quæ Inſulas putant: Nata eſt hæc fabula, vt & reliquæ, ex mendacio quodam, vt antiquo, ita ridiculo & vano, cuius ego fidem titiuilitio non emam. Eſt autem tale: Miſſos fuiſſe olim Legatos cum ſodalitio monaſtico, ab Epiſcopo Bremenſi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis, Krantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papiſticam, quæ tum Chriſtiana putabatur, in Septentrione prædicandam & diuulgandam: Eoſque, vbi immenſum iter Septentrionem verſus nauigando conſumpſiſſent, ad inſulam quandam perueniſſe: ibique iacta anchora deſcenſum in Inſulam feciſſe, focos accendiſſe: (Nam veriſimile eſt nautas in ipſo mari glaciali frigore non parum eſſe vexatos) & commeatum naualem ad reliquum iter expediuiſſe. Aſt vbi bene ignibus accenſis incaluerant foci, Inſulam hanc ſubmerſam citò euanuiſſe, nautas autem per præſentem ſcapham vix ſeruatos fuiſſe. Habes huius rei fundamentum, Lector, ſed quàm incredibile, ipſe vides. Quid verò tandem eſt animi nautis, qui in mari procelloſo videntes ſcopulum, vel, vt Munſterus, Inſulam perexiguam emergere, non vitent potius omni ſtudio, alliſionem & naufragium metuentes, quàm vt in portu parum tuto quieſcere tentent? Sed vbi anchora figenda? Solent enim, vt plurimùm, deeſſe nautis tam immenſi funes, vt in altiſſimo æquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorſis cetorum, reſpondet Munſterus. Oportet igitur, veſtigiũ vnci prius effodiant. O ſtultos nautas, balenarum carnem, à terræ ceſpitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoſcentes, nec lubricam cetorum cutem, à terreſtri ſuperficie internoſcentes. Digni profectò, quibuſcum ipſe Munſterus, nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, vt & ſuperius, de miraculis Iſlandiæ terreſtribus agens, è Tantali, vt aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id eſt, ea conſectatur, quæ nunquam reperiuntur, nec vſquam ſunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram & pelagus verrere, ad Hiſtoriæ ſuæ ſupplementum ſtudet: Vbi tamen nihil niſi commentitia tantùm venari poteſt.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne vltra peram, Munſtere: Nullam ſiquidem es linguæ noſtræ cognitionem adeptus: Quare meritò puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Eſt enim eiuſmodi incœptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, vt vel hoc tuo exemplo docebimus. Dum enim vis alijs autor eſſe, quomodo noſtra lingua balenæ vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inſcitiam, aſpiratione, quæ penè ſola vocis ſignificationem facit, quod minimè verum eſt, affers: Non enim val noſtra lingua balenam, ſed electionem ſiue delectum ſignificat, à verbo, Eg vel .i. eligo, vel deligo: vnde val, &c. At balena Hualur nobis vocatur: Vnde tu Trollhualur ſcribere debebas. Nec vero Troll Diabolum, vt tu interpretaris, ſed Gigantes quoſdam montanos ſignificat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Leuis quidem illa in linguam noſtram iniuria, in vnica tantùm voce: quoniam plures, haud dubiè, non noras.

Idem alijs etiam vſu venit: Non enim probandum eſt, quòd quidam, dum Iſlandiæ deſcriptionem, ab Iſlandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certè plurima promontoriorum, ſinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, teſquorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina deprauare (quòd noſtræ linguæ ignarus, non ſciret à noſtratibus accepta ſatis exactè legere) atque corrumpere, quàm prius ab ipſis Iſlandis, qui tum temporis, id eſt, Anno 1585. 1585. in Academia Haffnienſi vixerunt, quomodo ſingula legi ac ſcribi deberent, ediſcere. Ipſum certè hac natiuorum nominum & appellationum voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum eſt, vt ipſi ea legentes, pauciſſima noſtra agnoſcamus) in linguam noſtram, alioqui puram & auitam penè elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccaſſe reputamus.

Cæterum iam plurima Iſlandiæ miracula, quæ quidẽ ſcriptores noſtri attigerunt, ſic utcunq; examinauimus. Sed tamen priuſquã alio diuertamur, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quod idem ille in mappa Iſlandiæ, quam ſub ſuo nomine, prædicto anno edi fecerat, de duobus, præter ſupra dictos, fontibus Iſlandiæ prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras albo, inficiat. Quod quidem vbi acceperit, aut vnde habeat, ſcire equidem non poſſumus: Nec enim apud noſtrates, nec apud extraneos ſcriptores, reperire licuit. Sed vndecunq; eſt, fabula eſt, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamuis autem ſit incredibile, *Lanas nigras albo infici colore*, cum traditum ſit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen ſimile quiddam narratur à Theophraſto: Flumen eſſe in Macedonia, quod oues nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cuius etiam ſuperius memini, rapſodia Noruagica, ſpeculum ſcilicet illud Regale, hos ipſos fontes Irlandiæ, quæ hodie Hybernia, non Iſlandiæ eſſe affirmat. Quod forſan Lectori impoſuit, in lingua peregrina, pro R, S, legenti.

Non maiorem fidem meretur, quod Hiſtoricus quidam habet: *Eſſe in Iſlandia ſaxum, quod montium prærupta non extrinſeca agitatione, ſed propria natiuaq; motione peruolitet:* Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet? Eſt enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum eius ſimile, fabulatos fuiſſe Epicuræos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitaſſe Luciano viſi ſunt) cōſtet: Niſi fortè hominem, qui Iſlandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, ſentit Hiſtoricus rupes quaſdam circuiſſe, vel circumreptaſſe. Quod, etſi ridiculum eſt in Hiſtoriā miraculoſam referre, hominem ſcilicet moueri vel ambulare, tamen ad ſaluandam Hiſtorici fidem, ſimulandum: ne figmentum illud, per ſe ſatis abſurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perſtringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicunq; Iſlandię, coruos albos, picas, lepores, & vultures adſcripſerunt: Perrarò enim vultures, cum glacie marina, ſicut etiam vrſos (ſed hos ſæpius quā vultures) & cornicum quoddam genus, Iſlandis **Iſlakrakur**, aduenire obſeruatum eſt. Picas verò & lepores, vt & coruos albos, nunquàm Iſlandia habuit.

Atque hæc ferè ſunt, quę de prima commentarij noſtri parte per quotidianas occupationes, in præſentia, afferre licuit. Quæ in hunc finem à me ſcripta ſunt, (quod etiā prius teſtatus ſum,) vt ſcriptorum de terra ignota errores, & quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Neq; enim eorum famæ quicquam detractum cupio: Sed quòd veritati & patriæ, operam meam conſecraram, illa, quæ hactenus dicta ſunt à multis, de Inſula, fidem valde exiguam mereri, neceſſe habui oſtendere: ac ita mihi viam ad ſequentia de Incolis ſternere.

Commentarij primæ partis Finis.

Commentarij de Iſlandia pars ſecunda: quæ eſt de incolis.

ABſolutis hactenus miraculis Iſlandię, (cum nonnullis alijs, primæ parti annexis) quę dum ſcriptores, velut Agamemnonios quoſdam fontes, imò, vt quiddam præter & contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non variè deprædicant, minus veritati ipſi, & authoritati ſuæ conſulunt; monet propoſitæ orationis ſeries, vt ad alteram commentarij partem nos conferamus, quæ eſt de incolis: Vbi quid primùm dicam, aut vnde initium ſumam, non ſatis teneo. Tanta enim ſunt in nos vltimos Iſlandos, & tot quorundam ludibria, tot opprobria, tot ſcommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter hæc etiam nonnulla eorum, qui ſimpliciſſimam veritatem profiteri volunt, nempe hiſtoricorum) vt ſi ſingula recenſere velim, non aliud quàm

Icariæ numerum dicere coner aquæ. Sed, vt dixi initio, non cum omnibus æquè ſtricto iure agemus. Nam licet Krantzius, Munſterus, Friſius, & alij, nimis audacter multa de gente noſtra ſcripſerint: Tamen ſuis monumentis de ſtudijs liberalibus alioqui benè meriti, etiam apud nos eo erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etſi quis velit eos à calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leue eſt, eos res quaſdam tam abſurdas, impoſſibiles & ridiculas propoſuiſſe cuiuſmodi illa fuerunt, quæ hactenus expoſuimus, tum impias, & atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cuiuſmodi iam ſequentur aliquot, in hiſtorias retuliſſe. Aſt alijs, quicunq; ſunt, qui quotidianis conuicijs nationem Iſlandorum inceſſunt, reſpōſio, quam merentur, parata eſſe debet: Ex quorum numero, ſcurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis noſtræ contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen ſuum immortali dedecori conſecrauit.

Quapropter, vt inſtituti noſtri ratio exigit, dum ſcriptorum de hac re monumenta perſequimur, etſi quædam in eis occurrant, quæ contumeliæ parum habent, nos tamen pleraq; excutiemus, & errores, vt hactenus, annotabimus: tum ſi quid veri interea attulerint, id nequaquam diſſimulabimus. Ac eo modo, primùm Munſterum, Krantzium, Friſium, & ſi qui ſunt alij, audiemus, Graculo illo, cum ſuis rhythmis Germanicis, dira calumnia infectis in poſtremum, vt dignus eſt, reiecto locum. In hunc igitur modum, primùm de fide ſeu Religione Iſlandorum: Deinde de ipſorum moribus, inſtitutis ſeu viuendi ratione, authores iſti ſcribunt.

Secūdæ partis diſtributio.

1. Capitis huius partis diuiſio.

SECTIO

SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertus Metropolitanus Hamburgenſis, Anno Chriſti 1070. vidit ad Chriſtum conuerſos Iſlandos: licet ante ſuſceptam Chriſti fidem, lege Naturali viuentes, non multùm à lege noſtra diſcrepantes: itaque, petentibus illis, ordinauit quendam virum ſanctum, primum Epiſcopum, nomine Iſleif.

KRantzius his verbis, & Munſterus alibi, fidei ſeu Religionis Chriſtianæ dignitatem Iſlandis videntur adſcribere: Facerentq; & ſe, & veritate dignum, niſi eandem aliâs nobis adimerent. Nam (vt de Krantzio infra) Munſterus, quæ ſupra prodidit, de fide noſtra, ſeu opinione circa Inferni locum ſitumque, omninò eſt à Chriſtiana pietate alienum: Velle ſcilicet ſcrutari arcana, quæ Deus ſibi ſoli reſeruauit, quæq; voluit noſtrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis ſacris, vbi locus vel ſitus inferni ſeu ignis æterni, Diabolo & Angelis ipſius, adeoq; damnatis omnibus animabus deſtinati, determinetur, aut circumſcribatur: Nullum inquam, infra terram, ſeu in ea, aut vlla alia huius mundi parte, corporalem ſeu localem ſitum illi damnatorum carceri pagina ſacra aſſignat: quinimò, terram hanc interituram, & terram nouam & cœlos nouos, iuſtorum & ſanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2. 2. Petri 3. Eſa. 65. Quare Chriſtianus rerum adeò abſtruſarum inquiſitionem libenter præterit: tum dogmata nullis apertis & illuſtribus ſcripturæ ſacræ teſtimonijs ſtabilita, velut certa & vera recipere, aut alijs tradere, nefas eſſe ducit. Deut. 4. & 12. Eſa. 8. Matth. 17. 2. Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Chriſtiana, quo Munſterus & Krantzius Iſlandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros ſuos æquo habere in precio. De quo infra, ſection. 7. Sic igitur ſecum diſſidet Munſt. dum quos Chriſtianos aſſerit, inferni architectos alias facit: Item, Krantzius & Munſterus, dū quos fide Chriſto inſertos affirmant, eoſdem omni pietatis & honeſtatis ſenſu exuunt: quòd ſcribant filios ab his, non maiore cura, quàm catulos diligi.

Sed vt ad rem: De Religione equidē noſtra, quæ qualiſue fuerit, cū Ethniciſmus primùm fugari cæpit, nihil magnificè dicere poſſumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, vti exiſtimo, de ſuis fidei initijs. Fatendū enim eſt, & cum ſerijs gemitibus deplorandum vſq; ad illam nunquā ſatis prædicatam diem, quę nobis velut immortalitatis initiū illuxit & repurgati Euangelij doctrinam attulit, tenebras pluſquā Cimmerias, etiā noſtris hominibus, vt reliquis Septentrionis Eccleſijs, offuſas fuiſſe. Illud tamen piè nobis ſentire liceat, apud nos, vt & in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo vltra ſepta vagari, & de populis ignotis quicquā pronunciare) eiecta primum Idololatria Ethnica, ſinceriorem longè & ſimpliciorem fidem ſeu religionem Chriſtianam viguiſſe; quippe veneno Papiſtico minus infectā, quā poſteà, vbi auctum Romanæ ſedis fermentum peſtiferum, & malum contagioſum maturuit, & per totum orbem virus ſuum diffudit: Nam vt poſteà apparebit, multis annis antequā noua Pontificiorum Idololatria vires & incrementum cepit, Iſlandia Chriſtum amplexa eſt: & vt laudatiſſimi duo illi Noruegiæ Reges, quibus vt commune nomen, ita commune nominis Chriſti propagandi ſtudium & profeſſio, nihil niſi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, & ſpiritum Sanctum, ſonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F. qui Anno Chriſti 968. natus, Anno ætatis 27. imperium Noruegiæ adeptus eſt, & primus, vt accepimus, Noruegis Chriſtum obtruſit: quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctū, Haraldi F. Qui anno Chriſti 1013. aut circiter, imperij habenas arctius in primis obtinuit: Per annos fere 17. Chriſti doctrinam audacter tradidit. Anno Chriſti 1030. ab improbis parricidis nefariè interfectus, in pago Noruegiæ **Stickla Stodum**, pro Chriſti nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam noſtra patria inter multos alios quendam inſignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Chriſti 1000 vixit in prædio ſeu villa **Berthors huol**, ſita in Parochia Iſlandiæ, **Landenum**: Quiq; rerum humanarum experientia, circumſpecta animi prudentia, ſagacitate & conſilio, habebatur inſignis. Cum enim, eius ſeculo, indomitis Iſlandia motibus fluctuaret, incolis à nullo ferè ſuperiore magiſtratu repreſſis, nullis ſe factionibus immiſcuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac induſtria compoſuit: Nunquam vim fecit, nec paſſus eſt, ſi vltimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeò ſtudioſè ſeditiones & turbas vitauit: alioſq; vitare aut euadere cupientes optimè iuuit. Nec quiſquam eius conſilio, niſi maximo ſuo commodo eſt vnquam vſus: nec quiſquam ab eo, niſi cum vitæ & fortunarum periculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde mirandum ſit, vnde homini tanta futurorum euentuum, & tam certa cōiectura & conſilium eſſe potuerit, quanta in ipſo deprehenſa eſt. Vnde ipſius cauta, prouidens & conſilij plena ſapientia, apud noſtrates in prouerbium abijt: **Nials biita raden**: quaſi dicas, Niali conſilium: vel, Niali conſilio res geritur, aut ſuccedit: cùm quid prudenter & admirando cum conſilio geſtum eſt.

Hic cum domi ſuæ,à 100.viris coniuratis ob cędem à filio ipſius,ipſo tamen inſcio patratam cingeretur,& inimicis domum vndiq; igni ſuccendentibus,ſibi videret ſupremum fatum inſtare,ait tandem. Hæc quidem fato,hoc eſt,voluntate diuina accidunt. Cæterũ ſpem & fiduciam in Chriſto ſitam habeo,nos (de ſe & vxore loquens) licet corpus hoc noſtrum caducum,inimicorum flammis,mortalitatis corruptionem ſubeat,ab æternis tamen flammis liberatum iri.Sicq; inter has voces,& flammarum ſæuitiam vitam,An.Chriſto 1010.cum vxore & filio homicida, finiuit. Vox profectò filijs Dei non indigna,animæ,cum mortis acerbitate luctantis ſummum ſolatium arguens.

Hæc ideo addidi, vt oſtendam,quâ coniectura adducar ad exiſtimãdum mox initio Chriſtianiſmi (vt ſic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuiſſe tam deceptas & errorum tenebris immerſas hominum mentes,quàm nunc,paulò ante hæc noſtra tempora fuerunt.

Aſt verò iam poſtquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum,& Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, & pios ſucceſſores,ſalutis doctrinam illuſtriorem reddidit,mentiúmq; noſtrarum graui veterno & denſa caligine excuſſis,dextræ ſuæ digito,hoc eſt,ſpiritu Sancto,(Matth.12.verſ.28.) cordis noſtri auriculas vellicauit,ac oculos,quibus ſaluificam ipſius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit : Nos omnes & ſinguli credimus & confitemur Deum eſſe Spiritum, (Iohan.4.verſ.24. æternum Eſai 40. verſ. 28.) Infinitum (Ierem.23.verſ.24. Pſalm.136.verſ.7.8.9.) optimum (Matth.19.17.) omnipotentem (Gene.17.1. Apocal.1.8.) Vnum eſſentia & natura: Vnum prouidentia : vnum efficientia rerum & adminiſtratione (Deut.6.5.Epheſ.4.5.) At perſonis diuinitatis,proprietatibuſque diſtinctum, Patrem, Filium & ſpiritum Sanctum (Matth.28.19. & 3.17.) Deum Patrem quidem,primam diuinitatis perſonam, cœli terræ & omnium rerum creatorem (Gene.1.verſ.1.& ſequent.) Suſtentatorem & gubernatorẽ (Pſal.115.3. Heb.1.3.) Patrem Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti (Pſalm.2.7. & ſequent.) & noſtrum per eundem Patrem (Rom.8.15.Animæ & corporis curatorem (Luc.12.12.) Tum Ieſum Chriſtum, ſecundam diuinitatis perſonam,filium Dei patris (Iohan.1.18.&c.) Vnigenitum (Iohan.1.29.Heb.1.2.) æqualem patri (1.Paral.17.13,Iohan.1.1.) Deum verum (Iohan.1.2.&c.) ante omnia creata præordinatũ (1.Pet.1.20.Apocal.13.8.&c.) & ſtatim poſt lapſum,promiſſum Meſſiam (Gen. 3.15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum,vt Abrahæ (Gen.12.3 &c.) Iſaac, Gen.26. 4.) Iacob. (Gen.28.14.) & promiſſionibus confirmatum (Geneſ.49.9. Eſa.11.1.10.) Sacrificijs Moſaicis (Leuit.1.2.&c.) Et alijs typis pręfiguratum : immolatione Iſaac (Gen.22.) Exaltatione ænei ſerpentis, (Num.21.) Iona (Ion.2.&c.) Prophetarum teſtimonio proclamatum (Eſai 7.14.&c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis verè exhibitum: hominem verum (Iohan. 1.14.&c.Paul.Galat.4.) mortuum pro peccatis noſtris : reſuſcitatum propter iuſtificationem noſtri (Rom.4.25.&c.) Aſcendentem in cœlum (Act.1.9.&c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris ſine intermiſſione interpellantem (1.Iohan.2.1.&c.) per ſpiritum Sanctum ſuum (qui tertia eſt diuinitatis perſona patri & filio compar & conſubſtantialis.(Actor.5.4.) Eccleſiam ſibi verbo & Sacramentis colligentem (Matth.16.18.Roman.10.14.&c.) Et ad vitam æternam ſanctificãtem (Actor.9.31.&c.) Ac tandem conſummatis ſeculis è cœlo venturum (Actor.1.11.) Iudicare viuos & mortuos (1.Theſſ.4.15.) redditurum impijs ſecundum opera ſua, eoſq; pœnis æternis adiudicaturũ (Mat.13.42.& 25.41.) credentes verò in nomine ipſius æterna vita donaturũ. (Mat.25.34.&c.) Hunc, inquam, Ieſum Chriſtum redemptorem (Mat.1.21.) Caput (1. Corinth.12.27.) & Dominum noſtrum (Epheſ.4.5.) agnoſcimus ; Noſq; illi nomen in ſacro baptiſmo dare ac dediſſe (Actor.2.38.) Et per baptiſmũ illi inſertos eſſe (1.Cor.12.13.) apertè,ingenuè,liberè ac libenter fatemur ac conteſtamur : omneſque alios,quicunq; aliud nomẽ ſub cœlo datum eſſe hominibus,per quod ſalui fiant,comminiſcuntur, ſeriò deteſtamur, execramur & damnamus. (Actor.4.12.) Verbum ipſius ſanctiſſimum vnicam ſalutis normam ſtatuimus, illudque tantummodò,omnibus humanis commentis abiectis & ſpretis, infallibilem fidei noſtræ regulam & amuſſim nobis proponimus : (Galat.1.8.Eſa.29.13.Ezech.20.) Quod duplicis Teſtamenti,veteris & noui appellatione complectimur. (Hebr.8.) traditum per Prophetas & Apoſtolos (Epheſ.2.20.) ſingulari & immenſa Dei bonitate in hunc vſque diem ſemper in Eccleſia conſeruatum & conſeruandum in poſterum. (Matth.28.vlt. Pſalm.71.18. 1. Cor.11.26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo & toto pectore agimus, quòd etiam ad nos, vaſtiſſimo interuallo à reliquo Eccleſiæ corpore diuulſos & vltimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc ſuum,conceſſum ad reuelationem gentium,& paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne oſtenſum (Nam in Chriſto omnes theſauri ſapientiæ reconditi) quod nunc totam noſtram gentem radijs ſuis ſaluificis illuminat ac fouet, pertingere voluerit. Hæc ita breuiter, ipſam ſummam perſtringendo, fides noſtra eſt,& noſtra religio quam mõſtrante ſpiritu Sãcto,& ipſius in vinea Chriſti miniſtris, hauſimus ; idq; ex fontibus Iſráëlis.

Anno

Krantzius.

Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Chriſtum conuerſos Iſlandos.

DVbium nobis eſt, vtrum his verbis dicerè voluerit *Krantzius*, Iſlandos primùm Anno Domini 1070. ad Chriſtum eſſe conuerſos: an verò, prius quidem eſſe conuerſos non neget, ſed eo primùm anno id *Adalberto* innotuiſſe dicat. Vtrumuis autem affirmet, tamen fidem ipſius hoc loco ſuſpectam reddunt annales & Chronologiæ noſtræ gentis antiquiſſimæ, quæ contrarium teſtantur: quibus vtrum malis, de rebus noſtris proprijs & domeſticis & intra noſtræ inſulæ limites geſtis credere, an verò *Krantzio*, aut cuiuis alteri in noſtratium rerum hiſtoria peregrino, ſit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profectò multis adducor vt noſtris potius aſſentiar. Noſtrates enim nota tantùm & ferè domeſtica aſſerunt; ille peregrina & ignota. Hi ſuas Chronologias ſine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula & ſugillatione cõtexuerunt tantũmodò, vt rebus geſtis ſuum verũ temp⁹ ſeu æram aſſignarent; ille quędam cum re & veritate pugnantia in contumeliã gentis noſtrę ignotiſſimæ, hiſtoriæ ſuæ admiſcuit, vt paulò poſt apparebit: hi omnium epiſcoporũ Iſlandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem & ſucceſſum deſcribunt: ille vnius tantùm mentionẽ facit, idq́; longè ſecus quàm res habet. Porrò vt his fidem faciam, pauca, quę in vetuſtiſſimis noſtris annalibus de Iſlandia ad Chriſtum conuerſa, & de Epiſcoporum in noſtris Eccleſijs ſucceſſione reperi, quorum etiam fides apud nos publicè recepta eſt, cum extraneis communicabo. Quæ tametſi leuiuſcula, nec omnia prorſus digna quæ ſcribantur, ſcribenda tamen omninò ſunt ad noſtrarum rerum veritatem, aduerſus *Krantzium* & alios aſſerendam: Sic igitur habent.

Chronologiæ Iſlandicæ gentis antiquiſſimæ.

Vetuſtiſſimi annales.

874

Iſlandia primum inhabitata.

Anno Chriſti 874. prius quidem, vt ante commemorauimus, inuenta, ſed tunc primum à Noruagis (quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, è cuius nomine promontorium Iſlandiæ orientalis **Ingulffs hoffdi** appellationem traxit) occupata eſt Iſlandia. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis & agnatis & prętereà numeroſa familia nominatim in annalibus noſtris recenſentur: nec illorum tantùm numerus deſcribitur, ſed quas oras, quæ littora, & quæ loca mediterranea, ſinguli occupauerint & incoluerint, & quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, ſinibus, portubus, Iſthmis, porthmis, promontorijs, rupibus, ſcopulis, mõtibus, collibus, vallibus, teſquis, fontibus, fluminibus, riuis, ac deniq; villis ſeu domicilijs ſuis nomina dederint, quorum hodiè plæraq; retinentur & in vſu ſunt, apertè narratur. Itaq; Noruagi occupatæ iam Iſlandiæ 60. annorum ſpacio, aut circiter, habitabiles partes ſua multitudine implent: Centum verò propemodum annis Ethnici manſerunt, ſi pauciſſimos, qui in *Noruagia* fortè ſacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. Annis autem vix centum à primo ingreſſu elapſis, mox de religione Chriſtiana agi cœptum eſt, nempe circa annum Domini 974. quæ res non ſine inſigni rebellione pluſquam 20. annis variè à multis tentata eſt. Commemorantur autem duo Epiſcopi extranei, qui cum alijs, in conuertenda ad fidem Chriſti inſula, diligenter laborarint: Prior *Fridericus*, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Iſlandos venit, atque docendi munere ſtrenuè functus eſt, ac tantum fecit, vt Anno 984. ſacræ ædes Iſlandis in vſu fuerint.

974

Fredericus Saxo.

Alter verò ille extraneus Epiſcopus ſiue concionator, quem *Thangbrandt* nuncupauere, anno 997. in Iſlandiam primùm venit.

Anno dom. 1000.

Hinc poſt 26. annorum diſceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuentu generali omnium incolarum decretum eſt, vniuerſali eorundem conſenſu, vt Ethnicorum numinum cultu ſepoſito, religionem ſectarentur Chriſtianam.

Rurſus in ſolenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. ſancitum eſt, vt leges ſeculares ſeu politicæ (quarum conſtitutiones allatas ex *Noruagia* quidam *Vlfliotus*, Anno 926. Iſlandis communicarat) vbique cederent iuri Canonico ſeu diuino.

Anno 1056. abit peregrè ex Iſlandia *Iſleifus* quidam, in Epiſcopum Iſlandiæ ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Iſlandiam, & Cathedram Scalholtenſem adit Anno 1057. Moritur 1080. Ætatis 74. 4. Kalendas Iulias.

Videbuntur forſitan hæc minuta, conciſa, vilia, nec narratione ſatis digna, cum multis fortè quæ ſequuntur: Sed nec hiſtoriam Romanam contexímus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra *Krantzij* & aliorum errores conuincendos, prout noſtrum eſt inſtitutum, valeant. Et certè, quãtum ad fidem noſtratum Chronologiarum, conſtat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuiſſe: Cuius, in præfatione ſuæ *Daniæ*, hæc ſunt verba. *Nec Thylenſium* inquit, (ſic enim Iſlandos appellat) *induſtria ſilentio obliteranda: qui cum ob natiuam ſoli ſterilitatem, luxuriæ nutrimẽtis carentes, officia continua ſobrietatis exerceant, omniáq; vitæ momenta ad alienorum operum notitiam conferre ſoleant, inopiam ingenio penſant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res geſtas cognoſſe, memoriæq; mandare, voluptatis loco reputant, non minoris gloriæ iudicantes, alienas virtutes diſſerere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum theſauros Hiſtoricarum rerum pignoribus refertos curioſius conſulens, haud paruam præſentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui: nec arbitros habere contempſi, quos tãta vetuſtatis peritia callere noui.* Hæc Saxo. Quare lubet Epiſcoporũ Iſlandię

Catalogum perſequi, vt ex annalibus noſtris continuata diligenter, quoad eius fieri poteſt, omnium ſeries, his quæ de primo Iſleifo contra *Krantzium* attulimus, fidem faciat.

ANNO Chriſti.	EPISCOPI *Schalholtenſes.*	EPISCOPI *Holenſes.*	ANNO Chriſti.
	II	I	
	Gyſſerus.	Ionas Augmundi F.	
1082	*Ordinatur peregrè.*	Iſleifi *diſcipulus.*	
1083	*Redit in Iſlandiam cum Epiſcopatu.*	*Ordinatur peregrè: anno ætat. 64. cog-*	1106
1118	*Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit*	*nomentum illi, ſanctus: cuius memoriæ*	
	dies Martis.	*dies 3. Martij, apud Iſlandos eſt anti-*	
	III	*quitùs dicatus.*	
	Thorlacus Runolphi. F.	*Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.*	1121
Anno æ-	*Ordinatur eodẽ anno, quo prædeceſſor*	II.	
tatis 32:	Gyſſerus *vita exceſſit, ſed tamen ante*	Ketillus *ſiue* Catullus.	
	illius obitum 30. die.	*Ordinatur.*	1122
1133	*Moritur.*	*Moritur.*	1145
	IIII	III	
	Magnus.	Biorno.	
1134	*Ordinatur.*	*Ordinatus venit in Iſlandiam.*	1147
1148	*Poſtridiè feſti omnium Sanctorũ in vil-*	*Moritur.*	1162
	la ſacerdotali Hitardal *cõuiuans, cæ-*	IIII	
	naculo fulmine percuſſo, cum viris 70.	Brandus.	
	flammis abſumptus eſt.	*Ordinatur.*	1163
	V	*Cathedram adit.*	1165
	Klaingus.	*Moritur.*	1201
1151	*Eligitur.*	V	
1152	*Cathedram adit.*	Gudmundus, *cognomento* Bonus.	
1176	*Moritur.*	*Eligitur & ordinatur.*	1203
	VI	*Moritur.*	1237
	Thorlacus.	VI	
	Eligitur biennio ante obit. prædeceſſoris	Botolphus.	
1178	*Ordinatur.*	*Redit ordinatus.*	1239
1193	*Moritur.*	*Moritur.*	1246
	VII	VII.	
	Paulus.	Henricus.	
1195	*Ordinatur.*	*Cathedram adit.*	1247
1211.	*Moritur.*	*Moritur.*	1260
	VIII	VIII	
	Magnus.	Brandus.	
1216	*Ordinatur.*	*Abbas peregrè abit.*	1262
	IX	*Cathedram adit.*	1263
	Siguardus.	*Moritur.*	1264
1239	*Cathedram adit.*	IX.	
1268	*Moritur.*	Iorundus.	
	X	*Cathedram adit.*	1267
	Arnerus.	*Moritur.*	1313
1269	*Cathedram adit.*	X	
1298	*Moritur.*	Audunnus.	
	XI	*Cathedram adit.*	1314
	Arnerus Helgonis F.	*Moritur.*	1322
1304	*Ordinatur.*	XI	
1305	*Cathedram adit.*	Laurentius.	
1309	*In Noruagiã abit ligna à rege Norua-*	*Eligitur & ordinatur.*	1324
	giæ petiturus, quibus templũ Schalbol-	*Moritur Idib. April.*	1331
	tenſe reædificaretur, quod eodem anno	XII	
	fulmine tactum conflagrarat.	Egillus.	
1310	*Redit ex itinere.*	*Cathedram adit.*	1332
1320	*Moritur.*	*Moritur.*	1341

ANNO Chriſti.

Epiſcopi *Schalholt.*

XII

Ionas Haldorus.

1321 *Eligitur.*

1322 *Ordinatur Kal. Auguſti.*

1323 *Cathedram adit.*

1338 *Moritur.*

XIII

Ionas Indridi *F.* Noruagus.

1339 *Cathedram adit.*

1341 *Moritur.*

XIIII

Ionas Siguardi *F.*

1343 *Cathedram adit.*

1348 *Moritur pridiè Diui Magni.*

XV

Gyrthus.

1349 *Ordinatus Aſloiæ Noruagorum, ab Epiſcopo* Aſloenſi Salomone.

1356 *Abiens peregrè fluctibus vitam finit.*

XVI

Thorarinnus.

1362 *Cathedram adit.*

1364 *Moritur.*

XVII

Oddgeirus.

1366 *Cathedram adit.*

1381 *Moritur in Aſſumpt. beatæ virginis, in portu* Noruagiæ Bergenſi, *è mercium aceruo in imum nauis delapſus. Sepultus Bergis in æde Saluatoris.*

XVIII

Michaël Danus.

1385 *Cathedram adit.*

1388 *Reſignat profectus in Daniam.*

XIX.

Wilhelmus Danus.

1394 *Cathedram adit. Moritur.*

XX

Arnerus.

Hîc cognomento fuit **Milldur** *.i. liberalis. Geſſit vna præfecturam Iſlandiæ totius: Epiſcopatũ Scalholtenſ. & vice Epiſcopatũ Holenſẽ.*

1420 *Obijt.*

XXI

Ionas Gerickſon.

Suecus ſiue cognomento ſiue natione præeſt
1432 *Eccleſiæ* Schalholtenſi: *ac poſteà ob quadã ni-*
mis audacter tentata, à quodam Thoraldo de
Modruuollum (vt fama eſt) captus, & alligato
ad collũ ſaxo in amne Schalholtenſi, qui à ponte
nomẽ habet, viuus ſubmerſus & ſtrãgulatus eſt.

XXII

Goſuinus.

1445 *Præeſt Eccleſiæ Schalholtenſi.*

XXIII

Sueno.

1472 *Dictus ſapiens præeſt.*

Epiſcopi *Holenſes.*

ANNO Chriſti.

XIII

Ormus.

Cathedram adit. 1343

Moritur in feſto omniũ Sanctorũ. 1355

XIIII

Ionas Erici F. cognomento **Skalle.**

Cathedram Holenſem *aditurus* 1358
venit in Iſlandiam. Hic Ionas, *o-* Gronlandiæ
lim in Epiſcopum Gronlandiæ *or-* Epiſcopus.
dinatus, à Pontifice Romano impe- 1356
trauit, vt liceret ſibi Epiſcopatum
Holenſem *adire, qui tunc temporis*
vacabat. Vnde cum confirmatio-
nem huius dignitatis ac muneris, à
Pontifice acceptam, veniens non
proferret, apud Preſbyteros diœceſis
Holenſis, *ſuſpectæ fidei eſſe cœpit.*
Quare ab iiſdem in Noruagiam re-
legatus eſt, vt ea res arbitrio Regis
componeretur. Rege igitur ipſius
partibus fauente Cathedram Ho-
lenſem obtinuit.

Moritur. 1391

XV

Petrus.

Ordinatur, quo anno prædeceſſor rebus mortalium exemptus eſt.

Cathedram adit Holenſem. 1392

Moritur.

XVI

Ionas Wilhelmus, *Anglus, ſi-*
ue genere, ſiue cognomine, præfuit
Eccleſiæ Holenſi. 1432

XVII

Godſchalcus.

Moritur. 1457

XVIII

Olaus Rogwaldi F. *prædicti*
Godſchalchi *ex ſorore nepos, vter-*
q; Noruagus, eligitur. 1458

Moritur. 1497

XIX

Godſchalcus.

Demortui Olai *nepos ex fratre, & ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem anno quo patruus deceſſit.*

Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. 1500
annos multos ex ſubditis duriter ex-
ercuiſſe fertur.

Anno 1520. cũ inter pocula & voluptates conuiuales verſaretur audiretq; obiiſſe Ionã Sigiſmundũ, *quem cum vxore & liberis multos annos crudeliſſimè vexauerat, in ſubitum morbum repentè incidit, & ſic paulò poſt, eam, qua in tota vita in miſeros ſubditos*

XXIIII

ANNO Chriſti.

Epiſcopi *Schalholt.*

XXIIII

Magnus Eiolphi F.

1489 *Præſt.*

XXV.

Stephanus.

1494 *Cathedram adit.*

Deinde Godtſchalco *epiſcopo Holenſi, qui crudelis nomen meritus eſſe videtur, Synchronos ſimilem cum illo clementiæ & iuſticiæ laudem reportauit.*

1519 *Moritur: aut circiter.*

XXVI

Augmundus.

Eligitur anno obitus Stephani.

1522 *Cathedram adit.*

Hoc epiſcopo, præfectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam inuitatus, in ipſo conuiuio à coniuratis quibuſdam interfectus eſt, eò quòd impiè paſſim in incolas & bona ipſorum graſſatus eſſet. Augmundus *verò tanquam iſtius cædis author, quanquam ſe iuramento purgarat, in Daniam tranſuectus, Obijt.*

XXVII

Gyſſerus.

1540 *Eligitur viuente* Augmundo.

1541 *Cathedram adit, Papiſticarum traditio-*
num abrogator circa coniugium ſacerdotum:
1544 *Eius nuptiæ Schalholtiæ celebratæ.*

XXVIII.

Martinus.

1547 *Præſt, & ſequentibus.*

XXIX

Giſlaus Ionas.

Hic ſtatim, Augmundo *epiſcopo, cœpit iuue-*
nis veræ pietatis & purioris doctrinæ Euangeli-
cæ ſtudio, & amore flagrare, eandemq; paſtor
eccleſiæ Selardalẽſis diligenter propagare, qua
ratione Pontificiorũ odium adeò in ſe deriua-
uit, vt illorum inſidijs ac rabiei cedere coactus,
Hamburgum ſe contulerit, vnde Haffniam
Danorum profectus, in cœpto veræ Theologiæ
ſtudio ſtrenuè pergens, in multorum, præcipuè
verò in ſumma D.D, Petri Palladij tũ tempo-
ris Epiſcopi, familiaritate & gratia viuebat.
1556 *Poſtea, inde in patriam reuerſo,* Martinus
1587 *ſponte ceſſit. Moritur & hic 31, annos plus*
minus Euangelium Ieſu Chriſti *profeſſus: nec*
tantum viua voce, ſed & quocunq; demum po-
tuit modo, docendo, dicendo, ſcribendo, re &
conſilio Eccleſiam Dei *iuuit & promouit.*

XXX

Otto Enerus, *vir grauis, pius & eruditus.*

1588 *Electus abit patria.*

1589 *Ordinatur:*

Redit & cathedram adit, ſuſceptiq; muneris labores aggreditur.

Epiſcopi *Holenſes.*

ANNO Chriſti.

ſubditos vſus eſt, vim cum miſerabili morte commutauit.

XX

Ionas Aræſonius.

Cathedram adit: etiam hic Papiſti- 1525
carũ ſuperſtitionũ vltimus & acer-
rimus aſſertor. Qui, cum Gyſſero &
Martino *epiſcopis Scalholtiæ acri-*
ter reſiſteret, à pientiſſ. Rege Chri-
ſtiano tertio iubetur ſub pœna exilij
protinus in Daniam aduentare. Sed 1548
hoc neglecto, captum Martinum
Schalholtiæ *Epiſcopum cuſtodiæ* 1550
mandauit. Tandem & ipſe à viro
quodam magni nominis, quem prius
vt fertur, laceſſiuerat, captus, ac
Schalholtiam *adductus, ibidem cũ*
filijs duobus, authoritate regij præfe-
cti, capitis ſupplicio affectus eſt. In 1551
cuius vltionem, nõ multò poſt præfe-
ctus ille regius, cum ſocijs aliquot, à
quibuſdam ſicarijs, decollatorum o-
lim famulis, nefariè occiſus eſt.

XXI

Olaus Hialterus.

Abit patria. 1552

Cathedram adit. 1553

Hic primus ſincerioris doctrinæ a-
pud Holenſes *amorem in multorum*
animis, etiam adhuc prædeceſſoris
ſui collega, accendit: Deinde ean-
dem doctrinam Epiſcopus apertiùs
docuit & propugnauit. 1568

Moritur.

XXII

Gudbrandus Thorlacius.

Ille non modò ſuæ ætatis, ſed & poſteritatis ornamentum. Qui præterquã quod inchoatũ opus à prædeceſſore Olao *ſibi relictum ducente S. S. optimè ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfectionem, deduxit: (Dico labores & diligẽtiam in aſſerenda veritate Euangelica, & papiſticis ſuperſtitionibus abrogandis) etiam in hac patria ſua officinam Typographicam primus Iſlandorum aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam vernaculam tranſlatos, etiam ſacroſancta Biblia, elegantiſſimis typis Iſlandica lingua in officina ipſius excuſa, in æternum debebit.*

Hic inquam Epiſcopus præſens, officium ſuſcepturus.

Abijt: 1570

Redit & Cathedram Holenſem *ingreditur.* 1571

Circa hæc igitur tempora mentibus noſtris è cœlo reddita lux eſt, & regni cœleſtis ianua per ſinceriorem doctrinæ Chriſtianæ expoſitionem reſerata. Nam & Schola triuialis in vtraque ſede Epiſcopali, laudatiſſimi Regis Daniæ Chriſtiani tertij munificentia & pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata eſt: ac ſubinde patris Chriſtianiſſimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Diuo *Friderico* ſecundo rege noſtro ſanctiſſimo, Anno 1588. ad cœleſtem patriam euocato, aucta & promota: quæ etiam hodiè, clementiſſimi regis & principis noſtri, Chriſtiani 4. fauore & nutu viget florétque: in qua iuuentus noſtræ Inſulæ, artium dicendi & ſacræ Theologiæ rudimentis imbuta, ad ſcientiam & veram pietatem formatur, vt hinc miniſtri Eccleſiarum petantur.

Peruenimus tandem ad hodiernum vſq; diem in Epiſcoporum Iſlandiæ catalogo: quo prædicti viri clariſſimi Dom. *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*, & Dom. *Otto Enerus* ille Holis, hic *Schalholtæ* Eccleſiarum ſunt antiſtites: quorum vtrumque, vt Deus opt. max. Eccleſiæ ſuæ ſaluum & ſuperſtitem, propter gloriam nominis ſui ſanctiſſimi, diu conſeruare velit, omnes ſeriò & ardentibus votis flagitamus.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Specus habitant plerúmq;, aut ad montium latera in excauatis manſiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multa & domos ex oſſibus piſcium & balenarum conſtructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris aſperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad ſolis æſtum vitandum. Item Munſterus, Multi in Iſlandia hodie coſtis & oſſibus balenarum, domos ſuas conſtruunt, &c.

Munſt. Krantz. Friſius.

Hic membrum ſecundum initium ſumit, de incolarum viuendi ratione & moribus. Et primùm, quibus vtantur ędificijs ſeu domibus: nempè ſecundũ *Munſterum, Krantzium, Friſium, &c. Specubus & montium cauernis.* Quamuis autem in ſplendidis ædificijs, alijsq; id genus mundani ornatus pretioſis rebus parum ineſt, quod ad verè beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hîc veritatem tacere poſſumus: dicimúsq; omnino Coſmographos & Hiſtoricos in errore etiam hîc verſari. Etenim, cuiuſmodi gentis publica domicilia eſſe ſcribunt, ea ſunt tantùm in paucis locis, tum magalia, vt opilionum, tum piſcatorum caſæ & receptacula, eo tantum anni tempore quo piſcaturæ operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. At ipſas domus, ſeu ipſa hominum domicilia, antiquitùs quidem ſatis magnificè & ſumptuoſè, quoad huius terræ fert conditio, ligno, ceſpite & ſaxis habuerunt Iſlandi constructa, vſq; ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Noruagis, qui ligna ſufficiebant, negociatio, & mercium commutatio eſſe deſijt, quæ inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cùm nec ſyluas ædificijs aptas habeamus, nec fluctuum maris beneficio iam vt olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte ſufficiat, adferatur: Nec mercatores extranei inopiæ noſtræ ſuccurrant. Vnde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum declinarunt, & iam quædam collapſa ſunt, quædam ruinam minantur. Nihilominus multa ſunt prædia, multæ villæ, quas haud facilè recenſuero, quarum ædificia veterem illam excellentiam imitantur, & quarum domus ſunt maximæ, & latæ & longæ, tum plærúmque benè altæ. Vt exempli gratia. Prædia ſeu villæ, quæ cubilia habent pluſquam 50. cubitos longa, 10. lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, vt cœnaculum, hypocauſtum, penuarium &c. huic ſua proportione reſpondentes. Poſſum multa noſtratium ædificia ampla & vaſta, nec in ſpeciem deformia, nec ob artis ſtructuram & ſumptuoſam firmitudinem, ſeu robur, contemnẽda cum aliquot delubris, ſiue ſacris ædibus, ſolis lignis, antiqua & operoſa grauitate & pulchritudine exſtructis commemorare: Cuiuſmodi eſt templum Cathedrale *Holenſe* atrium habens, cuius columnæ vtrinque quinque, vlnas 14. altæ, 5. circiter craſſæ: tum trabes ac tigna, & reliquum culmen, huic ſubſtructioni proportionaliter reſpondens. Ligna ad hoc ipſum atrium Anno 1584. horrenda tempeſtate collapſum, clementiſſimus Rex noſter D. *Fridericus*, cuius nobis ſacratiſſima eſt memoria, Anno 1588. benigniſſimè largitus eſt. Ipſum verò templũ atrium ſuum omni quantitate manifeſtè excedit: tum templi intima pars quæ chorus appellari ſolet, & templi meditullio, & atrio magnitudine nonnihil cedit. Erat autem hoc longè maius olim, vt accepi *Schalholtenſe*, quod iam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum eſt. Prætereà aliquot alia templa noſtrę Inſulæ, horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia licet non æquantia. Sed hîc nequaquam res exigere videtur, vt in prolixiorem eius rei deſcriptionem euager. Vt enim Domus & ædificia noſtra nihil deprędicamus: ita eorundem nos nihil pudet, quòd contenti paupertate noſtra Chriſto gratias immortales agamus, qui à nobis vili tecto nõ dedignatur recipi, quódq; templa & domus noſtras, quas *Munſterus, Krantzius*, & *Friſius* piſcium & balenarum oſſibus non verè dicunt exſtructas, non aſpernetur magis, quàm illa extraneorum culmina marmorea, parietes vermiculatos, pauimenta teſſelata, reliqúmque id genus ornamenti.

Negotiatio cum Noruagis deſijt. Syluæ fluctibus maris delatæ.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Munſterus.
Krantzius.

Communi tecto, victu, ſtatu, (hîc Krantzius *habet, ſtrato) gaudent cum iumentis: Item: Solo paſtu peccorum & nunc captura piſcium victitant.*

HAec ſunt & ſequentia, quæ *Krantzius* ſuo *Munſtero* præmanſa, in os ingeſſit, adeò vt *Munſtero* non opus fuerit ea vel ſemel maſticare, quod ex collatione vtriuſq; patet. *Munſterus* enim hæc opprobria, vt ex *Krantzij* in ſuam *Noruegiam* præfatione hauſta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. Coſmographiæ capit 8. in gentem noſtram euomit. Quæ hactenus fuerunt, etſi ſatis grauia ſunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc verò commentum maligniſſimum, & quæ ſequentur, non facilè eſt ſine ſtomacho præterire. Noſtrum igitur eſt, etiam hîc veritatem aſſerere, & mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Tecto: Primùm igitur quod de communi tecto, (vti etiam de victu & ſtatu) cum iumentis dicunt, falſum & erroneum clamamus, teſte non modò re ipſa, ſi quis id hodiè perquirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, & veritati plus quam gentem noſtram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipſi domos & habitationes noſtras viderunt, & norunt in ſingulis prædijs ſeu villis, multas eſſe diſtinctas domus: nempe in abiectiſſimis & viliſſimis 7. vel 8. in maioribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; quę vt plurimùm, & tecto & parietibus diſtinctæ, vni poſſeſſori vel domino, raro duobus aut tribus, rariſsimè pluribus inſeruiunt, ac vſibus quotidianis & domeſticis ſufficiunt. Vnde facilè intelligis, Lector, quàm verè *eodem tecto* cum iumentis vtantur Iſlandi, cum ſinguli ruſtici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria bouilia, ouilia, equilia, agnilia, debitis interuallis diſſita habeant, quæ ſerui, quoties opus eſt, petunt, vnde rurſus habitationem ſubinde repetunt.

Quòd autem quidam in mappa Iſlandiæ de prouincia Skagefiord annotauit, *ſub eodem tecto homines, canes, ſues & oues, viuere*, partim falſum, partim minimè mirandum eſt. De ouibus quidem, vt iam dictum eſt, & præcipuè ſuibus (cum illa prouincia ſues non habeat) falſum: De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aulæ caruerint nec hodiè careant, vt nimis omnibus eſt notum. Sed de canibus paulò poſt. Sect, 7. huius.

Victu. An iumentorum pabula poſſint commodè victus appellatione contineri, meritò dubitauerim: Cùm *Doletus*, *Ciceronis* interpretem agens, dicat: Victum, inquit, cum iureconſultis, ita exponemus, vt victus verbo contineantur, quæ eſui, potui, cultuiq; corporis, quæque ad viuendum homini ſunt neceſſaria. Et *Vlpianus*, de verborum ſignificat. Iiſdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco verò Authores illi, etiam iumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Cæterum videamus quomodo hîc eluceat veritatis & candoris præſtantia. Iumenta non habemus præterquam equos & boues: His gramina & fœnum (niſi vbi fœni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum præbet. At hi ipſi ſcriptores fatentur, Iſlandos piſcibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ouillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco & aduentitio, viuere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen ijdem his verbis aſſerunt: *Communi victu gaudent cum iumentis:* Quod quid ſit *Munſtero,* ipſe paulò ſuperius haud obſcurè docuit. *Iſlandia*, inquit, *populos multos continet, ſolo pecorum paſtu, & nunc captura piſcium victitantes.* Quid autem eſt pecorum paſtus, aliud, quàm pecorum cibus? ait *Doletus:* niſi *Munſterus* fortè pecorum paſtum, ipſa pecora ad paſtum hominum mactata appellet: cui, vt exiſtimo, vſus Romanorum refragatur, qui, vt homines veſci, ita pecora paſci docuit: hominúmque victum, pecorum autem, paſtum & pabulum vocari iuſſit. An verò exiſtimem tam dementes fuiſſe *Munſterum* & *Krantzium*, vt ſenſerint Iſlandos graminibus & fœno viuere? Quo miſeriæ *Nabuchodonozor*, diuinæ vltionis iugum ſubiens, redactus eſt, Dani. 4. 30. Facilè dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modò noſtrates, ſed veſtrates quoque veſcuntur, iumenta & pecora fortè non reijcere, ſi familiari pabulo deſtituantur. Vt equi frumento & panibus hordeaceis paſcuntur: ijdem lac (quemadmodum etiam vituli & agni) & cereuiſiam, ſi offeratur, bibunt, & quidem auidè. Sed & canes quæuis fercula & cibaria deuorant. An idcircò quiſquam dicet, homines communi victu cum canibus & iumentis gaudere?

Iam quęcunq; famis graſſantis tempore contigêre, pro vniuerſali gentis alicuius conſuetudine in hiſtoriam referri non debent. Vt non licet nobis de extraneis ſcribere, huius aut illius terræ populos canum, murium aut felium vſu victitare ſolitos, etſi fortè fame, ſiue obſidione, ſiue alioqui annonæ charitate inualeſcente immiſſa, id factitarint.

Potum autem interdum eſſe multis cum iumentis communem non magnoperè contraibimus: nempè aquam lympidiſſimam, naturalem illum potum, omnibus animantibus à Deo creatum: quem etiam ex parte, medicinæ conſulti comendant, imò nec patres Hebræi, nec ipſe Seruator noſter faſtidiebat.

Ad amictum verò quod attinet, (Nam & amictum *victus* vocabulo comprehendimus) nequaquam hic cum iumentis communis eſt. Illa enim pilis & villis natura (quod *Munſterum* & *Krantzium* nouiſſe iurarim) veſtiuit: homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere neceſſe habent. Hæc indumenta, quæ quidem Iſlandia ſuppeditat, ex lanis ouium conficiuntur. Sed non cogitaram ideò rectè dici, amictum eſſe nobis cum ouibus communem, ſiue eundem. Vtuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ouilla lana confectis, licet artificio ſubtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim eſt, ex eo laudem vel ſuperbam æſtimationem quætere, quod naturæ noſtræ infirmitatem arguit.

Statu. Reſtat ille ſtatus, quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cuiuſmodi ſit, aut eum eſſe velint noſtri ſcriptores, certè non facilè aſſequor. Status, inquit *Doletus*, eſt vel corporis, vel cauſarum, vel ordinis & cōditionis. Certè alium eſſe ſtatum noſtri corporis, quàm iumentorum (nam præter duos pedes etiam manus habemus, & corpore ac vultu ſurſum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem & conditionem noſtram ducimus. Illi boni viri, ſi id de ſe aut alijs cognitum habent, fateantur. Nos hæc tam vana & in Deum creatorem noſtrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

Cæterum quia noſtrum eſt, nec amori patriæ, nec vlli rei tantum tribuere, quin plus ſemper & vbique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid ſit, quod huic infami ſcriptorum conuicio occaſionem fortè dederit.

Occaſio harum fabularum.

Sunt in vicinia *Schalholtiæ*, ad littus *Iſlandiæ* auſtrale, parœchiolæ tres, inter duos rapidiſſimos amnes Thioꝛſaa & Olffwis Aa interceptæ; quæ & ſyluis & ceſpitibus, conſueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite, ferè deſtituuntur. In iſtis parœchijs habitantes, & ſi qui ſint vicini, quamuis plures eorum, vt de omnibus rebus, ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, quæ ad focos & balnea opus habent, ſibi opportunè proſpiciunt: Tamen ſunt inter eos quidam, ſed infimæ tantum ſortis coloni, qui quoniam iſtis rebus domi deſtituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant, in culinis fœno ad coquendos cibos vtuntur: Aſt vbi hyemis niuoſæ ſęuitia horrida ingruit, coloni iſti miſeri ad ſuum bouile refugiunt, illic ſcilicet exſtructis tabulatis interdiù operas domeſticas exercentes, à bobus, cum focos habere nequeant, calorem mutuantur, quemadmodum mihi ab alijs narratum eſt. Sicq; illi tantùm, qui ſanè pauciſſimi ſunt, communi cum bobus tecto, in bruma, vti quidem non gaudent, ſed coguntur. Verùm victum & ſtatum longè alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hęc eſt in iſtis Parœchiolis quorundam ſors & inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta eſt, quamuis non ſatis iuſtè. Vbi, quo iure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de iſtis paucis colonis verum eſt, libenter quæſierim? Tædet de his pluribus agere: Tantùm quia mihi cum Theologis res eſt, illud Salomonis ijs reponam. Qui calumniatur egenum, deridet factorem eius.

Prouerb. 14.

Equidem quia gens hæc noſtra pauper & egena eſt & fuit, ac veluti quidam mendicus inter diuites, tot extraneorum probra & ſcommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certè, ſi aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune eſt, tamen omnes ex ijſdem conſtamus elementis, & vnus & idem omnium Pater, Deus.

SECTIO QVARTA.

In ſimplicitate ſancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius quærant, quàm natura concedit. Beata gens, cuius paupertati nullus inuidet. Sed mercatores Anglici & Dani quieſcere gentem non ſinunt, qui ob piſcaturam euehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoq; noſtra inuexerunt. Nam & fruges aquæ miſcere in potum didicerunt, & ſimplicis aquæ hauſtus oderunt. Nunc aurum & argentum cum noſtris admirantur.

Krantzius.
Munſter.

S*Implicitate.* Equidem ſanctæ ſimplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, meritò gaudemus: Sed id dolemus, quòd reperiatur etiam apud nos iuſtitiæ ac legum ingens deprauatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum ſcelerum myriades conſequuntur; quod pij & boni omnes quotidiè deplorant. Id mali autē nequaquam ſupremi Magiſtratus, hoc eſt, Regis noſtri clementiſſimi, ſed verius noſtrapte culpa accidit: qui hæc quæ clàm ipſo præpoſterè geruntur & quæ in inferiore magiſtratu deſiderantur, ad maieſtatem ipſius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porrò, non ſolùm Angli & Dani, ſed maximè Germani, vt nunc, ita olim terram noſtram, non ob *piſcaturam* ſed piſces auehendos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miſcendarum frugum aquæ, Iſlandos docuerunt. Quippe ipſi Noruagi primi, quòd nobis conſtet, terræ noſtræ incolæ, à quibus oriundi ſunt Iſlandi, artem illam, ſicut etiam aureos argenteoſq; nummos, ſecum ex Noruegia attulerunt, vt initio non fuerit minor argenti & auri vſus apud nos, quàm eſt hodiè.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumuè frequentes ad nos nauigationes, terra noſtra multò, quàm nunc, ſeneſcentis mundi incommoda, cœlo ſoloq; perſentiens, fertilior, in delectiſſimis quibuſque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

Munſterus, Krantzius.

SECTIO QVINTA.

Rex Daniæ qui & Noruagiæ quotannis præfectum immittit genti.

ANno Domini 846. natus eſt *Haraldus* Harfagre (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858. Rex *Noruagiæ* deſignatus, vbi ætas vireſque iuſtum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperij Noruagici mutauit. Nam antea in minutas prouincias diuiſum (quas Fylki vocabant, & qui his præerant regulos, Fylkis Konga) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum & genere & potentia valentes aliquot regni incolæ ægrè ferrent, patria exulare, quàm ipſius Tyrannidis iugum non detrectare maluerunt. Vnde hi in Iſlandiam, antea quidem à quibuſdam viſam & inuentam, at deſertam tamen, colonias, dicto ſuperius Anno 874. tranſtulerunt: Atque ſic genti noſtræ originem præbentes, ſe Iſlandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodiè poſteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque Iſlandi diu, nullius imperium agnoſcentes, annis ſcilicet 386. plus minus. Et quamuis Rex Noruagiæ *Haquinus* ille conatus, qui omnium regum Noruagiæ diutiſſimè, nempe pluſquam 66. annos imperium gerebat, ſæpè per legatos tentarat tributarios ſibi facere Iſlandos, conſtanter tamen ſemper reſtiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipſi præſtarent. Atque poſtea ſemper in data fide perſiſtentes, & regibus Noruagię parentes, tranſlato per *Margaretam*, Daniæ, Sueciæ, & Noruagiæ reginam, Noruagorum imperio, ad Danos, vnà cum reliquis imperij Noruagici Inſulis, Sereniſſimum Danię regem; Dominum & Regem ſuum hodiè ſalutant.

858

1260

Margareta.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Krantzius. Munſterus.

Omnia inter eos communia ſunt, præter vxores.

HOc loco præmittit *Krantzius* talem Ironiam.

Multa inſignia in moribus illorum, &c. Porrò etiam hîc fidem veſtram eleuat ingenium, ad aſſerendum res incompertas nimis procliue, cupidinem nouitatis, & nominis ac famæ, imò veritatis curam prępoſteram arguit, omnium & rerum perſonarúmq;, & temporum experientia: O ſcriptores ſuſpiciendi.

Teſtes ſunt leges politicæ, quibus inde ab initio cum Noruagis vſi ſunt eiſdem Iſlandi: De Rege & ſubditis: De foro, & his quæ in forenſem diſceptationem cadere poſſunt: De hæreditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptijs, furto, rapinis, mutuo, contractibus & cæteris: Quæ omnia, quorſum illis, quibus res omnes ſunt communes? Teſtes ſunt, tot de bonis mobilibus & immobilibus contentiones, turbæ & certamina, in foris ac iudicijs Iſlandorum: Teſtes ſunt Reges nunc Daniæ & olim Noruagiæ, qui tot libellis ſupplicibus Iſlandorum, ad componendas iſtas de poſſeſſionibus controuerſias, olim & nunc interpellati ſæpè fuerant. Teſtis contra ſeipſum *Krantzius*, cuius verba diſtinction. i. huius, hæc fuerunt, *Ante ſuſceptam Chriſti fidem* (Iſlandi) *lege naturali viuentes parum à lege noſtra diſcrepabant, &c.* Si lege naturæ, certè lege illa iuſtitiæ, quæ tribuit vnicuique ſuum: Si lege iuſtitiæ, certè proprietatum & dominiorum diſtinctiones in noſtra gente locum habuiſſe oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipſam legem etiam in Eccleſia, & quidem ſatis atrociter, ſæpè delinquitur: tamen & Eccleſia & Ethnici iuſtiſſimam & optimam eſſe ſemper faſſi ſunt.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos ſuos & pueros æquo habent in precio: Niſi quòd à pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium quàm catulum, &c.

QVamuis principio huius commentarioli cenſuerim, *Munſterum* & alios magni nominis viros, in ijs, quæ de Iſlandia ſcripta reliquerunt, eſſe à calumniæ nota liberandos: num tamen id hîc, etiam à candidiſſimo & maximè ſincero quocunque fieri poſſit, non ſatis video. Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt Nautarum maleuolas nugas & mendacia ſecuti, tam atroci & contumelioſo opprobrio gentem noſtram diffamarent, commacularéntque? Nihil profectò, niſi ſecura ridendi & contemnendi gentem pauperem & ignotam, licentia, & ſi quæ ſunt huic vicia confinia.

Cæterum nôrint omnes non tam Iſlandis, quàm ipſis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, & plurima etiam alia in hiſtoriam ſuam accumulant, efficiunt vnà, vt alibi quoque ſuſpectæ fidei habeantur. Illúdq; quod ait *Ariſtoteles*, lucrantur, *vt cum vera dixerint, illis ſine ſuſpitione non credatur.*

Sed age Lector, ſubſiſte pauliſper, mecúmq; grauitatem & ſapientiam tantorum virorum expende:

expende : Ne tantum Iſlandiæ Elogium intactum prætereamus. Docuerunt hactenus *Krant-*
zius & *Munſterus* : *Iſlandos eſſe Chriſtianos. Item: Iſlandos ante ſuſceptam Chriſti fidem lege natu-*
rali vixiſſe. Item : Iſlandos vixiſſe lege quadam non multum à lege Germanorum diſcrepante. Item:
Vixiſſe eos in ſancta ſimplicate. Adeldum igitur Lector,& quas Chriſtianiſmi,Legis naturalis,le-
gis Germanorũ, ſanctæ ſimplicitatis notas Authores illi requirant, & in Iſlandis monſtrent ac
depingant,perpende. Vna fuit ſupra,quòd infernum ſiue carcerem damnatorum montis Heclę 1
voragine & radicibus circumſcribant Iſlandi;de quo vide Sect.1.huius:& ſect.7.prior.part.Al- 2
tera nota,quòd,cum Anabaptiſtis, proprietatum & dominiorum diſtinctiones tollant : de quo
Sect. præced. Tertia eáque longè excellentiſſima hæc eſt: illi præclari affectus naturales, a- 3
mor, cura, & animus tam pius & paternus Iſlandorum in liberos, quòd videlicet eiuſdem pre-
cij ſint apud illos canes & filij,aut hi etiam vilioris. Siccine nobis *Munſtere* & *Krantzi Legem*
Chriſti,naturæ,Germanorum, & ſanctam ſimplicitatem depingitis ? O picturam præclaram & ex-
cellentem,quamuis nõ prorſus *Apellæam*:O Inuentum acutum & admirandum, ſi benè authen-
ticum: O ſcientiam pluſquàm humanam,etſi non prorſus diuinam.

Nos verò Iſlandi,quamuis vltimi & gelidam concluſi ad Arcton, longè alias Chriſtianiſmi notas requirimus. Nam & præceptum Dei habemus,vt quilibet proximũ diligat velut ſeipſum. Iam nemo eſt,puto,qui ſeipſum non plus diligat,aut pluris faciat,quàm canem. Quod ſi tantus eſſe debet proximi cuiuſlibet fauor, tanta æſtimatio, tantus amor, quantus quæſo erit in liberos? Quorum arctiſſimum amorem,pręterquam quòd ipſa parens natura nobis firmiſſimè cõciliauit,etiam Lex diuina curam ſummam in enutriendo habere iuſſit.(Exo.12.24.Ephe.6.4.) vt ſcilicet ſint in ſancto coniugio,Eccleſiæ quædam ſeminaria, omnis pietatis & honeſtatis exercitia : Prout vates ille pulcherrimè cecinit.

Vult Eccleſiolam quamlibet eſſe domum.

Item:

Coniugium humanæ quædam eſt Academia vitæ.

Vt iam ſatis conſtet,apud Chriſtianos longè pluris faciendos & curandos filios,quàm canes: Et,ſi qui non aliter curent,Chriſtianos non eſſe.

Sed & hic in prolem dulciſſimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam ſatis apertè conſpicitur:vt ſi quos hoc penitùs exueris, eoſdem etiam homines eſſe negaueris. Monſtrant id matres Carthaginenſes,cum tertio bello Punico adoleſcentes quíq; lectiſſimi obſides in Siciliam mitterentur,quos illæ fletu & lamentatione miſerabili ad naues comitatæ, & ex his quædam à filiorum complexibus ægrè diuulſæ,cum ventis pandi vela cernerent, nauéſq; è portu egredi,dolore ſtimulante,in ſubiectos fluctus diſſiluere; *Sabellico authore.* Monſtrat *Ægeus*, qui nauem filij *Theſei*,cum velis atri coloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, perijſſe filium ratus, vitam in proximis vndis finiuit. *Sabellic.*lib.3.cap.4.Monſtrat *Gordianus* ſenior,Africæ proconſul, qui ſimiliter,ob rumores de morte filij,vitam ſuſpendio clauſit.*Campofulgos* lib.5.cap.7.Monſtrant idem *Iocaſta Creontis* filia, *Auctolia Sinonis* F. *Anius* Tuſcorum Rex,*Orodes* Rex Parthorum, & alij numero innumero : De quibus vide ſtat.lib.2.*Plutarchum*,& alios,&c. Huc illud. *Amor deſcendit,&c.* Adeò,vt videas non minus eſſe homini proprium, ſobolem intimè diligere, & ſummo amore proſequi, quàm aui volare; vt ſi iam aliquando homines eſſe Iſlandos, nedum Chriſtianos ſcriptores noſtri faſſi ſint,hunc amorem & affectum in filios ijſdem,quantumuis inuiti & repugnantes, adſcribant:ſin minus,non modò hominis titulum & dignitatem illis detrahant,ſed etiam infrà bruta & quaſuis beſtias,quæ ipſæ,ſtimulante natura,maximo prolis ſuæ & arctiſſimo amore tenentur,deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam noſtratium ſatis illuſtria: Tacebo leges noſtras plagiarias ipſis Iſlandis antiquiores, quippe à Noruagis acceptas, quæ exſtant in codice legum noſtrarum,titulo Mannhelge: cap.5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemuis,nedum filium) extraneis vendat,&c.

Iam verò ſi quis eò fortunæ deueniat, vt proprium filium,ſiue incolæ, ſiue extranei alicuius poteſtati,vel fame vel extrema quacunq; vrgente neceſſitate, aut periculo,permittat,ne famelicum inedia deficientem aſpicere cogatur, canem verò in proprias dapes reſeruet, Is minimè dicendus eſt filium æquo aut inferiore loco habere quàm canem, ſiue id faciant Iſlandi, ſiue extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanorũ vel Danorum nautę apud nos mendicos quoſdã,liberis onuſtos,quorũ hîc maximus eſt numerus,qui iocando,vt ſunt nugis ſcurrilibus addicti,dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud : Cúmq; rogarint extranei : Quid tu mihi viciſſim? Reſponderint mẽdici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14.dabo ex eis vnũ vel plures,&c. Solet enim iſta mendicorum colluuies iſtiuſmodi ſcurriles dialogiſmos cum extraneis inſtituere. Quod ſi tum quiſpiam bonus vir, miſertus ſtoliditatis & inopię mendicorum, vno illos filio leuauerit, eíque propter

Deum in alijs terris, aliquo tandem modo benè proſpexerit, num mendicus, qui alioqui cum filio, fame & paupertate moriturus, filium miſerenti permittit & committit, filium iſtum ſuum minoris facit quàm canem? Prȩſtitum eſt à multis tam Iſlandis quàm extraneis huiuſmodi beneuolentiæ & commiſerationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobiliſſimus *Accilius Iulius* à ſereniſſimo rege *Daniæ* olim miſſus ad Iſlandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui vt audiui, 15. pueros pauperculos aſſumpſit & ſecum in *Daniam* auexit: Vbi poſtea ipſius beneficio ſingulos ſuo vitæ generi addictos, in viros bonos & frugi euaſiſſe, mihi narratum eſt.

Quid ſi quis in extrema conſtitutus anguſtia, filium non modò vendat; ſed ſi emptorem nõ habet, ipſe mactet & comedat? Nota ſunt huius rei exempla: Parentum videlicet inuitæ crudelitatis in filios, ſtimulante nõ odio vel aſtorgia, ſed ineuitabili neceſſitate compellente. Num quis inde vniuerſale gentis alicuius cõuicium exſtruxerit? Legimus, in obſidione Samariæ matres duas filios ſuos mactaſſe, & coctos comediſſe: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obſidione Ieroſolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miſerrimæ matris, filium miſellum iam mactaturæ. *Infans, ait,* (referam enim *Euſebij* verba de hac re, etſi notiſſima, vt miſeræ matris affectus appareat,) *miſelle & infelix, cuinam in hoc belli, famis, & ſeditionis tumultu, te commodè reſeruem? Si Romanorum ſubijciamur imperio, illic ſeruitutis iugo preſſi, vitam infœliciter exigemus. Sed ſeruitutem credo fames anteuertet. Accedit factioſorum prædonum turba, his vtriſq; miſerijs toleratu multò aſperior. Age igitur mi gnate, ſis matri cibus, ſis prædonibus furia, ſis communi hominum vitæ fabula, quæ res vna ad Iudæorum calamitates deeſſe videtur. Quæ cum dixiſſet, natum trucidat, aſſatúmq; dimidiũ mox comedit, dimidium reſeruat, &c.* Euſebius *libro 3. capite 6.* Iam quis eſt, qui non credat miſerrimam hanc matrem filium hunc ſuum, domini alicuius, ſi ſe obtuliſſet, apud quem credidiſſet ſeruatum iri, aut emptoris poſſeſſioni fuiſſe permiſſuram? Nota eſt fames, Calagurium, Hiſpaniæ vrbem, olim à *Cneio Pompeio* obſeſſam opprimens (*Val.* libro ſeptimo cap. 7.) cuius ciuibus, vxores & liberi in vſum extremæ dapis conuerſi ſunt, quos profectò, pro cibarijs & alijs dapibus haud inuiti vendidiſſent. Nota eſt quoque fames, quæ Anno Domini 851. (*Vincent*. libro 25. cap. 36.) Germaniam attriuit, vt etiam pater filium ſuum deuorare voluerit. Notum etiam eſt, poſt mortem *Henrici* ſeptimi Imperat. fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes deuorarint, & præcipuè quidem in *Polonia* & *Bohemia*. Et ne exempla tantùm antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annonæ ſæuitiam, Anno 1586. & 1587. in *Hungaria* graſſatam fuiſſe, vt quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immaniſſimo Chriſtianorum hoſti proprios liberos vendiderint, & in perpetuum ſeruitutis iugum manciparint: quidam paruulos ſuos, quos vlterius tolerare non ſuſtinebant, crudeli miſericordia in Danubium proieciſſe, & ſuffocaſſe dicantur. Sed, num hæc & ſimilia exempla quempiam eò inſaniæ adigent, vt dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in eſcam propriam mactare conſueuiſſe, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis ſubmergere & ſuffocare ſolitã eſſe? Non opinor. Sic neq; quòd mendici apud Iſlandos, extrema vrgente neceſſitate, cuius duriſſimi ſunt morſus, filios ſuos libenter amittant, toti genti, & quidem probri loco, communiter adſcribendũ eſt à quoquam, niſi apud eundẽ omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

Cæterùm optarim ego, parcius Iſlandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matronæ, & præcipuè nobiles, canes in maximis delicijs habent, vt eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in ſacris concionibus, ſinu geſtent, quem morem in peregrinis quibuſdam, quos Romæ catulos ſimiarum & canum in gremio circumferre *Cæſar* conſpexit, hac quæſtione reprehendit, dum quæreret: Numquid apud ipſos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui à natura inditos ſibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac præcipuè ſobolis incitarentur, in beſtias transferunt, quarum deliciarum voluptas, Iſlandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam *Munſtere* & *Krantzi*, alias nobis Chriſtianitatis, (vt ſic dicam) legis naturæ, legis item Germanorum, & ſanctæ ſimplicitatis notas quærite.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Krantzius.
Munſterus.

Epiſcopum ſuum colunt pro Rege: ad cuius nutum reſpicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, ſcripturis, & ex conſuetudine aliarum gentium conſtituit, quàm ſanctè obſeruant.

FVit equidem initio ferè ad repurgatam Euangelij doctrinam maxima Epiſcopi obſeruantia; ſed nunquam tanta vt exteris legibus aut conſuetudini cederent noſtræ leges politicæ, ex nutu Epiſcopi. Nec tempore *Alberti Krantzij*, multò minùs *Munſteri* (quorum ille 1517. hic 1552. poſt partum ſalutiferum deceſſit) Epiſcopi Iſlandorum regiam obtinuerunt authoritatem, cùm ſcilicet multi ex ijs, qui diuitijs paulò plus valebant, aduerſus ipſos conſurgere non dubitarint; quæ res apud noſtrates liquidò conſtat. Interim tamen Epiſcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in ſuam poteſtatem redegerunt, alios furibunda ſæuitia id temporis perſecuti ſunt.

Porrò etſi tum fuit magna,imò maxima Epiſcopi obſeruantia, tamē nunc diſpulſis tenebris Papiſticis,alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur,eorumq́; mentes contemptus libertate & refractaria contumacia, aduerſus *Deum* & ſacrum miniſterium,etiam hîc armare non negligit.

SECTIO NONA.

Munſter.

Illic victitant plerumq́; piſcibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde à maritimis ciuitatibus infertur: & qui inde cum magno lucro piſces exportant. Item Munſterus. *Illic piſcibus induratis vtuntur loco panis qui illic non creſcit.*

Vide Lector,quàm *Munſterum* iuuet, eadem oberrare chorda: vt cum de gente ignota nihil ſcribere poſſit, quod coloris aliquid habeat,vel falſa afferre, vel eadem ſæpiùs repetere, ſicque cramben eandem recoquere ſuſtineat: Dixerat enim paulò ante,*Iſlandos piſcibus viuere.* Verba ipſius ſuperiùs etiam recitata, hæc ſunt. *Iſlandia populos continet multos, ſolo pecorum paſtu & nunc captura piſcium victitantes, &c.* Et vt cætera tranſeam in quibus leue quiddam notari poterat; Illud ſanè,*panem in Iſlandia non creſcere*, perquam verum eſt. Quod etiam illi cum Germania commune eſſe crediderim,quòd videlicet nec illic panis creſcat,niſi fortè in *Munſteri* agro,vbi etiam acetum naturale optimè creſcit. Sed hæc, troporum indulgentia,ſcilicet,ſalua erunt. Ad conuicia autem,quæ ex victu Iſlandorum petunt extranei,infrà paucis reſpondebitur,Sect.15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Munſter.
Krantzius.

Incolæ res maiorum & ſui temporis celebrant cantibus & inſculpunt ſcopulis,atque promontorijs, vt nulla,niſi cum naturæ iniuria,intercidant apud poſteritatem.

Friſius.

Cytharædi, & qui teſtitudine ludunt,apud eos reperiuntur quàm plurimi, qui prædulci modulamine & volucres & piſces irretiant & capiant.

Veterum geſta apud Iſlandos conſeruata.

Qvin veterum geſta aliquot cantibus & poëmatibus noſtratium, vt & ſoluta oratione, apud nos conſeruentur, non negamus. Quòd verò à nobis aut maioribus noſtris eadem ſcopulis vel promontorijs inſculpta ſunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque illam tantam Citharædorum,aues aut piſces demulcentium,laudem accipere.Statuimus enim animi eſſe generoſi ac veracis,vt crimina falſa refellere, ita laudem immeritam ſibi haud vendicare, nec, etſi quis tribuat,agnoſcere.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Sed cum ſcriptoribus iam dictis,viris alioqui ſpectatæ eruditionis & pręclari nominis,qui tamen hæc ita inconſideratè ſcriptis ſuis interſeruerunt,actionis finis eſto.

Et iam magna mei pars eſt exhauſta laboris:

Sed reſtat tamen fœtus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcircò anonymum ſecundo partu mater edi voluit,vt venenatis aculeis nomen Iſlandorum tantò liberiùs pungeret.

Porrò licet aduerſus hanc beſtiam in arenam deſcendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen conſtare volo,quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet,non vt cum illius peſtifera virulentia,conuicijs aut maledicentia certem (Nam vt eſt in triuiali paroemia,

Hoc ſcio pro certo,quod ſi cum ſtercore certo,
Vinco,ſeu vincor,ſemper ego maculor:)

Sed vt bonis & cordatis omnibus,etiam extraneis, ſatisfaciam, qui maledicentiam iſtam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri ſunt,aut olim audierint, ne & hi nos meritò calumniam tantam ſuſtinere credant: Tum etiam vt alios qui iſtis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis noſtræ opprobrium vtuntur, & inde dicteria & contumelioſas ſubſannationes ad deſpiciendos Iſlandos petunt,ab illa mordendi licentia in poſterum,ſi fieri poſſit, abducamus.

Ergò,ne longis ambagibus Lectori faſtidium oratio noſtra pariat,ad ea narranda accedam, quæ maledicus ille Germanus in ſuum paſquillum congeſſit: Quem etiam ſua de Iſlandis carmina Encomiaſtica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem,niſi præuiderem fœtum illum probroſum,tot & tam varijs maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauſeam mouere poſſe, ac ſua ſpurcitie ab ijs legendis abſterrere.

Referam igitur præcipua,(ijs ſcilicet omiſſis quæ cum alijs communia habet,atque hactenus ventilata ſunt) ſed,quàm ille,longè mitius; ne,vt dixi, linguæ ipſius obſcœna petulantia, aures bonæ & eruditæ offendantur:Qui ipſum videre aut audire volet, quærat apud propolas. Nobis inquam,non eſt in animo putida ipſius calumnia & conuiciorum ſentina, has chartas inquinare. Primùm igitur obijcit Germanicus hic noſter, ſi Dijs placet, Hiſtoricus: *Multos ex paſtoribus Iſlandiæ toto biennio ſacram concionem ad populum nullam habere:* Vt in priore editione, 1. Obiectio ſeu conuicium.

huius paſquilli legitur, quod tamen poſterior editio eiuſdem refutat: Dicens, eoſdem paſtores in integro anno tantū quinquies concionari ſolitos: quæ duo quàm ritè ſibi conſentiant, videas bone Lector, cum conſtet Authorem mox à prima editione vix vidiſſe Iſlandiam. Ita ſcilicet plerumq. mendacium mendacio proditur, iuxta illud: *Verum vero conſentit: Falſum nec vero, nec falſo.*

Sed cum noſtrum non ſit veritatem vſpiam diſſimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones ſacras circa id tempus, quo iſte Sycophanta in Iſlandia vixit, nempe anno 1554. aut circiter multò fuiſſe rariores, quàm ſunt hodiè, tum ſcilicet tenebris Papiſticis vix dum diſcuſſis. Quod etiam de Pſalmis Dauidicis à vulgo latinè demurmuratis, vt idē noſtratibus exprobrat, intelligere eſt: Papiſtæ enim totam ſpem ſalutis in ſua Miſſa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parùm fuere ſolliciti. Poſtquam verò caligine illa exempti ſumus, aliter ſe rem habere, Deo inprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundā paſtorum noſtrorum tardam ſtupiditatem, ſegnitiem & curam præpoſteram non poſſimus omni modo excuſare. Quod vtrum in nullos ſuorum popularium etiam competat, aliæ quoque nationes viderint.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

2.Conuitium. *Secundò calumniatur vitilitigator: Adulteria & ſcortationes non modò publica eſſe & frequentia ſcelera inter Iſlandos: ſed ab ijs pro ſcelere ne haberi quidem.*

ETſi autem fœdiſſimæ iſtæ turpitudines etiam in noſtra repub. non prorſus inuſitatæ ſunt: tamen cum omnibus conſtet in alijs quoque nationibus longè etiam frequentiores eſſe, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia maior: immeritò & malignè hoc nomine magis Iſlandos, quàm populos & gentes reliquas, quarum, vt dixi, nomen etiam plus noſtratibus hoc crimine malè audit, notauit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longè minus ad ſcelera, & turpitudines in noſtra patria conniueri, quàm paſſim hîc fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in pręſenti conuitio attexuit: videlicet, *quòd ſcelera iſta ab Iſlandis pro ſcelere non habeantur.* Nam in quà demum repub. id impudens ille aſſerere audet? Illáne; quæ in legem codicis ll. titulo Mannhelge: cap. 28. iurauit; quę ſtatuit, vt iterum adulterium qui cum coniuge alterius commiſerit, confiſcatis ſuis bonis, capite etiam plectatur? Illáne, quæ pro adulterio, à famulo cum vxore domini commiſſo, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogauit? Illáne, quæ eundem, ſi ad ſtatutum tempus non ſoluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proſcribendum decreuit? Illáne: cuius leges politicæ, quemuis in adulterio cum vxore, à viro legitimè deprehenſum, ſi euaſerit, homicidij mulctam expendere iubent? Illáne, cuius itidem leges politicæ, in complexu matris, filiæ aut ſororis, à filio, patre, vel fratre deprehenſum, vitam ſuam dimidio eius, quod quis ſi eundem inſontem interfeciſſet, expendere teneretur, redimere iubent? Illàne, cuius leges politicæ adulterium ſceleris infandi nomine notarunt & damnarunt? Et in eo tertiò deprehenſum, capite plectendum ſeuerè mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quàm iniurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium & ſcortationes in Iſlandia peccati aut ſceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud ſcelus impunitum omitttant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni & pij omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut malè audire.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

3.Conuitium. T*Ertium conuicium eſt, quo fraudis & perfidiæ erga Germanos Iſlandis notam inurit.* Fuit autem proculdubio famoſi huius libelli author, cerdo & propola circumforaneus, multoſq; Iſlandiæ angulos, ſordidæ mercaturæ gratia, oſtiatim adierat: quod ipſe de ſe in præclaris illis ſuis rhythmis teſtatur, *maximā Iſlandiæ partem ſibi peragratam eſſe.* Vnde cum ipſe mala fide cū multis egerit (plerumq; enim fraus & mendacia coniunguntur, & mendacem ſe fuiſſe, hac ingenij ſui experientia ſatis probauit) etiam fortè à ſe deceptorum fraudem eſt expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit: Diſſimulato intereà, qua fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua eſt nauigatio ad Iſlandos, cum noſtris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cùm non alios conuiciari, ſed aliorum in gentem noſtram immerita conuicia monſtrare inſtituerim, conſultò ſuperſedeo.

SECTIO DECIMAQVARTA.

4.5.6.& 7.Conuitia. *Quarto: negat in conuiuijs quemquam diſcumbentium à menſa ſurgere: ſed matres familias ſingulis conuiuis quoties opus fuerit matellas porrigere. Prætereà variam conuiuiorum edendi bibendiq; ruſticitatem notat.*

5 *Cubandi & prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto promiſcuè viri cum fœ-*

minis pernoctent , inque lecto cibum capiant : atq; interea ſe non niſi aleæ aut latrunculorum ludo exerceant.

Sexto. Calumniatur eoſdem faciem & os vrina proluere. 6

Septimo. Nuptiarum, ſponſalium, natalitiorum celebritatem & funerum ritus contemptuoſè extenuat. 7

HÆc & huiuſmodi plurima in gentem inſontem,imò de ſe & ſuis optimè meritam, impurus calumniator euomit. Quæ quidem eius generis ſunt, vt illi de his reſpondere prorſus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid huiuſmodi apud homines ſordidos, & ex ipſa vulgi colluuie infimos,quibuſcũ longè ſæpius,quàm bonis & honeſtis conuerſabatur,animaduertiſſe præclarum hunc notarium Germanicũ (vixerat enim, vt eius rhythmi teſtantur,diuiuſculè in locis maritimis Iſlandiæ,quo ferè promiſcuum vulgus,tempore piſcaturę annuatim confluit,& tam extraneorũ nautarum, quàm ſua nequitia corruptum, ſæpius inhoneſtè mores & vitam inſtituit) Tamen manifeſtiorem etiam hoc loco iniuriam nobis facit, vnius nebulonis & deſperati Sycophantę turpitudine, totã gentẽ (vt ferè ſolent etiã alij) aſpergendo,quàm vt refutatione vlla indigeat. Cuius rei etiam ipſi extranei in noſtra Inſula non parum verſati,locupletiſſimi teſtes eſſe poſſunt.

Poſſem multas eius farinæ fœditates, ruſticitates & obſcœnitates, etiam in ipſius natione deprehenſas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam,nec in aliorum opprobriũ diſertũ eſſe iuuat; nec tam tener eſſe volo,vt verbulis tranſuerberer. Id tantùm viderint boni & pij omnes,cuius ſit animi,peſſima quæq; ab vno aut altero deſignata,toti genti obijcere. Si quis Germanię aut alterius nationes vrbes & pagos omnes peragret, & ſcelera ac mores peſſimos,furtà, homicidia, parricidia,ſcortationes,adulteria,inceſtus,luxuriem, rapinas & reliquas impietates & obſcœnitates in vnum coactas,omnibus Germanis,aut alioqui alteri cuiuis toti nationi communes eſſe aſſerat,atq; hæc omnia inſigniter mentiendo,exaggeret,íſne optimæ rei ſtudioſus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum,licet verbero,&,vt propriè notem,porcus impurus,iſte,inquam,Rhythmiſta,naturam & ingenium ſuum eiuſmodi loidoria prodiderit?

Notum eſt enim porcos,cũ hortos amæniſſimos intrarint,nec liliũ nec roſas aut flores alioqui pulcherrimos & ſuauiſſimos decerpere: Sed roſtro in cœnum prono,quicquid eſt luti & ſtercoris volutare,vertere & inuertere, donec impuriſſima,hoc eſt,ſuo genio apprimè congruentia eruant,vbi demum ſolida voluptate paſcuntur.

Ad iſtum igitur modum hic porcus Rhythmiſta,optima,& quæ in noſtra Repub. laudibilia eſſe poſſunt,ſicco pede præterit,peſſima quæq;,atq; ea,vel à nullo,vel admodum paucis deſignata,hoc eſt,ſuæ naturæ,& ingenio aptiſſima,vt ſe eſſe,qui dicitur,re ipſa probaret,corraſit:vnde poſthac porci nomen ex moribus & ingenio ipſius factum,ſortitor.

SECTIO DECIMAQVINTA.

9.Conuicium.

NOnum conuicium hic recenſebimus,quod à victu,ac præcipuè cibo ac potu Iſlandorum maledicus ille porcus, non vno aut paucis verbis , ſed prolixa inuectiua petiuit: Nempe *quòd cibis vtantur vetuſtis,& inſulſis,idq; ſine panis vſu: Tum etiam quòd varia & incognita extraneis piſcium genera illis ſint eſui,& aquam ac ſerum lactis in potum miſceant.* Quæ omnia venenatus hic paſquillus diſerta contumelia,& ingenioſa calumnia,pulchrè amplificauit.

Cæterum etſi illum prolixiore reſponſione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur,partim haud leuiter noſtrę genti obijciunt,pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primùm igitur totam hanc gentem bipartitò ſecabimus: In mendicos, & hos qui & ſe & cum alijs etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum,& eorum qui ad hos proximè accedunt,omnia cibaria recenſere aut examinare haud facile eſt,nec quòd illos edere,aut ediſſe,extrema aliquãdo coëgit neceſſitas, reliquę genti cibariorũ genera aut numerũ præſcribere fas eſt. Nam & de ſuffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum ſeruantiſſima videri voluit antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora diſtinguemus,vt nihil mirum ſit, graſſante annonæ ſæuitia, multa à multis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuiſſe, quæ aliàs vix canes paſcant. Vt nuperrimè de Pariſienſibus accepimus, Anno 1590. arctiſſima Henrici 4. Nauarræi obſidione preſſis,& famem Saguntinam, vt P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpeſſis ; eos non modò equinam,ſed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum oſſibus in mortario contuſis farinæ pugillo vno aut altero miſto,confectam,in ſuas dapes conuertiſſe: & de alijs quoque populis notum eſt, qui ſimili vrgente inopia,etiam murium, felium & canum eſu victitarint. Sic etiam Iſlandis aliquando vſu venit (quanquam à canina,murium & felium, vt & humana carne hactenus, nobis quantum conſtat, abſtinuerint) licet non ab hoſte obſeſſis: Nam cùm ad victum neceſſaria ex terra marique petant, & ab extraneis nihil commeatus, aut parum admodum aduehatur, quoties terræ mariſque munera DEVS præcluſerit, horrendam annonæ caritatem ingruere & ingruiſſe, & dira fame vexari incolas, neceſſe eſt. Vnde fit, vt illos qui in diem viuere ſoliti fuerint, nec præcedentium annorum ſuperantes commeatus habuerint, extrema tentaſſe, quoties egeſtas vrſerit, credibile. Cæterum, vtrum hæc res publico & perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Iſlandos, quàm alias nationes, occaſionem meritò præbere debeat, candidis & bonis animis iudicandum relinquo.

Porrò quod de gentis noſtræ proprijs & conſuetis alimentis multi obijcere ſolent, potiſſimum de carne, piſcibus, butyro, abſque ſale inueteratis, Item de lacticinijs, frumenti inopia, potu aquæ, &c. & reliquis: id nos in plurimis Iſlandiæ locis (nam ſunt multi quoque noſtratium, qui Danorum & Germanorum more, quantum quidem caſtis & temperatis animis ad mediocritatem ſufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, vt & ipſis Pharmacopolijs, deſtituimur, menſam inſtruere & frugaliter viuere ſuſtineant) ita ſe habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet prædicta victus genera, paſſim ſine ſalis condimento vſitata eſſe. Et inſuper addemus, hæc ipſa cibaria, quæ extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipſos tamen extraneos apud nos, non ſine voluptate, manducare ſolitos. Nam etſi frumenti aut farris penè nihil vulgò habeamus, nec ſal, gulæ irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus ſuppetit: docuit tamen Deus. opt. max. etiam noſtros homines rationem tractandi & conſeruandi, quæ ad vitam ſuſtentandam ſpectant, vt appareat, Deum in alendis Iſlandis non eſſe ad panem vel ſalem alligatum. Quòd verò ſua omnia extranei iucundiora & ſalubriora clamant; negamus tamen ſatis cauſæ eſſe, cur noſtra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEVM gulæ noſtræ debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod ſine opiparis illis delicijs & lautitijs, quæ tam iucundæ & ſalubres putantur, etiam noſtræ gentis hominibus, annos & ætatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmiſſimã, robur ac vires validas (quæ omnia ſtatuimus boni & conuenientis alimenti, ϗ τῆς εὐχρασίας eſſe indicia) concedere dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorſus tam craſſo ac ſterili, quàm huic noſtro aëri & alimentis aſſignare Philoſophi videntur, quod re libentius, quàm verbis multi fortaſſe noſtratium comprobare poterant,

Ratio conſeruandi cibos ſine ſale.

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) *paupertas inuida deprimeret.*

Sed hîc vulgi iudicium, vt in alijs ſæpè, etiam eos qui ſapere volunt (iam omnes bonos & cordatos excipio) nimis apertè decipit: Videlicet hoc ipſo, quòd omnia, quæ illorum vſus non admittit, aut quæ non viderunt, aut experti ſunt antea, continuò damnent. Veluti, ſi quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum eſſe aliquod, non poſsit adduci vt credat: Sic illi ſenſu ſuæ experientiæ omnia metiuntur, vt nihil ſit bonum, nihil conducibile, niſi quo illi ſoli viuunt: At profectò nos, eò dementiæ non proceſsimus, vt eos qui locuſtis veſcuntur, quod tum de alijs, tum Æthiopię quibuſdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, & Indiæ gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus & Mageſtanes dederunt, teſte Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris marinis, aut ſquillis gibbis, quæ res hodiè nota eſt, vulgi propterea ludibrijs exponere præſumamus, à quibus tamen edulijs, in totum noſtra conſuetudo abhorret.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

10. Conuicium.

DEcimo. Hoſpitalitatem noſtris hominibus inhumaniſsimus porcus obijcit. *Marſupium* inquit, *non circumferunt, nec hoſpitiari aut conuiuari gratis pudor eſt. Nam ſi quis aliquid haberet, quod cum alijs communicaret, id faceret ſanè in primis ac libenter.* His quoq; annectamus, *quod templa, ſeu ſacras ædiculas domi propriæ à multis Iſlandorum extructas velut pudendũ quiddam commemorat: quodq; eas primùm omnium de manè oraturi petant, nec à quoquam prius interpellari patiantur.* Hæc ille velut inſigne quoddam dedecus in Iſlandis notauit.

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, ſui:

Nec porci diuina vnquam amarunt: quod ſanè metuo ne nimis verè de hoc conuiciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his vltimis duabus obiectionibus conſtare poterit.

Verùm enimuerò, cùm ipſe ſuarum virtutum ſit teſtis locupletiſsimus, nos Lectorem eius rei cupidum ad ipſius hoc opus Poëticum remittimus, quod is de Iſlandia compoſuit, & nos iam aliquot proximis diſtinctionibus examinauimus: cuius maledicentiæ & fœditatis nos hîc pro ipſo puduit; ita, vt quæ is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate & maledicentia in noſtram gentem ſcribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta eius eſt & tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia. DEVS BONE: Hoc conuiciorum plauſtrum (pauciſsima namq; attigimus: Nolui enim laterem lauare, & ſtulto, vt inquit ille ſapientiſsimus, ſecundum ſtultitiam ſuam reſpondere, cum in ipſius Rhythmis verbum non ſit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit paſquilli iſtius autorem hominem fuiſſe peſſimum, imò fæcem hominum, tum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, ſine pietate, ſine humanite?

Sed hîc meritò dubitauerim, peiuſne horum conuiciorum autor de Iſlandis meritus ſit, an verò Typographus ille Ioachimus Leo (& quicunq; ſunt alij, qui in ſuis editionibus, nec ſuum nec vrbis ſuæ nomen profiteri auſi ſunt) qui illa iam bis, ſi non ſæpius, typis ſuis Hamburgi euulgauit. Hoccine impunè fieri ſinitis, ô ſenatus populuſq; Hamburgenſis? Hanccine ſtatuiſtis gratiam deberi Iſlandiæ, quæ vrbi veſtræ iam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim noſtratium quibuſuis commodis, pecudum, pecorumq; carnibus, butyro & piſcium copia quotannis, penè immodica, quædam quaſi cella penuaria fuit? Senſere huius Inſulæ commoda etiam Hollandiæ olim & Angliæ vrbes aliquot: Præterea Danis, Bremenſibus, & Lubecenſibus cum Iſlandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis vnquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportarunt, qualis hęc eſt Gregoriana calumnia: In veſtrà, veſtrà inquam vrbe, nata, edita, iterata, ſi non tertiata: quę alias nationes, quibus Iſlandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius gentis opprobrium & contemptum armauit: quam à ciue veſtro acceptam iniuriam, iam 30. annos, & plus eò, Iſlandia ſuſtinet. Sed etiam, inſcio magiſtratu, eiuſmodi multa ſæpè fiunt: Neq; enim dubitamus, quin viri boni eiuſmodi ſcripta famoſa indignè ferant, & ne edantur, diligenter caueant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum iure naturali: *Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Cæſareo, de libellis famoſis: in quo irrogatur pœna grauiſſima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, ſcribunt, proferunt, emi vendiue curant, aut non ſtatim repertos diſcerpunt.*

Vrbes Angliæ commercia olim in Iſlandia exercentes.

Cæterum iam tandem receptui canamus: Nóſq; ad te, Iſlandia parens cariſſima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Chriſto hoſpitia cupidè & libenter exhibere non deſiſtis, inuiſam facient, conuertamus: Vbi te primùm ad id quod modò diximus, nempè ſerium & ardens ſtudium ac amorem DEI, & diuinę ſcientiæ, nobis in Chriſto patefactæ, totis viribus hortamur: vt vni huic cuncta poſthabeas, doctrinæ & verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum miniſterium & miniſtros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio proſequare: ſed reuerearis, foueas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impijs & profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis & honeſtatis præſcriptum geras, in vita priuata & communi, vt huic ſtatus & ordines Eccleſiaſtici & Politici, in vniuerſum obtemperent: In vtroque vitæ genere, ab illa amuſſi ſeu norma æqui & boni dependeas, & cæteros qui pertinacia ac impietate ab ea deflectunt, auerſeris, quos æquum eſt pœnis condignis affici, id quod magiſtratui curæ futurum non diffidimus. In primis verò nullos niſi ſpectatæ fidei & probitatis viros, quique ad iſtas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes coniungant, ad gubernacula admittas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis ritè occurritur. Res iſta enim, ſi probè curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi & huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur; ſubditorum conditio, longè erit optatiſſima: vita & mores tantò magis laudabiles ſequentur: pietas & honeſtas tantò erunt illuſtriores. At verò ſi ſecus fiat, ſi Paſtores Eccleſiarum ſuo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non reſpōdeant, ſi ad adminiſtrationē politicam promiſcuè admittantur, quicunq; eò propria leuitate, ambitione vel auaritia & contentione honoris, ruunt: ſi ijdem criminum aut improbitatis, vel ſuſpecti vel conuicti ſint, aut ſuſpectorum & conuictorum protectores, vel ijſdem illicitè indulgentes, quis tuus quæſo demum futurus eſt ſtatus? quæ facies? quæ conditio? Certè longè omnium miſerrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam & interitum tuum appropinquabis, quàm ſi iſtis te regendam commiſeris, qui quod in ijs eſt, licet ſint & ipſi ex tuis, iugulum tuum, propter emolumenta priuata, & odia latentia, quotidiè petere cōtendunt. Quamobrem (ne iſta pluribus agam) quanti interſit, vt hæc probè curentur, facilè, ô Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hæc tuis auribus à me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altiſſimos, qui ſub hac ad te Apoſtrophe latent, Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Maieſtatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita deploro damna publica, quæ ea de cauſa exoriuntur maximè, quòd patria noſtra à regia ſede, & conſpectu, tantò interuallo ſit remota, vt multi propterea tantò ſibi maiorem ſumant licentiam, & impunitatem ſecurius promittant. Cæterum iſta numini iuſtiſſimo, quod æquis omnia oculis aſpicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum eſt, ô patria, vt ſtudium in te noſtrum, eo quo ſperamus animo.i.comi & benigno, ſuſcipias: quod quamuis minimè tale eſt, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco deſiſtere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me ſatis ſtrenuè diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id eſt (ſi modò quicquam eſt) & quantulumcunque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium pro mea tenui parte afferre poſſem, nequaquam ſupprimendum putaui, nec enim illos laudare ſoleo,

Qui, quòd deſperent inuicti membra Glyconis,
Nodoſa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.

Me ſanè, ſi hæc commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, operæ nequaquã pœnitebit. Quòd ſi ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidiſſe haud videbor. Sin verò alios alumnos tuos, meos conterraneos, arte & induſtria ſuperiores, ad cauſam tuam, vel nunc, vel in poſterum ſuſcipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid eſt cur operæ precium non feciſſe dicar? quibus ſcribentibus, licet mea fama in obſcuro futura eſt, tamen præſtantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me conſolabor: Nam etſi famæ & nominis cura ſumma eſſe debet, maior tamen patriæ; cuius dignitate ſalua & incolumni, nos quoq; ſaluos & incolumes reputabimus.

Scripſi Holis Hialtædalenſium in Iſlandia, Æræ Chriſtianæ
Anno 1592. 17. Kalendas Maias.

A BRIEFE COMMENTARIE of *Iſland*: wherin the errors of ſuch as haue written concerning this Iſland, are detected, and the ſlanders, and reproches of certaine ſtrangers, which they haue vſed ouer-boldly againſt the people of *Iſland*, are confuted.

By *Arngrimus Ionas*, of *Iſland*.

To the moſt mighty Prince and Lord, Lord *Chriſtian* the 4. of *Denmarke*, *Norway*, and of the *Vandals* and *Gothes*, King elect: of *Sleſwic*, *Holſte*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarſe* Duke: Earle of *Oldenburg*, and *Delmenhorſt*: His moſt gratious Lord.

That heroical attempt of Anchurus, *ſonne of King* Midas *(moſt gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peereleſſe, deſerueth highly to be renowmed in hiſtories: in that freely and couragiouſly he offered his owne perſon, for the ſtopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, about* Celœna, *a towne in* Phrigia, *which dayly ſwallowed multitudes of men, and whatſoeuer elſe came neere vnto it. For when his father* Midas *was aduertiſed by the Oracle, that the ſaid gulfe ſhould not be ſhut vp, before things moſt precious were caſt into it:* Anchurus *deeming nothing to be more inualuable then life, plunged himſelfe aliue downe headlong into that bottomeles hole; and that with ſo great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers requeſt nor by the allurements and teares of his moſt amiable wife, he ſuffered himſelfe to be drawne backe from this his enterpriſe.*

Sperthius *alſo and* Bulis, *two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the reuenge of* Xerxes *that moſt puiſſant King of the Perſians, entended againſt the Lacedemonians, for killing the ambaſſadors of his father* Darius, *hyed them vnto the ſayd king, and that he might auenge the ambaſſadours death vpon them, not vpon their countrey, with hardy, and conſtant mindes preſented themſelues before him.*

The very ſame thing (moſt gracious prince) which moued them, and many others being enflamed with the loue of their countrey, to refuſe for the benefite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it ſelfe, the ſame thing (I ſay) hath alſo enforced me, not indeed to vndergoe voluntarie death, or freely to offer my ſelfe vnto the ſlaughter, but yet to aſſay that which I am able for the good of my countrey: namely, that I may gather together and refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the ſame: and ſo take vpon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps ſubiect to the ſiniſter iudgement of many.

In this purpoſe the example of Cneius Pompeius *hath likewiſe confirmed me: who being choſen procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme ſcarcetie and dearth of the citie, hauing taken vp ſome ſtore of graine in* Sicilia, Sardinia, *and* Africa, *is reported to haue had greater regard of his countrey, then of himſelfe. For when he made haſte towards* Rome, *and a mighty and dangerous tempeſt ariſing, he perceiued the Pilots to tremble, and to be vnwilling to commit themſelues to the rigor of the ſtormie ſea, himſelfe firſt going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake foorth into theſe words:* That we ſhould ſayle neceſſitie vrgeth: but that we ſhould liue, it vrgeth not. *In which words he ſeemeth wiſely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne priuate ſafetie.*

This man doe I thus imitate, { If ſmall with great as equals may agree:
And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying vp in ſtore thoſe things which might be applied to ſuccour the fame and credite of our nation, hauing now this long time bene oppreſſed with ſtrangers, through the enuie of certeine malicious perſons, I boldly aduenture to preſent theſe fewe meditations of mine vnto the viewe of the world, and ſo hoyſing vp ſailes to commit my ſelfe vnto a troubleſome ſea, and to breake foorth into the like ſpeeches with him: That I ſhould write neceſſitie vrgeth: but that my writings in all places ſhould ſatisfie euery delicate taſte, or eſcape all peeuiſhnes of carpers it vrgeth not. I doubt not but many will allow this my enterpriſe: the ſucceſſe perhaps all men will not approue. Neuertheles, I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, ſuſteining ſo many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praiſe or diſpraiſe, redounding perhaps vnto me vpon this occaſion. For what cauſe ſhould moue me to ſhunne the enuie and hate of ſome men, being ioyned with an indeuour to benefite and gratifie my countrey?

The errors of the writers of Iſland intolerable.

But if I ſhall ſeeme ſomewhat too bold in cenſuring the errors of writers, or too ſeuere in reprehending the ſlanders of ſome men: yet I hope all they will iudge indifferently of me, who ſhall ſeriouſly conſider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many alſo and how grieuous be the reproches of ſome, againſt vs, wherewith they haue ſundry wayes prouoked our nation, and as yet will not ceaſe to prouoke. They ought alſo to haue me excuſed in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their natiue ſoile, and to pardon my iuſt griefe for theſe iniuries offered vnto my countrey. And I in very deed, ſo much as lay in me, haue in all places moderated my ſelfe, and haue bene deſirous to abſtaine from reproches: but if any man thinke, we ſhould haue vſed more temperance in our ſtile, I truſt, the former reaſon will content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to vndergoe the ſame hazard, which I ſee is commonly incident to all men, that publiſh any writings: I muſt now haue eſpeciall regarde of this one thing: namely, of ſeeking out ſome patron, and Mecœnas for this my briefe commentary, vnder whoſe name and protection it may more ſafely paſſe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpoſe I could not finde out, nor wiſh for any man more fit then your royal Maieſtie, moſt gratious prince. For vnto him, who hath receiued vnder his power & tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I ſay) doe we make humble ſute, that he would haue reſpect alſo vnto the credit of our nation, ſo iniuriouſly diſgraced.

Yea verily (moſt gracious King) we are conſtreined to craue your Maieſties mercifull aide, not onely in this matter, but in many other things alſo which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwiſe belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof: which not by me, but by the letters ſupplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will ſhortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your ſacred Maieſtie, after the example of your Chriſtian predeceſſors, will vouchſafe vnto our countrey alſo, amongſt other Iſlands of your Maieſties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the neceſſitie of fleeing for redreſſe vnto your ſacred Maieſtie, is ours: ſo the glory of relieuing, regarding, and protecting vs, ſhal wholy redound vnto your ſacred Maieſtie: as alſo, there is layd vp for you, in reſpect of your foſtering and preſeruing of Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almoſt of the whole earth, and in the vttermoſt bounds of your Maieſties dominion (which by the ſingular goodnes of God, enioyeth at this preſent tranquillitie and quiet ſafetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heauens.

But conſidering theſe things are not proper to this place, I will leaue them, and returne to my purpoſe which I haue in hand: moſt humbly beſeeching your S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchſafe to become a fauourer and patron vnto theſe my labours and ſtudies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (moſt gracious and mercifull ſouereigne) for vs to make our humble prayers vnto almighty God, that king of kings, and diſpoſer of all humane affaires, that it would pleaſe him of his infinite goodnes, to aduance your Maieſtie (yearely growing vp in wiſedome & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the higheſt pitch of ſouereigntie: and being aduanced, continually to bleſſe you with moſt proſperous ſucceſſe in all your affaires: and being bleſſed, long to preſerue you, as the chief ornament, defence and ſafegarde of theſe kingdomes, and as the ſhield and fortreſſe of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you ſhine glorious like a ſtarre, amongſt the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The ſame moſt mercifull father likewiſe grant, that theſe praiers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maieſties moſt ample territories & Iſlands, ſo much the more ſure and certein they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 1593. in the moneth of March.

T. S. M.

moſt humble ſubiect,

Arngrimus Ionas, Iſlander.

To the courteous and Chriſtian reader *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*, *Biſhop of* Holen *in* Iſland, *wiſheth health.*

THere came to light about the yeare of Chriſt 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of *Germany:* namely a booke of German rimes, of al that euer were read the moſt filthy and moſt ſlanderous againſt the nation of *Iſland.* Neither did it ſuffice the baſe printer once to ſend abroad that baſe brat, but he muſt publiſh it alſo thriſe or foure times ouer: that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deepely diſgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with ſhamefull, and euerlaſting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his deſire ſo greedy to get lucre, by a thing vnlawfull. And this he did without controlment, euen in that citie, which theſe many yeres hath trafficked with Iſland to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is *Ioachimus Leo*, a man worthy to become lions foode.

Great errors grow vpon mariners fabulous reports.

Moreouer, there are many other writers found, who when they would ſeeme to deſcribe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Iſland, & the maners, & cuſtoms of the Iſlanders, haue altogether ſwarued from the matter and truth it ſelfe, following mariners fables more trifling then old wiues tales, & the moſt vain opinions of the common ſort. Theſe writers, although they haue not left behind them ſuch filthy & reprochful ſtuffe as that baſe rimer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not ſuffer them to be excuſed, & altogether acquited from cauſing an innocent nation to be had in deriſion by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing theſe things with my ſelfe, & conſidering that there dayly ſpring vp new writers, which offer iniury to the fame & reputatiõ of the Iſlanders, being ſuch men alſo as do ſhameleſly filtch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers wͭ feined deſcriptions, & a new rehearſal of monſters, I often wiſhed that ſome one man would come forth, to make anſwere to the errors of hiſtoriographers & other vniuſt cenſurers: and by ſome writing, if not to free our innocent nation from ſo many reproches, yet at leaſt wiſe, in ſome ſort to defend it among chriſtian & friendly readers. And for this cauſe I haue now procured an honeſt and learned young man one *Arngrimus Fitz-Ionas*, to peruſe the works of authors, that haue written any thing concerning Iſland, and by ſound reaſons to detect their errors, & falſhoods. And albeit at the firſt he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common loue of his countrey preuailed with him ſo farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other men's alſo of ſufficient credit.

Now, he that vndertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalẽge at my hands, that I ſhould in two or three words at leaſt, make a preface vnto his booke; thinking it might gaine ſome credit, and authority thereby. Wherfore to ſpeake my minde in a word: for my part, I iudge him to haue taken both honeſt & neceſſary paines, who hath done his indeuour not onely to weigh the diuers opinions of wrighters concerning things vnknowen, and to examine them by the cenſure of trueth, and experience, but alſo to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine ſycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this ſmall treatiſe of his, being as it were guarded with the ſacred loue of truth, and of his countrey, againſt the peruerſnes of carpers. Farewel. *Anno* 1592. *Iulij* 29.

Here beginneth the Commentary of *Iſland.*

EVen as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that ſome vpon no iuſt & lawful grounds (being egged on by ambition, enuie, and couetiſe) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary ſide, that others arme themſelues vpon iuſt and neceſſary cauſes: namely ſuch as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Goſpel, or ſuch as being any way prouoked thereunto, doe withſtand preſent violence and wrong, or at leaſt (not being prouoked) by reaſon of the enemie approching are conſtrained to be vp in armes: right ſo, they that fight vnder Apolloes banner. Amongſt whom, a great part, not vpon any honeſt, philoſophical, or indeede Chriſtian intention, addreſſe themſelues to wright: eſpecially ſuch as for deſire of glory, for enuy and ſpight, or vpon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others: and, that they may be accompted ſuperiours, ſometimes whette their ſtiles againſt the perſon, name and fame of this or that particular man, ſometimes inueighing againſt a whole countrey, and by ſhameleſſe vntrueths diſgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great induſtry, ſearch and bring to light things profitable:

namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philoſophy, Hiſtory and ſuch like : and they who (taking vſe and experience for their guides) in the ſaid Sciences haue brought things obſcure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confuſed to order: and they that haue faithfully commended to euerlaſting poſteritie, the ſtories of the whole world : that by their infinite labours haue aduaunced the knowledge of tongues : to be ſhort, that endeuour themſelues to repreſſe the inſolencie, confute the ſlanders, and withſtand the vniuſt violence of others, againſt themſelues, their Nation or their Countrey.

And I for my part, hauing ſcarce attained the ſight of good letters, and being the meaneſt of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no leſſe then become one of their number, who haue applied themſelues to ridde their countrey from diſhonor, to auouch the trueth, and to ſhake off the yoke of railers & reuilers. My eſtate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth, and the in-bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the beſt I can : ſithens it hath pleaſed ſome ſtrangers by falſe rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to iniurie my ſayd countrey, making it a by-word, and a laughing-ſtocke to all other nations. To meet with whoſe inſolencie and falſe accuſations, as alſo to detect the errours of certeine writers concerning this Iland, vnto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themſelues, ſtubburnly mainteining that which is falſe and fooliſh, neither can I hope to remooue them from this accuſtomed and ſtale opinion) I haue penned the treatiſe following.

And albeit Iſland is not deſtitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my ſuperiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands : notwithſtanding, being earneſtly perſwaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Biſhop of Hola in Iſland, I thought good (to the vtmoſt of mine ability) to be no whit wanting vnto the common cauſe : both that I might obey his moſt reaſonable requeſt, and alſo that I might encourage other of my countreymen, who haue bene better trained vp in good learning, and indued with a greater meaſure of knowledge then I my ſelfe, to the defence of this our nation : ſo farre am I from hindering any man to vndertake the like enterpriſe.

But to returne to the matter, becauſe they (whatſoeuer they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boaſt that they vſe the teſtimonies of writers : we are ſeriouſly to conſider, what things, and how true, writers haue reported of Iſland, to the end that if they haue giuen (perhaps) any occaſion to others of inueying againſt vs, their errours being layd open (for I will not ſpeake more ſharpely) all the world may ſee how iuſtly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine ſome ancient writers of this Iland, by the rule of trueth and experience : yet (otherwiſe) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reuerend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended : but as for nouices (if there be any ſuch writers or rather paſquilles) when they ſhall heare and know truer matters concerning Iſland, then they themſelues haue written, they ſhall ſeeme by their inconſtancie and peruerſe wit to haue gained nought elſe but a blacke marke of enuy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may haue ſome order, it ſhall be diuided into two generall parts : the firſt of the Iland, the ſecond of the inhabitants : and of theſe two but ſo far-foorth as thoſe writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded : becauſe I am not determined to wander out of theſe liſts, or to handle more then theſe things and ſome other which perteine vnto them. For I profeſſe not my ſelfe an Hiſtoriographer, or Geographer, but onely a Diſputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the firſt part concerning the ſituation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adiuncts of this Iland.

The firſt ſection.

The Iſle of *Iſland* being ſeuered from other countreys an infinite diſtance, ſtandeth farre into the Ocean, and is ſcarſe knowen vnto Sailers.

Munſterus lib. 4. coſmographię.

ALbeit a diſcourſe of thoſe things which concerne the land, and the adiuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of ſlanderers, yet ſeemeth it in no caſe to be omitted, but to be intreated of in the firſt place, that the friendly reader perceiuing how truely thoſe writers of Iſland haue reported in this reſpect, may thereby alſo eaſily iudge what credit is to be giuen vnto them in other matters which they haue left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others haue receiued from them as oracles, from whence (as they ſay) they haue borrowed ſcoffes and taunts againſt our nation.

Firſt therefore, that the diſtance of Iſland from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed ſo great as men commonly imagine, it might eaſily be prouided, it one did but in ſome ſort know the true longitude & latitude of the ſaid Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifeſt how the Mariners courſe (be it neuer ſo direct, as they ſuppoſe) doth at all times ſwerue. In yͤ meane while therfore I will ſet downe diuers opinions of authors, concerning yͤ ſituation of Iſland, that from hence euery man may gather that of the diſtance which ſeemeth moſt probable; vntil perhaps my ſelfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at leaſt adioin, what I ſhal thinke true as touching this matter.

	Longit.		Latitud.	
	deg.	*min.*	*deg.*	*min.*
Munſter placeth Iſland almoſt in	20		68	
Gerardus Mercator	325		68	
Gemma Friſius placeth the midſt of Iſland	7	0	65	30
Herſee	7	40	60	42
Thirtes	5	50	64	44
Nadar	6	40	57	10
Iacobus Zieglerus.				
The Weſt ſhore of Iſland	20	0	63	0
The promontorie of Chos	22	46	63	0
The Eaſt ſhore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extenſion in	30	0	68	0
The North ſhore is extended Weſtward, and hath bounds of extenſion in	28	0	69	0
The deſcription of yͤ Weſt ſide.				

	Longit.		Latitud.	
	deg.	*min.*	*deg.*	*min.*
The promontorie of Heckelfell	25	0	67	0
The promontorie of Madher	21	20	65	10
The inland cities of Iſland				
Holen the ſeat of a biſhop	28	0	67	50
Schalholten the ſeat of a biſhop	22		63	30
Reinholdus.				
By Holen in Iſland			68	
Iohannes Miritius.				
By Mid-Iſland			69	:
Neander.				
Iſland ſtretcheth it ſelfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, inſomuch that yͤ ſaid circle arctic doeth almoſt diuide it in the midſt &c.				

There be others alſo, who either in their maps, or writings haue noted the ſituation of Iſland: notwithſtanding it is to no purpoſe to ſet downe any more of their opinions, becauſe the more you haue, the more contrary ſhall you finde them. For my part, albeit I haue probable coniectures perſwading me not to beleeue any of the former opinions, concerning the ſituation of Iſland, but to diſſent from them all: yet had I rather leaue the matter in ſuſpenſe then affirme an vncerteinty, vntill (as I haue ſayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to geſſe at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne obſeruation, and experience.

A certeine writer hath put downe the diſtance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Iſland to be 400 leagues: from whence if you ſhall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburg, Iſland muſt haue none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to prooue by three ſundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but ſeuen dayes ſailing from Iſland to Hamburg. Beſides all thoſe Iſlands, which by reaſon of the abundance of ſheepe, are called Fareyiar, or more rightly Faareyiar, as likewiſe the deſert ſhores of Norway, are diſtant from vs but two dayes ſailing. We haue foure dayes ſailing into habitable Gronland: and almoſt in the ſame quantitie of time we paſſe ouer to the prouince of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidroſia or Trondon, and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of theſe nations.

Seuen dayes ſailing from Iſland to Hamburg.
Iſland but two dayes ſailing diſtant from Faar-Iſlands, & from the deſert ſhores of Norway.

The ſecond ſection.

Munſterus, Olaus Magnus and others.

In this Iland, at the Summer *ſolſtitium*, the Sun paſſing thorow the ſigne of *Cancer*, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter *ſolſtitium* there is no day. Alſo: *Vadianus*. But in that Iland, which farre within the arctic circle is ſeated in the maine Ocean, at this day called *Iſland*, and next vnto the lands of the frozen ſea, which they call *Engrontland*, there be many moneths in the yere without nights.

At the ſolſtitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to ſay, no time, wherein the Sunne is ſeene aboue the horizon) we confeſſe to be true onely in that angle of Iſland (if there be any ſuch angle) where the pole is eleuated full 67 degrees. But at Holen (which is the biſhops ſeat for the North part of Iſland, and lieth in a moſt deepe valley) the latitude is about 65 degrees and 44 minutes, as I am enformed by the reuerend father, Gudbrand, biſhop of that place: and yet there, the ſhorteſt day in all the yere is at leaſt two houres long, and in South-Iſland longer, as it appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. Heerehence it is manifeſt, firſt that Iſland is not ſituate beyond the arctic circle : ſecondly, that in Iſland there are not wanting in Summer ſolſtitium many nights, nor in Winter ſolſtitium many dayes.

Iſland is not within the circle arctic.

The third ſection.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaueth vnto the North part thereof. Another writeth: From the Weſt part of *Norway* there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, enuironed with an huge ſea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. *Zieglerus*. This is *Thyle*, whereof moſt of the ancient writers haue made mention.

Munſterus.
Saxo.

IT is named of ice, &c. Iſland hath beene called by three names, one after another. For one Naddocus a Noruagian borne, who is thought to be the firſt Diſcouerer of the ſame, as he was ſailing towards the Faar-Ilands, through a violent tempeſt did by chance arriue at the Eaſt ſhore of Iſland; where ſtaying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of ſnow couering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the ſnow, called this Iland Sneland. After him one Gardarus, being mooued thereunto by the report which Naddocus gaue out concerning Iſland, went to ſeeke the ſayd Iland; who, when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardarſ-holme, that is to ſay, Gardars Iſle. There were more alſo deſirous to viſit this new land. For after the two former, a certaine third Noruagian, called Flok, went into Iſland, and named it of the ice, wherewith he ſaw it enuironed.

Iſland firſt diſcouered by Naddocus in a tempeſt.

Sneland.

Gardaſholme.

Iſland.

Of ancient habitation, &c. I gather not this opinion out of theſe wordes of Saxo (as ſome men do) that Iſland hath bene inhabited from the beginning, or (to ſpeake in one word) that the people of Iſland were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne ſoile like vnto trees and herbs; ſithens it is euident, that this Iland ſcarſe began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres ſince.

This is *Thyle*, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the controuerſie is not decided. Which notwithſtanding, I thinke might eaſily grow to compoſition, if men would vnderſtand that this Iland was firſt inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Vnleſſe ſome man will ſay that Thule King of Aegypt (who, as it is thought, gaue this name thereunto) paſſed ſo farre vnto an Iland, which was at that time vntilled, and deſtitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may ſeeme to be but a dreame, while they are diſtracted into ſo many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Iſland: another, that it is a certeine Iland, where trees beare fruit twiſe in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the laſt Iland of the Scotiſh dominion, as Iohannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylenſey, which Virgil alſo ſeemeth to haue meant by his vltima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the Engliſh men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is euident out of that verſe of Virgil in his firſt Eclogue:

> And Britans whole from all the world diuided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the ſixt, that it is Schrichfinnia.

Which continually cleaueth to the North part of the Iland. That clauſe that ice continually cleaueth &c. or as Munſter affirmeth a little after, that it cleaueth for the ſpace of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the moſt part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driuen towards the Weſt: neither doth it returne before Ianuarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. What if a man ſhould recken vp many yeeres, wherein ice (the ſharpe ſcourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene ſeene about Iſland? which was found to be true this preſent yeere 1592. Heereupon it is manifeſt how truely Friſius hath written that nauigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reaſon of the ice and colde, whereby the paſſage is ſhut vp, when as Engliſh ſhips euery yere, ſometimes in March, ſometimes in April, and ſome of them in May; the Germans and Danes, in May and Iune, doe vſually returne vnto vs, and ſome of them depart not againe from hence till Auguſt. But the laſt yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine ſhippe of Germanie laden with Copper within the hauen of Vopnafiord in the coaſt of Iſland about fourteene dayes in the moneth of Nouember, which time being expired, ſhe fortunately ſet ſaile. Wherefore, ſeeing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaueth vnto Iſland, Munſter and Friſius are much deceiued.

The ice of Iſeland ſet alwayes to the Weſt.

No ice at all ſome yeres in Iſland.

Nauigation open to Iſland from March till the midſt of Nouember.

The fourth ſection.

The Iland is ſo great that it conteineth many people. Item *Zieglerus* ſayth: The ſituation of the Iland is extended betweene the South and the North almoſt 200 leagues in length.

Krantzius.
Munſterus.

SO great, &c. One Wilſtenius ſchoolemaſter of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, ſent vnto mine Vncle in Weſt-Iſland, a ſhort treatiſe which he had gathered out of the fragments of ſundrie

Iſland 144 Germaine miles in compaſſe.

writers, concerning Iſland. Where we found thus written : *Iſland* is twiſe as great as *Sicilie*, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munſter, hath 150 Germaine miles in compaſſe. As for the circuit of our Iland, although it be not exactly knowen vnto vs, yet the ancient, conſtant, and receiued opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of Iſland, which are commonly knowen, being diſtant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole ſumme.

Many people.&c. One Gyſſerus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being biſhop of Schalholten in Iſland, cauſed all the huſbandmen, or countreymen of the Iland, who, in regard of their poſſeſſions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer ſort with women, and the meaner ſort of the communalty) and he found in the Eaſt part of Iſland 700, in the South part 1000, in the Weſt part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000 inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he ſhall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time vnpeopled.

The fifth ſection.

Munſter.
Friſius.
Zieglerus.

The Iland, moſt part thereof, is mountainous and vntilled. But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is ſo ranke, that they are faine to driue their cattell from the paſture, leaſt they ſurfet or be choaked.

That danger of ſurfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers or any of our predeceſſours dayes, be they neuer ſo ancient.

The ſixth ſection.

Munſterus.
Friſius.

There be in this Iland mountaines lift vp to the skies, whoſe tops being white with perpetuall ſnowe, their roots boile with euerlaſting fire. The firſt is towards the Weſt, called *Hecla*: the other the mountaine of the croſſe : and the third *Helga*. Item : *Zieglerus*. The rocke or promontorie of *Hecla* boileth with continuall fire. Item : *Saxo*. There is in this Iland alſo a mountaine, which reſembling the ſtarrie firmament, with perpetuall flaſhings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by vnceſſant belching out of flames.

MVnſter and Friſius being about to report the woonders of Iſland doe preſently ſtumble, as it were, vpon the threſholde, to the great inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount Hecla, although it hath ſome ſhew of trueth : notwithſtanding concerning the other two Mountaines, that they ſhould burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifeſt errour. For there are no ſuch mountaines to be found in Iſland, nor yet any thing els (ſo farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might miniſter occaſion of ſo great an errour vnto writers. Howbeit there was ſeene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South Iſland lying neere the Sea, and couered ouer with continuall ſnow and froſt, a maruellous eruption of ſmoake and fire, caſting vp abundance of ſtones and aſhes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the ſayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, ſuppoſe that theſe things be true which they report of firie mountaines : is it poſſible therefore that they ſhould ſeeme ſtrange, or monſtrous, whenas they proceed from naturall cauſes ? What ? Doe they any whit preuaile to eſtabliſh that opinion concerning the hell of Iſland, which followeth next after in Munſter, Ziegler, and Friſius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men ſhould abuſe theſe, and the like miracles of nature, to auouch abſurdities, or, that they ſhould with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impoſſible. As though in theſe kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre cauſes of ſufficient force for the ſame purpoſe. There is in the rootes of theſe mountaines a matter moſt apt to be ſet on fire, comming ſo neere as it doeth to the nature of brimſtone and pitch. There is ayer alſo, which inſinuating it ſelfe by paſſages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe vp the nouriſhment of ſo huge a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine bellowes) a moſt ardent flame is kindled. For, all theſe thus concurring, fire hath thoſe three things, which neceſſarily make it burne, that is to ſay, matter, motion, and force of making paſſage : matter which is fattie and moyſt, and therefore nouriſheth laſting flames : motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caues of the earth : force of making paſſage, and that the inuincible might of fire it ſelfe (which can not be without inſpiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible ſtrength) doeth bring to paſſe : and ſo (euen as in vndermining trenches, and engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge yron bullets are caſt foorth with monſtrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimſtone, and Salt-peeter, whereof Gunne-powder is compounded) chingle and great ſtones being ſkorched

Three naturall cauſes of firie mountaines.

in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, together with abundance of ſande and aſhes, are vomited vp and diſcharged, and that for the moſt part not without an earthquake: which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Poſſidonius, Succuſſio) it muſt either be an opening or a quaking. Opening cauſeth the earth in ſome places to gape, and fall a ſunder. By quaking the earth is heaued vp and ſwelleth, and ſometimes (as Plinie ſaith) caſteth out huge heaps: ſuch an earth-quake was the ſame which I euen now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did ſo ſore trouble the South ſhore of Iſland. And this kinde of earth-quake is moſt clearkely deſcribed by Pontanus in theſe verſes:

Lib. 20, cap. 20.

The ſtirring breath runnes on with ſtealing ſteppes,
vrged now vp, and now enforced downe:
For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps,
to ridde it ſelfe from vncouth dungeon.
Then quakes the earth as it would burſt anon,
The earth yquakes, and walled cities quiuer,
Strong quarries cracke, and ſtones from hilles doe ſhiuer.

I thought good to adde theſe things, not that I ſuppoſe any man to be ignorant thereof: but leaſt other men ſhould thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence eſtabliſh. But yet there is ſomewhat more in theſe three fained mountaines of Iſland, which cauſeth the ſayd writers not a little to wonder, namely whereas they ſay that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer deſtitute of ſnowe. Howbeit, it beſeemeth not the authority and learning of ſuch great clearks to maruelle at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of ſnowe all Winter, notwithſtanding (as the ſame man witneſſeth) it doth alwayes burne. Wherefore, if we will giue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine alſo, ſithens it is couered with ſnowe, and yet burneth, muſt be a priſon of vncleane ſoules: which thing they haue not doubted to aſcribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the firie bottome. And it is no maruelle that fire lurking ſo deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and neuer breaking forth except it be very ſeldome, ſhould not be able continually to melt the ſnowe couering the toppe of the ſayd mountaine. For in Caira (or Capira) alſo, the higheſt toppes of the mountaine are ſayd continually to be white with ſnowe: and thoſe in Veragua likewiſe, which are fiue miles high, and neuer without ſnowe, being diſtant notwithſtanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We haue heard that either of the forſayd Prouinces ſtandeth neere vnto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Ilands) the Pike ſo called, ariſing into the ayre, according to Munſter, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Hiſtoriographer of the Weſt Indies witneſſeth) is it not able to melt the girdle of ſnowe embracing the middeſt thereof. Which thing, what reaſon haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Cardanus.

Now that alſo is to be amended, whereas they write that theſe mountaines are lifted vp euen vnto the ſkies. For they haue no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Iſland, but eſpecially that third mountaine, called by Munſter Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount, ſtanding iuſt by a monaſtery of the ſame name, being couered with ſnowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deſerueth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, neuer yet (as I ſayd in the beginning of this ſection) ſo much as once ſuſpected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall ſnowe to be aſcribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Iſland hath very many ſuch ſnowy mountaines, all which the Coſmographer (who hath ſo extolled and admired theſe three) ſhould not eaſily finde out, and reckon vp in a whole yere. And that alſo is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla ſtandeth not towards the Weſt, as Munſter and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the Eaſt: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

Continueth alwayes burning &c. whoſoeuer they be that haue aſcribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre beſides the marke: inſomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countreymen haue recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Chriſt 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the laſt breaking foorth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I ſay not that is impoſſible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nouriſh flames, which at certaine ſeaſons (as hath bene heretofore obſerued) haue burſt out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter.

The chronicles of Iſland.

The ſeuenth ſection.

Friſius.
Munſterus.

The flame of mount *Hecla* will not burne towe (which is moſt apt for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the ſame force that bullets are diſcharged out of warlike engines with vs, from thence are great ſtones caſt foorth into the aire, by reaſon of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimſtone. This place is thought of ſome to be the priſon of vncleane ſoules. Item: *Zieglerus.* This place is the priſon of vncleane ſoules.

Speculum regale written in the Noruagian tongue.

Whence the fables Iſland grew.

WIll not burne towe. Where theſe writers ſhould finde ſuch matters, it is not eaſie to coniecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they euer bene heard of heere among vs, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man with vs ſo raſhly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any ſuch concluſions, or (to our knowledge) that euer durſt: which notwithſtanding Munſter affirmeth, ſaying: They that are deſirous to contemplate the nature of ſo huge a fire, & for the ſame purpoſe approch vnto the mountaine, are by ſome gulfe ſwallowed vp aliue, &c. which thing (as I ſayd) is altogether vnknowen vnto our nation. Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient language of the Noruagians, wherein you may finde ſome miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confuſedly written, few of them true, and the moſt part vaine and falſe. Whereupon it eaſily appeareth that it was written long ſince by ſome that were imagined to be great wiſe men in the time of Popery. They called it a royall looking glaſſe: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the moſt part vnder the ſhew of religion and piety, whereby it is more difficult to finde out the couſinage) it doeth all ouer ſwarme, it deſerueth not the name of a looking glaſſe royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wiues looking glaſſe. In this glaſſe there are found certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much vnlike theſe which we now entreat of, nor any whit more grounded vpon experience, and for that cauſe to be reiected.

But that I may not ſeeme ſomewhat foolehardy, for accuſing this royall looking glaſſe of falſhood (not to mention any of thoſe things which it reporteth as leſſe credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I ſuppoſe deſerue no credit at all.

1 Of a certaine Iſle in Ireland, hauing a church and a pariſh in it, the inhabitants whereof deceaſing are not buried in the earth, but like liuing men, do continually, againſt ſome banke or wall in the Churchyard, ſtand bolt-vpright: neither are they ſubiect to any corruption or downefall: inſomuch that any of the poſteritie may there ſeeke for, and beholde their anceſtors.

2 Of another Iſle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3 Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to reſiſt all poiſons, and to kill ſerpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey whatſoeuer, by the onely vertue and preſence thereof, yea euen without touching.

4 Of a third Iſle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of deuils, but that the ſayd deuils haue no iuriſdiction ouer the other halfe, by reaſon of a Church there built, although, as the whole Iſle is without inhabitants, ſo this part is continually deſtitute of a Paſtor, and of diuine ſeruice: and that it is ſo by nature.

5 Of a fourth Iſle of Ireland floating vp and downe in an huge lake, the graſſe whereof is a moſt preſent remedy for all kinde of diſeaſes, and that the Iland, at certeine ſeaſons, eſpecially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, ſo that any man may then eaſily enter into it, as it were into a ſhippe: which notwithſtanding (ſayth he) deſtiny will not ſuffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore, he reporteth that this Iland euery ſeuenth yere groweth faſt to the banke, ſo that you cannot diſcerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there ſucceedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6 Of the hunters of Norway who are ſo expert to tame wood (for ſo he ſpeaketh very improperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be aſcribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the ſoles of their feet do cary them with ſo great celeritie euen vpon hie mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the ſwiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one courſe & with one ſtroke of a dart.

Theſe and ſuch like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Iſland, Gronland, of the miracles of water, and aire, this maſter of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glaſſe: whereby, although he hath made his owne followers woonder, and the common people to be aſtoniſhed, yet hath he miniſtred vnto vs nothing but occaſion of laughter.

But let vs heare Friſius. The flame of mount *Hecla* (ſayth he) will not burne towe (which is moſt apt matter for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I ſay that this ſtrange opinion may be confirmed by many reaſons borrowed out of your ſchoole of Philoſophy.

ſophy. For the naturall Philoſophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nouriſhed with moiſte: whereupon, euen blackſmithes, by ſprinckling on of water, vſe to quicken and ſtrengthen their fire. For (ſay they) when fire is more vehement, it is ſtirred vp by colde, and nouriſhed by moiſture, both which qualities doe concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle ſkorching fires: becauſe the moiſture it ſelfe, which ariſeth, doth proue more fattie and groſſe, neither is it conſumed by the ſmoke encloſing it, but the fire it ſelfe feedeth vpon the whole ſubſtance thereof, whereby being made purer, and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reaſon of colde. And therefore alſo wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, There be places abounding with brimſtone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The graund Philoſopher alſo hath affirmed, that fire is nouriſhed by water. Ariſt. 3. de anim. And Plinie, in the ſecond booke of his naturall hiſtorie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympheum there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The ſame author ſayth: The aſhe continually flouriſheth, couering a burning fountaine. And moreouer that there are ſudden fires at ſome times, euen vpon waters, as namely that the lake of Thraſumenus in the field of Perugi, was all on fire, as the ſame Strabo witneſſeth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the promontorie of Iſlande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the ſea. Yea euen vpon mens bodies ſudden fires haue glittered: as namely, there ſprang a flame from the head of Seruius Tullius lying a ſleepe: and alſo Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his ſouldiers, and exhorting them to reuenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like ſort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, ſo is it quenched with earth or haye: alſo of another field which burneth not the leaues of ſhadie trees that growe directly ouer it. Theſe things being thus, it is ſtrange that men ſhould accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for diſputation ſake, when indeede there is no ſuch matter ſo farre foorth as euer I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

Friſius.

And by the ſame force that bullets, &c. Munſter ſaith the like alſo. This mountaine when it rageth, it ſoundeth like dreadfull thunder, caſteth forth huge ſtones, diſgorgeth brimſtone, and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it couereth ſo much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to haue compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will preſently make mention, ſeeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very ſame. Vnleſſe perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake ſeldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the ſame kinde. For it hath now reſted theſe 34. yeares full out, the laſt fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we haue before noted. And there can no ſuch wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the ſame or greater are to be aſcribed vnto other burning mountaines, as it ſhall by and by appeare.

But that brimſtone ſhould be ſent foorth it is a meere fable, and neuer knowen vnto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the priſon of vncleane ſoules. Here I am conſtrained to vſe a preface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, becauſe, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my ſelfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants diſtinctly by themſelues, I muſt of neceſſitie confuſedly handle certaine matters in this firſt part, which do properly belong vnto the ſecond. This is come to paſſe through the fault of theſe writers, who haue confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall priſon, with the ſituation & miracles of the iſland. Wherfore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder, that wiſe men ſhould be growen to this point, not onely to liſten after, but euen to follow and embrace the dotings of the rude people? For the common ſort of ſtrangers, and the off-ſkowring of mariners (here I do except them of better iudgement aſwell mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockiſhneſſe are carried to this imagination of the priſon of ſoules: and that becauſe they ſee no wood nor any ſuch fewell layed vpon this fire as they haue in their owne chimneys at home. And by this perſwaſion of the groſſe multitude, the report grew ſtrong, eſpecially (as they are too much accuſtomed to banning and curſing) while one would wiſh to another the firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall, and viſible fire could conſume mens ſoules being ſpirituall, bodileſſe, and inuiſible ſubſtances. And to be ſhort, who can but woonder, why they ſhould not faine the ſame priſon of damned ſoules, aſwell in mount Aetna, being no leſſe famous for fires and inflamations then this? But you will ſay, that Pope Gregorie fained it ſo to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it ſhould be ſo: then there is the ſame trueth of this priſon that there is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further I thinke it not amiſſe to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this helliſh opinion: namely that a ſhip of certaine ſtrangers departing from Iſland, vnder full ſaile, a moſt ſwift pace, going directly on her courſe, met with another ſhip ſailing againſt winde & weather, and the force of the tempeſt as ſwiftly as themſelues, who hailing them of whence they were, anſwere was giuen by their gouernour, *De Biſchop van Bremen:* being the ſecond time asked whether they were bound? he anſwered, *Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho.* I am affeard leſt the reader at the ſight of theſe things ſhould call for a baſon: for it is ſuch an abominable lie, that it would make a man caſt his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we eſteeme no more of it, then of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is ſo palpable that it is not worthy to be ſmiled at, much leſſe to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papiſts: let vs rather come vnto our owne writers.

And firſt of all I cannot here omit a ſaying of that moſt worthie man Doctor Caſpar Peucer. There is in Iſlande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vaſte gulfe, or as hell it ſelfe, which reſoundeth with lamentable, & miſerable yellings, that the noiſe of the cryers may be heard for the ſpace of a great league round about. Great ſwarmes of vgly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie hoouering about this place which are thought of the inhabitantes to neſtle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perſwaded, that there is a deſcent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten elſe where, in whatſoeuer part of the whole world, or any bloudie ſlaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cryes, what monſtrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durſt be ſo bold (moſt learned Sir) to bring ſuch an incredible report to your eares? Neither hath Iſland any Vultures, but that ſecond kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygarſi: neither are there any with vs, that can beare witneſſe of the foreſaid ſpectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would neſtle in that place, when as they ſhould rather be driuen from thence by fire and ſmoke, being things moſt contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithſtanding for proofe of this matter, as alſo of a ſtrange tumult heard within the hollow of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede teſtifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout ſhould that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyſe and tumults done among them, who inhabite the moſt contrarie, diſtant, and remote places of the earth from vs? Concerning which thing I would aſke the author of this fable many queſtions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wiſh that from hencefoorth he would learne to tell troth, & not preſume with ſo impudent a face to enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of ſuch vnknowen and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munſter, who endeuouring to ſearch out the cauſes of the great and ſtrange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monſtrous that the very ſame thing which he there maketh natural, he ſhould here imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I ſpeake of Aetna? Let vs rather conſider what Munſter in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

Munſterus Coſmographi: vniuerſalis lib. 1. cap. 7.

It is without doubt (ſaith he) that ſome mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Iſland at certaine ſeaſons caſteth abroad great ſtones, ſpitteth out brimſtone, and diſperſeth aſhes, for ſuch a diſtance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we vnderſtand that there is no ſtopping of the paſſages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire ſometime flaming, & ſometime ſmoaking as it were a ſtreaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encreaſeth, all ſecret paſſages being ſhut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithſtanding enflamed. The fire in the vpper part, for want of matter, ſomewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement ſpirite (the ſame, or other paſſages being ſet open again) doth with great violence breake priſon, it caſteth forth aſhes, ſand, brimſtone, pumiſtones, lumpes reſembling iron, great ſtones, & much other matter, not without the domage of the whole region adioyning. Thus farre Munſter. Where conſider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne ſword, conſider (I ſay) that in this place there is the very ſame opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithſtanding in his 4. booke is very diuerſe, for there he is faine to run to infernall cauſes. A certaine fierie mountaine of Weſt India hath farre more friendly cenſurers, & hiſtoriographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The Hiſtory of which mountain (becauſe it is ſhort & ſweete) I will ſet downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his hiſtory of the new world, lib. 2. Theſe be the words. About 35. miles diſtant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out ſuch mightie balles of flames, that in the night they ſhine farre and neare, aboue 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold miniſtring continuall matter & nouriſhment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, cauſed a braſſe kettle, & an irō chain to be made: afterward aſcending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letteth downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the ſmith, becauſe he had made the chaine far more ſlender then himſelfe had cōmanded. The ſmith hammers out another of more ſubſtance & ſtrength then the former. The Monke returnes to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like ſucceſſe that he had before. Neither did the caldrō only vaniſh & melt away: but alſo, vpon the ſudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almoſt cōſumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned ſo aſtoniſhed, that they had ſmall liſt afterward to proſecute that attempt, &c. What great difference is there betweene theſe two cenſures? In a fiery hill of Weſt India they ſearch for gold: but in mount Hecla of Iſland they ſeeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reieet this as a thing too new, & altogether vnknowen to ancient writers. Why therefore haue not writers imagined the ſame priſon of ſoules to be in Chimæra an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Iſland? Why haue they not imagined the ſame to be in the mountaines of Epheſus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceiue ſo much fire, that the very ſtones & ſand lying in the water are cauſed to burne, & from the which (a ſtaffe being burnt vpon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there procede whole riuers of fire, as Plinie teſtifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Iſle of Hiera, flaming in the midſt of the ſea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewiſe burning for certaine daies in the midſt of the ſea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day ſeaſon? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like ſtars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomleſſe gulfe (as Ariſtotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approch in the night: frō whence the ſound of Cymbals and the noyſe of rattles, with vnwonted and vncouth laughters are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare vnto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and caſting vp ſtones into the aier, as Munſter himſelfe witneſſeth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Veſuuius, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adioyning, & to the vtter deſtruction of Caius Plinius prying into ẏ cauſes of ſo ſtrange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumiſtones, and aſhes, & with palpable darkneſſe intercepting the light of the ſunne from al the region therabout? I wil ſpeake, & yet ſpeake no more then the truth: becauſe in deede they foreſaw, that men would yeeld no credite to thoſe things as being too well knowen, though they ſhould haue feined them to haue beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumor whereof came more ſlowly to their eares) to be fitter for the eſtabliſhing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off for ſhame hereafter to perſwade any ſimple man, ẏ there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in theſe fireworkes, not the fury of hell. But now let vs examine a few more ſuch fables of ẏ cōmō people, which haue ſo vnhappily miſled our hiſtoriographers & coſmographers.

The eight ſection.

Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaſte holes, the depth whereof, eſpecially at mount Hecla, cannot be diſcerned by any man, be he neuer ſo ſharpe ſighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that inſtant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who anſwere their friends (exhorting them with deepe ſighs to returne home) that they muſt depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they ſuddenly vaniſh away.

Friſius.
Zieglerus.
Olaus magnus.

To confirme the former lie, of an earthly & viſible hell (albeit I will eaſily grant that Friſius in writing theſe things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heauen haue inuented this fable, no leſſe reprochfull then falſe, and more vaine & deteſtable then Sicilian ſcoffes. Which fellowes theſe writers (being otherwiſe men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) haue followed with an ouer haſtie iudgement.

But it were to be wiſhed, that none would write Hiſtories with ſo great a deſire of ſetting forth nouelties & ſtrange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & oldwiues toyes, & ſo to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might thoſe drowned mē be ſwimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parleing with their acquaintance & friends?

What? Will you coniure, & raiſe vp vnto vs from death to life old Orpheus conferring with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in theſe parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of ſnowey Tanais, & Hebrus deſcanting vpon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falſhood, & vanity of theſe trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent conſiderer of all things in his 18. booke de ſubtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them out. Whoſe words be theſe. There is *Hecla* a mountaine in Iſland, which burneth like vnto *Ætna* at certain ſeaſons, & hereupon the cōmon people haue conceiued an opinion this long time, that ſoules are there purged: ſome, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme liars, heape vp more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reaſō. But what be thoſe vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghoſts anſwering thē, that they are going to mount *Hecla*: as the ſame Cardane ſaith. And further he addeth. Neither in Iſland only, but euery where (albeit ſeldome) ſuch things come to paſſe. And then he tels this ſtorie following of a man-killing ſpright. There was (ſaith he) ſolemnized this laſt yeare the funerall of a cōmon citizen, in the gate neare vnto the great Church, by that markerplace, which in regard of the abundāce of herbs, in our toong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the cuſtome of Phiſitians) preſently aske of what diſeaſe the man died? he giueth me anſwere that this man vſed to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night amōg the reſt he eſpied an hobgoblin purſuing him: which to auoid, he ran away with al ſpeed: but being caught by the ſpright, he was throwne down vpon the ground. He would faine haue made a ſhout, & was not able. At length (when the ſpright & he had ſtruggled together vpon the ground a good while) he was found by certain paſſengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himſelfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he vp and tolde this ſtrange relation. Hereupon (being vtterly daunted, & diſcouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phiſitians, nor by Prieſts, he could be perſwaded, that theſe things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no ſuch matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard alſo afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more cōſtantly affirme himſelfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he was caſt vpon the ground by a ghoſt. And when ſome demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to ſtrāgle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my ſelfe with mine own hands. When others doubted leaſt he might ſuffer theſe things of a liuing man, they asked him how he could diſcerne a dead man frō a liuing? To this, he rendered a very probable reaſon, ſaying that he ſeemed in handling to be like Cottum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And preſently after he addeth. In like manner as in Iſland, ſo in the deſert ſands of *Ægypt*, *Æthiopia*, and *India*, where the ſunne is hoat, the very ſame apparitions, the ſame ſprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Iſland do, that in the places of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, there is a priſon of damned ſoules.

I thought good to write theſe things out of Cardane, that I may bring euen the teſtimony of ſtrangers on our ſides, againſt ſuch monſtrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth theſe two things, namely yͤ apparitions of ſprights are not proper to Iſland alone (which thing al mē know, if they do not maliciouſly feigne thēſelues to be ignorant) And ſecondly that that conference of the dead with the liuing in yͤ gulfe of Hecla is not grounded vpon any certainty, but only vpon fables coined by ſome idle perſons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutiſh cōmon ſort haue vſed, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of ſoules. And is there any man ſo fantaſticall, that wilbe induced to beleeue theſe gulfes, mētioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be neuer ſo ful of dead mens miracles? yea doubtleſſe. For frō hence alſo they ſay, yͭ reproches are iuſtly vſed againſt our nation: namely, yͭ there is nothing in all the world more baſe, & worthleſſe then it, which conteineth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we haue gotten by thoſe hiſtoriographers, who haue bin ſo greedy to publiſh nouelties. But this opinion, bred by the ſottiſhnes of the cōmon people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene ſufficiently ouerthrowen as a thing fooliſh & vaine, and as being deuiſed for the vpbrayding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther inſtructed in this philoſophy of infernall ſecrets.

The ninth ſection.

Friſius and Munſter.

But round about the Iland, for the ſpace of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth iſe, making a miſerable kind of mone, and not vnlike to mans voice, by reaſon of the claſhing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount *Hecla* and in the iſe, there are places wherein the ſoules of their countreymen are tormented.

NO doubt, a worthy augmentation of the hiſtory, concerning the hel of Iſland, ſhut vp within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at ſome times (by fits and ſeaſons) changing places: namely, whē it is weary of lurking at home by the fires ſide within yͤ mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to ſea, but without a ſhip, & to gather it ſelfe round into morſels of yce. Come forth, & giue eare all ye yͭ wonder at this ſecret. Lo, I will afford theſe hiſtoriographers another addition of hiſtory very notable. Let them write therfore, that yͤ Iſlanders haue not only hel within their iuriſdiction, but alſo yͭ they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe vntouched yͤ very ſame day. How can that be? Why: it is an ancient cuſtome of the Iſland that they which inhabite neare the ſea ſhoare do vſually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, euen vpon the very ſame iſe which the hiſtoriographers make to be hel, & in the euening returne home ſafe and ſound. Set downe alſo (if ye pleaſe) that the priſon of the damned is kept in ſtore by the Iſlanders in coffers and veſſels, as we ſhall anon heare out of Friſius.

Taking of Seales on the ice.

But you had need wiſely to foreſee, leſt yͭ Iſlanders beguile all your countries of the cōmendation of courage & conſtācy: namely, as they (for ſo it pleaſeth your writers to report) who both can & will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & eſcape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is neceſſarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. And I am able to reckon vp a great many of our countrimen, who in yͤ very act of hunting, wandring ſomewhat farre from the ſhoare (the ice being diſperſed by weſterne winds) & for the ſpace of many leagues reſting vpon the ice, being chaſed with the violence of the tempeſt, & ſome whole daies & nights being toſſed vp & downe in the waues of yͤ raging ſea, & ſo (for it followeth by good conſequence out of this probleme of the hiſtoriographers) haue had experience of the torments, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the laſt, the weather being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being tranſported again to the ſhoare, in this their ſhip of ice, haue returned home in ſafety: ſome of which number are aliue at this day. Wherefore let ſuch as be deſirous of newes ſnatch vp this, & (if they pleaſe) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their hiſtory. Neither do theſe vaine phantaſies deſerue otherwiſe to be handled & cōfuted, then with ſuch like merriments, & ſportings. But to lay aſide all ieſting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digreſſed. Firſt of all therfore it is euident enough out of the ſecond ſection, yͭ ice floateth not about this Iſland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere: then, that this ice (although at ſome times by ſhuffling together it maketh monſtrous ſoundings & cracklings, & againe at ſome times with the beating of the water, it ſendeth forth an hoarſe kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all reſound or lament, like vnto mans voice, we may in no caſe confeſſe. But wheras they ſay that, both in the Iſle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the ſoules of our countrimen are tormented, we vtterly ſtand to the deniall of that: and we thanke God & our Lord Ieſus Chriſt from the botome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death & hell, & opened vnto vs the gate of the kingdome of heauen) becauſe he hath inſtructed vs more truely, concerning the place, whether the ſoules of our deceaſed countrimen depart, then theſe hiſtoriographers doe tell vs. We know and maintain that the ſoules of yͤ godly are tranſported immediatly out of their bodily priſons, not into the Papiſts purgatory, nor into the Elyſian fields, but into Abrahams boſome, into the hand of God, & into the heauenly paradiſe. We know & maintaine concerning the ſoules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & aſhes of mountaines, or into viſible ice, but immediatly are carried away into vtter darkeneſſe, where is weeping & gnaſhing of teeth, where there is colde alſo, & fire not cōmon, but far beyond our knowledge & curious diſputation. Where not onely bodies, but ſoules alſo, yͭ is ſpirituall ſubſtances are tormented. And we do alſo hold, yͭ the Iſlanders are no whit nearer vnto this extreame & darke priſon, in regard of the ſituation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatſoeuer. Neither is it any thing to the purpoſe, at all to diſpute of the place or ſituation of this dungeon. It is ſufficient for vs, that (by the grace and aſſiſtance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with whoſe precious blood we are redeemed) we ſhall neuer ſee that vtter darkneſſe, nor feele the reſt of the torments that be there. Now let vs here ſhut vp the diſputation concerning the hell of Iſland.

Weſterne windes diſperſe the ice.

Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Iſland.

The tenth ſection.

If any man ſhall take a great quantity of this ice, & ſhall keepe it neuer ſo warily encloſed in a coffer or veſſel, it wil at that time when the ice thaweth about the Iland, vtterly vaniſh away, ſo that not the leaſt part thereof, no nor a drop of water is to be found.

Friſius. Zieglerus. Saxo.

SUrely, this was of neceſſity to be added: namely, yͭ this ice, which according to hiſtoriographers repreſenteth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, conſiſt of yͤ matter of ſome element. For whereas it ſeemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Friſius abſurd opinion) whereas alſo it peirceth through hard & ſolide bodies, no otherwiſe then ſpirits & ghoſts: therfore it remaineth, ſeeing it is not of an elementary nature, yͭ it muſt haue either a ſpirituall, or a celeſtial, or an infernal matter. But yͭ it ſhould be infernall, we can not be perſwaded, becauſe we haue heard that infernall cold is farre more vnſufferable then this iſe, which vſeth to be put into a boxe with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked fleſh, by touching therof. Nor yet will we grant it to be ſpirituall: for we haue learned in naturall Philoſophy, that ſpiritual ſubſtances can neither be ſeene nor felt, & cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithſtanding moſt manifeſtly agree to this iſe of the Hiſtoriographers, howſoeuer according to them it be ſupernatural. Beſides alſo, it is moſt true, that the very ſame yſe being melted with the heat of the ſunne, & reſolued into water, vpon the vpper part thereof, ſtandeth fiſhermen in as good ſtead to quench their thirſt, as any land-riuer would do, which thing can no way be aſcribed to a ſpirituall ſubſtance. It is not therefore ſpirituall, nor yet infernall. Now none wilbe ſo bold to affirme, that it hath celeſtiall matter, leaſt ſome man perhaps might hereupon imagine, ẏ this iſe hath brought hell (which the hiſtoriographers annexe vnto it) downe from heauen, together with it ſelfe: or that the ſame thing ſhould be common vnto heauen, being of one & the ſame matter with iſe, & ſo that the priſon of the damned may be thought to haue changed places with the heauẽly paradiſe, & all by the ouerſight of theſe Hiſtoriographers. Wherfore ſeeing the matter of this hiſtoricall iſe is neither elementarie (as we haue ſo often proued by this place of Friſius) neither ſpirituall, nor infernall, both which we haue concluded euidently, in ſhort, yet ſound and ſubſtantiall reaſons: nor yet celeſtiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifeſt, ẏ according to the ſaid hiſtoriographers, there is no ſuch thing at all, which notwithſtanding they blaze abroad with ſuch aſtoniſhing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly ſeene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which propoſition when it ſhall fall out true, in the ſame reſpect, in the ſame part, and at the ſame time, then will we giue credite to theſe frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may eaſily iudge, that we need none other helpe to refute theſe things, but onely to ſhew how they diſagree one with another. But it is no maruell that he, which hath once enclined himſelfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, ſhould oftentimes fall into error. There was a like ſtrange thing inuented by another concerning the ſympathy or conioining of this iſe: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, ſo narrowly, & ſo ſwiftly, that a man by no diligence can obſerue it, by reaſon of the vnchangeable neceſſitie of following. But we haue oftentimes ſeene ſuch a ſolitarie lumpe of iſe remaining (after the other parts thereof were driuen away) and lying vpon the ſhore for many weekes together, without any poſts or engines at all to ſtay it. Therefore it is plaine that theſe miracles of iſe are grounded vpon a more ſlippery foundation then iſe it ſelfe.

The eleuenth ſection.

Friſius. Not farre from theſe mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the ſea ſhoare, there be foure fountaines of a moſt contrary nature betweene themſelues. The firſt, by reaſon of his continuall heat conuerteth into a ſtone any body caſt into it, the former ſhape only ſtill remaining. The ſecond is extremely cold. The third is ſweeter then hony, and moſt pleaſant to quench thirſt. The fourth is altogether deadly, peſtilent, and full of ranke poiſon.

EVen this deſcription of fountaines doth ſufficiently declare how impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all theſe miraculous ſtories. For he ſeemeth to affirme, that the three foreſaid mountaines doe almoſt touch one another: for he aſcribeth foure fountaines indifferently vnto them all. Otherwiſe, if he had not made them ſtand neare together, he would haue placed next vnto ſome one of theſe, two of the foreſaide fountaines. But neither doe theſe mountaines touch (being diſtant ſo many leagues a ſunder) neither are there any ſuch foure fountaines neare vnto them, which, he that wil not beleeue, let him go try. But to confute theſe things, the very contrariety of writers is ſufficient. For another concerning two fountaines gainſayth Friſius in theſe words. There do burſt out of the ſame hill *Hecla* two fountaines, the one whereof, by reaſon of the cold ſtreames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of elemẽts. Theſe be Friſius his two firſt fountaines, ſauing that here is omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the ſaid fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of the mountaine it ſelfe, and neare vnto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demaund, by what reaſon any of the Peripateticks can affirme, that there is ſome thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray you, learned writers) proceedeth this coldneſſe? From whence commeth this heate? Haue we not learned out of your ſchole that water is an element moſt colde and ſomewhat moiſt: and in ſuch ſort moſt cold, that for the making of ſecundarie qualities, it muſt of neceſſitie be remitted, & being ſimple, that it cannot be applyed to the vſes of mankind? I do here deliuer theſe Oracles of the naturall Philoſophers, not knowing whether they be true or falſe. M. Iohn Fernelius, lib. 2. Phyſ. cap. 4. may ſtand for one witneſſe amongſt all the reſt, & in ſtead of thẽ all. So exceſſiue (ſaith he) be theſe foure firſt qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is hotter thē pure fire, & nothing lighter: ſo nothing is drier then earth, & nothing heauier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatſoeuer exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moiſture of aire. Moreouer, the ſaid qualities be ſo extreme & ſurpaſſing in thē, that they cannot be any whit encreaſed, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape vp the reaſons or arguments of the natural Philoſophers. Theſe writers had need be warie of one thing, leſt while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, aſwel as they did the ice of the Iſlanders. We wil proſecute in order the properties of theſe fountains ſet downe by the foreſaid writers. The firſt by reaſon of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Iſland, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I haue learned out of authors, that Germanie euery where aboundeth with ſuch hote Baths, eſpecially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote Baths of Baden, Gebarſuil, Calben in the duchy of Wittenberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchſius doeth mention in his booke *de Arte medendi*, And not onely Germanie, but alſo France, & beyond all the reſt Italy that mother of all commodities, ſaith Cardan. And Ariſtotle reporteth, that about Epyrus theſe hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. And I ſay, theſe things ſhould therefore be yͤ leſſe admired, becauſe the ſearchers of nature haue as wel found out cauſes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Brimſtone & Allom, and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taſte alſo, & other ſtrange qualities. Ariſtotle in his booke *de Mundo* hath taught this. The earth (ſaith he) conteineth within it fountains not only of water, but alſo of ſpirite & fire: ſome of them flowing like riuers, doe caſt foorth red hote iron: from whence alſo doeth flow, ſomtimes luke-warme water, ſomtimes ſkalding hote, and ſomtimes temperate. And Seneca. *Empedocles* thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth ſecretly conteineth in many places, eſpecially if the ſaid fire bee vnder that ground where the water paſſeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths.

Many hote Baths in Iſland.

The cauſes of hote Baths.

Lib, 3. nat. quaeſt.

No maruell though from banke of *Baian* ſhore
hote Baths, or veines of ſkalding licour flow:
For *Vulcans* forge incenſed euermore,
doeth teach vs plaine, that heart of earth below
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.
From hence the flitting flood ſends ſmokie ſtreames,
And Baths doe boile with ſecret burning gleames.

I thought good in this place to touch that which Saxo Grammatieus the moſt famous hiſtoriographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of Iſland do ſomtime encreaſe & flow vp to the brinke: ſometimes againe they fall ſo lowe that you can ſkarſe diſcerne them to be fountains. Which kind of fountains, albeit they bee very ſeldome found with vs, yet I will make mention of ſome like vnto them, produced by nature in other countries, leſt any man ſhould think it ſomwhat ſtrange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of theſe. There is one (ſaieth he) in the Iſle of Tenedos, which at the *Solſtitium* of ſommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night, till the ſixt. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there is a riuer which in the midſt of ſommer alwaies encreaſeth, and in winter is dried vp. He maketh mention alſo of a very large fountaine, which euery houre doeth encreaſe and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that ſome riuers run vnder the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as Lycus in Aſia, Eraſinus in Argolica, Tigris in Meſopotamia, vnto which Cardan addeth Tanais in Moſcouia: and thoſe things which were throwen into Aeſculapius fountaine at Athens, were caſt vp againe in Phaletico. And Seneca writeth that there are certaine riuers which being let downe into ſome caue vnder ground, are withdrawen out of ſight, ſeeming for the time to be vtterly periſhed and taken away, and that after ſome diſtance the very ſame riuers returne, enioying their former name and their courſe. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a riuer receiued vnder ground in the field of Atinas that iſſueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, ſhould teach vs that the fountaines of Iſland are not to be made greater wonders then the reſt.

Doth forthwith conuert into a ſtone any body caſt into it. By theſe two properties, namely warmth or moſt vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Friſius deſcribe his firſt fountaine. And I haue heard reported (though I neuer had experience thereof my ſelfe) that there is ſuch a fountain in Iſland not far frō the biſhops ſeat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Seneca reporteth of the like, ſaying: That there is a certain fountain which conuerteth wood into ſtone, hardening the bowels of thoſe men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that ſuch fountains are to bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ouid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. aſcribeth vnto the riuer of the Cicones.

Water drunke out of *Ciconian* flood,
 fleſhy bowels to flintie ſtone doeth change:
Ought elſe therewith beſprinckt, as earth or wood
 becommeth marble ſtreight: a thing moſt ſtrange.

And Cardane. *Georgius Agricola* affirmeth, that in the territorie of *Elbogan*, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are conuerted into ſtone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the ſtone called *Pyrites*, or the Flint. And *Domitius Bruſonius* reporteth, that in the riuer of *Silar* (running by the foote of that mountain which ſtandeth in the field of the citie in old time called *Vrſence*, but now *Conturſia*) leaues and boughs of trees change into ſtones, & that, not vpon other mens credite, but vpon his own experience, being borne & brought vp in that country: which thing *Plinie* alſo auoucheth, ſaying, that the ſaid ſtones doe ſhew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or ſtony husks. So (if we may giue credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being diſperſed abroad, become ſtones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepuſius being poured into pitchers, is conuerted to ſtone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being caſt into the riuer of the Cicones, and into the Veline lake in the field of Rice, is encloſed in a barke of ſtone growing ouer it.

Riuers of Iſland in ſommer ſeaſon luke-warme.

The ſecond is extremely cold. As for the ſecond fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge ſo extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, inſomuch that (our common riuers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from thoſe coole ſprings. It may be that there are ſome farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a riuer (ſtreaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then ſnow: and within a mile of Culma, the riuer called Inſana ſeeming to be very hote is moſt extremely cold, &c.

The third is ſweeter then honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with vs, which may in the leaſt reſpect be compared with the ſweetneſſe of honie. And therfore Saxo wrote more truly, ſaying, that certaine fountains (for there be very many) yeelding taſte as good as beere: and alſo in the ſame place there are fountains & riuers not onely of diuers taſts, but of diuers colours.

And albeit naturall Philoſophers teach, that water naturally of it ſelfe hath neither taſte nor ſmel, yet it is likely (as we haue touched before, which other call *per accidens*) that oftentimes it repreſenteth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veines whereof it hath paſſage and iſſue: and from hence proceed the diuers & ſundry ſmels, colours and ſauours of all waters. Of ſuch waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof ſome prouoke hunger, others make men drunken, ſome hurt the memory, & ſome helpe it, & ſome reſemble the very qualitie and taſte of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie ſpeaketh of in the Ile of Andros, within the temple of Bachus, which in the Nones of January vſed to flow ouer with wine. And Ariſtotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops ſmelling like Cedar. Alſo Orcus a riuer of Theſſalie flowing into Peneus, ſwimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere vnto the town of Brunſwic, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in Sueuia neere vnto the Abbey called Tergenſch. Alſo in the valley of the mountain Iuraſſus. He ſuppoſeth the cauſe of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but conteine oile in it. The ſame author ſaieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daſchylus, in the white field, there is water ſweeter then milke. Another alſo neere vnto the bridge which we paſſe ouer going to the towne of Valdeburg. Propertius likewiſe in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters repreſenting the ſauour of wine in theſe words.

In lib. de mirab. auſcult.

Amidſt the Iſle of *Naxus* loe, with fragrant ſmels and fine
 A freſhet runs; ye *Naxians* goe fill cups, carouſe, there's wine.

This Naxus is one of the Ilands called Cyclades lying in the Ægæan ſea. Cardane giueth a reaſon hereof, namely, becauſe Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Ariſtotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants vſe in ſtead of vineger. The ſame author maketh the cauſe of ſauours in water to be heate, becauſe the earth being hote changeth and giueth ſauour vnto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water ſo ſaieth Cardane. There is the ſame reaſon (ſaith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the ſauours thereof, for both haue their originall frō the earth: For there is white water within two miles of *Glanca* a town in *Miſena*: red water in *Radera* a riuer of *Miſena* not farre from *Radeburg*: & in old time neere vnto *Ioppa* in *Iudea*: greene water in the mountaine of *Carpathus* by *Newſola*: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountains of *Feltrius* & *Taruiſius*: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in *Thermopylis*: cole-blacke water in *Alera* a riuer of *Saxonie*, at that place where it diſchargeth it ſelf into the *Weſer*. The cauſes of theſe colours are the colours of the ſoile. Alſo Ariſtotle ſaieth, that about the promontorie of Iapigia, there is a fountaine which ſtreameth blood: adding moreouer, that Mariners are driuen farre from that place of the ſea, by reaſon of the extreme ſtench thereof. Furthermore, they ſay that in Idumæa there is a fountaine which changeth color foure times in a yeere: for ſomtimes it is greene, ſomtime white, ſomtime bloodie, & ſomtimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the ſmels of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like reaſon of difference in ſmels. But for the moſt part the ſteames of waters bee vnpleaſant, becauſe the earth doeth ſeldome times ſmel well. The water of the riuer *Anigris* in *Aelis* ſtanke, to the deſtruction, not onely of fiſhes, but alſo of men. About *Meton* in *Meſſania*, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen moſt ſweet ſmelling, and odoriferous water. I doe recite all theſe examples to the end that no man ſhould make a greater wonder at the colours, ſmels, and ſauours of waters that be in Iſland, then at thoſe which are in other countreis.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Iſidore affirmeth, that there is a certaine fountaine whoſe water being drunke, extinguiſheth life. And Plinie ſaieth, That about *Nonaris* in *Arcadia*, the riuer of *Styx* (neere the mountaine of *Cillene*, ſaieth *Cardane*: it would be contained in nothing but an horſe-hoofe: and it is reported that *Alexander* the great was poiſoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in ſmell nor colour, being drunke, is preſent death. In *Beroſius* an hill of the people called *Tauri*, there are three fountains, euery one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which is the ſtrangeſt thing of all the reſt) Seneca maketh mention of a poole, into which whoſoeuer looke, do preſently die. But, as for this fourth fountaine of Friſius, which Saxo doeth likewiſe mention, we Iſlanders, as alwayes heretofore, ſo euen at this day do teſtifie, that it is vtterly vnknowen vnto vs: and therefore in this regard, we render vnto God immortall thanks, becauſe he hath vouchſafed to preſerue our nation from ſuch fountains, from ſerpents and venemous wormes, & from al other peſtiferous & contagious creatures.

The ſame Author ſaieth.

Iſland free from ſnakes and other venemous beaſts.

Furthermore about the foreſaid mountains there is ſuch abundance of brimſtone. The three mountains called by Munſter and Friſius, Fierie mountains, do all of them ſtand an huge diſtance from our Mines. Wherefore, when as neere vnto theſe hils they haue found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe ſo mightily extoll for wonders, they muſt needs haue ſome Brimſtone Mines alſo, ſtanding a like diſtance from the ſaid fountaines. And aſſuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munſter would haue it, nor by Friſius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimſtone digged vp at this day: nor I thinke euer was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munſter reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimſtone: namely, that it is almoſt the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. For whereas the Iland is deuided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but euen the halfe thereof) doeth vſe it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimſtone paied for tribute of the Iland.

Brimſtone Mines onely in the North part of Iſland.

The twelfth Section.

There are ſo great ſtore of fiſhes in this Iland, that they are laid foorth on piles to be ſold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houſes.

Munſter.

IN the open aire. In deed we haue ſeen other countrey merchants doe ſo, vntil they had vnladen their ſhips of outlandiſh wares, & filled thē againe with fiſhes & with othet of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifeſt. Certainly, that plentifull and ancient abundance of fiſh is now decaied, and the Iſlanders now begin to be pinched with the want of theſe and other good things, the Lord laying the iuſt ſcourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

Abundance of fiſh about Iſland diminiſhed.

The thirteenth Section.

They haue moſt ſwift horſes, which wil run without ceaſing a continual courſe for the ſpace of 30. leagues.

Friſius.

A Certaine Coſmographer in his Map of Iſland reporteth concerning the horſes of one pariſh, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impoſſible. For Munſter writeth that thoſe beaſts which excell all other in ſwiftneſſe & ſtrength of body, called || Rangiferi, cannot run aboue 30. leagues in 24. houres.

|| Raine deere.

The foureteenth Section.

There be ſeen ſometimes neere vnto *Iſland* huge Whales like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ſhips, vnleſſe they be terrified away with the ſound of trumpets, or beguiled with round

Munſter.

and emptie veſſels,which they delight to toſſe vp and downe . It ſometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking theſe Whales to be Ilands,and caſting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to ſay,the deuiliſh Whale.

LIke vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munſters falſifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe ſaieth) his blind dreame. Such a falſe and ſenceleſſe ouer-reaching doeth exceedingly diſgrace an hiſtorie,and that by ſo much the more,by how much the leſſe neceſſary it is. For to what purpoſe ſhould an Hiſtoriographer make leaſings,if hiſtory be a report of plaine trueth? Why ſhould he vſe ſuch ſtrange ſurmountings? What is it that he would perſwade, or whither would he rauiſh the Reader, if he propoundeth vnto himſelfe nothing but the ſimple declaration of things?

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,
To feigne,to blaze,in all things to be bold.
But not Hiſtoriographers.

Certain letters ſent by Brandan biſhop of Breme, to preach Chriſtian faith in the North.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable,like all the reſt,was bred of an old,ridiculous and vaine tale,the credite and trueth whereof is not worth a ſtrawe. And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the biſhop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Kranzius,if I be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time ſent certaine Legates with a Couen of Friers to preach and publiſh in the North the popiſh faith,which was then thought to bee Chriſtian: and when they had ſpent a long iourney in ſailing towards the North, they came vnto an Iland,and there caſting their anker they went a ſhore , and kindled fiers, (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a litle vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at ſea)and ſo prouided victuals for the reſt of their iourny. But when their fires grew very hote,this Iland ſanke, and ſuddenly vaniſhed away, and the Mariners eſcaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was preſent. This is the foundation of the matter,but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed theſe Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempeſtuous ſea, ſeeing a rocke before their eyes,or (as Munſter ſaieth) a little Iland,would not rather with all diligence haue auoided it for feare of running a ſhore and ſhipwracke, then to reſt in ſuch a dangerous harbour? But in what ground ſhould the anker be faſtened? for Mariners for the moſt part are deſtitute of ſuch long cables,whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine ſea,therefore vpon the backs of Whales, ſaith Munſter. But then they had need firſt to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O ſilly Mariners, that in digging cannot diſcerne Whales fleſh frõ lumps of earth,nor know the ſlippery ſkin of a Whale from the vpper part of the ground: without doubt they are worthy to haue Munſter for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewiſe before treating of the land-miracles of Iſland) he gathereth fruits as they ſay,out of Tantalus his garden,and foloweth hard after thoſe things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeuoureth to proule here and there for miracles,peruſing ſea and land to ſtuffe vp his hiſtory: where notwithſtanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your ſkil, Munſter,for I take it you cannot ſkill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a ſhame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himſelfe: for ſuch an attempt is ſubiect to manifold errours,as we will ſhew by this your example. For while you take in hand to ſchoole others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fiſh is to be called in our tongue, leauing out through ignorance the letter H. which almoſt alone maketh vp the ſignification of the worde, you deliuer that which is not true: for *val* in our language ſignifieth not a Whale,but chuſing or choiſe of the,verbe *Eg vel*,that is to ſay,I chuſe,or I make choiſe,from whence *val* is deriued, &c. But a Whale is called *Hualur* with vs,& therefore you ought to haue written *Trollhualur*. Neither doeth *Troll* ſignifie the deuill,as you interprete it,but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You ſee therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great iniurie to our language being in one word onely: becauſe (doubtleſſe) you knew not more then one.

Others alſo do offend in the ſame fault,for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publiſh a Map of Iſland receiued from Iſlanders themſelues,had rather marre the faſhion of all,or in very deed of the moſt names of Capes,Baies,mountaines, ſprings, riuers, homocks, valleis,hils & townes (becauſe that being ignorant of our language,he was not able to read thoſe things aright,which he receiued from our countreymen) he had rather (I ſay) depraue & corrupt them all,then learne of the Iſlanders themſelues,which at that time,namely in the yeere 1585.liued in the vniuerſitie of Hafnia,or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and written. And we eſteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our natiue names and words, (whereupon it came to paſſe that we reading the ſame, could acknowledge very few to be our owne) that he is no ſlight offender againſt our tongue, otherwiſe retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we haue after ſome ſort examined moſt of the myracles of Iſland, which our writers haue mentioned. Notwithſtanding before we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this ſection to touch that which the laſt forenamed mã (in this Map of Iſland, that he cauſed to be put forth in yͤ foreſaid yeere vnder his own name) hath giuen out concerning two other fountains beſides the former: whereof the one ſhould die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. Which thing where he receiued it, or whence he had it, we can by no means imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in yͤ writers of other countries. But whence ſoeuer it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black wooll may be died of a white colour, ſeeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receiue no colour? notwithſtanding there is ſome ſuch thing reported by Theophraſtus: namely, that there is a riuer in Macedonia which maketh blacke ſheepe white. Alſo, that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glaſſe, which I mentioned before, doth attribute theſe fountains to Ireland, which is alſo called *Hybernia*, and not to Iſland. Which peraduenture deceiued the Reader, reading in a ſtrange language S in ſtead of R.

Who be the Iſlandiſh writers?

Speculum regale.

That likewiſe deſerueth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great ſtone in *Iſland* which runneth vp and downe the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and naturall motion. Hee that will beleeue this, what will he not beleeue? For it is ſuch a rare deuiſe that the Epicures themſelues (who yet ſeemed to Lucian to haue fained many incredible things) I am ſure neuer inuented the like: vnleſſe perhaps the ſayd Author doeth imagine, that a man (who is called of the Iſlanders by the proper name of Stein) ſhould compaſſe about, and clime vp certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a ſtory of wonders, namely, that a man ſhould mooue or walke, yet is it ſo to bee ſuppoſed to ſaue the credite of the Author, that we may not more ſeuerely condemne that fable, which is ſo ſenceleſſe of it ſelfe and not woorthy to be read.

They are guiltie of the ſame crime alſo who haue found out rauens, pies, hares and vultures, all white in Iſland: for it is wel knowen that vultures come very ſeldome, together with the Iſe of the ſea, vnto vs, as beares alſo (but they ſeldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crowes called by the Iſlanders *Iſakrakur*. But as for white pies, hares, and rauens, Iſland neuer had any.

Vultures, beares and crowes come vpon the drift Ice into Iſland.

And theſe in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily buſines, we were able at this preſent to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatiſe, which were penned by me for this purpoſe (as in the beginning I did proteſt) that the errors of Authors concerning an vnknowen land, and the affected vanitie alſo of ſome men might be diſcloſed, for I am not deſirous to diminiſh any mans good name: but becauſe I conſecrated theſe my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuſe but ſhew, that thoſe things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our Iland deſerue very litle credite: and ſo to addreſſe my ſelfe vnto the matters following concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the firſt part of the Commentarie.

Of Iſland the ſecond part, concerning the Inhabitants.

HAuing hitherto finiſhed the miracles of Iſland with certaine other particulars belonging to the firſt part, the which while writers doe wonder at, and diuerſly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things beſides and againſt all nature, they haue bene very careleſſe both of trueth it ſelfe, & of their owne credite. Now the courſe of the preſent ſpeach doeth admoniſh mee to make haſte vnto the other part of the treatiſe concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what I ſhould firſt ſay, or where I ſhould begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be ſuch monſtrous, and ſo many mocks, reproches, ſkoffes, and taunts of certaine men againſt vs poore Iſlanders dwelling in the vtmoſt parts of the world (and amongſt theſe alſo, ſome things of theirs who take vpon them to profeſſe moſt ſimple trueth, namely Hiſtoriographers) inſomuch, that to reckon vp the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Icarian ſea. But as I ſaid in the beginning, we will not deale alike ſeuerely with all. For although Krantius, Munſterus, Friſius & others haue written many things too boldly of our nation: yet hauing otherwiſe deſerued wel of learning by their monuments, they ſhalbe ſtill in yͤ ſame reputation wͭ vs that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free thẽ from the marke of ſlanderers, yet is it no ſmall matter that they ſhould broch certaine ſenceleſſe, impoſſible & ridiculous things, ſuch as thoſe are which we haue hitherto laid downe: as alſo that they ſhould record in hiſtories prophane and horrible vntrueths, ſome of which kind ſhal now immediately be diſcuſſed. As for others, whatſoeuer they be, who vpbraid the nation of Iſlanders with daily reproches, they are to haue that anſwere in a readineſſe which ſuch men deſerue. In the number of whom, that ſcoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes publiſhed in the Germane tongue, to the diſgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into euerlaſting ignominie.

Wherefore as our preſent buſineſſe requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with ſome things containing litle reproch, notwithſtanding we will examine moſt of them, noting the errors as hitherto wee haue done: in the meane time alſo when they ſhall alleage any trueth, we will in no caſe diſſemble it. And after this maner, firſt we will heare Munſter, Krantzius and Friſius, and others alſo, if there be any more, what they haue to ſay, reiecting that Parot and his Dutch rimes infected with fell ſlander, as he is woorthy, vnto the laſt place. Firſt therefore the ſayd Authors write concerning the faith or religion of the Iſlanders: and ſecondly, of their Maners, Cuſtomes, and courſe of life in maner folowing.

The firſt Section.

Krantzius in præfatione ſuæ Norwegiæ.

Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Chriſt 1070. ſaw the Iſlanders conuerted vnto Chriſtianitie: albeit, before the receiuing of Chriſtian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble requeſt, he appointed a certaine holy man named *Iſlief* to be their firſt Biſhop.

Krantzius in theſe words, and Munſter other where, doe ſeeme to attribute vnto the Iſlanders the prerogatiue of Chriſtian faith: and they ſhould deale both beſeeming themſelues and the trueth, if they did not in other places depriue vs of the ſame. For (to ſpeake of Krantzius anone) that which Munſter before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and ſituation of hell, is very farre from Chriſtian pietie; namely, to be deſirous to prie into thoſe ſecrets which God hath kept cloſe vnto himſelfe alone, and which his pleaſure is, ſhould exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and ſituation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the deuill and his angels, and ſo for all damned ſoules, is bounded or compaſſed about. The holy Bible (I ſay) aſſigneth no locall or bodily ſituation beneath the earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that priſon of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth ſhall periſh, and that a new earth, and new heauens ſhall be created for the habitation of iuſt and holy men, Reuel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Eſay 65. wherefore a Chriſtian man willingly giueth ouer to ſearch into ſuch hidden ſecrets: and he accounteth it vnlawful to receiue or deliuer vnto others, opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifeſt places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths. Deut. 4. and 12. Eſay 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim. 3.

Further alſo that commendation wherewith Munſter and Krantzius doe grace the Iſlanders, is meerly contrary to Chriſtian religion: namely, that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. ſection. So therefore Munſter diſagreeth with himſelfe, whereas thoſe whom he affirmeth to be Chriſtians, afterward he maketh to be maſter-builders of hell. Alſo Krantzius and Munſter both together, when as thoſe whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into Chriſt, they exempt from all ſenſe of pietie and honeſty, in that they write that their ſonnes are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to ſay concerning our religion, what, or of what ſort it was when Gentiliſme was firſt put to flight. No more (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere vnto vs to ſay concerning yͤ beginning of their faith. For (alas) we muſt needs confeſſe & bewaile with deepe ſighes, that vntill that day which ſhined vnto vs like the beginning of immortalitie, & brought vnto vs the pure doctrine of the goſpel, our countrymen, as likewiſe other churches of the North, were ouer-ſpred with more then Cimmerian darkeneſſe. But we may iuſtly and religiouſly thinke thus much, that among vs and our neighbors of Norway (for I wil not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of vnknowen people) after heatheniſh idolatry was rooted out, Chriſtian faith & religion did floriſh far more ſincere and ſimple, as being leſſe infected with the poiſon of poperie at that time, then afterward, when as the peſtiferous leauen of the ſee of Rome being augmented, & the contagious miſchiefe growing ripe, the poiſon thereof was diſperſed through yͤ whole world: for, as it ſhal afterward appeare, Iſland embraced Chriſt many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papiſts began to preuaile, and did ſound foorth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghoſt, like vnto thoſe two moſt renoumed kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, ſo had they one common care and profeſſion to aduance the goſpel of Chriſt. I meane Olaus the ſonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yeere of Chriſt 968. attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the firſt, as we haue heard, that offred Chriſt vnto the Norwegians, ouer whom hee reigned fiue yeeres: and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the ſonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Chriſt 1013. or thereabout, gouerned with more ſeueritie, & for the ſpace of 17. yeeres did boldly deliuer the doctrine of Chriſt. In the yere of Chriſt 1030. being vniuſtly ſlaine by wicked murtherers, he ſhed his blood for yͤ name of Chriſt in a town of Norway called *Sticfla Stadum*.

The firſt chriſtian king of Norway.

Our countrey alſo had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whoſe name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Chriſt 1000. liued in the village of *Berthorsbuol* ſituate in the pariſh of Iſland called *Landebum*: who alſo for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wiſedome and ſage counſell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Iſland was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in ſubiection to no ſuperiour magiſtrate, he intermedled not in any quarels, ſauing that by his diſcreet vertue & diligence, hee ſet through and brought to compoſition a great number: hee neuer did nor ſuffered violence, but onely vpon the laſt day of his life. So carefully auoyded he al ſeditions and ſtrifes: and gaue good aſſiſtance to others, who were deſirous alſo to auoyd and eſcape them: neither did any man euer put in practiſe his counſel, but it turned to his eſpeciall good: nor euer any did ſwerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and poſſeſſions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were ſo certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man ſhould haue ſo great and ſo ſure forecaſt and counſell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his diſcreet and prouident wiſedome ioyned with counſell became a prouerbe amongſt vs *Nialsbytaraden*: That is to ſay, the counſel of Nialus: or, the thing is done, or ſucceedeth by Nialus his counſel: when any buſines was atchieued prudently, and with admirable diſcretion. This man, when, for a ſlaughter committed by his ſonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne houſe beſet with a 100. men, who had conſpired his death, and when his enemies began on all ſides to ſet his houſe on fire, ſeeing his ende approch, at length he brake into theſe words. Doubtleſſe theſe things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Chriſt, that we (meaning his wife, and himſelfe) although this our fraile body ſhal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it ſhalbe deliuered from eternal flames. And ſo in the midſt of theſe voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manſlayer his ſonne, in the yere of Chriſt 1010. ended his life. A voyce vndoubtedly full well beſeeming the ſonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his ſoule amidſt the very pangs of death.

Nialus the firſt knowne profeſſour of Chriſtian faith in Iſland.

I therefore added thoſe things to ſhew by what reaſon I was moued to thinke, that in the very beginning of Chriſtianitie receiued amongſt vs, mens minds were not ſo beguiled and ouerwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before theſe our times, they haue bene.

A ſumme of the Iſlanders Religion.

But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by his godly ſucceſſours, did make the doctrine of ſaluation more manifeſt, and ſhaking off the heauie ſlothe, and thicke miſte of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy Spirit Matth. 12. v. 28) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes, that we might behold his ſauing health: We all, and euery of vs do beleeue and confeſſe, that God is a ſpirit (Iohn 4. v. 24.) eternal (Eſay 40. v. 28.) infinite (Ierc. 23. v. 24. Pſal. 139. v. 7. 8. 9.) moſt good (Matth. 19. v. 17.) almighty (Gen. 17. 1. Reuel. 1. 8.) one in being, and nature: one in prouidence: one in the making and gouerning of all things (Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But diſtinguiſhed by the perſons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) God the Father the firſt perſon of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth, and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in thoſe that folow) the vpholder & gouernor of all (Pſa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt (Pſal. 2, 7. and verſes following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.) keeper of our ſoules and bodies (Luke 12. 12.) And that Ieſus Chriſt the ſecond perſon of the Godhead is the ſonne of God the Father (Iohn 1. 18. &c.) onely begotten (Iohn 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1. Chro. 17. 13. Ioh. 1. 1.) true God (Iohn 1. 2. &c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1. Pet. 1. 20, Reuel. 13. 8. &c.) and preſently after mans fall promiſed to be the Meſſias (Gene. 3. 15. &c.) publiſhed eftſoones vnto the holy Patriarches, as vnto Abraham (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) vnto Iſaac (Gen 26. 4.) vnto Iacob (Gene. 28. 14.) and confirmed by promiſes (Gen. 49. 9. Eſa. 11. 1, 10.) prefigured by yͤ ſacrifices of Moſes (Leu. 1. 2. &c.) and by other types, as namely by the offering of Iſaac (Gen. 22.) by the lifting vp of the braſen ſerpent (Num. 21.) by Ionas (Ionas 2. &c.) proclaimed by the teſtimony of the Prophets (Eſa. 7. 14.) and at length in the fulneſſe of time truely exhibited: true man (Iohn 1. 14. &c. Gal. 4.) that he died for our ſinnes, and was raiſed againe for our iuſtification (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Aſcending into heauen (Acts 1. 9. &c.) and making interceſſion for vs at the right hand of his Father without ceaſing (1. Iohn 2. 1. &c.)

by his holy Spirit (which is the thirde perſon of the Godhead, coequall, and conſubſtantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts.5.4.) gathering the Church to himſelfe by the Word, and Sacraments (Matth.16.18.Rom.10.14.&c. and ſanctifying it to eternal life, Acts.9.31.&c. And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heauen (Acts.1.11.) to iudge the quicke and the dead (1.Theſſal.4.15.) that he will render vnto the wicked according to their workes, and that he wil iudge them to eternal paines (Matth.13.42.& 25.4.) but that he wil reward them with eternal life, who beleeue in his Name (Matth.25.34.) This Ieſus Chriſt (I ſay) wee acknowledge to be our redeemer (Matth.1.21.) our head (1.Corinth.12.27.) and our Lord (Ephe.4.5.) And that wee in our holy baptiſme do giue, and haue giuen our names vnto him (Acts.2.38.) and that we are engraffed into him by baptiſme (1.Corin.12.13.) And this we do plainely, ingenuouſly, freely, and willingly confeſſe, and witneſſe: And as for all others who inuent any other name in heauen giuen vnto men by which they may be ſaued, we doe earneſtly deteſt, curſe, and condemne them (Acts.4.12.) We holde his moſt holy Word to be the onely rule of our ſaluation: And that alone (all mans deuiſes being caſt away and contemned) we propound vnto our ſelues as an infallible rule, and leuel of our faith (Galat.1.8.Eſai 29.13.Ezech.20.) which we conteine vnder the name of the olde and newe Teſtament (Hebr.8.) deliuered by the Prophets and Apoſtles (Ephe.2.20.) by the ſingular and infinite goodneſſe of God, preſerued euer vnto this day and to be preſerued hereafter alwayes in the Church (Matth.28. laſt verſe. Pſal.71.18.1.Cor.11.26.)

Therefore we render thankes vnto our moſt gratious and Almighty God from our ſoule, and from our whole heart, becauſe that euen vnto vs being ſeparated an huge diſtance from the reſt of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the fartheſt parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the reuelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably ſhewed to holy Simeon (for in Chriſt are all the treaſures of wiſedome hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cheriſh with the ſauing beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I ſay) this light ſhould come vnto vs. This in briefe (running ouer the very ſumme) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirit, and of his Miniſters in the vineyard of Chriſt, we haue drawen and that out of the fountaines of Iſrael.

Krantzius.

In the yeere of our Lord 1070. ſaw the Iſlanders conuerted vnto Chriſt, &c.

The moſt ancient Chronicles of Iſland.

IT is doubtful vnto vs whether in theſe words Kranzius would haue ſaid, that ẏ Iſlanders were firſt conuerted vnto Chriſt in the yeere of our Lord 1070: or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before conuerted, but ſaith that it was knowne firſt vnto Adalbert that yeere. But whetherſoeuer of theſe he affirmeth: notwithſtanding the yerely records, and moſt auncient Chronicles of our nation teſtifying the contrary do make his credite to be ſuſpected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather giue aſſent concerning our owne proper and domeſtical affaires, done within the bounds of our Iſland, or to Krantzius or any other being ignorant in the ſtory of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader) vnto your owne diſcretion. For my part I am enforced by many reaſons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For our countreymen affirme thoſe things onely that be knowen, and in a maner domeſticall: he writeth matters forreine and vnknowen: they haue compiled their hiſtories without the diffaming, diſgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might aſſigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his hiſtorie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the vpbraiding of our nation being moſt vnknowen vnto him, as it ſhall immediatly appeare: they deſcribe the names, yeres, order, ſucceſſion of all the Biſhops of Iſland: he mentioneth onely one, & that farre otherwiſe then the trueth. Furthermore, that I may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with ſtrangers a fewe things which I found in our moſt ancient records of the conuerſion of Iſland vnto Chriſt, and of the ſucceſſion of Biſhops in our Churches. Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet muſt they of neceſſitie bee ſet downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires againſt Krantzius and others: Thus therefore ſtandeth the certeintie thereof.

Iſland firſt inhabited.

In the yeere of Chriſt 874. Iſland (being indeed diſcouered before that time, as is aboue mentioned) was then firſt of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whoſe name the Eaſt cape of Iſland is called *Ingulffs hoffdi*. Theſe planters are reckoned vp by name in our recordes more then to the number of 400. together with thoſe of their blood and kinred, and great families beſides: neither onely is their number deſcribed, but it is alſo plainely ſet downe, what coaſts, what ſhores, and what in-land places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the firſt inhabitants did giue vnto Streights, bayes, harboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, ſprings, floods, riuers. And to be ſhort, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houſes, whereof many at this day are reteined and vſed. Therefore the Norwayes with their company peopled all the habitable parts of Iſland now occupied by them for the ſpace of 60. yeeres or thereabout: but they remayned Ethnickes almoſt a 100. yeres, except a very few which were baptiſed in Norwaie. But ſcarce a 100. yeres from their firſt entrance being paſt, preſently Chriſtian Religion began to be conſidered vpon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing aboue 20. yeres together, was diuerſly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongſt the reſt there are mentioned two outlandiſh Biſhops, who with others diligently laboured in conuerting the Iland to Chriſtian faith: the former was one Fridericus a Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came into Iſland, and behaued himſelfe couragiouſly in the office of preaching, and preuailed ſo much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were vſed in Iſland.

Fridericus Saxo the firſt preacher of the Chriſtian faith in Iſland. Anno Domini 981.

But the other outlandiſh Biſhop or preacher whom they called *Thangbrandt* came firſt into Iſland in the yeere 997.

And then after 26. yeeres conſulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000. it was decreed in a generall aſſembly of all the inhabitants by their whole conſent, that the worſhip of heathéniſh Idoles being abandoned, they ſhould embrace Chriſtian Religion.

Anno Domini 1000.

Againe, in the yeere 1050. it was decreed in a ſolemne aſſembly of the inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the conſtitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated vnto the Iſlanders by one *Vlfliot* in the yeere 926.) ſhould euery where giue place to the Canon or diuine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one *Iſleif* went beyond the ſeas out of Iſland to be cōſecrated biſhop of Iſlād. He came home conſecrated into Iſland, and entred into the biſhopricke of *Schalholt* in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.

Theſe things perhaps wil ſeeme trifling, ſhort and baſe, nor ſufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the Romane hiſtory, neither yet ſhall theſe things be ſo trifling, but that they may be of ſufficient force to conuince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpoſe. And vndoubtedly as touching the trueth of our hiſtories, it is euident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much vnto them: whoſe words in his preface of Denmarke be theſe: Neither is the diligence of the *Thylenſes* (for ſo he calleth Iſlanders) to be ſmothered in ſilence: who when as by reaſon of the natiue barrennes of their ſoile, wanting nouriſhments of riot, they do exerciſe the duties of continuall ſobrietie, and vſe to beſtow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other mens exploits, they ſupply their want by their wit. For they eſteeme it a pleaſure to know, and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no leſſe praiſeworthy to diſcourſe of other mens vertues, then to practiſe their owne. Whoſe treaſuries repleniſhed with the monuments of hiſtorical matters, I more curiouſly ſearching into, haue compiled no ſmal part of this preſent worke by following of their relation: neither deſpiſed I to haue thoſe men for my iudges, whom I knew to be skilfull in ſo great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

A notable teſtimonie of Saxo concerning the Iſlanders.

Wherefore I thinke it not amiſſe to proceede in the recitall of the Biſhops of Iſland, that the order and deſcent of them all, being ſo farre foorth as is poſſible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we haue alledged againſt Krantzius concerning *Iſleif* the firſt Biſhop of Iſland.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Biſhops of *Schalholt*.	The Biſhops of *Holen*.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	I.	I.	
	Iſleif.	Ionas ſonne of Augmundus.	
1056.	Conſecrated beyond the ſeas.	Iſleif his diſciple.	
1057.	Returneth and entereth the Biſhops ſea of Schalholt.	Conſecrated beyonde the ſeas in the yeere of his age 64. his ſirname was	1106.
1080.	Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.	Sanctus, vnto whoſe memorie the 3. of March was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.	
	II.		
	Gyſſerus.	Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May.	1121.
1082.	Conſecrated beyond the ſea.	II.	
1083.	Returneth into Iſland with his Biſhopricke.	Ketillus or Catullus.	
1118.	Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tueſday.	Conſecrated.	1122.
		Dieth.	1145.
	III.	III.	
	Thorlacus ſonne of Runulphus.	Biorno.	
In the yere of his age 32.	Conſecrated the ſame yeere, wherein his	Being conſecrated came into Iſland.	114[illegible]
		Dieth	

In the yeere of Christ.

The Biſhops of *Schalholt*.

his predeceſſor Gyſſerus deceaſed, but
1133. yet 30. dayes before his death. Dieth.

IIII.
Magnus.
1134. Conſecrated.
1148. On the morrowe after the feaſt of all Saints, in his pariſh towne of *Hiitardal*, the houſe being ſtriken with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were conſumed with fire.

V.
Klaingus.
1151. Choſen.
1152. Entreth the ſee.
1176. Dieth.

VI.
Thorlacus.
Choſen two yeres before the death of his predeceſſour.
1178. Conſecrated.
1193. Dieth.

VII.
Paulus.
1195. Conſecrated.
1211. Dieth.

VIII.
Magnus.
1216. Conſecrated.

IX.
Siguardus.
1239. Entreth his ſee.
1268. Dieth.

X.
Arnerus.
1269. Entreth his ſee.
1298. Dieth.

XI.
Arnerus ſonne of Helgo.
1304. Conſecrated.
1305. Entereth the ſee.
1309. Saileth into Norwaie, to craue timber of the king of Norway, wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the ſame yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.
1310. Returneth home.
1320. Dieth.

XII.
Ionas Haldorus.
1321. Elected.
1322. Conſecrated the firſt of Auguſt.
1323. Entreth his ſee.
1338. Dieth.

XIII.
Ionas ſonne of Indrid a Noruagian borne.
1339. Entreth his ſee.
1341. Dieth.

XIIII.

The Biſhops of *Holen*.

In the yeere of Christ.

Dieth. 1162.

IIII.
Brandus.
Conſecrated. 1163.
Entreth is Epiſcopall ſee. 1165.
Dieth. 1201.

V.
Gudmundus ſirnamed Bonus.
Elected and conſecrated. 1203.
Dieth. 1237.

VI.
Botolphus.
Returneth conſecrated. 1239.
Dieth. 1246.

VII.
Henricus.
Entreth the ſee. 1247.
Dieth. 1260.

VIII.
Brandus an Abbat.
Goeth beyond the ſeas. 1262.
Entreth the Biſhopricke. 1263.
Dieth. 1264.

IX.
Ierundus.
Entreth his ſee. 1267.
Dieth. 1313.

X.
Audunnus.
Entreth his ſee. 1314.
Dieth. 1322.

XI.
Laurentius.
Elected and conſecrated. 1324.
Dieth in the Ides of April. 1331.

XII.
Egillus.
Entreth his ſee. 1332.
Dieth. 1341.

XIII.
Ormus.
Entreth his ſee. 1343.
Dieth vpon the feaſt of all Saints. 1355.

XIIII.
Ionas ſonne of Ericus,
ſirnamed *Skalle*.

Being to enter his ſea of Holen came 1358.
into Iſland. This Ionas being before time conſecrated biſhop of Gronland, A Biſhop of Gronland.
obteined licence of the biſhop of Rome 1356.
to enter the See of Holen, which was at that time vacant. Whereupon comming and not bringing with him the confirmation of this dignitie and function, receiued from the Pope, hee began to be ſuſpected among the prieſts of the dioceſſe of Holen. Wherefore he was

In the yeere of CHRIST.

The Biſhops of *Schalholt*.

XIIII.

Ionas ſonne of Siguardus.

1343. Entreth his ſee.

1348. Dieth on S. Magnus euen.

XV.

Gyrthus.

1349. Conſecrated at Aſlo in Norway by Salomon biſhop of Aſlo.

1356. Going beyond the ſeas he was drowned.

XVI.

Thorarinnus.

1362. Entreth his ſee.

1364. Dieth.

XVII.

Oddgeirus.

1366. Entreth his ſee.

1381. Dieth vpon the Aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin, in the port of Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ſhip. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Sauiour.

XVIII.

Michael a Dane.

1385. Entreth his ſee.

1388. Reſigneth, and ſaileth into Denmarke.

XIX.

William a Dane.

1394. Entereth the Biſhopricke.

Dieth.

XX.

Arnerus ſirnamed *Milldur*, that is to ſay, Liberall. He was at one time Lord Preſident of all Iſland, biſhop of Schalholt, and vicebiſhop of Holen.

1420. He died.

XXI.

1432. Ionas Gerickſon Sueden, either ſirnamed or borne, is made Biſhop ouer the Church of Schalholt: and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken by one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is reported) and a great ſtone being bound to his necke, hee was caſt aliue into the riuer of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was there ſtrangled.

XXII.

1445. Goſwinus biſhop of Schalholt.

XXIII.

1472. Sueno called yͤ wiſe, biſhop of Schalholt.

XXIIII.

1489. Magnus ſonne of Eiolphus, Biſhop, &c.

XXV.

Stephen.

1494. Entreth the ſee. Then (liuing at one time with Godſchalchus biſhop of Holen, who ſeemed worthy to be ſirnamed cruel) he had the ſame commendations for mercy and iuſtice, that Godſchalchus had.

He

The Biſhops of *Holen*.

In the yeere of CHRIST.

was ſent backe by them into Norway, that the matter might bee ſet through by the iudgement of the king. The king therefore fauouring his part, he obteined the biſhopricke of Holen.

He dieth. 1391.

XV.

Peter.

Conſecrated the ſame yere wherein his predeceſſour departed out of this preſent life.

Entreth the ſee of Holen. 1392.

Dieth.

XVI.

Ionas Wilhelmus Engliſh, Either borne or ſir-named.

Entred the ſee. 1432.

An Engliſh man Biſhop in Iſland.

XVII.

Godſchalcus.

Died. 1457.

XVIII.

Olaus ſon of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godſchalcus by the ſiſters ſide, both of them being Norwayes.

He was eſtabliſhed. 1458.

He died. 1497.

XIX.

Godſchalchus

The nephewe of Olaus deceaſed, by the brothers ſide: alſo, hee being a Noruagian was elected the ſame yeere wherein his vncle deceaſed.

He entreth the ſee. 1500. And for the ſpace of 20. whole yeres is reported, cruelly to haue entreated many of the ſubiects. In the yeere 1520. whē he was in the midſt of his cups, and banqueting diſhes, & heard that Ionas Sigiſmundus was departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres moſt cruelly oppreſſed) he preſently fell into a ſudden diſeaſe, and ſo not long after changed that violence for miſerable death, which in his whole life he had vſed againſt his diſtreſſed ſubiects.

XX.

Ionas Aræſonius.

Entreth the ſee. 1525.

This man was the laſt & moſt earneſt mainteiner of Popiſh ſuperſtitions. Who ſtoutely withſtanding Gyſſerus and Martinus biſhops of Schalholt, was commanded by the

moſt

The Biſhops of *Schalholt*.

1519. He died: or thereabout.

XXVI.

Augmundus.

Choſen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceaſed.
1522. Entreth the ſee.

While he was Biſhop, the kings Lieu-tenant with ſome of his followers being inuited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet, was ſlaine by certaine conſpiratours: becauſe hee had in all places wickedly waſted the inhabitants and their goods. But Augmundus as the authour of that murther (although he purged himſelfe with an othe) being tranſported into Denmarke, there ended his life.

XXVII.

Gyſſerus.

1540. Elected, Augmundus yet liuing.
1541. Entred the ſee.
He was the aboliſher of Popiſh traditions about Prieſts marriages: his owne
1544. mariage being ſolemnized at Schalholt.

XXVIII.

Martinus.

1547. Biſhop, &c. And the yeeres folowing.

XXIX.

Giſlaus Ionas.

This man preſently, in the time of biſhop
Augmund began in his youth to be enflamed
with ẏ loue of true pietie, & of the pure
doctrine of the Goſpel, & being paſtour of
the Church of Selardal, diligently to aduance
the ſame, by which meanes he did ſo
procure vnto himſelfe ẏ hatred of Papiſts,
as being cōſtreined to giue place vnto their
craft & crueltie, he departed ouer to Hamburg,
from whence cōming to Copen Hagen
in Denmarke, & painefully proceeding
in his former ſtudy of diuinitie, he liued in
the familiaritie, and fauour of many, but
ſpecially of D.D. Peter Palladius: who was
1556. at that time biſhop there. Afterward returning
into his countrey, Martine gaue
place vnto him of his owne accord. This
1587. man died alſo, hauing for the ſpace of 31.
yeres or there abouts, profeſſed the Goſpel
of Ieſus Chriſt: neither did he helpe & further
the Church of God by the ſound of his
voice onely, but by all other meanes to the
vtmoſt of his abilitie, by teaching, preaching,
writing, by his wealth & his counſel.

XXX.

Otto Enerus, a graue, godly, and learned
1588. man. Being choſen he departeth his
1589. country. Hee is conſecrated, returneth,
and entreth the ſea, endeuouring himſelfe
in the labours of his function.

The Biſhops of *Holen*.

moſt religious king Chriſtan the 3.
vnder paine of baniſhment to come
with all ſpeed into Denmarke. But
neglecting the kings commaundement,
hee tooke Martine biſhop of
Schalholt, and committed him to
ward. At length he himſelfe alſo being
taken by a man of great name
(whom before that time, it is ſaide,
he had prouoked) and being brought
to Schalholt, was, together with
his two ſonnes, by the authoritie of
the kings Lieutenant beheaded. In 1551.
reuenge whereof not long after, the
ſaide Lieu-tenant with ſome of his
company, was villanouſly ſlaine by
certaine royſters, which were once
ſeruants to the parties beheaded.

XXI.

Olaus Hialterus.

Departed his countrey. 1552.
Entreth the ſee. 1553.
This man (being as yet in the life time of his predeceſſour fellow-labourer with him) was the firſt that kindled the loue of ſincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many: and then being biſhop did openly teache and defend the ſaid doctrine.
He died. 1568.

XXII.

Gudbrandus Thorlacius.

The ornament, not onely of his age, but of poſteritie alſo: who beſides that, by the direction of the holy ſpirit, he hath moſt notably brought the worke begunne, and left vnto him by his predeceſſour Olaus to that perfectiō which it hath pleaſed God to vouchſafe: (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Goſpel, and in aboliſhing of Popiſh ſuperſtitions) euen in this his countrey hee is the firſt that hath eſtabliſhed a Printing houſe. For which cauſe his countrey (beſides, for many other books tranſlated into our mother tongue) ſhalbe eternally bounden vnto him, that the ſacred Bible alſo, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the language of Iſland. Hee (I ſay) being at this preſent, Biſhop, when he was about to take his charge:
Departed his countrey. 1570.
Returned and entred the ſee of 1571.
Holen.

IN theſe times therefore light is reſtored vnto our ſoules from heauen, and the gate of the kingdome of heauen is opened vnto vs by the ſincere preaching of Chriſtian doctrine. For in either of the Biſhops ſeats there is a free ſchoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that moſt renowmed King of Denmarke Chriſtian the third: and afterward the ſonne following the godly ſteppes of his moſt Chriſtian father, the ſaid Free ſchooles by Lord Friderick the ſecond, our moſt religious King, being called vp to his heauenly countrey in the yeare 1588, haue beene encreaſed and furthered: which at this day alſo doe proſper and flouriſh by the fauour and authoritie of the moſt gracious King and our Prince, Chriſtian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Iſlande being inſtructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and ſacred diuinitie, are trained vp to knowledge and true godlineſſe, that from hence miniſters of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the regiſter of the Biſhops of Iſland downe to this preſent day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Biſhops of our Cathedrall Churches: both of which men, that it would pleaſe God long to preſerue vnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his moſt holy name, we all doe earneſtly and with feruent prayers beſeech him.

The ſecond ſection.

They inhabite for the moſt part in caues, or hollowe places within the ſides of mountaines. And againe, They haue many houſes and Churches built with the bones of fiſhes, and Whales. Againe. Many of them alſo to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themſelues cloſe in their caues, euen as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heate of the ſunne. Alſo *Munſter* ſayth: Many in Iſland at this day build their houſes with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

Munſterus. Krantzius. Friſius.

HEre the ſecond member taketh his beginning concerning the courſe of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And firſt of all what buildings or houſes they doe vſe: namely according to Munſter, Krantzius, Friſius &c. Holes and caues of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and ſuch other worldly braueries there is very litle helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithſtanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth: and we plainely affirme that Coſmographers and Hiſtoriographers alſo doe erre in this point. For ſuch habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either ſheepe-cots for ſhepheards, or cottages and receptacles for fiſhermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fiſhing, and the others ſtande in neede to watch their flocke. But for their houſes themſelues, and the very dwelling places of men, the Iſlanders haue had them built from auncient time ſtately and ſumptuouſly enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, ſtones, and turfes, vntill ſuch time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to ceaſe betweene them and the Noruagians, who were wont to ſupply them with timber, and for that cauſe nowe our houſes beginne to decay: whenas neither we haue woods conuenient for building, nor yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees caſt vpon our ſhores by the benefite of the ſea, which may in any ſort relieue vs: neither doe outlandiſh Merchants ſuccour our neceſſities: whereupon many of our meaneſt countrey villages are much decayed from their auncient integritie, ſome whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithſtanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot eaſily reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe reſemble that auncient excellencie, the houſes being very large, both in breadth and length, and for the moſt part in height alſo. As for example: farmes or granges which conteine chambers in them, more then fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And ſo other roomes, as a parler, a ſtoue, a butterie, &c. anſwering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our countrie buildings both large and wide, neither ilfauoured in ſhewe, nor baſe in regarde of their workemanſhip and coſtly firmeneſſe or ſtrength, with certaine Churches alſo, or religious houſes built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall ſeemelineſſe and beautie: as the Cathedrall Church of Holen hauing a bodie the fiue pillars whereof on both ſides be foure elnes high, and about fiue elnes thicke, as alſo beames and weather-bourdes, and the reſt of the roofe proportionally anſwering to this lower building. Our moſt gracious King Lord Frederick, whoſe memory is moſt ſacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588. did moſt liberally beſtow timber for the reedifying of this body being caſt downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempeſt. But the Church it ſelfe doth manifeſtly exceed the body thereof in all quantity: alſo the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is ſomwhat leſſe, both then the middle part of the Church, and alſo then the bodie.

Traffike with the people of Norway ceaſeth.

Drift wood not ſo plentifull now, as in times paſt.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our

Cathedrall, which hauing now beene twiſe burnt, is brought to a leſſer ſcantling. Likewiſe there be ſome other Churches of our Iland, although not matching, yet reſembling the auncient magnificence of theſe. But here the matter ſeemeth not to require that I ſhould runne into a long deſcription of theſe things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houſes and buildings, ſo are we nothing aſhamed of them: becauſe being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Chriſt immortall prayſe who deſpiſeth not to be receiued of vs vnder a baſe roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houſes, (which Munſter, Krantzius and Friſius doe not truely affirme to be built of fiſhes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the ſquare pauementes, and ſuch like ornamentes of Churches and houſes in other countries.

The third ſection.

Krantzius. Munſterus. They and their cattell vſe all one houſe, all one foode or victuals, all one ſtate (here *Krantzius* hath it lodging.) Alſo. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and ſometimes by taking of fiſhes.

These be the things together with thoſe that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munſters mouth, ſo that Munſter ſhall not neede ſo much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munſter, as hee ſwallowed theſe reproches, taking them out of Krantzius his preface vpon Norway, ſo he caſteth vp the verie ſame morſels vndigeſted and rawe againſt our nation, in his fourth booke of Coſmographie cap. 8. Thoſe things which haue beene hitherto, although they haue ſufficiently grieued vs, yet will we let them ſeeme more collerable: but this moſt malitious deuiſe, and thoſe which follow we cannot eaſily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place alſo to auouch the trueth, and to turne the leaſing vpon the authors owne head.

Houſe, &c. Firſt, that which they ſay concerning the ſame common houſe (as alſo liuing, and ſtate) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be falſe and erronious, not onely the truth it ſelfe being our witneſſe, if any man would make triall, but alſo the experience of manie ſtrangers, that haue liued ſome yeeres amongſt vs, and haue more minde to ſpeake the trueth then to reuile our nation: who haue ſeene our houſes and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many ſeuerall roomes: namely, in thoſe that were moſt ſimple and baſe, ſeuen or eight: In others which were greater, ſometimes tenne, and ſometimes twentie. In the greateſt ſometimes fortie, and ſometimes fiftie. Which for the moſt part being ſeuered, both by roofes and walles, doe ſerue for the dayly and houſhold affaires of one owner or maſter, ſeldome of two or three, but almoſt neuer of more: whereupon the Reader may eaſily iudge, howe true it is that the Iſlanders and their cattell haue all one houſe to lie in, when euery huſbandman in this varietie of roomes hath ſeuerall oxe-ſtalles, ſheepe-cotes, ſtables, lambes-cots ſeparated indifferent ſpaces one from another, which the ſeruants goe vnto ſo oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houſes.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Iſland, concerning the prouince of *Skagefiord*, that vnder the ſame roofe, men, dogges, ſwine and ſheepe liue all together, it is partly falſe, and partly no maruell: for ſheepe, as it hath beene ſayde, and ſpecially for ſwine (when as that prouince hath no ſwine at all) it is vtterly falſe: for dogges it is no maruell, when as not kings courts were euer, or at this day are deſtitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But as touching dogges afterward in the ſeuenth ſection.

Victuals, &c. Whither beaſts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man may iuſtly doubt: when Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, ſaith: As for Victus (ſayth he) wee will ſo expound it with the Ciuilians, namely that we comprehend vnder the word of Victus all things neceſſarie for the life of man, as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And Vlpianus de verborum ſignificatione defineth Victus in the very ſame words. But in this place the ſaide authors call beaſts meate by the name of Victus.

But let vs ſee what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in theſe men. We haue no labouring cattell beſides horſes and oxen: theſe haue graſſe and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very ſame writers confeſſe, that the Iſlanders liue by fiſh, butter, fleſh both beefe, and mutton, and corne alſo, though it bee ſcarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the ſame foode with brute beaſts, which notwithſtanding the ſayde writers affirme in theſe wordes:

They and their cattell vſe all one victuals or food. What Munſters meaning is in this clauſe, he himſelfe a little before hath plainely taught.

Iſland (ſaith he) conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and ſometimes by taking of fiſhes. But what elſe is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, ſaith Doletus? Vnleſſe perhaps Munſter calleth the food of cattell, cattell themſelues ſlaine for the foode of men: whom, as I thinke, the vſe of the latine tongue doth gaineſay, which hath taught vs that as men doe eate, ſo beaſts do feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattel. But may I thinke that Munſter and Krantzius were ſo mad as to imagine that the Iſlanders liue vpon graſſe and hay? To this paſſe of miſerie was Nabuchodonozor brought vndergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance: Daniel 4. verſ. 30. We will eaſily graunt that beaſts, and cattell will not perhaps refuſe many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours alſo eate, if the ſaide beaſts be deſtitute of their vſuall food: as horſes are fedde with corne and barley loaues: they will drinke milke alſo (like vnto calues and lambes) and ale, if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will deuour any deinty diſhes whatſoeuer. May any man therefore ſay that men vſe the ſame common victuals with dogges and horſes?

Now, whatſoeuer things haue happened in the time of grieuous famine ought not to be recorded in hiſtorie for the generall cuſtome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for vs to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrie, doe vſually liue by eating of dogs, miſe, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or ſeige or dearth of corne, they haue often bene conſtrained ſo to doe.

But that the ſame drinke is ſome times common to many men with beaſts, we will not greatly gaineſay: namely moſt pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all liuing creatures: which alſo in ſome reſpect Phiſicians doe commende, yea, neither the Patriarkes themſelues, nor our ſauiour Chriſt deſpiſed it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell alſo vnder the name of Victus) it is no wiſe common to vs with beaſts. For nature hath clad them with haires & briſtles (as I dare ſay Munſter and Krantzius cannot be ignorant) men, being otherwiſe naked, ſtande in neede of clothes to couer their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore haue properly beene ſayde, that ſheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countries alſo weare cloth of ſheepes wooll, although it be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to ſeeke for praiſe, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we ſhould ſpeake of that ſtate, which we are ſayd to haue common with beaſts: but of what kinde or maner it ſhould be, or our writers would haue it to be, I cannot eaſily diſcerne. State (ſayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of cauſes, or of order and condition. Doubtleſſe, that there is another ſtate of our bodies then of beaſts (for beſides our two feet, we haue hands alſo, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift vpright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perſwaded. As for theſe good fellowes, if they know any ſuch matter by themſelues or others, let them diſcloſe it. We doe altogether ſcorne theſe, being ſo vaine things, and breeding ſo great contempt againſt the Maieſty of God our creator, neither do we vouchſafe them any larger diſcourſe.

But becauſe it is our duety not ſo highly to regard either the loue of our countrey, or of any other thing whatſoeuer, but that we may be ready at all times, and in all places, to giue trueth the preheminence: I will ſay in a word what that was which perhaps might miniſter occaſion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be nere vnto Schalholt, vpon the South ſhore of Iſland, three ſmall pariſhes ſtanding betweene two moſt ſwift riuers Thiorſaa, and Olfwis Aa, being in a maner deſtitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accuſtomed fewell of the countrey. And although moſt of the inhabitants of theſe pariſhes, and ſome of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yeere prouide all things neceſſary for houſholde, ſo eſpecially thoſe things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithſtanding there be certaine among them of the baſeſt ſort of people, who, becauſe they want thoſe things at home, and are not able to prouide them from other places, are conſtrained to vſe ſtraw for the dreſſing of their meat. But when the ſharpe rigor of ſnowy Winter commeth on, theſe poore people betake them to their oxe ſtalles, & there ſetting vp ſheds, & doing their neceſſary buſineſſe in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And ſo they onely, being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enioye, but are conſtrayned to vſe the ſame common houſe with their oxen. But for their liuelihoode and ſtate it is farre otherwiſe with them then with their oxen, of which thing I haue entreated before. This is the lot, & pouertie of tertaine men in thoſe pettie pariſhes, the condition whereof is therefore made a common by-worde of the people amongſt vs, though ſomewhat iniuriouſly. Where I would willingly demaund with what honeſtie men can impute that vnto the whole nation, which is hard and ſkantly true of theſe fewe poore men: I am wearie to ſtay any longer in this matter: onely, becauſe I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon ſuffice, Prouerbs 17. verſe 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, becauſe this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath beene poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongeſt many rich men, it hath ſuſteined ſo many taunts and ſcoffes of ſtrangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbraide. Verely if there were nothing elſe common vnto vs with them, yet we both conſiſt of the ſame elements, and haue all one father and God.

The fourth ſection.

Krantzius.
Munſterus.

They leade their liues in holy ſimplicitie, not ſeeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whoſe pouertie no man doth enuie. But the Engliſh and Daniſh merchants ſuffer not the nation to be at reſt, who frequenting that countrey to tranſport fiſhing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to deſpiſe, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and ſiluer like vnto our men.

Simplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy ſimplicitie is giuen vnto vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found ſo great a decay of iuſtice, and good lawes, and ſo great want of gouernement amongſt vs, which is the cauſe of many thouſande haynous offences: which all honeſt and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconuenience doth not happen through the negligence of the higheſt Magiſtrate, that is, of our moſt gracious King, but rather by our owne fault: who doe not preſent theſe thinges vnto his Maieſtie, which are diſorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magiſtrate.

Merchants. Moreouer, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but eſpecially of Germanie, as at this time, ſo heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to tranſport fiſhing, but fiſhes, taught not Iſlanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For yͤ Norvagians themſelues, the firſt, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Iland, frõ whom yͤ Iſlanders are lineally deſcended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as alſo golde and ſiluer coine, ſo that in old time there was no leſſe vſe of ſiluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

Corne of old time growing in Iſland.

And it is certaine that before the often nauigations of Danes, Germans, and Engliſh men vnto vs, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences of the ages and decayed worlde, both from heauen and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyſe places, corne in abundance.

The fift ſection.

Munſterus.
Krantzius.

The King of Denmarke and Norway ſendeth euery yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey.

The occaſion of the firſt inhabiting of Iſland by the people of Norway.

In the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and ſixe Harald *Harfagre* (which is to ſay, golden haires or faire clockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being choſen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full ſtrength, chaunged the forme of the Noruagian gouernment. For whereas before it was deuided into pettie Prouinces (which they called *Fylki*, and the pettie kings that gouerned them, *Fylkis konga*) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie. But when ſome inhabitants of the countrie, being mightie, and deſcended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they choſe rather to be baniſhed their countrey, then not to ſhake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere aboue named eight hundred ſeuentie and foure, tranſported colonies into Iſland being before diſcouered by ſome men and found out, but vnpeopled as yet: And ſo being the firſt founders of our nation, they called themſelues Iſlanders, which name their poſteritie reteineth vnto this day. And therefore the Iſlanders liued a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and ſixe yeeres, more or leſſe, acknowledging no ſubmiſſion to any other Nation. And

Haquinus coronatus.

although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway, who reigned longeſt of any Noruagian king, namely, aboue ſixtie ſixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambaſſadours to make the Iſlanders become tributaries vnto him, notwithſtanding at all times they conſtantly withſtoode him, till at length about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed homage vnto him. And afterward continued alwayes in their promiſed loyaltie, being ſubiects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, ſince the Empire of the Norwagians was tranſlated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto the Danes, they doe honour as their ſoueraigne Lord and King the moſt gracious king of Denmarke.

The ſixt ſection.

All things are common among them except their wiues.

Krantzius.
Munſterus.

HEre Krantzius in the firſt place beginneth with ſuch a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreouer, your wit being too haſtie in affirming things vnknowen, doth here alſo deminiſh your credite. The experience as well of all things as of perſons and times proueth your ouer greedie deſire of noueltie; of fame and vaine-glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforeſayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witneſſe, which the Iſlanders from the beginning haue vſed all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his ſubiects: of the ſeate of iuſtice, and of law-caſes which come to be decided there: of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the reſt: all which, to what purpoſe ſhould they be enioyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witneſſe ſo many broyles and contentions in our courts, and places of iudgement in Iſland concerning goods mooueable, and immooueable: we call to witneſſe our kings, now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by ſo many billes of ſupplication out of Iſland in old time, and of late haue beene often interrupted, for the ſetting through of controuerſies concerning poſſeſſions. Wee call Krantzius himſelfe to witneſſe againſt himſelfe, whoſe words in the firſt ſection were theſe. Before the receiuing of Chriſtian faith the Iſlanders liuing according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe, &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtleſſe by that lawe of iuſtice, which giueth to euery man his owne: If by the lawe of iuſtice, then certainely diſtinctions of properties and poſſeſſions muſt needes haue taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often tranſgreſſed, and that haynouſly euen in the Church: notwithſtanding both the Church, and alſo heathen men doe acknowledge it to be moſt iuſt and good.

The ſeuenth ſection.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer ſort you ſhall eaſier obtaine their ſonne then their ſhalke.

ALthough in the beginning of this Treatiſe I thought that Munſter and other men of great name in thoſe things which they haue left written concerning Iſlande, were not to bee charged with ſlander, yet whether that fauour may here be ſhewed by any man whatſoeuer (be he neuer ſo fauourable, and neuer ſo ſincere) I doe not ſufficiently conceiue. For what ſhould moue ſuch great men, following the deſpightfull lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and ſtaine our nation with ſo horrible and ſo ſhamefull a reproch? Surely nothing elſe but a careleſſe licentiouſneſſe to deride and contemne a poore and vnknowen Nation, and ſuch other like vices.

But, be it knowen to all men that this vntrueth doth not ſo much hurt to the Iſlanders, as to the authors themſelues. For in heaping vp this, and a great number of others into their Hiſtories, they cauſe their credite in other places alſo to be ſuſpected: And hereby they gaine thus much (as Ariſtotle ſayth) that when they ſpeake trueth no man will beleeue them without ſuſpition.

But attend a while (Reader) and conſider with me the grauitie and wiſedome of theſe great Clarkes; that we may not let paſſe ſuch a notable commendation of Iſland. Krantzius and Munſter haue hitherto taught, that the Iſlanders are Chriſtians. Alſo: that before the receiuing of Chriſtian faith they liued according to the lawe of nature. Alſo: that the Iſlanders liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Alſo, that they liued in holy ſimplicitie.

Attend I ſay (good Reader) and conſider, what markes of Chriſtianitie, of the law of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy ſimplicitie, theſe authors require, and what markes they ſhew and deſcribe in the Iſlanders. There was one of the ſayd markes before: namely, that the Iſlanders doe place hell or the priſon of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla; concerning which, reade the firſt ſection of this part, and the ſeuenth ſection of the former. The ſeconde marke is, that with the Anabaptiſts they take away diſtinctions of properties and poſſeſſions: in the ſection next going before. The third and moſt excellent is this: thoſe ſingular & naturall affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Iſlanders towards their children, namely that they make the ſame accompt of them, or leſſe then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munſter and Krantzius after this faſhion picture out vnto vs the law of Chriſt, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy ſimplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the ſkill of Apelles: O ſharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Iſlanders (albeit the fartheſt of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Chriſtianitie. For we haue the commaundement of God, that euery man ſhould loue his neighbour as himſelfe. Nowe there is none (I ſuppoſe) that doeth not loue or eſteeme more of himſelfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee ſo great fauour, ſo great eſtimation, ſo great loue vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe wee owe vnto our children? The moſt neare and inſeparable loue of whom, beſides that nature hath moſt friendly ſetled in our mindes, the loue of God alſo commandeth vs to haue ſpeciall regard in trayning them vp (Exod. 12. 24. Epheſ. 6. 4.) namely, that there may be in holy marriage certaine ſeminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honeſtie: according to the excellent ſaying of the Poet.

God will haue each family,
  a litle Church to be.
Alſo Of humane life or mans ſocietie,
  a Schole or College is holy matrimonie.

That it may be manifeſt, that among Chriſtians their ſonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwiſe eſteeme of them, that they are no Chriſtians.

But this naturall affection towarde our moſt deare of-ſpring is plainely ſeene in the heathen themſelues: that whomſoeuer you totally depriue of this, you denie them alſo to bee men. The mothers of Carthage teſtifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the moſt choyſe and gallant young men in all the Citie were ſent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they followed vnto the ſhippes with moſt miſerable weeping and lamentation, and ſome of them being with griefe ſeparated from their deare ſonnes, when they ſawe the ſayles hoyſed, and the ſhippes departing out of the hauen, for very anguiſh caſt themſelues headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witneſſeth. Egæus doth teſtifie this, who when hee ſawe the ſhippe of his ſonne Theſeus, returning out of Creete with blacke ſayles, thinking that his ſonne had periſhed, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell. lib. 3. cap. 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconſul of Affrica, doth teſtifie this, who likewiſe, vpon rumors of the death of his ſonne, hanged himſelfe. Campoful. lib. 5. cap. 7. Alſo Iocaſta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thuſcans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch ſtat. lib. 2. and other authors &c. To theſe may be added that ſentence, Loue deſcendeth, &c. So that you ſee, it is no leſſe proper to a man entirely to loue his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue confeſſed the Iſlanders to be men (much leſſe to be Chriſtians) they muſt, will they nill they, aſcribe vnto them this loue and affection towardes their children: If not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but alſo they debaſe them vnder euery brute beaſt, which euen by the inſtinct of nature are bound with exceeding great loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde againſt this ſhameleſſe vntruth moſt notable examples of our owne countreymen: I will omit our lawes of man-ſtealing, more ancient then the Iſlanders themſelues, being receiued from the Noruagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Manhelge cap. 5. Whoſoeuer ſelleth a freeman (any man much more a ſonne) vnto ſtrangers &c.

Now if any man be driuen to that hard fortune, that he muſt needs commit his owne ſonne into the hands of ſome inhabitant or ſtranger, being vrged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame neceſſity, that he may not be conſtrained to ſee him hungerſtarued for want of ſuſtenance, but keepeth his dogge ſtill for his owne eating, this man is not to be ſayd, that he eſteemeth equally or more baſely of his ſonne then of his dogge: Whether Iſlanders or any other countreymen do the ſame.

The occaſion of this ſlander. The Germane or the Daniſh mariners might perhaps find amongſt vs certaine beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in ieſting maner for they are much giuen to trifling talke, might ſay: Giue me this, or ſell me that: and when the ſtranger ſhould aſke, What will you giue me for it? the begger might anſwere; I haue ten or foureteene children, I will giue you ſome one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggers vſeth thus fondly to prate with ſtrangers. Now if there be any well diſpoſed man, who pitying the need and folly of theſe beggers, releaſeth them of one ſonne, and doth for Gods ſake by ſome meanes prouide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his ſonne being ready to die for hunger and pouerty, yeeldeth and committeth his ſonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make leſſe account of his ſonne then of his dogge? Such works of loue and mercie haue bene performed by many, aſwell Iſlanders themſelues as ſtrangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Iulius, being ſent by the moſt gracious King of Denmarke into Iſland in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I haue heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fiftene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported vnto me, that by his good meanes euery one of them being bound to a ſeuerall trade, proued good and thriftie men.

What if ſome man be driuen to that paſſe, that he doth not onely ſell his ſonne, but not finding a chapman, his owne ſelfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the vnwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by vrgent neceſſity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch againſt a whole nation? We reade that in the ſiege of Samaria, two mothers ſlew their ſonnes, and eat them ſodden: 4.King. chap.6. We reade in the ſiege of Ieruſalem, how lamentable the voice of that diſtreſſed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My ſweet babe, ſayth ſhe (for I will report Euſebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miſerie and miſhap, for whom ſhould I conueniently reſerue thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and ſedition? If we be ſubdued to the gouernment of the Romans, we ſhall weare out our vnhappy dayes vnder the yoke of ſlauery. But I thinke famine will preuent captiuity. Beſides, there is a rout of ſeditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miſeries. Come on therefore, my ſonne, be thou meat vnto thy mother, a fury to theſe rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make vp the calamities of the Iewes. Theſe ſayings being ended, ſhe killeth her ſonne, roaſting and eating one halfe, and reſeruing the other, &c. *Euſebius lib.3. cap.6.* Now, what man will not beleeue that this vnhappy mother would full gladly haue paſſed ouer this her ſonne into the poſſeſſion of ſome maſter or chapman, if ſhe could haue happened vpon any ſuch, with whom ſhe thought he might haue beene preſerued? That famine is well knowen which oppreſſed Calagurium, a city of Spaine, when in olde time Cneius Pompeius layed ſiege thereunto (Valerius lib.7.cap.7.) the citizens whereof conuerted their wiues and children into meat for the ſatiſfying of their extreame hunger, whom doubtleſſe they would with all their hearts haue ſolde for other victuals. That famine alſo is well knowen which in the yere of our Lord 851 (Vincent.lib.25.cap.26.) afflicted Germany, inſomuch that the father was glad to deuoure his owne ſonne. It is well knowen after the death of the Emperour Henry the ſeuenth, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would deuoure their children, and the children their parents, and that eſpecially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was ſuch a grieuous dearth of corne in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, thorowout Hungary, that ſome being compelled for want of food were faine to ſell their children vnto the moſt bloudy and barbarous enemy of Chriſtians, and ſo to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkiſh ſlauery: and ſome are ſayd to haue taken their children, whom they could no longer ſuſtaine, and with cruell mercy to haue caſt them into Danubius, and drowned them. But ſhould theſe ſtories and the like make any man ſo mad as to affirme that this or that nation accuſtometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to ſell them willingly vnto the Turks, or to drowne and ſtrangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (becauſe beggers in Iſland being enforced through extreame and biting neceſſitie, do willingly part with their ſonnes) is this cuſtome generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of diſgrace, by any man, except it be ſuch an one who hath taken his leaue of all modeſty, plaine dealing, humanity, and trueth.

But I could wiſh that the loue of dogges in Iſlanders might be more ſparingly reprehended by thoſe people, whoſe matrons, and ſpecially their noble women, take ſo great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their boſomes thorow the open ſtreetes: I will not ſay in Churches: which faſhion Cæſar blamed in certaine ſtrangers, whom he ſaw at Rome carrying about young apes and whelpes in their armes, aſking them this queſtion: Whether women in their countrey brought foorth children or no? ſignifying heereby, that they do greatly offend, who beſtow vpon beaſts theſe naturall affections, wherewith they ſhould be inuited to the loue of mankinde, and ſpecially of their owne offſpring: which ſtrange pleaſure neuer ouertooke, nor poſſeſſed the nation of the Iſlanders. Wherefore now (Munſter and Krantzius) you muſt finde vs out other marks of Chriſtianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy ſimplicity.

The eight ſection.

Krantzius. Munſterus.

They honour their Biſhop as their King: vnto whoſe command all the whole people haue reſpect. Whatſoeuer he preſcribeth out of the law, the ſcriptures, or the cuſtomes of other nations, they do full holily obſerue.

There was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reuerence had vnto the biſhop; but neuer ſo great, that our politique lawes at the biſhops command ſhould giue place to outlandiſh lawes & cuſtomes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much leſſe of Munſter (of which two the firſt deceaſed in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the ſecond 1552) the biſhops of Iſland had the authority of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer ſort, would not doubt to rebell againſt them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the biſhops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced ſome vnder their ſubiection, and others at that time they cruelly perſecuted.

Moreouer, albeit at that time the biſhop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reuerence, yet now adayes, the darkeneſſe of popery being diſpelled, the deuill aſſaulteth men after another ſort, and euen here amongſt vs, he is not ſlacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerſe ſtubburneſſe againſt God, and his holy miniſtery.

The ninth ſection.

Munſterus.

They liue there for the moſt part vpon fiſhes, becauſe of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fiſhes from thence with great gaine. Alſo *Munſter* ſayth, they do there vſe ſtockefiſh in ſtead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

Conſider (friendly reader) how Munſter is delighted to harpe vpon one ſtring, that when he can write nothing of an vnknowen nation which may cary any ſhew with it, he is faine either to bring in falſhood, or often to repeat the ſame things, & ſo to become tedious vnto his reader: for he ſayd a little before, that the Iſlanders liue vpon fiſh. His words aboue recited were theſe: Iſland conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and ſometimes by taking of fiſhes. And that I may omit the reſt in which ſome trifle might be noted: whereas he ſayeth that bread groweth not in Iſland: it is moſt true: which I thinke is common therewith to Germany alſo, becauſe bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munſters field where naturall vineger alſo doth marueilouſly encreaſe. But theſe toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forſooth, ſhall be out of danger. Howbeit, vnto theſe reproches, which ſtrangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Iſlanders, we will hereafter briefly anſwere, Sect. 15.

The tenth ſection.

Munſterus. Krantzius.

The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their anceſtours, and of their times, with ſongs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with poſterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

Friſius.

There be diuers found amongſt them that be minſtrels, and can play vpon the lute, who with their delectable muſicke do enſnare and take both fowles and fiſhes.

The Iſlanders preſerue in writing the acts of their anceſtors.

We denie not but that ſome worthy actes of our forefathers be reſerued in the ſongs and poemes of our countreymen, as alſo in proſe: but that the ſame things haue beene engrauen by vs, or by our anceſtours, in rocks or promontories, we may in no caſe acknowledge that praiſe to be due vnto vs, nor yet the other of minſtrels, and taking of birds and fiſhes. For we holde it to be the part of an honeſt and ingenuous mind, as to refute falſe crimes, ſo not to challenge vndeſerued praiſe vnto himſelfe, nor to accept it being offered.

The eleuenth ſection.

But now, let this be the end of our controuerſie with the authours aforeſayd, being otherwiſe men of excellent learning, and of great renowme, who notwithſtanding ſo inconſiderately haue entermedled theſe things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finiſhed.

But yet there remaines that viperous German brood, the mother whereof would haue it come to light, as it were at a ſecond birth, without name, that it might ſo much the more freely wound the fame of the Iſlanders with venemous ſting.

Moreouer, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beaſt, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I undertake this enterpriſe, namely, not that I meane to contend with his peſtiferous rancour, by reprōches, and railing ſpeeches (for as it is in the common prouerbe:

I know, that if I ſtriue with dung moſt vile,
How ere it be, my ſelfe I ſhall defile)

but that I may ſatiſfie all honeſt and well affected men, euen ſtrangers themſelues, who ſhall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard that Germane paſquill, leaſt they alſo ſhould thinke that we woorthily ſuſtaine ſo monſtrous a diſgrace: and alſo that I may from henceforth, if it be poſſible, reſtraine others (who vſe thoſe venemous Germaine rimes to the vpbrading of our nation, and from hence borrow their ſcoffes, and reprochfull taunts to the debaſing of vs Iſelanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumſtances, I will come to the rehearſing of thoſe things which that railing Germane hath heaped vp in his leud paſquill: whom alſo I could bring in, repeating his friendly verſes of the Iſlanders, within the compaſſe of this my booke, but that I doe foreſee that the ſayd ſlanderous libell being ſtuffed with ſo many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honeſt men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthineſſe thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting thoſe things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore haue beene examined) but farre more modeſtly then he, leaſt (as I ſayd) I cauſe good and learned mens eares to tingle at his leud and vnſeemely rimes: they that are deſirous to ſee or heare him, let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I ſay) to defile theſe papers with his ſtinking ſlanders, or with the filthy ſinke of his reproches.

The firſt obiection or reproch.

Firſt therefore, this our goodly Germane Hiſtoriographer obiecteth that there be many Paſtours in *Iſland*, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this paſquill, which notwithſtanding the latter edition doth refute: ſaying that the ſayd Paſtours vſe to preach but fiue times in an whole yeere: which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, ſeeing it is manifeſt that the authour himſelfe, preſently after the firſt edition, had ſcarſe ſeene Iſland. So oftentimes one lie betrayeth another, according to that ſaying: Trueth agreeth vnto trueth; but falſhood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falſhood.

But ſith it is our part not to diſſemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy ſermons, about the time wherein this ſycophant liued in Iſland, namely in the yere 1554, were ſeldomer in vſe then they are at this day, namely, the darkeneſſe of popery being ſcarſely at that time diſpelled. Which alſo is to be vnderſtood concerning the Pſalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he caſteth vs in the teeth: for the Papiſts grounding all the hope of their ſaluation in the Maſſe, did little regard the ſermon, or doctrine. But after we were freed from that miſt, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwiſe with vs: although we cannot altogether excuſe the dulneſſe, ſlouth, and prepoſterous care of certeine of our Paſtours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countreymen or no, let other nations iudge.

The twelfth ſection.

The ſecond reproch.

Secondly, the trifler ſhamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongſt Iſlanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

Although indeed theſe moſt filthy abominations, euen in our common wealth, be not altogether vnuſuall: notwithſtanding, ſince all men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did vndeſeruedly, and maliciouſly note the Iſlanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wiſh with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much leſſe wincked at in our countrey, then we ſee they are, yet notwithſtanding this iugler, by reaſon of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his laſt reproch: namely, that theſe vices by the Iſelanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath ſworne to obſerue the law contained in our ſtatutebooke vnder the title of Manhelge chap. 28, whereby it is enacted, that whoſoeuer committeth adultery with another mans wife the ſecond time, his goods being confiſcate,

fiſcate, he ſhall be puniſhed with death: Or in that common wealth, which not long ſince hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dallers vpon a ſeruant committing adultery with his maſters wife: Or in that common wealth which hath decreed, that if he doth not pay, nor lay in ſureties at the day appointed, he ſhalbe baniſhed the countrey: Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe ſtreightly command that whoſoeuer be according to law found in adultery with another mans wife, by her huſband, if he eſcape, he ſhall vndergoe the puniſhment of manſlaughter: Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do alſo enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or ſiſter, by the ſonne, father, or brother, to redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to haue payed, if he had ſhed the innocent bloud of the ſayd party: Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnder the name of a moſt heinous offence: and do ſtraightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beaſtly act ſhalbe puniſhed with death:

You ſee therefore (friendly readers) what an iniurious Notary we haue, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Iſland deſerueth not the name of ſinne and wickedneſſe: for although ſome officers let ſlip this or that vice vnpuniſhed, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accuſed or euill ſpoken of.

The thirteenth ſection.

The third reproch.

The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Iſlanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

DOubtles the author of this libell was ſome vagabond huckſter or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Iſland to vtter his trumpery wares, which he alſo teſtifieth of himſelfe in his worthy rimes, that he had trauailed thorow the greateſt part of Iſland, whereupon when he had played the couſining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are ioyned together, and he hath ſufficiently proued himſelfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peraduenture himſelfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this ſlander againſt our whole Nation: diſſembling in the meane time with what honeſtie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into Iſland, deale with our men. But ſeeing by this complaint I haue not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the vndeſerued reproches of others againſt our nation, I do here of purpoſe ſurceaſe.

The foureteenth ſection.

The 4,5,6,& 7 reproches.

Fourthly, he ſayth that in bankets none of the gheſts vſe to riſe from the table: but that the good wife of the houſe reacheth to euery one a chamber-pot, ſo oft as need reqnireth. Moreouer, he noteth much vnmanerlineſſe of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he obiecteth cuſtomes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten perſons, more or leſſe, men and women lie altogether in the ſame bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they waſh their hands and their faces in piſſe.

Seuenthly, he deſpightfully abaſeth our ſolemnizings of marriages, ſpouſals, birth-dayes, and our cuſtomes at burials.

THeſe, and a number of ſuch like reproches hath this impure ſlanderer ſpued foorth againſt an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deſerued right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the ſame kind with theſe, in ſo much that we altogether diſdeigne to make anſwere vnto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithſtanding we will in no caſe yeelde vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obſerued ſome ſuch matter among baſe companions, and the very of-ſcouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conuerſant then with good and honeſt perſons (for he had liued, as his rimes teſtifie, ſomewhat long vpon the coaſt of Iſland, whither a confuſed rout of the meaneſt common people, in fiſhing time do yerely reſort, who being naught aſwell through their owne leudneſſe, as by the wicked behauiour of outlandiſh mariners, often times doe leade a badde and diſhoneſt life) notwithſtanding we are in this place more manifeſtly wronged through the knauery of this one varlet, and deſperate ſycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others alſo vſually do) then that it ſhould neede any refutation at all. Of which thing ſtrangers themſelues, who are not a little conuerſant in our Iland, may be moſt ſufficient witneſſes.

I could alſo gather together many ſuch filthy, vnmannerly, and baudie faſhions noted by others euen in his own countrey. But I deteſt this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleaſure to be witty in the diſgracing of others: and yet I will not ſhew my ſelfe ſuch a milke-ſoppe as to be daunted with light words. Onely, let all honeſt and good men conſider, what diſpoſition it argueth, for one to obiect againſt a whole nation certaine miſdemeanours committed by ſome one or other particular man. If any man ſhould trauell thorowout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and moſt leud maners, the robberies, manſlaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, inceſts, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy acts, ſhould affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwiſe to any other whole nation, and ſhould exaggerate all theſe things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that ſpends his time in a good argument? But what maruaile is it, though a varlet, and, that I may giue him his true title, a filthy hogge, that rimer (I ſay) hath bewrayed his nature and diſpoſition in ſuchlike reproches? For it is well knowen that ſwine, when they enter into moſt pleaſant gardens, do not plucke lillies, or roſes, or any other moſt beautifull and ſweet flowers; but thruſting their ſnouts into the ground, doe tumble and toſſe vp and downe whatſoeuer durt and dung they can finde, vntill they haue rooted vp moſt vncleane things, namely ſuch as are beſt agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themſelues: Euen ſo this hoggiſh Rimer lightly paſſeth ouer the beſt and moſt commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the worſt, and thoſe which haue beene committed by none, or by very few, namely, ſuch things as beſt fit his humour and diſpoſition (that he might indeed ſhew himſelfe to be the ſame which we haue termed him) thoſe things (I ſay) hath he ſcraped vp together: whereupon hereafter by my conſent, for his maners and diſpoſition let him enioy the name of a ſwine.

The fifteenth ſection.

The ninth reproch.

WEe will heere rehearſe the ninth reproch, which that ſlanderous hogge hath drawen from the maner of liuing, and ſpecially from the meat and drinke of the Iſlanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large inuectiue: namely, that they eate olde and vnſauoury meates, and that, without the vſe of bread. Alſo, that they eate diuers kinds of fiſhes which are vnknowen to ſtrangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous paſquill, with eloquent railing and wittie ſlaunder hath ſet out at the full.

And albeit we doe ſcarſe vouchſafe to ſtand longer about anſwering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly obiect it to our nation, we thought good to adde ſome few things in this place.

Firſt therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and thoſe that ſuſteine both themſelues, and, amongſt others, beggers alſo. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men ſatiſfie their hunger, it is no eaſie matter to rehearſe and examine them: neither, becauſe extreame neceſſity hath at ſome times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore is it meet to preſcribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the reſt of the nation. For we haue alſo a law among the canons apoſtolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things ſtrangled: in the obſeruing of which canons, antiquity hath ſeemed to be very deuout.

Moreouer, we will make a diſtinction of times alſo, that it may ſeeme no ſtrange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue bene vſed by a great number of men to ſatiſfie their hunger, which at other times are ſcarſe meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the moſt ſtreight ſiege of Henrie the fourth, King of Nauarre, ſuffering (as Petrus Lindebergius ſpeaketh) the famine of Saguntum; inſomuch that they did not onely eate their horſes, but alſo taking the fleſh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a morter, they mingled therewith a handfull or two of meale, eſteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen alſo of other nations, who in the like vrgent neceſſities haue liued by eating of miſe, cats and dogs. In like maner ſometimes are we Iſlanders conſtrained to doe, not being beſieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue abſteined from mans fleſh, yea, ans to our knowledge, from dogs, miſe, and cats) for whereas we prouide things neceſſary for food out of the land and ſea, & no ſuſtenance, or very little, is brought vnto vs by ſtrangers: ſo often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and ſea, then muſt follow and enſue a dreadfull ſcarſity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are ſometimes vexed with grieuous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongſt vs which vſed to liue from hand to mouth, and had not ſome prouiſion of former yeeres remaining, haue beene driuen to great extremities, ſo often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to miniſter occaſion to a publique and perpetuall reproch againſt the Iſlanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the iudgement of indifferent and honeſt mindes.

Moreuer, wheras diuers vſe to obiect concerning the proper & accuſtomed fare of our country, eſpecially of fleſh, fiſh, butter being long time kept without ſalt: alſo concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and ſuch like: in moſt places of Iſland (for there be many of our countrimen alſo, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans ſo farre foorth as ought in a meane to ſuffice chaſt and temperate minds, although we haue not any great varitie of ſauce, being deſtitute of Apothecaries ſhops, are of ability to furniſh their table, and to liue moderately) we cōfeſſe it to be euen ſo: namely that the foreſaid kinds of victuals are vſed in moſt places without the ſeaſoning of ſalt. And I wil further adde, that the very ſame meats, which certaine ſtrangers abhorre ſo much as to name, yet ſtrangers themſelues, when they are among vs do vſe to eat them with delight. For albeit for the moſt part we haue no corne, nor meale, nor yet ſalt the prouocation of gluttony, for the ſeaſoning of our victuals, is common to vs all: yet notwithſtanding almighty God of his goodneſſe hath taught our men alſo the way, how they ſhould handle, and keepe in ſtore thoſe things which belong to the ſuſtentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nouriſhing and ſuſteining of vs Iſlanders, is not tyed to bread and ſalt.

Want of ſalt in Iſland.

The Iſlanders meanes of preſeruing their meates without ſalt.

But whereas ſtrangers boaſt that all their victuals are more pleaſant and wholeſome: yet we denie that to be a ſufficient reaſon, why they ſhould vpbraid vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter vnto our deinty mouthes; but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchſafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is eſteemed to be ſo pleaſant and wholeſome, to grant euen vnto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as alſo conſtant health, and flouriſhing ſtrength of body; all which we account to be ſignes of wholeſome and conuenient nouriſhment, and of a perfect conſtitution. Beſides, our wits are not altogether ſo groſſe and barren, as the philoſophers ſeeme to aſſigne vnto this our aier, and theſe nouriſhments, which perhaps many of our countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet ſayth) enuious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) ſome of them which would ſeeme to be wiſe: namely, that whatſoeuer their vſe doth not admit, or that they haue not ſeene, nor had triall of beforetime, they preſently condemne. As for example, he that neuer ſaw the ſea will not be perſuaded that there is a mediterrane ſea: ſo doe they meaſure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their liues. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that becauſe we haue heard of certeine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locuſts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India alſo, whom Clitarchus & Megaſtenes haue named Mandri, as Agatarchides witneſſeth, or of others that liue vpon frogs or ſea-crabs, or round ſhrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I ſay) we ſhould therefore preſume to make them a laughing ſtocke to the common people, becauſe we are not accuſtomed to ſuch ſuſtenance.

The ſixteenth ſection.

The tenth reproch.

TEnthly, that vnciuill beaſt caſteth our men in the teeth with their good hoſpitality. They do not (ſayth he) carry about mony with them in their purſes, neither is it any ſhame to be enterteined in a ſtrange place, and to haue meat and drinke beſtowed of free coſt. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreouer, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a baſe thing) which many of the Iſlanders haue built in their owne houſes: & that firſt of all in the morning, they haue recourſe thither, to make their prayers, neither do they ſuffer any man before they haue done their deuotion, to interrupt them. Theſe be the things which he hath ſet downe as ſome notable diſgrace vnto the Iſlanders. And no maruell:

> For filthy ſwine deteſt all cleanly ones,
> And hogs vncleane regard not precious ſtones.

Which I feare, leaſt it may be too truely affirmed of this ſlanderer, as it is manifeſt out of theſe two laſt obiections.

Howbeit, ſithens he himſelfe is a moſt ſufficient witneſſe of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is deſirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes againſt Iſland, wich we haue now examined in our former ſections: at whoſe railing & filthy ſpeeches we haue bene aſhamed on his behalfe: inſomuch that thoſe things which he with ſatyrical, ſatyrical: nay ſathanicall biting and reuiling of our nation, hath not bluſhed to write, are irkſome for vs to repeat: ſo great & abominable is his inſolency, & his reproches ſo heinous. Good God! whoſoeuer ſhall view this cartlode of ſlanders (for we haue mentioned the leaſt part thereof, becauſe I was loth to loſe my labour, or, as the wiſe man ſayth, to anſwere a foole according to his fooliſhneſſe, whereas in his rimes there is not one word without a reproch) will he not iudge the authour of this paſquill to haue bene a moſt lewde man, yea the very droſſe of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie?

But here I haue iuſt occaſion to doubt whether the authour of theſe reuilings hath bene the more iniurious to Iſlanders, or the Printer thereof Ioachimus Leo (and whatſoeuer elſe they be who in their editions dare neither profeſſe their owne name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twiſe, if not oftner, publiſhed the ſaide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you ſuffer this to goe vnpuniſhed, O ye counſell and commons of Hamburg? What? Haue you determined to gratifie Iſland in this ſort, which theſe many yeeres, by reaſon of your aboundant traffique with vs, and your tranſporting home of all our commodities, of our beeues and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fiſhes, hath bene vnto your Citie in ſtead of a ſtorehouſe? In times paſt alſo, certaine Cities of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities of this Iſle: Moreouer, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Iſlanders. But they neuer gained by any of their chapmen ſuch commendations, and ſuch thanks, as are conteined in this libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I ſay) bene bred, brought foorth, iterated, if not the thirde time publiſhed: which hath armed other people, vnto whom the name of Iſland was otherwiſe ſcarce knowne, to the diſdaine and contempt of this our Nation: and this iniurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Iſland ſuſteined theſe 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet ſuſteine. But many ſuch accidents often come to paſſe without the knowledge of the magiſtrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieued at ſuch infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not publiſhed: for ſuch editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another which thou wouldeſt not haue done vnto thy ſelfe: and to the lawes Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is enioyned a moſt grieuous penaltie vnto thoſe, who inuent, write, vtter, or cauſe ſuch libels to be bought or ſold, or do not preſently vpon the finding thereof teare them in pieces.

The commodities of Iſland.

The ancient traffique of England with Iſland.

Lawes againſt libels.

But now time bids vs to ſound a retreat: and to returne home vnto thee Iſland (our moſt deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any other ſuch inconueniences ſhall make irkſome vnto vs, ſo long as thou ceaſeſt not to giue heartie and willing entertainment vnto Chriſt: where, firſt we doe earneſtly exhort thee to the ſerious and ardent affection, and loue of God, and of the heauenly knowledge reueiled vnto vs in Chriſt: that thou wouldeſt preferre this before all things, being enflamed with deſire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldeſt not lightly eſteeme, contemne or hate the holy miniſterie and miniſters, but reuerence, cheriſh, and loue them. Accompting thoſe that practiſe the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both priuate and publique, according to the preſcript rule of pietie and honeſtie, that vnto this, thy ſtates and orders Eccleſiaſticall and politique may in all things be conformed: and ſo in either kinde of life relying thy ſelfe vpon that leuell and line of equitie and iuſtice, and auoyding others, who vpon ſtubberneſſe and impietie ſwerue therefrom. That thou wouldeſt alſo inflict iuſt puniſhments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magiſtrate will haue reſpect vnto. But eſpecially that thou admitteſt none to be Magiſtrates, but men of approued fidelitie and honeſtie, and ſuch as may adioyne vnto theſe vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconueniences may fitly be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the beſt of all good men be choſen to beare publique authoritie, wicked and vnfit men being altogether reiected; the condition of the ſubiects ſhalbe moſt proſperous: the liues and maners of all men ſhal proue by ſo much the more commendable: godlineſſe alſo and honeſtie ſhal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if paſtours of Churches be not anſwerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without reſpect or difference be admitted to the gouernment of the common wealth, who aſpire thereunto by their owne raſhneſſe, ambition, or auarice, and deſire of honour, yea though they be ſuſpected or conuicted of crimes and diſhoneſtie, or be protectours or vniuſt fauourers of ſuch perſons as are ſuſpected and conuicted; then what will be thy ſtate, oh Iſland? What wil be thy outward ſhew or condition? Doubtleſſe moſt miſerable. Neither ſhalt thou by any other meanes more ſuddenly approch to thy ruine and deſtruction, then if thou committeſt thy ſelfe to the gouernment of ſuch men, who to the vttermoſt of their power, although they be of thine owne brood, dayly ſeeke thine ouerthrow for their owne priuate aduantage and ſecret malice. Wherefore (to be ſhort) let theſe be to aduertiſe my deare Country, how behouefull it is that the matters aforeſaid be put in practiſe.

But whileſt I am ſpeaking theſe things vnto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and dolefull ſighes, which lie hid in the former ſpeach, might pierce the eares of our Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miſeries, which in this reſpect eſpecially doe ariſe, because wee are ſo farre diſtant from the ſeate and royall preſence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promiſe more ſecuritie of offending vnto themſelues. But we will commit all theſe matters to the moſt iuſt Iudge of heauen and earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countrey) that thou wouldeſt take in good part theſe my labours employed in thy ſeruice, and accept them with that fauourable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of ſuch worth as I could wiſh, yet ſith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore giue ouer becauſe I miſtruſted my ſelfe as one inſufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatſoeuer it be (if it be ought) and how mickle-ſoeuer which for my ſlender abilitie I was able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to ſuppreſſe it: for I eſteeme not thoſe men worthy of commendation, who deſpairing

To ouergrow the limmes of *Lyco* ſtoute,
Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute.

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatiſe ſhall tend neither to thine, nor to mine owne diſgrace. But if it ſhall any thing auaile to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my trauaile right well beſtowed. Yea, if by this my ſlender attempt I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my natiue Countreymen, being farre my ſuperiours both in learning and induſtrie to take thy cauſe in hand, either nowe or hereafter, what reaſon is there why any man ſhould ſay that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addreſſe themſelues to write, howſoeuer my fame ſhalbe obſcured, yet will I comfort my ſelfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to haue ſpeciall regard of his name and fame, yet is he to haue more of his Countrey, whoſe dignitie being ſafe and ſound, we alſo muſt needes eſteeme our ſelues to be in ſafetie.

Written at *Holen Hialtedale* in *Iſland*, the yeere of our
Lord 1592. the 17. of the Kalends of May.

A letter written by the graue and learned *Gudbrandus Thorlacius* Biſhop of *Holen* in *Iſland*, concerning the ancient ſtate of *Iſland* and *Gronland*, &c.

Reuerendiſsimo viro, eruditione & virtute conſpicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Eccleſiæ *Hareuicenſis* in *Anglia* paſtori vigilantiſſimo, fratri & ſymmyſtæ obſeruando.

Mirabar equidem (vt conjicis, reuerendè domine paſtor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, ſcriptis ſalutari. Cæterùm, cum vlterius progrederer, comperi me, ſi non aliter, certè nomine tenùs, tibi (quæ tua eſt humanitas) innotuiſſe: Simulq; quòd te nominis Iſlandorum ſtudioſum experirer, ex animo gauiſus ſum. Vndè etiam faciam, vt tua pietas, tuúmque nomen, de Euangelio Ieſu Chriſti nobis congratulantis, déque gente noſtra tàm benignè támque honorificè ſentientis & ſcribentis, apud nos ignotum eſſe deſinat.

Quòd verò ad antiquitatis monimēta attinet, quæ hîc extare creduntur, nihil ſanè eſt (prȩter illa, quorum in Commentario iſto de Iſlandia, quem vidiſſe te ſcribis, fit mentio) de hac noſtra inſula lectu ſcriptuuè dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris pauca, præter hiſtoriam Regum Noruegiæ, ſeu veriùs eiuſdem hiſtoriæ fragmenta; quȩ alijs alitèr deſcripta ſunt: ſunt tamen talia, quæ Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certè pauca. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, vbi ‖ Biarmlandia nuncupatur, & à qua haud vaſto interuallo ſita ſit, circum quaſi Iſlandiam exporrigi. *Illic noſtrates aliquando commercia exercuiſſe, & eam terram tempore Pontificiorum ſuos Epiſcopos habuiſſe annales noſtri teſtantur.* Cȩtera nobis incognita. At hodiè fama eſt, veſtris Britannis (quos ego propè maris dominos appellarim) quotannis eſſe in Gronlandia negotiationes: de qua re, ſi me certiorem feceris, non erit iniucundum. Etiam velim quæcunque noua erunt de rebus veſtratium aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omittas.

Commentarius breuis de Iſlandia: per Arngrimum Ionam Iſlandum editus, 1593.

‖ Biarmia.

Gronlandia olim ſuos habuit Epiſcopos.

Vale fœliciter (reuerende Dom. paſtor) Deo, muſis, & commiſſo gregi quàm diutiſſime ſuperſtes, Amen. Ex Iſlandia in feſto viſitationis D. Mariæ Anno 1595.

Human. tuȩ ſtudioſus Gudbrandus Thorlacius Epiſcopus
Holenſis in Iſlandia.

The ſame in Engliſh.

To the reuerend, learned, and vertuous, Maſter *Hugh Branham* miniſter of the Church of *Harewich* in *England*, his brother and felow-paſtour, &c.

I Much marueiled (euen as your ſelfe, reuerend ſir, coniectured that I would) at the firſt ſight of your letters, that being a ſtranger I ſhould be ſaluted in writing by one altogether vnknowen vnto mee. Howbeit, reading a litle further, I found my ſelfe, if not otherwiſe, yet by name at leaſt (which proceedeth of your courteſie) knowen vnto you: And alſo, for that I ſawe you deſirous of the credite and honeſt report of vs Iſlanders, I greatly reioyced. Wherefore I my ſelfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (becauſe you congratulate with vs for the Goſpel of Chriſt here publiſhed, and doe thinke and write ſo louingly and honourably of our nation) may ceaſe hereafter to be vnknowen amongſt vs.

As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deede, nothing (except thoſe particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Iſland, which you write vnto me that you haue ſeene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbour Countreys we haue litle to ſhewe, beſides the hiſtory of the Kings of Norway, (or rather ſome fragments of the ſame hiſtory) which others haue otherwiſe deſcribed: howbeit they are all in a maner ſuch things as Crantzius neuer mentioned: vnleſſe it be ſome fewe relations. Moreouer, as touching Gronland, we holde this from the opinion of our aunceſtours; that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called ‖ Biarmlandia, and from whence the ſaide Gronland is not farre diſtant, it fetcheth about the Northren coaſt of Iſland with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. Our Chronicles likewiſe doe teſtifie that our owne countreymen in times paſt reſorted thither for traffique, and alſo that the very ſame countrey of Gronland had certaine Biſhops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot auouch. But now it is reported that your Engliſhmen (whom I may almoſt call the lordes of the Ocean ſea) make yeerely voyages vnto Gronland: concerning which matter if you pleaſe to giue me further aduertiſement, you ſhall doe me an eſpecial fauour. Moreouer, whatſoeuer newes you heare concerning the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make vs acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend ſir) wiſhing you long life, for the ſeruice of God, for the increaſe of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you farewel. From Iſland vpon the feaſt of the viſitation of the bleſſed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

This is the briefe Commentarie of Ionas Arngrimus immediatly going before.

‖ Biarmia.

Gronland in old time had Chriſtian Biſhops.

Yours *Gudbrandus Thorlacius* Biſhop of
Hola in *Iſland.*

The miraculous victory atchieued by the *Engliſh* Fleete,

vnder the diſcreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. *Charles Howard*, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Vpon the *Spaniſh* huge *Armada* ſent in the yeere 1588. for the inuaſion of *England*, together with the wofull and miſerable ſucceſſe of the ſaid *Armada* afterward, vpon the coaſts of *Norway*, of the *Scottiſh* Weſterne Iſles, of *Ireland*, of *Spaine*, of *France*, and of *England*, &c. Recorded in Latine by *Emanuel van Meteran* in the 15. booke of his hiſtory of the low Countreys.

Hauing in part declared the ſtrange and wonderfull euents of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene ſo long time foretold by ancient propheſies; we will now make relation of the moſt notable and great enterpriſe of all others which were in the foreſaid yeere atchieued, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and deſtruction. And it was the expedition which the Spaniſh king, hauing a long time determined the ſame in his minde, and hauing conſulted thereabout with the Pope, ſet forth and vndertooke againſt England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might ſubdue the Realme of England, and reduce it vnto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be ſufficiently reuenged for the diſgrace, contempt and diſhonour, which hee (hauing 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the Engliſh nation, and for diuers other iniuries which had taken deepe impreſſion in his thoughts. And alſo for that hee deemed this to bee the moſt readie and direct courſe, whereby hee might recouer his heredetarie poſſeſſion of the lowe Countreys, hauing reſtrained the inhabitants from ſayling vpon the coaſt of England.

Which verily, vpon moſt weighty arguments and euident reaſons, was thought would vndoubtly haue come to paſſe, conſidering the great aboundance and ſtore of all things neceſſary wherewith thoſe men were furniſhed, which had the managing of that action committed vnto them. But now let vs deſcribe the matter more particularly.

The preparation of the Spaniſh King to ſubdue England and the lowe Countreys.

The Spaniſh King hauing with ſmall fruite and commoditie, for aboue twentie yeeres together, waged warre againſt the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counſellers thereabout, thought it moſt conuenient to aſſault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted ſundry times heretofore, but not with forces ſufficient. Unto the which expedition it ſtoode him nowe in hand to ioyne great puiſſance, as hauing the Engliſh people his profeſſed enemies; whoſe Iſland is ſo ſituate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all ſuch as ſaile into thoſe parts. For which cauſe hee thought good firſt of all to inuade England, being perſwaded by his Secretary Eſcouedo, and by diuers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many Engliſh fugitiues, that the conqueſt of that Iland was leſſe difficult then the conqueſt of Holland and Zeland. Moreouer the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behoueful for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be conſtrained continually to maintaine a warlike Nauie to defend his Eaſt and Weſt Indie Fleetes, from the Engliſh Drake, and from ſuch like valiant enemies.

And for the ſame purpoſe the king Catholique had giuen commandement long before in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber ſhould be felled for the building of ſhippes; and had beſides made great preparation of things and furniture requiſite for ſuch an expedition; as namely in founding of braſen Ordinance, in ſtoring vp of corne and victuals, in trayning of men to vſe warlike weapons, in leauying and muſtering of ſouldiers: inſomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finiſhed ſuch a mightie Nauie, and brought it into Lisbon hauen, as neuer the like had before that time ſailed vpon the Ocean ſea.

A very large and particular deſcription of this Nauie was put in print and publiſhed by the Spaniards; wherein were ſet downe the number, names, and burthens of the ſhippes, the number of Mariners and ſouldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewiſe the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-poulder, of victuals, and of all their Nauall furniture was in the ſaide deſcription particularized. Unto all theſe were added the names of the Gouernours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was ſo great a multitude, that ſcarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, ſonne or kinſeman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchaſe vnto themſelues in that Nauie (as they termed it) inuincible, endleſſe glory and renowne, and to poſſeſſe themſelues of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But becauſe the ſaid deſcription was tranſlated and publiſhed out of Spaniſh into diuers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgemeut or briefe rehearſall thereof.

The number and qualitie of the ſhips in the Spaniſh Fleete, with the ſouldiers, Mariners, and pieces of Ordinance.

Portugal furniſhed and ſet foorth vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabraes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. ſouldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requiſite furniture.

Biſcay, vnder the conduct of Iohn Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, ſet forth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipuſco, vnder the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Leuant Iſlands, vnder Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. ſouldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Caſtile, vnder Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. ſouldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, vnder the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. ſouldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder the conduct of Iohn Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemiſh hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. ſouldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, vnder Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliaſſes containing 1200. gally-ſlaues, 460. mariners, 870. ſouldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-ſlaues, 360. mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requiſite furniture.

Item, vnder Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574. mariners, 488. ſouldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Beſides the ſhips aforementioned there were 20. carauels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe neceſſary ſeruices vnto the greater ſhips: inſomuch that all the ſhips appertayning to this Nauie amounted vnto the ſumme of 150. eche one being ſufficiently prouided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the ſaide Fleete were aboue 8000. of ſlaues 2088. of ſouldiers 20000. (beſides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great caſt pieces 2650. The foreſaid ſhips were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynough to containe the burthen of 60. thouſand tunnes.

A deſcription of the Galeons.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bigneſſe, and very ſtately built, being of marueilous force alſo, and ſo high, that they reſembled great caſtles, moſt fit to defend themſelues and to withſtand any aſſault, but in giuing any other ſhips the encounter farre inferiour vnto the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which can with great dexteritie weild and turne themſelues at all aſſayes. The vpperworke of the ſaid Galeons was of thickneſſe and ſtrength ſufficient to beare off muſket-ſhot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of meaſure ſtrong, being framed of plankes and ribs foure or fiue foote in thickneſſe, inſomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but ſuch as were diſcharged hard at hand: which afterward prooued true, for a great number of bullets were founde to ſticke faſt within the maſſie ſubſtance of thoſe thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the maſts of their ſhippes, to ſtrengthen them againſt the battery of ſhot.

A deſcription of the Galliaſſes.

The Galliaſſes were of ſuch bigneſſe, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houſes. The Galliaſſes were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. ſlaues for the ſame purpoſe, and were able to do great ſeruice with the force of their Ordinance. All theſe together with the reſidue aforenamed were furniſhed and beautified with trumpets, ſtreamers, banners, warlike enſignes, and other ſuch like ornaments.

The great Ordinance, bullets, gun-poulder, and other furniture.

Their pieces of braſen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thouſand.

Item of gun-poulder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muſkets and kaleiuers 7000. Of haleberts and partiſans 10000.

Moreouer they had great ſtore of canons, double-canons, culuerings and field-pieces for land ſeruices.

Their prouiſion of victuals and other things neceſſary.

Likewiſe they were prouided of all inſtruments neceſſary on land to conueigh and tranſport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Alſo they had ſpades, mattocks and baskets to ſet pioners on worke. They had in like ſort great ſtore of mules and horſes, and whatſoeuer elſe was requiſite for a land-armie. They were ſo well ſtored of biſcuit, that for the ſpace of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche perſon in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall euery moneth; whereof the whole ſumme amounteth vnto an hundreth thouſand quintals.

Likewiſe of wine they had 147. thouſand pipes, ſufficient alſo for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheeſe three thouſand quintals. Beſides fiſh, riſe, beanes, peaſe, oile, vineger, &c.

Moreouer they had 12000. pipes of freſh-water, and all other neceſſary prouiſion, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, ſailes, hempe, oxe-hides and lead to ſtop holes that ſhould be made with the battery of gunſhot. To be ſhort, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by ſea, or for an armie by land.

This Nauie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confeſſed) was eſteemed by the King himſelfe to containe 32000. perſons, and to coſt him euery day 30. thouſand ducates.

A Spaniſh terza conſiſteth of 3200. ſouldiers.

There were in the ſaid Nauie fiue terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) vnder the commaund of fiue gouernours termed by the Spaniards, Maſters of the field, and amongſt the reſt there were many olde and expert ſouldiers choſen out of the gariſons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Franciſco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Iſla, Don Auguſtin de Mexia; who had eche of them 32. companies vnder their conduct. Beſides the which companies there were many bands alſo of Caſtilians and Portugals, euery one of which had their peculiar gouernours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, vnder grieuous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cauſe the women hired certaine ſhippes, wherein they ſailed after the Nauie: ſome of the which being driuen by tempeſt arriued vpon the coaſt of France.

The generall of this mightie Nauie, was Don Alonſo Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reaſon that the Marques of ſanta Cruz appointed for the ſame dignitie, deceaſed before the time.

Iohn Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bouadilla was chiefe Marſhall: who all of them had their officers fit and requiſite for the guiding and managing of ſuch a multitude. Likewiſe Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquiſition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Ieſuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Beſides whom alſo there were Phiſitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatſoeuer elſe perteined vnto the hoſpitall.

Ouer and beſides the forenamed gouernours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne coſts and charges, to the ende they might ſee faſhions, learne experience, and attaine vnto glory. Amongſt whom was the prince of Aſcoli, Alonzo de Leiua, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yeluas, and diuers other marqueſes and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordoua, of Guzman, of Manricques, and a great number of others.

The preparation of the duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furniſhing this their Nauie, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to giue ayd & aſſiſtance vnto the Spaniards; building ſhips for the ſame purpoſe, and ſending for Pilots and ſhip-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee cauſed certaine deepe chanels to be made, and among the reſt the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing ſome thouſands of workemen about that ſeruice: to the end that by the ſaid chanel he might tranſport ſhips from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had aſſembled aboue a hundreth ſmall ſhips called hoyes being well ſtored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to haue brought into the ſea by the way of Sluys, or elſe to haue conueyed them by the ſaide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatſoeuer.

In the riuer of Waten he cauſed 70. ſhips with flat bottomes to be built, euery one of which ſhould ſerue to cary 30. horſes, hauing eche of them bridges likewiſe for the horſes to come on bord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the ſame faſhion he had prouided 200. other veſſels at Neiuport, but not ſo great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ſhips of warre, ſuch as were there to be had, and cauſed a ſufficient number of Mariners to be leuied at Hamburg, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballaſt of the ſaid ſhips, great ſtore of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beſet with yron pikes beneath, but on eche ſide full of claſpes and hookes, to ioyne them together.

Hee had likewiſe at Greueling prouided 20. thouſand of caſke, which in a ſhort ſpace might be compact and ioyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be ſhort, whatſoeuer things were requiſite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and ſtopping vp of hauens mouthes with ſtakes, poſts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreouer not farre from Neiuport hauen, he had cauſed a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing vp of a mount. The moſt part of his ſhips conteined two ouens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of ſadles, bridles, and ſuch other like apparell for horſes. They had horſes likewiſe, which after their landing ſhould ſerue to conuey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike prouiſions.

Neere vnto Neiuport he had aſſembled an armie, ouer the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-maſter. This army conſiſted of 30. bands or enſignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount vnto 56. bands, euery band containing a hundreth perſons. Neare vnto Dixmud there were muſtered 80. bands of Dutch men, ſixtie of Spaniards, ſixe of high Germans, and ſeuen bands of Engliſh fugitiues, vnder the conduct of ſir William Stanlie an Engliſh knight.

In the ſuburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horſemen together with their horſes in a readineſſe: and at Waten 900. horſes, with the troupe of the Marques del Gwaſto Captaine generall of the horſemen.

Vnto this famous expedition and preſuppoſed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable perſonages hied themſelues: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Paſtrana and taken to be the ſonne of one Ruygomes de Silua, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips baſe ſonnes. Alſo the Marques of Burgraue, one of the ſonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welſera. Veſpaſian Gonſaga of the family of Mantua, being for chiualry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item Iohn Medices baſe ſonne vnto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Sauoy, the duke of Sauoy his baſe ſonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

The Popes furtherance to the conqueſt of England, and of the low Countries.

Likewiſe Pope Sixtus quintus for the ſetting forth of the foreſaid expedition, as they vſe to do againſt Turkes & infidels, publiſhed a Cruzado, with moſt ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. Theſe vaine buls the Engliſh and Dutchmen deriding, ſayd that the deuill at all paſſages lay in ambuſh like a thiefe, no whit regarding ſuch letters of ſafe conduct. Some there be which affirme that the Pope had beſtowed the realme of England with the title of *Defenſor fidei*, vpon the king of Spaine, giuing him charge to inuade it vpon this condition, that hee ſhould enioy the conquered realm, as a vaſſal and tributarie, in that regard, vnto the ſea of Rome. To this purpoſe the ſaid Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paied in readie money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were ſubdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole buſineſſe, he diſpatched one D. Allen an Engliſh man (whom hee had made Cardinall for the ſame ende and purpoſe) into the Low countries, vnto whom he committed the adminiſtration of all matters eccleſiaſticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged againſt his owne natiue countrey, cauſed the Popes bull to be tranſlated into Engliſh, meaning vpon the arriual of the Spaniſh fleete, to haue it ſo publiſhed in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes moſt ſacred Maieſtie was by them moſt vniuſtly depriued of all princely titles and dignities, her ſubiects being enioined to performe obedience vnto the duke of Parma, and vnto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater ſecrecie, and that the whole expedition might ſeeme rather to be intended againſt the Low countries, then againſt England, and that the Engliſh people might be perſwaded that all was but bare words & threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a ſolemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her maieſtie and the Spaniſh king.

Againſt which treatie the vnited prouinces making open proteſtation, vſed all meanes poſſible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requiſite to conſult how the enemie now preſſing vpon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit ſome there were in England that greatly vrged and proſecuted this league, ſaying, that it would be very commodious vnto the ſtate of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and nauigation, as for the auoiding of great expenſes to maintaine the warres, affirming alſo, that at the ſame time peace might eaſily and vpon reaſonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to diuert ſome other way, or to keepe backe the nauy now comming vpon them, and ſo to eſcape the danger of that tempeſt. Howſoeuer it was, the duke of Parma by theſe wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many Engliſh & Dutch men that were deſirous of peace: whereupon it came to paſſe, that England and the vnited prouinces prepared in deed ſome defence to withſtand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in compariſon of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the conſtant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gaue eare vnto the relation of certaine that ſayd, that this nauie was prouided to conduct and waft ouer the Indian Fleets: which ſeemed the more probable becauſe the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of ſo ſmall diſcretion as to aduenture thoſe huge and monſtrous ſhips vpon the ſhallow and dangerous chanel of England.

A treatie of peace, to the end that England and the vnited prouinces might be ſecure of inuaſion.

At length when as the French king about the end of May ſignified vnto her Maieſtie in plaine termes that ſhe ſhould ſtand vpon her guard, becauſe he was now moſt certainly enformed, that there was ſo dangerous an inuaſion imminent vpon her realme, that he feared much leaſt all her land and ſea-forces would be ſufficient to withſtand it, &c. then began the Queens Maieſtie more carefully to gather her forces together, & to furniſh her own ſhips of warre, & the principall ſhips of her ſubiects with ſouldiers, weapons, and other neceſſary prouiſion. The greateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhips of the whole nauy ſhe ſent vnto Plimmouth vnder the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Under whom the renowmed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Uice-admiral. The number of theſe ſhips was about an hundreth. The leſſer ſhips being 30. or 40. in number, and vnder the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Douer and Caleis.

Her maieſties warlike preparation by ſea.

On land likewiſe throughout the whole realme, ſouldiers were muſtered and trained in all places, and were committed vnto the moſt reſolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly giuen out that the Spaniard hauing once vnited himſelfe vnto the duke of Parma, ment to inuade by the riuer of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Eſſex ouer-againſt Grauesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both ſides of the riuer fortifications were erected, according to the preſcription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewiſe there were certaine ſhips brought to make a bridge, though it were very late firſt. Unto the ſayd army came in proper perſon the Queens moſt roiall Maieſtie, repreſenting Tomyris that Scythian warlike princeſſe, or rather diuine Pallas her ſelfe. Alſo there were other ſuch armies leuied in England.

Her Maieſties land-forces.

The principall catholique Recuſants (leaſt they ſhould ſtirre vp any tumult in the time of the Spaniſh inuaſion) were ſent to remaine at certaine conuenient places, as namely in the Iſle of

Ely and at Wisbich. And ſome of them were ſent vnto other places, to wit, vnto ſundry biſhops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the ſtate of the common wealth, and of her ſacred Maieſtie, who of her moſt gracious clemencie gaue expreſſe commandement, that they ſhould be intreated with all humanitie and friendſhip.

The preparation of the vnited prouinces.

The prouinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giuing credite vnto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themſelues: but becauſe the Spaniſh ſhips were deſcribed vnto them to be ſo huge, they relied partly vpon the ſhallow and dangerous ſeas all along their coaſts. Wherfore they ſtood moſt in doubt of the duke of Parma his ſmall and flat-bottomed ſhips. Howbeit they had all their ſhips of warre to the number of 90. and aboue, in a readineſſe for all aſſayes: the greater part whereof were of a ſmall burthen, as being more meete to ſaile vpon their riuers and ſhallow ſeas: and with theſe ſhips they beſieged all the hauens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greueling and almoſt vnto Caleis, & fortified all their ſea-townes with ſtrong garriſons.

Againſt the Spaniſh fleets arriuall, they had prouided 25. or 30. good ſhips, committing the gouernment of them vnto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to ioine himſelfe vnto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Douer and Cales. And when as the foreſaid ſhips, (whereof the greater part beſieged the hauen of Dunkerke) were driuen by tempeſt into Zeland, Iuſtin of Naſſau the Admiral of Zeland ſupplied that ſquadron with 35. ſhips being of no great burthen, but excellently furniſhed with gunnes, mariners and ſouldiers in great abundance, and eſpecially with 1200. braue Muſquetiers, hauing bene accuſtomed vnto ſea-fights, and being choſen out of all their companies for the ſame purpoſe: and ſo the ſaid Iuſtin of Naſſau kept ſuch diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not iſſue foorth with his nauy into the ſea out of any part of Flanders.

The Spaniſh fleete ſet ſaile vpon the 19. of May.

In the meane while the Spaniſh Armada ſet ſaile out of the hauen of Lisbon vpon the 19. of May, *An. Dom.* 1588. vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their courſe for the Baie of Corunna, *aliàs* the Groine in Gallicia, where they tooke in ſouldiers and warlike prouiſion, this port being in Spaine the neereſt vnto England. As they were ſailing along, there aroſe ſuch a mightie tempeſt, that the whole Fleete was diſperſed, ſo that when the duke was returned vnto his company, he could not eſcry aboue 80. ſhips in all, whereunto the reſidue by litle and litle ioyned themſelues, except eight which had their maſtes blowen ouer-boord. One of the foure gallies of Portingal eſcaped very hardly, retiring her ſelfe into the hauen. The other three were vpon the coaſt of Baion in France, by the aſſiſtance and courage of one Dauid Gwin an Engliſh captiue (whom the French and Turkiſh ſlaues aided in the ſame enterpriſe) vtterly diſabled and vanquiſhed: one of the three being firſt ouercome, which conquered the two other, with the ſlaughter of their gouernours and ſouldiers, and among the reſt of Don Diego de Mandrana with ſundry others: and ſo thoſe ſlaues arriuing in France with the three Gallies, ſet themſelues at libertie.

They ſet ſaile from ye Groine vpon the 11. of July.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England.

Captaine Fleming.

The nauy hauing refreſhed themſelues at the Groine, & receiuing daily commandement from the king to haſten their iourney, hoiſed vp sailes the 11. day of July, and ſo holding on their courſe till the 19. of the ſame moneth, they came then vnto the mouth of the narow ſeas or Engliſh chanel. From whence (ſtriking their ſailes in the meane ſeaſon) they diſpatched certaine of their ſmal ſhips vnto the duke of Parma. At the ſame time the Spaniſh Fleete was eſcried by an Engliſh pinaſſe, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene aduertiſed of the Spaniards expedition by their ſcoutes and eſpials, which hauing ranged along the coaſt of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new ſupply of victuals and other neceſſaries, who conſidering the foreſayd tempeſt, were of opinion that the nauy being of late diſperſed and toſſed vp and downe the maine Ocean, was by no meanes able to performe their intended voiage.

Moreouer, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had receiued letters from the court, ſignifying vnto him that her Maieſtie was aduertiſed that the Spaniſh Fleete would not come foorth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that vpon her Maieſties commandement he muſt ſend backe foure of her talleſt and ſtrongeſt ſhips vnto Chattam.

The L. Admirals ſhort warning vpon the 19. of July.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the ſudden, namely vpon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinaſſe of captaine Fleming aforeſaid, of the Spaniards approch, with all ſpeed and diligence poſſible he warped his ſhips, and cauſed his mariners and ſouldiers (the greater part of whom was abſent for the cauſe aforeſayd) to come on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, inſomuch that the lord Admiral himſelfe was faine to lie without in the road with ſixe ſhips onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the hauen. The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spaniſh Fleete eſcried by the Engliſh, which with a Southweſt wind came ſailing along, and

The 20. of July.

paſſed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the iudgement of many ſkilful nauigators) they greatly ouerſhot themſelues, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to haue ſtaied themſelues there, conſidering that the Engliſhmen being as yet vnprouided, greatly relied vpon their owne forces, and knew not the eſtate of the Spaniſh nauy. Moreouer, this was the moſt conuenient port of all others, where they might with greater ſecuritie haue bene aduertiſed of the Engliſh forces, and how the commons of the land ſtood affected, and might haue ſtirred vp ſome mutinie, ſo that hither they ſhould haue bent all their puiſſance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more eaſily haue conueied his ſhips.

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counſell, and were expreſſely commanded to vnite themſelues vnto the ſouldiers and ſhips of the ſaid duke of Parma, and ſo to bring their purpoſe to effect. Which was thought to be the moſt eaſie and direct courſe, for that they imagined that the Engliſh and Dutch men would be vtterly daunted and diſmaied thereat, and would each man of them retire vnto his owne Prouince and Porte for the defence thereof, and tranſporting the armie of the duke vnder the protection of their huge nauy, they might inuade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the nauy, and thoſe which were more ſkilfull in nauigation, to wit, Iohn Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and diuers others found fault that they were bound vnto ſo ſtrict directions and inſtructions, becauſe that in ſuch a caſe many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be reſpected at one and the ſame inſtant, that is to ſay, the opportunitie of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might ſaile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes alſo the darkeneſſe and light, the ſituation of places, the depths and ſhoulds were to be conſidered: all which eſpecially depended vpon the conueniencie of the windes, and were by ſo much the more dangerous.

But it ſeemeth that they were enioined by their commiſſion to ancre neere vnto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ſhips and all his warrelike prouiſion was to reſort, and while the Engliſh and Spaniſh great ſhips were in the midſt of their conflict, to paſſe by, and to land his ſouldiers vpon the Downes.

The Spaniſh captiues reported that they were determined firſt to haue entred the riuer of Thames, and thereupon to haue paſſed with ſmall ſhips vp to London, ſuppoſing that they might eaſily winne that rich and flouriſhing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accuſtomed to the warres, who durſt not withſtand their firſt encounter, hoping moreouer to finde many rebels againſt her Maieſtie and popiſh catholiques, or ſome fauourers of the Scottiſh queene (which was not long before moſt iuſtly beheaded) who might be inſtruments of ſedition.

Thus often aduertiſing the duke of Parma of their approch, the 20. of Iuly they paſſed by Plimmouth, which the Engliſh ſhips purſuing and getting the wind of them, gaue them the chaſe and the encounter, and ſo both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The 21. of Iuly.

The day following which was the 21. of Iuly, the Engliſh ſhips approched within muſquet ſhot of the Spaniſh: at what time the lorde Charles Howard moſt hotly and valiantly diſcharged his Ordinance vpon the Spaniſh Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiuing the nimbleneſſe of the Engliſh ſhips in diſcharging vpon the enimie on all ſides, gathered themſelues cloſe into the forme of an halfe moone, and ſlackened their ſailes, leaſt they ſhould outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliaſſes was ſo furiouſly battered with ſhot, that the whole nauy was faine to come vp rounder together for the ſafegard thereof: whereby it came to paſſe that the principall Galleon of Siuill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vaſques de Silua, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another ſhippe, had her fore-maſt broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spaniſh Fleete, neither would the ſayde Fleete ſtay to ſuccour it, but left the diſtreſſed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he ſaw this ſhip of Valdez, & thought ſhe had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many ſhippes as he could, paſſed by it, that he might not looſe ſight of the Spaniſh Fleet that night. For ſir Francis Drake (who was notwithſtanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was giuing of chaſe vnto fiue great Hulkes which had ſeparated themſelues from the Spaniſh Fleete: but finding them to be Eaſterlings, he diſmiſſed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spaniſh lanterne in ſtead of the Engliſh, found himſelfe in the morning to be in the midſt of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceiued it, hee cleanly conueyed himſelfe out of that great danger.

The 22. of Iuly.

The day folowing, which was the two and twentie of Iuly, Sir Francis Drake eſpied Valdez his ſhippe, whereunto hee ſent foorth his pinnaſſe, and being aduertiſed that Valdez himſelfe was there, and 450. perſons with him, he ſent him word that he ſhould yeeld himſelfe. Valdez for his honors ſake cauſed certaine conditions to be propounded vnto Drake: who anſwered Valdez that he was not now at laiſure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himſelfe, he ſhould find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had reſolued to die in fight, he ſhould prooue Drake to be no daſtard.

Vpon which anſwere Valdez and his company vnderſtanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooued with the renoume and celebritie of his name, with one conſent yeelded themſelues, and found him very fauourable vnto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining vnto him, came on boord ſir Francis Drakes ſhip. The reſidue of his company were caried vnto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ranſome.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ſhip & company taken.

Valdez comming vnto Drake and humbly kiſſing his hand proteſted vnto him, that he and his had reſolued to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee moſt fauourable vnto his vanquiſhed foe: inſomuch that he ſayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cauſe to admire and loue him for his great, valiant, and proſperous exploites, or to dread him for his ſingular felicitie and wiſedom, which euer attended vpon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained vnto ſo great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gaue him very honourable entertainement, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount vnto Drake the forces of all the Spaniſh Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were ſeparated by tempeſt from them: and alſo how they were determined firſt to haue put into Plimmouth hauen, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the Engliſh ſhips which they thought could by no meanes withſtand their impregnable forces, perſwading themſelues that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cauſe they marueled much how the Engliſh men in their ſmall ſhips durſt approch within muſket ſhot of the Spaniards mightie woodden caſtles, gathering the wind of them with many other ſuch like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spaniſh Fleete, and being deſcended of one and the ſame familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. beſieged Leiden in Holland, were ſent captiues into England. There were in the ſayd ſhip 55. thouſand ducates in ready money of the Spaniſh kings gold, which the ſouldiers merily ſhared among themſelues.

The ſame day was ſet on fire one of their greateſt ſhippes, being Admirall of the ſquadron of Guipuſco, and being the ſhippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great ſtore of gunnepowder and other warrelike prouiſion. The vpper part onely of this ſhippe was burnt, and all the perſons therein contained (except a very few) were conſumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the Engliſh, and brought into England with a number of miſerable burnt and ſkorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and vnconſumed.

A great Biſcaine ſhip taken by the Engliſh.

In the meane ſeaſon the lord Admirall of England in his ſhip called the Arke-royall, all that night purſued the Spaniards ſo neere, that in the morning hee was almoſt left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the reſidue of the Engliſh Fleet could ouertake him.

At the ſame time Hugo de Moncada gouernour of the foure Galliaſſes, made humble ſute vnto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit vnto him, becauſe hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commiſſion and charge.

The 23. of July.

Vpon Tueſday which was the three and twentie of July, the nauy being come ouer againſt Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, inſomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to inuade the Engliſh. But the Engliſhmen hauing leſſer and nimbler Ships, recouered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards ſeemed to bee more incenſed to fight then before. But when the Engliſh Fleete had continually and without intermiſſion from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their ſhot both great and ſmall: the Spaniardes vniting themſelues, gathered their whole Fleete cloſe together into a roundell, ſo that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to inuade others, but onely to defend themſelues and to make haſt vnto the place preſcribed vnto them, which was neere vnto Dunkerk, that they might ioine forces with the duke of Parma, who was determined to haue proceeded ſecretly with his ſmall ſhippes vnder the ſhadow and protection of the great ones, and ſo had intended circumſpectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the moſt furious and bloodie ſkirmiſh of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidſt his enimies Fleete, and ſeeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee ſpake vnto him in theſe wordes: Oh George what doeſt thou? Wilt thou nowe fruſtrate my hope and opinion conceiued of thee? Wilt thou forſake mee nowe? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approched foorthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of a moſt valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conuerſant in many Sea-fights.

In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ſhip with other ſmall ſhips ſurpriſed and taken by the Engliſh.

A great Venetian ſhip and other ſmall ſhips taken by the Engliſh.

The Engliſh nauie in the meane while increaſed, whereunto out of all Hauens of the Realme reſorted ſhips and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as vnto a ſet field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull ſeruice to bee performed vnto their prince and countrey.

In which number there were many great and honourable perſonages, as namely, the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palauicini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Maſter Ambroſe Willoughbie, Maſter Henry Nowell, Maſter Thomas Gerard, Maſter Henry Dudley, Maſter Edward Darcie, Maſter Arthur Gorge, Maſter Thomas Woodhouſe, Maſter William Haruie, &c. And ſo it came to paſſe that the number of the Engliſh ſhippes amounted vnto an hundreth: which when they were come before Douer, were increaſed to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithſtanding of no proportionable bigneſſe to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater ſhippes, which onely, by reaſon of their preſence, bred an opinion in the Spaniardes mindes concerning the power of the Engliſh Fleet; the mariners and ſouldiers whereof were eſteemed to be twelue thouſand.

The foure and twentie of Iuly when as the ſea was calme, and no winde ſtirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleaſſes and the Engliſh ſhippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the ſayde Engliſh ſhippes, which notwithſtanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but diſcharged their chaine-ſhot to cut aſunder their Cables and Cordage of the Galleaſſes, with many other ſuch Stratagemes. They were nowe conſtrained to ſend their men on land for a newe ſupplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great ſkarcitie, by reaſon they had ſo frankely ſpent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The 24. of Iuly.

The ſame day, a Counſell being aſſembled, it was decreed that the Engliſh Fleete ſhould bee deuided into foure ſquadrons: the principall whereof was committed vnto the lord Admirall: the ſecond, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobiſher.

The Spaniards in their ſailing obſerued very diligent and good order, ſayling three and foure, and ſomtimes more ſhips in a ranke, and folowing cloſe vp one after another, and the ſtronger and greater ſhips protecting the leſſer.

The fiue and twentie of Iuly when the Spaniardes were come ouer-againſt the Iſle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his beſt ſhips, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Ionas vnder the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel ſonne in lawe vnto the lord Admirall: the Beare vnder the lord Sheffield nephew vnto the lord Admirall: the Victorie vnder Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leiceſter vnder the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of ſhot, encountered the Spaniſh Admiral being in the very midſt of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceiued, being aſſiſted with his ſtrongeſt ſhips, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the Engliſh: for they beſtowed each on other the broad ſides, and mutually diſcharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

The 25. of Iuly.

At length the Spaniardes hoiſed vp their ſayles, and againe gathered themſelues vp cloſe into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobiſher had engaged himſelfe into a moſt dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to ſuccour him, found that hee had valiantly and diſcreetly behaued himſelfe, and that hee had wiſely and in good time giuen ouer the ſight, becauſe that after ſo great a batterie he had ſuſtained no damage.

The 26. of Iuly.

For which cauſe the day following, being the ſixe and twentie of Iuly, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. Iohn Hawkins and others.

The ſame day the lord Admirall receiued intelligence from Newhauen in France, by certaine of his Pinnaſſes, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of ſending aide vnto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guiſian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a falſe rumour ſpread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The 27. of Iuly.
The Spaniards ancre before Caleis.

The ſeuen and twentie of Iuly, the Spaniards about the ſunne-ſetting were come ouer-againſt Douer, and rode at ancre within the ſight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to ioyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing.

Likewiſe the Engliſh Fleete following vp hard vpon them, ancred iuſt by them within culuering-ſhot. And here the lord Henry Seymer vnited himſelfe vnto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ſhips which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spaniſh nauie therefore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina ſent certaine meſſengers vnto the duke of Parma, with whom vpon that occaſion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refreſh themſelues on land: and amongſt the reſt the prince of Aſcoli, being accounted the kings baſe ſonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on ſhore, who was by ſo much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the ſame ſhip, out of which he was departed, becauſe that in returning home it was caſt away vpon the Iriſh coaſt, with all the perſons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being aduertiſed of the Spaniſh Fleetes arriuall vpon the coaſt of England, made all the haſte hee could to bee preſent himſelfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perſwading himſelfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee ſhould be crowned king of England, and for that cauſe hee had reſigned the gouernement of the Lowe countries vnto Count Manſfeld the elder. And hauing made his vowes vnto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to viſite for his blind deuotions ſake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of Iuly.

The 28. of Iuly.
The 29. of Iuly.

The next day trauelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the ſame euening being come to Dixmud, hee was giuen to vnderſtand the hard ſucceſſe of the Spaniſh Fleete.

The 30. of Iuly.

Vpon Tueſday which was the thirtieth of Iuly, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spaniſh Fleete was now paſſed by: neither durſt any of his ſhips in the meane ſpace come foorth to aſſiſt the ſayd Spaniſh Fleete for feare of fiue and thirtie warrelike ſhips of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde vnder the conduct of the Admirall Iuſtin of Naſſau.

The foreſayd fiue and thirtie ſhippes were furniſhed with moſt cunning mariners and olde expert ſouldiers, amongſt the which were twelue hundred Muſketiers, whom the States had choſen out of all their gariſons, and whom they knew to haue bene heretofore experienced in ſea-fights.

This nauie was giuen eſpecially in charge not to ſuffer any ſhippe to come out of the Hauen, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other ſmall veſſels of the Spaniſh Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ſhips were not to be feared by reaſon of the ſhallow ſea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet vnreadie, were not come on boord his ſhippes, onely the Engliſh Fugitiues being ſeuen hundred in number vnder the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to haue bene embarked, becauſe they hoped to giue the firſt aſſault againſt England. The reſidue ſhewed themſelues vnwilling and loath to depart, becauſe they ſawe but a few mariners, who were by conſtraint drawne into this expedition, and alſo becauſe they had very bare prouiſion of bread, drinke, and other neceſſary victuals.

Moreouer, the ſhippes of Holland and Zeland ſtood continually in their ſight, threatening ſhot and powder, and many inconueniences vnto them: for feare of which ſhippes, the Mariners and Sea-men ſecretly withdrew themſelues both day and night, leaſt that the duke of Parma his ſouldiers ſhould compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them iudged to bee impoſſible by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the Hauen.

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their owne fleet.

But it ſeemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded vpon a vaine and preſumptuous expectation, that all the ſhips of England and of the Low countreys would at the firſt ſight of the Spaniſh and Dunkerk Nauie haue betaken themſelues to flight, yeelding them ſea roome, and endeuouring onely to defend themſelues, their hauens, and ſea coaſts from inuaſion. Wherefore their intent and purpoſe was, that the Duke of Parma in his ſmall and flat-bottomed ſhippes, ſhould as it were vnder the ſhadow and wings of the Spaniſh fleet, conuey ouer all his troupes, armour, and warlike prouiſion, and with their forces ſo vnited, ſhould inuade England; or while the Engliſh fleet were buſied in fight againſt the Spaniſh, ſhould enter vpon any part of the coaſt, which he thought to be moſt conuenient. Which inuaſion (as the captiues afterward confeſſed) the Duke of Parma thought firſt to haue attempted by the riuer of Thames; vpon the bankes whereof hauing at his firſt arriuall landed twenty or thirty thouſand of his principall ſouldiers, he ſuppoſed that he might eaſily haue woonne the Citie of London; both becauſe his ſmall ſhippes ſhould haue followed and aſſiſted his land-forces, and alſo for that the Citie it-ſelfe was but meanely fortified and eaſie to ouercome, by reaſon of the Citizens delicacie and diſcontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and conſtant labour might be vanquiſhed, if they yeelded not at the firſt aſſault. They were in good hope alſo to haue mette with ſome rebels againſt her Maieſtie, and ſuch as were diſcontented with the preſent ſtate, as Papiſts, and others. Likewiſe they looked for ayde from the fauourers of the Scottiſh Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would haue ſtirred vp ſeditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spaniſh fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might conſult with the Duke of Parma what was beſt to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the preſent eſtate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purpoſed vpon the ſecond of Auguſt being Friday, with one power and conſent to haue put their intended buſineſſe in practiſe; the L. Admirall of England being admoniſhed by her Maieſties letters from the Court, thought it moſt expedient either to driue the Spaniſh fleet from that place, or at leaſtwiſe to giue them the encounter: and for that cauſe (according to her Maieſties preſcription) he tooke forthwith eight of his worſt & baſeſt ſhips which came next to hand, & diſburthening them of all things which ſeemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimſtone, and with other combuſtible and firy matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and ſtones, he ſent the ſayd ſhips vpon the 28 of Iuly being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide againſt the Spaniſh fleet: which when they had proceeded a good ſpace, being forſaken of the Pilots, and ſet on fire, were directly carried vpon the King of Spaines Nauie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into ſuch a perplexity and horrour (for they feared leſt they were like vnto thoſe terrible ſhips, which Frederic Ienebelli three yeeres before, at the ſiege of Antwerpe, had furniſhed with gun-powder, ſtones, and dreadfull engines, for the diſſolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built vpon the riuer of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were faſtened, and hoiſing vp their ſailes, they betooke themſelues very confuſedly vnto the maine ſea.

The 28 of Iuly.

The galliaſſe of Hugo de Moncada caſt vpon the ſhowlds before Caleis.

In this ſudden confuſion, the principall and greateſt of the foure galliaſſes falling fowle of another ſhip, loſt her rudder: for which cauſe when ſhe could not be guided any longer, ſhe was by the force of the tide caſt into a certaine ſhowld vpon the ſhore of Caleis, where ſhe was immediatly aſſaulted by diuers Engliſh pinaſſes, hoyes, and drumblers.

M. Amias Preſton valiantly boordeth the galliaſſe.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durſt not boord her, the L. Admirall ſent thither his long boat with an hundreth choiſe ſouldiers vnder the command of Captaine Amias Preſton. Vpon whoſe approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliaſſe: againſt whom the gouernour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliaſſes, Hugo de Moncada, ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe, fighting by ſo much the more valiantly, in that he hoped preſently to be ſuccoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane ſeaſon, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe ſtarke dead, and a great number of Spaniards alſo were ſlaine in his company. The greater part of the reſidue leaping ouer-boord into the ſea, to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming, were moſt of them drowned. Howbeit there eſcaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spaniſh fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards beſides: which Anthonio was the firſt man that carried certaine newes of the ſucceſſe of their fleet into Spaine.

This huge and monſtrous galliaſſe, wherein were contained three hundred ſlaues to lug at the oares, and foure hundred ſouldiers, was in the ſpace of three houres rifled in the ſame place; and there were found amongſt diuers other cõmodities 50000 ducats of the Spaniſh kings treaſure.

At length when the ſlaues were releaſed out of their fetters, the Engliſh men would haue ſet the ſayd ſhip on fire, which Monſieur Gourdon the gouernor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon enſue to the Towne and Hauen, would not permit them to do, but draue them from thence with his great ordinance.

The great fight before Greueling the 29 of July.

Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spaniſh Fleet after the foreſayd tumult, hauing arranged themſelues againe into order, were, within ſight of Greueling, moſt brauely and furiouſly encountered by the Engliſh; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who ſuffered themſelues to be depriued of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the aduantage of the winde neere unto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or ſeparate their forces now conioyned and united together, ſtanding onely upon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ſhips in the Engliſh fleet, yet ſcarſe were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spaniſh ſhips in bigneſſe, or could conueniently aſſault them. Wherefore the Engliſh ſhippes uſing their prerogatiue of nimble ſtirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themſelues with the winde which way they liſted, came often times very neere upon the Spaniards, and charged them ſo ſore, that now and then they were but a pikes length aſunder: & ſo continually giuing them one broad ſide after another, they diſcharged all their ſhot both great and ſmall upon them, ſpending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, untill ſuch time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it conuenient not to purſue the Spaniards any longer, becauſe they had many great vantages of the Engliſh, namely for the extraordinary bigneſſe of their ſhips, and alſo for that they were ſo neerely conioyned, and kept together in ſo good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The Engliſh thought therefore, that they had right well acquited themſelues, in chaſing the Spaniards firſt from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes to haue hindered them from ioyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to haue driuen them from their owne coaſts.

The Spaniards that day ſuſtained great loſſe and damage hauing many of their ſhippes ſhot thorow and thorow, and they diſcharged likewiſe great ſtore of ordinance againſt the Engliſh; who indeed ſuſtained ſome hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards loſſe: for they loſt not any one ſhippe or perſon of account. For very diligent inquiſition being made, the Engliſh men all that time wherein the Spaniſh Nauy ſayled upon their ſeas, are not found to haue wanted aboue one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes ſhippe was pierced with ſhot aboue forty times, and his very cabben was twiſe ſhot thorow, and about the concluſion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet. Likewiſe, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the bullet of a demi-culuering brake thorow the middeſt of their cabbin, touched their feet, and ſtrooke downe two of the ſtanders by, with many ſuch accidents befalling the Engliſh ſhippes, which it were tedious to rehearſe. Whereupon it is moſt apparant, that God miraculouſly preſerued the Engliſh nation. For the L. Admirall wrote unto her Maieſtie that in all humane reaſon, and according to the iudgement of all men (euery circumſtance being duly conſidered) the Engliſh men were not of any ſuch force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within ſight of the Spaniſh Fleet: inſomuch that they freely aſcribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counſels to none effect.

Three Spaniſh ſhippes ſuncke in the fight.

The ſame day the Spaniſh ſhips were ſo battered with Engliſh ſhot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them ſuncke right downe: and among the reſt a certaine great ſhip of Biſcay, which Captaine Croſſe aſſaulted, which periſhed euen in the time of the conflict, ſo that very few therein eſcaped drowning; who reported that the gouernours of the ſame ſhippe ſlew one another upon the occaſion following: one of them which would haue yeelded the ſhippe was ſuddenly ſlaine; the brother of the ſlaine party in reuenge of his death ſlew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ſhip ſuncke.

Two galeons taken and caried into Zeland.

The ſame night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of ſeuen or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forſaken of the Spaniſh Fleet, for they were ſo torne with ſhotte, that the water entered into them on all ſides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell ouer two and thirty bands: beſides other gentlemen; who ſeeing their maſt broken with ſhotte, they ſhaped their courſe, aſwell as they could, for the coaſt of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ſhip committing themſelues to their ſkiffe, arriued at the next towne, which was Oſtend; and the ſhip it ſelfe being left behinde with the reſidue of their company, was taken by the Uliſhingers.

In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-maſter and colonell of 32 bands, being brother vnto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ſhip was not very great, but exceeding ſtrong, for of a great number of bullets which had batterd her, there were ſcarſe 20 wherewith ſhe was pierced or hurt: her vpper worke was of force ſufficient to beare off a muſket ſhot: this ſhippe was ſhot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greueling; inſomuch that the leakage of the water could not be ſtopped: whereupon the duke of Medina ſent his great ſkiffe vnto the gouernour thereof, that he might ſaue himſelfe and the principal perſons that were in his ſhip: which he, vpon a hault courage, refuſed to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to ſaile next vnto himſelfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reaſon of the great abundance of water which entered his ſhip on all ſides; for the auoiding wherof, and to ſaue his ſhip from ſincking, he cauſed 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to ſmall purpoſe. And ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken & ſeparated from his admirall, he endeuored what he could to attaine vnto the coaſt of Flanders: where, being eſpied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their ſtation aſſigned them vpon the ſame coaſt, he was admoniſhed to yeeld himſelfe vnto them. Which he refuſing to do, was ſtrongly aſſaulted by them altogether, and his ſhip being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worſe caſe then before, and 40 of his ſouldiers were ſlaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himſelfe vnto Peter Banderdueſs & other captaines, which brought him and his ſhip into Zeland; and that other ſhip alſo laſt before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were vnladen, ſuncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the foreſayd captaine Banderdueſs cauſed the banner of one of theſe ſhippes to be ſet vp in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of ſo great a length, that being faſtened to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

A ſmall ſhip caſt away about Blankenberg.

About the ſame time another ſmall ſhip being by neceſſity driuen vpon the coaſt of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was caſt away vpon the ſands, the people therein being ſaued. Thus almighty God would haue the Spaniards huge ſhips to be preſented, not onely to the view of the Engliſh, but alſo of the Zelanders; that at the ſight of them they might acknowledge of what ſmall ability they had beene to reſiſt ſuch impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, prouidence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The diſhonourable flight of the Spaniſh nauy: and the prudent aduice of the L. Admirall.

The 29 of Iuly the Spaniſh fleet being encountered by the Engliſh (as is aforeſayd) and lying cloſe together vnder their fighting ſailes, with a Southweſt wind ſailed paſt Dunkerk, the Engliſh ſhips ſtil following the chaſe. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got ſea roome, they cut their maine ſailes; whereby they ſufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cauſe the L. Admirall of England diſpatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his ſquadron of ſmall ſhips vnto the coaſt of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ſhips, he might ſtop the prince of Parma his paſſage, if perhaps he ſhould attempt to iſſue forth with his army. And he himſelfe in the meane ſpace purſued the Spaniſh fleet vntill the ſecond of Auguſt, becauſe he thought they had ſet ſaile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not aſſault them any more, for want of powder and bulets. But vpon the fourth of Auguſt, the winde ariſing, when as the Spaniards had ſpread all their ſailes, betaking themſelues wholly to flight, and leauing Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they ſufficiently declared that their whole intent was to ſaue themſelues by flight, attempting for that purpoſe, with their battered and crazed ſhips, the moſt dangerous nauigation of the Northren ſeas) the Engliſh ſeeing that they were now proceeded vnto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being vnwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themſelues, and becauſe they wanted things neceſſary, and eſpecially powder & ſhot, returned backe for England; leauing behinde them certaine pinaſſes onely, which they enioyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to obſerue their courſe. And ſo it came to paſſe that the fourth of Auguſt, with great danger and induſtry, the Engliſh arriued at Harwich: for they had bene toſſed vp and downe with a mighty tempeſt for the ſpace of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt vnto the Spaniſh fleet, being (as I ſayd before) ſo maimed and battered. The Engliſh now going on ſhore, prouided themſelues foorthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all aſſayes to entertaine the Spaniſh fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards courſe, they thought it beſt to leaue them vnto thoſe boiſterous and vncouth Northren ſeas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Engliſh returne home from the purſute of yͤ Spaniards the 4 of Auguſt.

The Spaniards ſeeing now that they wanted foure or fiue thouſand of their people and hauing diuers maimed and ſicke perſons, and likewiſe hauing loſt 10 or 12 of their principall ſhips, they conſulted among themſelues, what they were beſt to doe, being now eſcaped out of the hands of

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the Engliſh, becauſe their victuals failed them in like ſort, and they began alſo to want cables, cordage, ankers, maſts, ſailes, and other naual furniture, and vtterly deſpaired of the Duke of Parma his aſſiſtance (who verily hoping and vndoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spaniſh Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, & other neceſſary furniture for a Nauy to be prouided) they thought it good at length, ſo ſoone as the winde ſhould ſerue them, to fetch a compaſſe about Scotland and Ireland, and ſo to returne for Spaine.

For they well vnderſtood, that commandement was giuen thorowout all Scotland, that they ſhould not haue any ſuccour or aſſiſtance there. Neither yet could they in Norway ſupply their wants. Wherefore, hauing taken certaine Scotiſh and other fiſherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ſhips, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing alſo leaſt their freſh water ſhould faile them, they caſt all their horſes and mules ouer-boord: and ſo touching no where vpon the coaſt of Scotland, but being carried with a freſh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Iſles, they proceeded farre North, euen vnto 61 degrees of latitude, being diſtant from any land at the leaſt 40 leagues. Heere the Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to ſhape their courſe for Biſcay: and he himſelfe with twenty or fiue and twenty of his ſhips which were beſt prouided of freſh water and other neceſſaries, holding on his courſe ouer the maine Ocean, returned ſafely home. The reſidue of his ſhips being about forty in number, and committed vnto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coaſt of Ireland, intending their courſe for Cape Clare, becauſe they hoped there to get freſh water, and to refreſh themſelues on land. But after they were driuen with many contrary windes, at length, vpon the ſecond of September, they were caſt by a tempeſt ariſing from the Southweſt vpon diuers parts of Ireland, where many of their ſhips periſhed. And amongſt others, the ſhippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliaſſes: and two great ſhips of Venice alſo, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ſhips more, which periſhed in ſundry tempeſts, together with moſt of the perſons contained in them.

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Likewiſe ſome of the Spaniſh ſhips were the ſecond time carried with a ſtrong Weſt winde into the chanell of England, whereof ſome were taken by the Engliſh vpon their coaſt, and others by the men of Rochel vpon ye coaſt of France.

Moreouer, there arriued at Newhauen in Normandy, being by tempeſt inforced ſo to doe, one of the foure great Galliaſſes, where they found the ſhips with the Spaniſh women which followed the Fleet at their ſetting forth. Two ſhips alſo were caſt away vpon the coaſt of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the perſons in the ſayd great ſhip were ſaued: inſomuch that of 134 ſhips, which ſet ſaile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely ſmall and great: namely of ye foure galliaſſes but one, and but one of the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were miſſing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were miſſing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were miſſing 81 ſhips, in which number were galliaſſes, gallies, galeons, and other veſſels both great and ſmall. And amongſt the 53 ſhips remaining, thoſe alſo are reckoned which returned home before they came into the Engliſh chanell. Two galeons of thoſe which were returned, were by miſfortune burnt as they rode in the hauen; and ſuch like miſhaps did many others vndergo. Of 30000 perſons which went in this expedition, there periſhed (according to the number and proportion of the ſhips) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reaſon of the toiles and inconueniences which they ſuſtained in this voyage, died not long after their arriuall. The Duke of Medina immediatly vpon his returne was depoſed from his authority, commanded to his priuate houſe, and forbidden to repaire vnto the Court; where he could hardly ſatiſfie or yeeld a reaſon vnto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable perſonages and men of great renowme deceaſed ſoone after their returne; as namely Iohn Martines de Ricalde, with diuers others. A great part alſo of the Spaniſh Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition periſhed either by fight, diſeaſes, or drowning, before their arriual; & among the reſt Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and ſonne vnto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

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Vpon the coaſt of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother vnto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinſeman vnto the earle of Beneuentum & Calua, and Colonell ouer 32 bands with many other in the ſame ſhip was taken and detained as priſoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we ſayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of ſingular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captiue, being accompanied with Don Vaſquez de Silua, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewiſe vpon the Scotiſh Weſterne Iſles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre vpon the maine land, there were caſt away certaine Spaniſh ſhippes, out of which were ſaued diuers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almoſt foure hundred ſouldiers, who for the moſt part, after their ſhipwracke, were brought vnto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miſerably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterward were ſecretly ſhipped for Spaine; but the Scotiſh fleet wherein they paſſed touching at Yarmouth on the coaſt of Norfolke, were there ſtayed for a time vntill the Councels pleaſure was knowen; who in regard of their manifolde miſeries, though they were enemies, wincked at their paſſage.

Vpon the Iriſh coaſt many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and diuers ſlaine by the barbarous and wilde Iriſh. Howbeit there was brought priſoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirtie bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Laſſo, and two others of the family of Cordoua, who were committed vnto the cuſtodie of Sir Horatio Palauicini, that Monſieur de Teligny the ſonne of Monſieur de la Noüe (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained priſoner in the Caſtle of Turney) might be raunſomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition loſt not a ſonne, a brother, or a kinſeman.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders cauſed newe coine of Siluer and braſſe to be ſtamped: which on the one ſide contained the armes of Zeland, with this inſcription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other ſide, the pictures of certeine great ſhips, with theſe words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ſhips: IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to ſay, the Spaniſh fleet came, went, and was vanquiſhed this yere; for which, glory be giuen to God onely.

New coines ſtamped for the memory of the Spaniards ouerthrow.

Likewiſe they coined another kinde of money; vpon the one ſide whereof was repreſented a ſhip fleeing, and a ſhip ſincking: on the other ſide foure men making prayers and giuing thanks vnto God vpon their knees; with this ſentence: Man purpoſeth; God diſpoſeth, 1588. Alſo, for the laſting memory of the ſame matter, they haue ſtamped in Holland diuers ſuch like coines, according to the cuſtome of the ancient Romans.

While this woonderfull and puiſſant Nauie was ſayling along the Engliſh coaſtes, and all men did now plainely ſee and heare that which before they would not be perſwaded of, all people thorowout England proſtrated themſelues with humble prayers and ſupplications vnto God: but eſpecially the outlandiſh Churches (who had greateſt cauſe to feare, and againſt whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened moſt grieuous torments) enioyned to their people continuall faſtings and ſupplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent vpon them for their ſinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge againſt all enemies, calamities, and neceſſities, and that it was the onely ſolace and reliefe for mankinde, being viſited with affliction and miſery. Likewiſe ſuch ſolemne dayes of ſupplication were obſerued thorowout the vnited Prouinces.

The people o England and o the vnited prouinces, pray, faſt, and giue thanks vnto God.

Alſo a while after the Spaniſh Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Maieſtie, and in the vnited Prouinces, by the direction of the States, a ſolemne feſtiuall day publikely appointed, wherein all perſons were enioyned to reſort vnto the Church, and there to render thanks and praiſes vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foreſayd ſolemnity was obſerued vpon the 29 of Nouember; which day was wholly ſpent in faſting, prayer, and giuing of thanks.

Likewiſe, the Queenes Maieſtie herſelfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her ſubiects glorious deliuerance. For being attended vpon very ſolemnely by all the principall eſtates and officers of her Realme, ſhe was carried thorow her ſayd City of London in a tryumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the enſignes and colours of the vanquiſhed Spaniards hung diſplayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liueries ſtood on either ſide the ſtreet, by their ſeuerall Companies, with their enſignes and banners: and the ſtreets were hanged on both ſides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foreſayd banners, yeelded a very ſtately and gallant proſpect. Her Maieſtie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gaue thanks vnto God, and cauſed a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls croſſe; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praiſe, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thankſgiuing. And with her owne princely voice ſhe moſt Chriſtianly exhorted the people to doe the ſame: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wiſhed her a moſt long and happy life, to the confuſion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themſelues termed in all places inuincible) ſuch as ſayled not vpon the Ocean ſea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vaniſhed into ſmoake; to the great confuſion and diſcouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Maieſties happy ſucceſſe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verſes were penned to the honour of her Maieſty by learned men, whereof ſome which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM

THEODOR. BEZA.

(***)

Strauerat innumeris Hiſpanus nauibus æquor,
  Regnis iuncturus ſceptra Britanna ſuis.
Tanti huius, rogitas, quæ motus cauſa? ſuperbos
  Impulit Ambitio, vexit Auaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio merſit vaniſſima ventus?
  Et tumidos tumidæ, vos ſuperaſtis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis auaros,
  Hauſit inexhauſti iuſta vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
  Regina, ô mundi totius vna, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
  Prodiga ſic opibus perge iuuare pios,
Vt te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipſa fruaris,
  Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The Spaniſh Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
  And bend her ſhips againſt the Engliſh ſhore,
With ſo great rage as nothing could appeaſe,
And with ſuch ſtrength as neuer ſeene before:
    And all to ioyne the kingdome of that land
    Unto the kingdomes that he had in hand.
Now if you aſke what ſet this king on fire,
To practiſe warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and neuer quencht deſire,
To ſpoile that Iſlands wealth, by peace made great:
    His Pride which farre aboue the heauens did ſwell,
    And his deſire as vnſuffic'd as hell.
But well haue windes his proud blaſts ouerblowen,
And ſwelling waues alayd his ſwelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs vnknowen,
Deuoured the deuourer to his ſmart:
    And made his ſhips a pray vnto the ſand,
    That meant to pray vpon anothers land.
And now, O Queene, aboue all others bleſt,
For whom both windes and waues are preſt to fight,
So rule your owne, ſo ſuccour friends oppreſt,
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
    That England you, you England long enioy,
    No leſſe your friends delight, then foes annoy.

A briefe and true report of the Honorable voyage vnto *Cadiz*, 1596. *of the ouerthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning,* ſacking, and burning of the Citie, with all other accidents of moment, thereunto appertaining.

After that the two moſt Noble and Renowmed Lords Generals: The L. Robert Earle of Eſſex, and the L. Charles Howard L. High Admirall of England, were come vnto Plymmouth (which was about the beginning of May laſt, 1596.) being there accompanied with diuers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of Suſſex, the L. Thomas Howard, the L. Harbert, the L. Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the L. Marſhall Sir Francis Vere: the L. Burk, Don Chriſtopher young Prince of Portingall, young Count Lodouick of Naſſaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir Iohn Vanderfoord: beſides many other moſt worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great woorth attending vpon this moſt honorable Action: It pleaſed them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, aſwell for the new furniſhing and reuictualing of her Maieſties Royall Nanie: as alſo for the expecting of ſome other ſhips, which were to come from diuers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting: making that place as it ſhould ſeeme the Rendeuous for all the whole Fleete, there to complete the full number of al ſuch companies both for ſea and land: as was in their noble and deepe wiſedomes thought meete and agreed vpon.

All the time of this their abode there, there was a moſt zealous and diligent care had for the holy ſeruice of God, dayly and reuerently to be frequented: and alſo for other good and ciuill orders of militarie diſcipline to be obſerued, to the exceeding great comfort and reioycing of all the hearts of the godly and well diſpoſed.

And for that it might the better appeare, that there was ſmall hope of pardon to be expected of the offenders, if they did at any time neglect their duties, about due obſeruation of matters of importance: Their orders, lawes, and decrees being once publiſhed: about the 8. or 9. of the ſame moneth, there were two offenders executed a little without the towne, in a very fayre pleaſant greene, called the Ho: the one for beginning of a muteny in his company, the other for running away from his Colours.

And about the ſame time in the Dutch Regiment, an other for murthering of one of his companions, about a quarrell betweene themſelues, riſing as it was ſuppoſed, vpon their drinke, was by order of Martiall law, preſently tyed to the partie ſo murthered, and foorthwith both of them ſo caſt into the ſea.

Moreouer, about the 28. of the ſame moneth, a certaine Lieutenant (whoſe name I will forbeare) was by ſound of Drumme publikely in all the ſtreetes diſgraced, or rather after a ſort diſgraded, and caſhierd for bearing any farther Office at that time, for the taking of money by way of corruption, of certaine preſt ſouldiers in the Countrey, and for placing of others in their roomes, more vnfit for ſeruice, and of leſſe ſufficiency and abilitie. This ſeuere executing of iuſtice at the very firſt did breed ſuch a deepe terror in the hearts of the whole armie, that it ſeemed to cut off all occaſion of the like diſorder for euer afterwards to be attempted.

And here before their departure frō Plymmouth, it pleaſed their Lordſhips to publiſh in print, and make knowen to all the world, eſpecially to ſuch as whom it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch, Engliſh and Spaniſh tongue, what were the true, iuſt, and vrgent cauſes, that at this time prouoked her Maieſtie, to vndertake the preparing and ſetting forth of this ſo great a Nauie, annexing thereunto a full declaration, what was their good will and pleaſure ſhould be done and performed of all them that ment not to incurre their owne priuate preſent daungers, or elſe were willing to auoyde her Maieſties future indignation and diſpleaſure.

Likewiſe now, at the ſame inſtant, their owne moſt prouident and godly decrees, which they had deuiſed for the honeſt cariage of euery particular perſon in their degrees and vocation, were made knowen to all men, and publiſhed in ſundry writings, with diuers great puniſhments, ſet downe and appointed for the wilfull offenders and breakers of the ſame.

Thus then, all things being in very good order and well appointed, the moſt holy name of our Omnipotent God being moſt religiouſly and deuoutly called vpon, and his bleſſed and ſacred Communion being diuers times moſt reuerently and publikely celebrated: Theſe two moſt noble perſonages, with all their honorable Aſſociats, and moſt famous worthy Knights, Gentlemen, Captaines, Leaders, and very willing and expert Souldiers, and Mariners, being furniſhed with 150. good ſayle of ſhippes or thereabout: In the name of the moſt High & euerliuing

God, and with all true and faithful obedience, to her ſacred Maieſty, to the infinite good and tranquillitie of our Countrey, and to the perpetuall glory, and triumphant renowme of the eternall memory of their honorable names to all poſterity, the firſt day of Iune embarked themſelues, weighed Ancre, and hoyſed vp ſayle, and put to ſea onward their iourney from the Sownds of Plymmouth.

The winde, at the firſt ſetting foorth, ſeemed very fauourable: but yet in the euening growing very ſcant, and all that night falling more and more againſt vs, and we hauing ſayled no further then to a certaine place called Dodman head: we were conſtrained the next day, to make our returne to the road of Plymmouth againe, and there in the Sownds to lie at ancre for that night.

About this time, and in this very place, by good fortune there came to my handes a prayer in Engliſh, touching this preſent Action, and made by her Maieſtie, as it was voyced: The prayer ſeemed to me to be moſt excellent, aſwell for the matter, as alſo for the manner, and therefore for certaine diuers good motiues which then preſently came to my minde, and whereof hereafter in his more conuenient time and place, I will make farther mention, I preſumed at that very inſtant to tranſlate it into Latine.

The Prayer is thus.

MOſt Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds maſſe, that onely ſearcheſt and fadomeſt the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them ſeeſt the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foreſight doeſt truely diſcerne, how no malice of reuenge, nor quittance of iniury, nor deſire of bloodſhed, nor greedineſſe of lucre hath bred the reſolution of our now ſet out Army, but a heedfull care, & wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-ſuretie of harme might breed either daunger to vs, or glory to them: theſe being the grounds wherewith thou doeſt enſpire the mind, we humbly beſeech thee with bended knees, proſper the worke, and with beſt forewindes guide the iourney, ſpeed the victory, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the tryumph of their fame, and ſurety to the Realme, with the leaſt loſſe of the Engliſh blood. To theſe deuout petitions Lord giue thou thy bleſſed grant.

My homely tranſlation is thus.

SVmmè præpotens Deus, immenſæ huius totius noſtri mundi molis fabricator & Rector, qui ſolus perſcrutaris intimos cordis noſtri ſenſus, & ad fundum vſq; noſtrarum cogitationum explorando penetras, ac in eis, quid verè, & ex animo cogitemus, & quæ ſint actionum noſtrarum rationes, ac fundamenta, cognoſcis: Tu, qui ea, quæ in te eſt, ab omni æternitate præſcientia, vides, quòd nec aliqua vlciſcendi malitioſa cupiditas, nec iniuriarum referendarum deſiderium, nec ſanguinis effundendi ſitis, nec alicuius lucri, quæſtuſue auiditas ad iſtam claſſem præparandam, & emittendam nos commouerit: ſed potiùs, quòd prouida quædam cura, ſolerſque vigilantia huc nos impulerit: ne vel inimicorum noſtrorum neglectus, vel ſtatus noſtri firmitatis nimium ſecura cogitatio, aut illis gloriam & honorem, aut nobis damnũ & periculum pariat: Cum, inquam, hæc ſint noſtri, quicquid attentatur, negotii fundamenta: cumque tu hunc nobis animum, mentemq; inieceris, vt iſtud aggrederemur: curuatis genibus a te humillimè petimus, vt velis hoc noſtrum incœptum ſecundiſſimè fortunare, totum iter proſperrimis flatibus dirigere, celerem & expeditã victoriam nobis concedere, reditumq; talem noſtris militibus elargiri, qualis & nomini tuo incrementum gloriæ, & illis famæ, laudiſque triumphum, & Regno noſtro firmam tranquillitatem poſſit apportare: idque cumminimo Anglorum ſanguinis diſpendio. His noſtris religioſis petitionibus concede, Domine, ſacroſanctam & annuentem voluntatem tuam.

After that we had anchored at Plymmouth that night, as I haue ſaid, the third of Iune very early in the morning, hauing a reaſonable freſh gale of winde, we ſet ſayle, and kept our courſe againe, and the ninth of the ſame moneth comming ſomething neere to the North cape, in a maner in the ſame altitude, or not much differing, which was about xliii. degrees, and ſomething more, yet bearing ſo, as it was impoſſible to bee deſcried from the land: There it pleaſed the Lords to call a ſelect Councell, which was alwayes done by hanging out of a flagge of the armes of England, and ſhooting off of a great warning peece. Of this ſelect or priuie Councell, were no moe then theſe: The two Lords Generall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lorde Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Cary maſter of the Ordinance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Aſhley, Clarke of the ſayde

Counſell. And when it pleaſed the Lords Generall to call a common Counſell (as often times they did vpon weightie matters beſt knowen to their honours) then they would cauſe an other kinde of flagge to be hanged out, which was the Redcroſſe of S. George, and was very eaſie to be diſcerned from the other that appertained onely to the ſelect Counſell, and ſo often as this flagge of Saint George was hanged out, then came all the Maſters and Captaines of all the ſhips, whoſe opinions were to be demaunded, in ſuch matters as appertayned vnto this ſayd ſelect Counſell: It was preſently concluded, that our courſe in ſayling ſhould foorthwith be altered, and that we ſhould beare more into the Weſt, for ſome purpoſes to them beſt knowen.

At that very inſtant many letters of inſtructions were addreſſed and ſent to euery particular Maſter and Captaine of the Ships: What the contentes of thoſe letters of inſtructions were it was not as yet knowne vnto any, neither was it held meet to be enquired or knowen of any of vs. But vnder the titles and ſuperſcriptions of euery mans particuler letter theſe words were endorſed. Open not theſe letters on pain of your liues, vnles we chance to be ſcattered by tempeſt, and in that caſe open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by miſhap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any caſe caſt them into the ſea, ſealed as they are. It ſhould ſeeme that theſe letters did conteine in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foreſights kept ſo ſecret, as no man to my knowledge either did, or coulde ſo much as ſuſpect it, more then themſelues, who had the onely managing thereof. A conceite in my iudgement of greateſt moment in the world, to effect any matter of importance. I meane, to entertaine thoſe two vertues, Fidem, & Taciturnitatem: ſo much commended by the old writers. And if there was euer any great deſignement, in this our age, and memorie, diſcreetly, faithfully, and cloſely caried, I aſſure my ſelfe it was this, and though it were but in reſpect of that poynt onely: yet for ſuch faithfull ſecrecie, it deſerueth immortall praiſe.

All this while, our ſhips, God be thanked, kept in a moſt excellent good order, being deuided into fiue ſquadrons: that is to ſay, The Earle of Eſſex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which ſquadrons, albeit they did euery day ſeparate themſelues of purpoſe, by the diſtance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for ſuch ſhippes as were happily vnder ſayle, as alſo for the better procuring of ſea-roome: yet alwayes commonly eyther that day, or the next day, towarde euening, they came all together, with friendly ſalutations and gratulations one to an other: which they terme by the name of Hayling: a ceremonie done ſolemnly, and in verie good order, with ſound of Trumpets and noyſe of cheerefull voyces: and in ſuch ſort performed as was no ſmall encouragement one to the other, beſide a true report of all ſuch accidents, as had happened in their ſquadrons.

Hitherto, as I ſayde, our iourney was moſt proſperous, and all our ſhippes in very good plight, more then that the Mary Roſe, by ſome miſchance, either ſprang or ſpent her foreyarde, and two dayes after Sir Robert Croſſe had in a manner the like miſchance.

Nowe being thus betweene the North cape, and cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping ſuch a courſe a looſe, that by no meanes, thoſe from the ſhoare might be able to deſcrie vs: The tenth of Iune, a French Barke, and a Fleming comming from the coaſt of Barbarie were brought in by ſome of our companie: but they were both of them very honourably and well vſed by the Lords Generall: and ſo after a fewe dayes tarrying, were peaceably ſent away, after that they had conferred with them about ſuch matters, as was thought good in their honorable wiſedomes.

The twelfth of the ſame moneth, Sir Richard Leuiſon Knight, aſſiſted with Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight ſlewe two of them, and hurt eleuen, and in the ende brought them all three in: and this was the very firſt hanſell and maydenhead (as it were) of any matter of importance, or exploypt woorthy obſeruation that was done in the way outward of this honorable voyage, and was ſo well perfourmed of thoſe moſt worthy Gentlemen, as euery man highly commended them for their great valure, and diſcretion, and no leſſe reioyced at this their fortunate ſucceſſe.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weſton meeting with a Flemming, who refuſed to vale his foretoppe, with the like good courage and reſolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good ſpace: in the end the Swan, wherein the ſayd Sir Richard was, had her forebeake ſtrooken off: and hauing ſpent before in fight the one ſide of her tire of Ordnance, while ſhe prepared to caſt about, and to beſtow on him the other ſide, in the meane time the Fleming taking this opportunity, did get almoſt halfe a league from him: and ſo for that time made his eſcape. And yet the next day after, the ſayd Flemming being in a maner got to the very mouth of the Riuer vp to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in by M. Dorrell, being Captaine of the Iohn and Francis of London. Thus by deuiding their ſquadrons, and ſpreading the whole ſea ouer a mighty way, there could not ſo much as the leaſt pinke paſſe but ſhe was eſpied and brought in.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little ſtragling Carauels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a young beggarly Fryer vtterly vnlearned, with a great packet of letters for Lisbon: the poore wretches were maruellouſly well vſed by the Lords Generall, and that Carauel, and the like ſtill as they were taken were commaunded to giue their attendance, and their Honors did vnderſtand what they might of theſe poore men, of the eſtate of Spaine for that preſent.

About this time and in this place it was, that firſt in all my life time I did ſee the flying fiſhes, who when they are hardly pinched and chaſed by the Bonitoes and other great fiſhes, then to auoyde the daunger, they preſently mount vp, and forſake the water, and betake themſelues to the benefite of their winges and make their flight, which commonly is not aboue fiue or ſixe ſcore, or there about, and then they are conſtrayned to fall downe into the water againe, and it is the Mariners opinion that they can fly no longer then their wings be wet. The fiſh it ſelfe is about the bigneſſe of a Mackrell or a great white Hearing, and much of that colour and making, with two large winges ſhaped of nature very cunningly, and with great delight to behold, in all the world much like to our Gentlewomens dutch Fans, that are made either of paper, or parchment, or ſilke, or other ſtuffe, which will with certaine pleights eaſily runne and fold themſelues together. One of theſe flying fiſhes was preſented to my L. Admirall by a fiſher man, and newly taken in his L. returne from Cadiz, and then I had good leaſure and opportunitie to view it.

The 18. day early in the morning wee tooke an Iriſh man, and he came directly from Cadiz, hauing beene there but the day before at twelue of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great ſtore of ſhipping at Cadiz, and with them xviii. or xix. gallies in a readineſſe, and that among thoſe ſhips there were diuers of the kings beſt: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongſt them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commanded alſo to giue his attendance.

The 20. of Iune being Sunday, we came before Cadiz very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Nauy had not loſt either by ſickneſſe or by any other maner of wayes ſixe men to my knowledge: as for the Dutch company, I am not able preciſely to ſay what happened there, for that they were no part of our charge to be looked vnto, but were a regiment entire of themſelues, and by themſelues to be prouided for, either for their diet, or for the preſeruation of their healths by phiſicke.

Thus then I ſay, being all in good plight and ſtrong, the 20. of Iune wee came to Cadiz, and there very earely in the morning preſented our ſelues before the Towne, ryding about a league or ſomething leſſe, from it. The ſea at that inſtant went maruelous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithſtanding, a Councell being called, our Lords Generall foorthwith attempted with all expedition to land ſome certaine companies of their men at the Weſt ſide of the Towne, by certaine long boats, light horſemen, pynneſſes, and barges made for the purpoſe, but could not compaſſe it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to ſinke one of their Barges, with ſome foure ſcore good ſouldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care, the men were all ſaued excepting viii. And therefore they were conſtrayned to put off their landing till an other more conuenient time.

That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire doue vpon the maine yard of the L. Admirals ſhip, and there ſhe ſate very quietly for the ſpace of 3. or 4. houres, being nothing diſmayed all that while, euery man gazed and looked much vpon her, and ſpake their minds and opinions, yet all concluding by no meanes to diſquiet her: I for my part, tooke it for a very good omen and boading, as in trueth (God be thanked) there fell out nothing in the end to the contrary. And as at our very firſt comming to Cadiz this chanced, ſo likewiſe on the very laſt day of our departing from the ſame towne, another Doue preſented her ſelfe in the ſelfe ſame order into the ſame ſhip, and preſently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to vs all, and did ſo ſtill keepe vs company, euen till our arriuall here in England.

We no ſooner preſented our ſelues, but preſently a goodly ſort of tall Spaniſh ſhips came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in ſuch good order, and ſo placed as all of them might well ſuccour each other, and therewithall kept themſelues very cloſe to their towne, the caſtle, and the forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there ſtill, and expecting our farther determination. All that day paſſed, being very rough and boyſterous, and litle or nothing could be done, more then that about the euening there paſſed ſome friendly and kinde ſalutations ſent one from the other in warlike maner, by diſcharging certain great peeces, but to my knowledge no hurt done at all, or elſe very litle.

A carefull and diligent watch was had all that night thorough out the whole armie, and on monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and fauourable, betweene fiue and ſixe of the clocke in the morning, our ſhips in the name of almightie God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any farther delay, with all ſpeed, courage, and alacritie, did ſet vpon the Spaniſh ſhips, being then vnder ſayle, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, vp toward Puente de Suaço on Granada ſide, being in number lix. tall ſhips, with xix. or xx. Gallies attending vpon them, ſorted in ſuch good order, and reaſonable diſtance as they might ſtill annoy vs, and alwayes relieue themſelues interchangeably: hauing likewiſe the Caſtle, Forts, and Towne, continually to aſſiſt them and theirs, and alwayes readie to play vpon vs and ours.

In moſt mens opinions it ſeemed that the enemy had a wonderful aduantage of vs, all circumſtances being well weighed, but eſpecially the ſtraightneſſe of the place, and the naturall forme and ſituation of the Bay it ſelfe, being rightly conſidered. For albeit the very Bay it ſelfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, ſo that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is ſome vi. or vii. Engliſh miles ouer or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, ſhelues, ſands and ſhallowes in it, ſo that the very chanell & place for ſea roome, is not aboue 2. or 3. miles, yea and in ſome places, not ſo much, for the ſhips of any great burthen, to make way in, but that they muſt either be ſet on ground or elſe conſtrained to run fowle one on another. All this notwithſtanding, with great and inuincible courage, the Lords generall preſently ſet vpon them, and ſorting out ſome ſuch conuenient ſhips, as to their honorable wiſedomes ſeemed fitteſt for that times ſeruice, they were driuen to take ſome other courſe then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore vpon a graue conſultation had by a ſelect Counſell, what great dangers might enſue vpon ſo mightie a diſaduantage as appeared in all probabilitie, if it were not by good and ſound iudgement preuented, & therwithall in their ſingular wiſedomes foreſeeing that ſome great ſtratageme might be practiſed by the enemy, either by fire-worke, or ſome other ſubtill politike deuiſe, for the hazarding of her Maieſties ſhips of honor in ſo narrow a place, thus with al expedition they concluded that the Vice-admirall, the L. Thomas Howard, that moſt noble L. Howard (whoſe exceeding great magnanimity, courage, & wiſedome, ioyned with ſuch an honorable kind of ſweet courteſie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me & my weakenes to be expreſſed, hath wonne him all the faithfull louing hearts of as many as euer haue had any maner of dealing with him) This L. Thomas, I ſay, in yͤ Non Pareille for that time, & the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh (a man of maruelous great worth & regard, for many his exceeding ſingular great vertues, right fortitude & great reſolutenes in all matters of importance) in the Warſpight aſſociated with diuers moſt famous worthy knights, namely, Sir Francis Vere the L. Marſhall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary M. of the Ordinance, in the Mary roſe, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon, gentlemen for all laudable good vertues, and for perfect courage & diſcretion in all military actions, of as great praiſe & good deſert as any gentlemen of their degree whoſoeuer, hauing with them ſome of yͤ ſhips of London, and ſome of the Dutch ſquadron of reaſonable burthen, ſhould leade the dance, & giue the onſet, and that the two moſt noble Lords generall with ſome others of their companies, ſhould in their conuenient time & order, ſecond the maine battell. The fight being begunne and growen very hot, the L. Generall the Earle of Eſſex, (whoſe infinite princely vertues, with triumphant fame, deſerue to be immortalized) being on Port S. Mary ſide, vpon a ſudden & vnlooked for of others, thruſt himſelfe among the formoſt into the maine battell. The other moſt honorable L. Generall (whoſe ſingular vertues in all reſpects are of ſuch an excellencie & perfection, as neither can my praiſe in any part increaſe them, nor any mans enuy any whit blemiſh or diminiſh thẽ) vnderſtanding, the moſt noble Earle to be in fight among them, & perceiuing by the M. of his ſhip, the Arke royall, that for lacke of water, it was not poſſible, that he might put any neerer, without farther delay, called preſently for his Pynneſſe, and in the ſame Pynneſſe put himſelfe, and his honorable ſon L. William Howard that now is, aboord the Honor de la mer, & there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible, and moſt hideous to the beholder by the continuall diſcharging of thoſe roaring thundering great peeces, on all ſides, and ſo continued doubtful till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all moſt fancie vnto, began to yeeld and giue ouer, her men that remained aliue ſhifting for themſelues as they were able, and ſwimming and running a ſhoare with all the haſt that they could poſſibly, & therewithall, at the very ſame inſtant themſelues fired their ſhip, and ſo left her, & preſently thereupon a great Argoſie, with an other mighty great ſhip, fired themſelues in yͤ like maner. Immediatly hereupon, the reſidue of the ſhips, ran themſelues on ground, as farre from vs as they could, and therby purchaſed their owne ſafety, or rather breathing ſpace for the time. Of them all two faire ſhips only were boorded and taken by our men with moſt part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthy, a ſhip by eſtimation of ſome xii. hundred tunne, and the other S. Andrew, being a ſhip of not much leſſer burthen. The Gallies, ſeeing this ſuddaine great victorious ouerthrow, made all the haſt they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there ſhrowded themſelues in ſuch ſort as our ſhippes could not by any meanes poſſible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The Spaniſh ſhips in all were lix. & as is ſayd, all tall ſhips & very richly furniſhed and well appointed, whereof ſome of them were bound for the Indies, and other fraighted and furniſhed for Lisbon, as themſelues affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, (which for my part, I do not attribute ſo much vnto meere chance, as to ſome ſecret deepe inſight and foreknowledge of the two moſt worthy Lords generall, who no doubt ſpared for no coſt or labour for true intelligence) we had certainely miſt of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches theſe ſhips were, that I leaue to other mens iudgement and report, but ſure I am, that themſelues offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords Generall, and ſhould haue beene receiued, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter ſhall be more at large declared.

What maner of fight this was, & with what courage performed, and with what terror to the beholder continued, where ſo many thundering tearing peeces were for ſo long a time diſcharged, I leaue it to the Reader to thinke & imagine. Yet ſuch was the great mercy & goodnes of our liuing God, that in all this cruell terrible fight, in the end, there were not either ſlaine or hurt by any maner of meanes (excepting one miſchance that happened, whereof I will by & by make mention) many aboue the number of 100. of our men: notwithſtanding diuers of our ſhippes were many times ſhot thorow and thorow: yea and ſome of them no leſſe then two and twentie times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Maſters themſelues. I knowe not of any other hurt done, ſauing onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes ſhewed himſelfe a moſt valiant reſolute knight in all this action, making a litle too much haſte with his Pinneſſe to boord the Philip, had there his ſaid Pinneſſe burnt with the Philip at the ſame inſtant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were ſaued.

One other miſchance (as I ſaid) there happened, and it was thus: One of the Flemings flieboats, who had, in all the conflict before, caried himſelfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued ſharpeſt, chanced by great negligence and miſfortune, to be fired and blowen vp by his owne powder, who could not haue any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all ſuppoſall, and ſo in the very twinckling of an eye, both ſhippe and men were all caſt away, excepting vii. or viii. which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of ſome of the other ſhips were ſaued.

Immediatly vpon this notable victory without any farther ſtay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle of Eſſex put to ſhore, and landed about 3000. ſhot, & pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was preſently diſpatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, vnder the conduct of three moſt famous worthy knights, Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, & Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the moſt noble Earle of Eſſex himſelfe, being accompanied with diuers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Suſſex, the Lord Harbert, the Lord Burk, Count Lodouick of Naſſaw, the Lord Marſhall Sir Francis Vere, with many other worthy Knights, and men of great regard, who all in that dayes ſeruice did moſt valiantly behaue themſelues, with all expedition poſſible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three Engliſh miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint, and the way was all of dry deepe ſlyding ſand in a manner, and beſide that, very vneuen, and by that meanes ſo tireſome and painefull as might be. The enemie hauing reaſonable companie both of horſe and footemen, ſtoode in a readineſſe ſome good diſtance without the towne to welcome vs, and to encounter the Lorde Generall. But the moſt famous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching, haſtened on them with ſuch vnſpeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres ſpace and leſſe, the horſemen were all diſcomfited and put to flight, their leader being ſtrooken downe at the very firſt encounter, whereat the footemen being wonderfully diſmayed and aſtoniſhed at the vnexpected manner of the Engliſhmens kinde of ſuch fierce and reſolute fight, retyred themſelues with all the ſpeede poſſible that they could, to recouer themſelues into the Towne againe, which being done by them, with farre ſwifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforced to ſkale the walles: which thing in very deede, although it was not without great danger and difficulty to be perfourmed: Yet ſuch was the inuincible reſolution, and the wonderfull dexterity of the Engliſh, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemie was repulſed, and the towne wall poſſeſſed, by the noble Earle himſelfe, being in all this action, either the very firſt man or els in a maner ioined with the firſt.

The towne walles being then poſſeſſed, and the Engliſh Enſigne being there diſplayed vpon them, with all ſpeede poſſible they proceeded on to march through the towne, making ſtill their waie with ſworde and ſhot ſo well as they could, being ſtill fought withall at euery turne.

Immediately vpon this moſt famous entrie, the noble Earle, (according to their reſolutions, as I take it, put downe before) was ſeconded by the noble L. Admirall in perſon, who was accompanied, with the noble L. Thomas Howard, the moſt worthy gentleman his ſonne, now L. Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Leuiſon, and with diuers other gentlemen, his L. followers of good account: his colours being aduanced by that valiant reſolute gentleman, (a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts, of good learning and vnderſtanding) S. Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewiſe marching with al poſſible ſpeede on foote, notwithſtanding his L. many yeres, the intolerable heate for the time, and the ouertiring tedious deepe ſands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, ioyned himſelfe with the Earle and his companies, and gaue them the ſtrongeſt, and beſt aſſiſtance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being ioyned together, and proceeding ſo farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous knight Sir Iohn Winkfield, being ſore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entry of the towne, and yet for all that no whit reſpecting himſelfe, being caried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the ſhot of a muſket in the head moſt vnfortunately ſlaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were theſe two moſt noble Lords General, Maſters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Caſtle as yet holding out, & from time to time as they could, ſtill annoying them with ſeuen battering pieces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kind of peace or intermiſſion was obtained by them of the Caſtle: to whome the Lords Generall had ſignified: that vnleſſe before the next day in the morning they would abſolutely render themſelues, they ſhould looke for no mercy, but ſhould euery one be put to the ſword: vpon which meſſage they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day they hanged out their flag of truce, and ſo without any further compoſition did yeeld themſelues abſolutely to their mercy, and deliuered vp the Caſtle.

And yet notwithſtanding all this, in the night time while they had this reſpite to pauſe, and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were diuers great and ſuddaine alarms giuen: which did breed ſome great outrages and diſorder in the towne. At euery which alarme, the two Lordes Generall ſhewed themſelues maruelous ready & forward, inſomuch that at the very firſt alarme, ſkant wel furniſhed with any more defence then their ſhirts, hoſe, and dublets, & thoſe too altogether in a maner vntied, they were abroad in the ſtreetes themſelues, to ſee the vttermoſt of it. But for that it is not as yet very well knowen (or at the leaſt not well knowen vnto me) either wherfore, or by whom theſe alarmes were attempted: I am therefore to intreat, that a bare report, that ſuch a thing was done, may ſuffice.

Theſe things being done, and this ſurrender being made, preſent proclamation was publiſhed, that the fury now being paſt, all men ſhould ſurceaſe from all maner of blood and cruell dealing, and that there ſhould no kind of violence or hard vſage be offered to any, either man, woman or child, vpon paine of death: And ſo permitting the ſpoyle of ſo much of the towne as was by them thought meete, to the common ſouldiers for ſome certaine dayes, they were continually in counſell about other graue directions, beſt knowen to their honorable wiſedomes.

This honorable and mercifull Edict I am ſure was ſtreightly and religiouſly obſerued of the Engliſh: But how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will nether affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceiue betweene them and the Spaniards there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as ſoone as the Dutch ſquadron was eſpied in the fight, immediatly thereupon both they of Siuil and S. Lucar and alſo ſome of ſome other places did not onely arreſt all ſuch Dutch ſhips, as delt with them friendly by the way of traffick & Marchandiſe, and ſo confiſcated their goods, but alſo impriſoned the Marchants and Owners of the ſame, and, as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while the very next day being the two and twenty day of Iune, all the Spaniſh ſhippes which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great ouerthrowe had beene but the day before, were by the Spaniards themſelues there ſet on fire, and ſo from that time forward they neuer left burning of them, till euery one of them, goods and all, as farre as wee know were burnt and conſumed. This their doing was much maruelled at of vs, and ſo much the more, for that, as I ſayd before, there had bene made ſome offer for the redemption and ſauing of the goods, and it was not to them vnknowen that this their offer was not miſliked, but in all probabilitie ſhould haue bene accepted. The common opinion was, that this was done either by the appointment of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, or els by expreſſe commandement from the higher powers.

Not long after the ſame time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were runne on ground, did quitte themſelues alſo out of that place, and by the bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the ſame Iland, and ſo by putting themſelues to the maine ſea, eſcaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but ſomething vp towards the Towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchaſed their ſafety by that meanes.

Thus was this notable victorie, as well by ſea as by land, both begunne and in effect performed, within the compaſſe, in a maner, of fourteene houres: A thing in trueth ſo ſtrange and admirable, as in my iudgement will rather bee wondered at then beleeued of poſteritie. And if euer any notable exploit in any age was comparable to Cæſars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainely in my poore opinion it was this.

Here it is to be wiſhed (and perchance of ſome too it is looked for) that euery mans particular worthy acte in this dayes ſeruice, with the parties names alſo, ſhould be put downe, that thereby both they and their good deſerts might be regiſtred to all poſteritie: and for my part I would it were ſo, and wiſh I were able to doe it. But for that I confeſſe it is a matter that paſſeth my power, yea, and for that I thinke it alſo a thing impoſſible to be preciſely performed by any other, I am to craue pardon for that I rather leaue it out altogether, then preſume to doe it maymedly: and in this point I referre the Reader onely to the Mappe that is ſet foorth of this iourney, where it is in ſome parte conueniently touched and ſpecified.

The Towne of it ſelfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Biſhop there, and hauing a goodly Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine College of the Ieſuites, and was by naturall ſituation, as alſo by very good fortification, very ſtrong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better iudgement. Their building was all of a kind of hard ſtone, euen from the very foundation to the top, and euery houſe was in a manner a kind of a fort or Caſtle, altogether flat-roofed in the toppe, after the Turkiſh manner, ſo that many men together, and that at eaſe, might walke theron: hauing vpon the houſe top, great heapes of weighty ſtoanes piled vp in ſuch good order, as they were ready to be throwen downe by euery woman moſt eaſily vpon ſuch as paſſed by, and the ſtreetes for the moſt part ſo exceeding narrow, (I thinke to auoide the intolerable great heat of the Sunne) as but two men or three at the moſt together, can in any reaſonable ſorte march thorough them, no ſtreete being broader commonly then I ſuppoſe Watlingſtreete in London to be.

The towne is altogether without glaſſe, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of iron to them, and haue very large folding leaues of wainſcot, or the like. It hath very fewe Chimnies in it, or almoſt none at all: it may be ſome one chimney in ſome one or other of the lower out roomes of leſt account, ſeruing for ſome neceſſary vſes, either to waſh in, or the like, or els nowe and then perchance for the dreſſing of a diſh of meate, hauing, as it ſhould ſeeme vnto me, alwayes a greater care and reſpect how to keepe themſelues from all kind of great heat, then how to prouide for any ſtore of great roſte. It had in it by report of them that ſhould beſt know it, ſome foure thouſand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and ſixe hundred horſemen at the leaſt. No queſtion but that they were well furniſhed of all things appertaining thereunto, eſpecially ſo many good ſhips lying there, and being ſo well ſtored with all manner of munition, ſhot, and powder, as they were.

Whether they had knowledge of our comming or no, I can ſay nothing to it: Themſelues giue it out that they vnderſtood not of it, but onely by a Carauel the Friday at euening before we came. But whether they knew it or no, thus much I dare boldly affirme, that if the Engliſh had bene poſſeſſed of that or the like Towne, and had bene but halfe ſo well prouided as they were, they would haue defended it for one two moneths at the leaſt, againſt any power whatſoeuer in al Chriſtendome. But ſurely GOD is a mighty GOD, and hath a wonderfull ſecret ſtroke in all matters, eſpecially of weight and moment. Whether their hearts were killed at the mighty ouerthrow by ſea, or whether they were amaſed at the inuincible courage of the Engliſh, which was more then ordinary, caring no more for either ſmall ſhot or great, then in a maner for ſo many haileſtones, or whether the remorſe of a guilty conſcience toward the Engliſh nation, for their diſhonorable and diueliſh practiſes, againſt her Sacred Maieſtie, and the Realme, (a matter that eaſily begetteth a faint heart in a guilty minde) or what other thing there was in it I know not, but be it ſpoken to their perpetuall ſhame and infamie, there was neuer thing more reſolutely perfourmed of the couragious Engliſh, nor more ſhamefully loſt of the bragging Spaniard.

Of what wealth this towne ſhould be, I am not able to reſolue the aſker: for I confeſſe that for mine owne part, I had not ſo much good lucke, as to be partaker ſo much as of one pennie, or penny worth. Howbeit my ill fortune maketh that towne neuer a whit the poorer. But as it ſhould appeare by the great pillage by the common ſouldiers, and ſome mariners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baſer people, and thereby vtterly loſt and ſpoyled, as not woorth the carying away, and by the ouer great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Oliues, Raiſins, Spices, and other rich grocery wares, that by the intemperate diſorder of ſome of the raſher ſort were knockt out, and lay trampled vnder feete, in euery common high way, it ſhould appeare that it was of ſome very mighty great wealth to the firſt owners, though perchance, not of any ſuch great commoditie to the laſt ſubduers, for that I iudge that the better part was moſt ryotouſly and intemperately ſpent and conſumed. A diſorder in mine opinion very much to be lamented, and if it might be by any good meanes remedied, in my conceit, it were a moſt honourable deuice.

The Wedneſday, Thurſday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall ſpent in counſell, about the diſpoſing of all matters, aſwell touching the towne and priſoners, as alſo concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wiſedomes, and in all that meane while did ſhew ſuch honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expreſſed. For not onely the liues of euery one were ſpared, but alſo there was an eſpecial care had, that al the Religious, as wel men as women, ſhould be well and fauourably intreated, whom freely without any maner of ranſome or other moleſtation, they cauſed to be ſafely tranſported ouer to Port Saint Marie, a towne in a manner as fayre as Cadiz: but at that time, as the caſe did ſtand, certainely knowen to be of no wealth in the world, and it was ſome ſixe or ſeuen miles diſtant ouer againſt Cadiz, in a maner as Paules is againſt Southwarke, on the other ſide of the Bay, in a part of Andaluzia, ſubiect to the territory of the Duke de Medina Sidonia.

Moreouer, at the ſame inſtant they did appoint that worthy knight Sir Amias Preſton, and ſome others in ſome conuenient Barkes, to tranſport ouer to the ſayd Towne ſafely and in good order, a hundred or moe of the better ſort of ancient gentlewomen, and marchants wiues, who were ſuffered to put vpon themſelues, ſome of them two, yea, ſome three ſutes of apparell, with ſome conuenient quantitie of many Iewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their eſtate and degree. Such was the heroicall liberality, and exceeding great clemencie, of thoſe moſt honourable Lords Generall, thereby, as it ſhould ſeeme vnto mee, beating downe that falſe ſurmiſed opinion, which hath bene hitherto commonly ſpread abroad, and ſetled among the Spaniards: which is, That the Engliſh doe trouble them and their countries, more for their golde, riches and pearle &c. then for any other iuſt occaſion. Whereas by theſe their honourable dealings it is manifeſt to all the world, that it is onely in reſpect of a iuſt reuenge for the manifold iniuries, and moſt diſhonourable practiſes that haue beene from time to time attempted by them againſt vs and our natiō, and alſo in the defence of the true honour of England: which they haue ſought, and daylie doe ſeeke, by ſo many ſiniſter and reprochfull deuices, ſo much as in them lieth, to deface.

Vpon Saturday being the 26. Sir John Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, ſo farre foorth as the circumſtances of that time and place could permit. At whoſe funerals the Nauie diſcharged a great part of their Ordinance, in ſuch order, as was thought meete and conuenient by the Lords Generals commandement.

The twenty ſeuenth day being Sunday, in the Abbey the diuine ſeruice was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Maſter Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Eſſex his Preacher, a man of good learning and ſweete vtterance, and euen there the ſame day, ſomething before the ſermon was made, theſe worthie Gentlemen following were knighted by the Lords General. And here I am to ſignifie by the way that two of theſe were knighted three or foure dayes before, and ſome three or foure moe were knighted after that time, vpon certaine occaſions: but yet I holde it beſt (and I truſt without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

The names of ſuch noble men and gentlemen, as were knighted at *Cadiz* in Iune 1596 by the two moſt honourable *Lordes Generall.*

June 21.22. SIr Samuel Bagnol.
Sir Arthur Sauage.
27. The Earle of Suſſex.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Burk.
Count Lodowick.
Sir William Howard.
Sir George D'Eureux.
Sir Henry Neuel.
Sir Edmund Rich.
Sir Richard Leuen.
Sir Peter Egomort.
Sir Anthonie Aſhley.
Sir Henry Leonard.
Sir Richard Leuiſon.
Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Arthur Throckmorton.
Sir Miles Corbet.
Sir Edward Conway.
Sir Oliuer Lambert.
Sir Anthony Cooke.
Sir Iohn Towneſend.
Sir Chriſtopher Heydon.
Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Philip Woodhouſe.
Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir Maurice Barkley.
Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Gifford.
Sir Robert Croſſe.
Sir Iames Eſcudamor.
Sir Vrias Leigh.
Sir Iohn Leigh, *alias* Lee.
Sir Richard Weſton.
Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir Iames Wootton.
Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Robert Mansfield.
Sir William Mounſon.
Sir Iohn Bowles.
Sir Edward Bowes.
Sir Humfrey Druel.
Sir Amias Preſton.
Sir Robert Remington.
Sir Iohn Buck.
Sir Iohn Morgan.
Sir Iohn Aldridg.
Sir Iohn Aſſhindon.
Sir Matthew Browne.
Sir Iohn Acton.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gilly Mericke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir William Pooley.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir Iohn Stafford.
Sir Robert Louel.
Sir Iohn Gylbert.
Sir William Haruie.
Sir Iohn Gray.
Don Chriſt. prince of Portingal.
Sir Iohn Vanderfoord, Admirall of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudley. 8. Auguſt.

I am not curious in placing theſe gentlemen, but put them downe at a venture. Only I haue obſerued, as neere as I could, the iuſt day and time when they were created. And I truſt where the place of it ſelfe is ſo worthy and equall, there the bare naming and placing of the parties, ſhal breede no offence, or make a diſparity. The two gentlemen that were laſt knighted receiued their knighthood in the way of our returne from Cadiz: the one of them vpon the ſea, not farre from the Bay of the Groyne, at what time our ſhips ſtood vpon their ſtaies for a ſpace, while certaine Pinnaſſes were ſent to deſcrie what ſhipping was at the Groine: The other at Plimmouth in the open ſtreete, when the Lords Generall came from the Sermon. The one a man of long ſeruice, and good deſert among the Dutch: the other of ſo many good parts of a worthy gentleman, as the like are ſeldome ſeene to concurre in any.

I ſpake in ẏ beginning of her Maieſties praier, which I preſumed (though vnworthy) to tranſlate into Latine: and nowe at this very time, there was ſome opportunity offered, for to make ſome vſe of that tranſlation. For nowe being in Cadiz, attending vpon my moſt honourable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, ſuch as I found learned, whereof indeed there were ſome, though not very many. I talked alſo with the Biſhop of Cuſco there, a graue aged comely man, and being of late choſen to that Biſhopricke, he was as then to haue gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him priſoner, and ſo ſtayed his iourney for that time. With theſe men euer as occaſion did ſerue, I did ſeeke nowe and then to ſpende ſome ſpeech, and to entertaine time withall, I would breake with them of this our victorie, and of the iniuries and bad dealings of their Prince and Countrey offered to her Maieſtie, whereby ſhee was prouoked, and in a manner drawen to this action: though otherwiſe of her own moſt excellent princely good nature, ſhe was altogether giuen to peace, and quietnes. And alwayes in ſome part of our conferences, I would ſhew them a copie of her Maieſties praier in Latine, which I had alwaies of purpoſe ready about me, wherby it might the better appeare vnto them, how vnwillingly, and vpō how great & vrgent occaſions her Maieſty was, as it were enforced to vndertake this action: and therewithall I did vſe now and then to beſtow vpon them a copy of the ſame in writing. They ſeemed in all outward ſhew to allow of my ſpeeches, and to praiſe her Maieſties good inclination, and earneſtly to wiſh that there might be a firme concord and peace againe.

It pleaſed the Lords general to deale exceeding fauourably with this ſaid Biſhop of Cusco: for it was their good pleaſure to giue him his free paſſage without any ranſome, and therewithal to let him to vnderſtand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or vnarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings & children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make ſuch a voyage for gold, ſiluer, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that their only comming was to meet with their diſhonorable practiſes, and manifold iniuries, & to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England: and to let them to vnderſtand, that whenſoeuer they attempted any baſe-conceited & diſhonorable practiſe to their ſoueraigne Queene, their Miſtreſſe, that it ſhould be reuenged to the vttermoſt, &c.

In this meane ſpace, while the Lords general continued at Cadiz, there came to them certain poore wretched Turks, to the number of 38, that had bin a long time gally-ſlaues, and either at the very time of the fight by ſea, or els immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their eſcape, and did ſwim to land: yeelding themſelues to the mercy of their moſt honorable Lordſhips. It pleaſed them with all ſpeed to apparel them, and to furniſh them with money, and all other neceſſaries, and to beſtow on them a barke, and a Pilot, to ſee them freely and ſafely conueied into Barbary, willing them to let the countrey vnderſtand what was done, and what they had ſeene. Whereby I doubt not, but as her Maieſty is a moſt admirable Prince already, ouer all Europe, all Africk, and Aſia, and throughout Chriſtendome: ſo the whole worlde hereafter ſhall haue iuſt cauſe to admire her infinite Princely vertues, and thereby bee prouoked to confeſſe, that as ſhe hath bin mightily protected from time to time, by the powerful hand of the almighty, ſo vndoubtedly, that ſhe is to be iudged and accounted of vs, to be his moſt ſacred handmaide, and choſen veſſel. And therefore, whatſoeuer wicked deſignement ſhalbe conſpired and plotted againſt her Maieſty hereafter, ſhalbe thought to be conſpired, plotted, and intended againſt the almighty himſelfe: and for that cauſe, as I truſt, ſhalbe by the infinite goodnes and mercy of that almighty, mightily fruſtrate and ouerthrowen.

The 28. day being Munday, the L. Admiral came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a ſpace, as indeed he did, and vpon the aduiſe of his Phiſition, to deale ſomething in phyſicke, for that his L. found his body ſomething out of frame. At that time it pleaſed his L. to write certain letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliuerance of Engliſh captiues, who were remaining in the gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the ſaide Duke was come downe in perſon with ſome power, and that he was either at Port S. Mary, or els at Rotta, or thereabout. His L. did endite the letters himſelfe, but his pleaſure was, they ſhould be turned into Latine by another: and ſo to be ſent (as indeed they were) in the latine tongue vnto the Duke.

A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia.*

Illuſtriſsimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILluſtriſſime Princeps, ex nonnullis quibuſdam Hiſpanis intelligimus, Excellentiam veſtram iam nunc eſſe apud portum *S. Maria*. Et quoniam in anno Domini 1588. id nobis tunc muneris aſſignatum erat à ſereniſs. noſtra Regina domina mea, vt contra vos, veſtrásq; copias, Ego ſolus pro eo tempore Generalis eſſem conſtitutus: Idcircò non opinamur vobis ignotum eſſe, quàm mite quoddam, & humanum bellandi genus, tum hîc iam in hoc ipſo tempore, aduerſus huius loci populum atq; incolas vſurpauerimus: tùm etiam ſæpiùs antehac quàm humaniter, benignéq; eos omnes tractauerimus, quos ex veſtris iure belli captiuos acceperimus. Ex quorum numero quàm multa millia, etiam gratìs, nullo accepto pretio, libertate donauerimus, id putamus omnibus eſſe teſtatius, quàm vt à quoquā denegetur. Quocirca, neq; vllo modo nobis in mentem venire poteſt, vt dubitemus, quin parem etiam in vobis humanitatem aduerſus noſtros captiuos ſimus reperturi. Cùm igitur nobis compertū iam ſit, habere vos in veſtris galeris, ex Reginæ noſtrę ſereniſſimæ Dominæ meæ ſubditis vnum & quinquaginta captiuos: non equidem dubitamus, quin eos omnes ſitis relaxaturi, & ad nos miſſuri: ea lege, ac conditione, vt totidem ex veſtris hîc captiuis eiuſdem loci atq; ordinis, melioris etiam fortaſſis notæ, ac conditionis, homuncios, ad vos viciſſim remittamus. Id quod nos facturos data fide ſpondemus, quàm primùm noſtros captiuos ex veſtris manibus acceperimus. Hac in re ſi noſtro deſiderio ac voluntati parùm ſatisfactum erit, aliud profectò tunc poſthac belli genus ingrediemur, aliúmq; bellandi morem cogemur, etiam inuiti, & contra voluntatem proſequi. Ex Regia Anglicana claſſe apud *Cadiz* vltimo Iunij, ſtilo antiquo. 1596. *Carolus Howard.*

These letters were ſent by a Spaniard, and an anſwere was brought from the Duke with al conuenient ſpeed, and as it ſhould ſeeme by the L. Admirals next anſwere returned to him in writing, which immediatly hereafter foloweth, the Duke de Medina Sidonia his letters were honorable, and with good regard.

A copie of my L. Admirals ſecond letter to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia.*

Illuſtriſſimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILluſtriſſime Princeps, literas ab excellentia veſtra hodiè accepimus: quæ verò noſtra ſit ad illas reſponſio, nobiles iſti viri, qui veſtras literas ad nos pertulerunt, pleniùs declarabunt. Hoc interim cupimus eſſe penitùs perſuaſum Excellentię veſtrę, nos ſedulò operam daturos, vt in omni honorificæ benignitatis humanitatíſq; genere, expectationi veſtræ omni ex parte reſpondeamus. Quòd ad Anglicos noſtros captiuos attinet, quos ab Excellentia veſtra huc ad nos craſtino die miſſum iri expectamus, in ea re pollicemur Excellentiæ veſtræ, quòd plenius à nobis veſtræ voluntati ſatisfactum erit: & quòd pro illis captiuis tales nos captiuos vobis remittemus, quales tũ ab ipſo Dom. *Mendoza*, tum ab alijs illuſtrib. viris, qui à Dom. *Porta Carero* in illorum ad nos fauorẽ mittebantur, communi cum conſenſu erant ab ipſis approbati. Si verò quis alius iam captiuus eſt vel poſthac futurus erit in noſtra poteſtate, pro cuius redemptione nondum plenè conuentum eſt & ſtipulatum de certo pretio perſoluendo: concedimus Excellentiæ veſtrę, vt in hoc etiã caſu vos, veſtro pro arbitrio, de illis quicquid velitis, imperetis. Ex Regia claſſe Anglicana, apud *Cadiz*, 3. die Iulij ſtylo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

The next day after, being the 4. of July, the LL. general cauſed the town of Cadiz to be ſet on fire, and raſed & defaced ſo much as they could, the faire cathedral Church, and the religious houſes only being ſpared, and left vnblemiſhed. And with the town al ſuch prouiſion for ſhipping, & other things, as were ſeruiceable for ẏ K. vſe, & yet were not either ſo conuenient for vs to be caried away, or els ſuch as we ſtood no whit at all in need of, were likewiſe at the ſame inſtant conſumed with fire. And preſently therupon, their Lordſhips, with as conuenient ſpeed as they could, and the whole army in ſuch good order and leiſure, as they thought beſt, came aboord.

The next day being the 5. of July, the LL. general with all the armie being vnder ſaile, & now making for England, & but as yet paſſing the very mouth of the bay of Cadiz, a galley ful of Engliſh priſoners, with a flag of truce, met vs frõ Rotta, ſent by the D. of Medina Sidonia, & ſent as it ſhould ſeeme, one day later then his promiſe: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not wel placed in the galley, or not wel diſcerned of our men, or by what other miſchance I know not: but thus it was: by one of our ſmalleſt ſhips ẏ ſailed formoſt, aſſoone as the ſaid galley came within gunſhot, there was a great peece diſcharged vpon her, & at that inſtant there was one man ſlaine outright, and 2. other grieuouſly hurt. The error being eſpied and perceiued, our ſhip gaue ouer immediatly from any farther ſhooting. Aſſoone as the galley came neere vs, my L. Admiral cauſed a gracious ſalutation to be ſounded with his trumpets, & willed the captains forthwith to come aboord his ſhip: which they did, and then he feaſted them with a very fine and honorable banket, as the time and place might ſerue. And then by them vnderſtanding of that vnfortunate miſchance that had hapned by the ſhot of the ſaid ſhip, he was very ſory for the ſame, and yet ſuch was the merciful prouidence of almighty God, that euen in this miſchance alſo, he did hold his holy hand ouer the Engliſh. And al the harme that was done did light only vpon the poore Turk, and the Spaniard himſelfe. When this Lorde had well banqueted them, hee preſently called for his barge, and did accompany the ſaid galley to the Lorde general the Earle of Eſſex, who then did ride with his ſhip a good diſtance off: and there they being in like maner moſt honorably receiued, and intertained, the Spaniſh gentlemẽ deliuered vp their priſoners the Engliſh captiues, of whõ ſome had bin there 6 yere, ſome 8, or ten: yea, and ſome 22. yeere, and vpward, and ſome of them but lately taken in S. Francis Drakes laſt voiage to the Indies. The number of the priſoners deliuered were but 39. and no mo, and were brought in, and deliuered by Don Antonio de Corolla and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cordua, and certaine others. If you demaund why, of one and fiftie Captiues, there were no moe deliuered then was, I preſuppoſe, (and I thinke it true to) that at that time the reſidue were farther off in ſome remote places of Spaine beſtowed, and ſo by that meanes, not able at this time to bee in a readineſſe, but yet like

enough

oug that there is ſome good order taken for them hereafter, to be redeemed, and ſent ouer in-o England.

If any man preſume here ſo farre, as to enquire how it chanced, that the Lords generall reſted ſo long at Cadiz, and went no farther, and why Port S. Mary being ſo faire a towne, and ſo neere to them, was forborne: and why Sheres *aliâs* Xeres? And why Rotta and the like: And why this or that was done: And why that or this left vndone: I will not anſwere him with our common Engliſh prouerbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aſke moe queſtions in one houre, then ten diſcrete men can wel anſwere in fiue dayes.

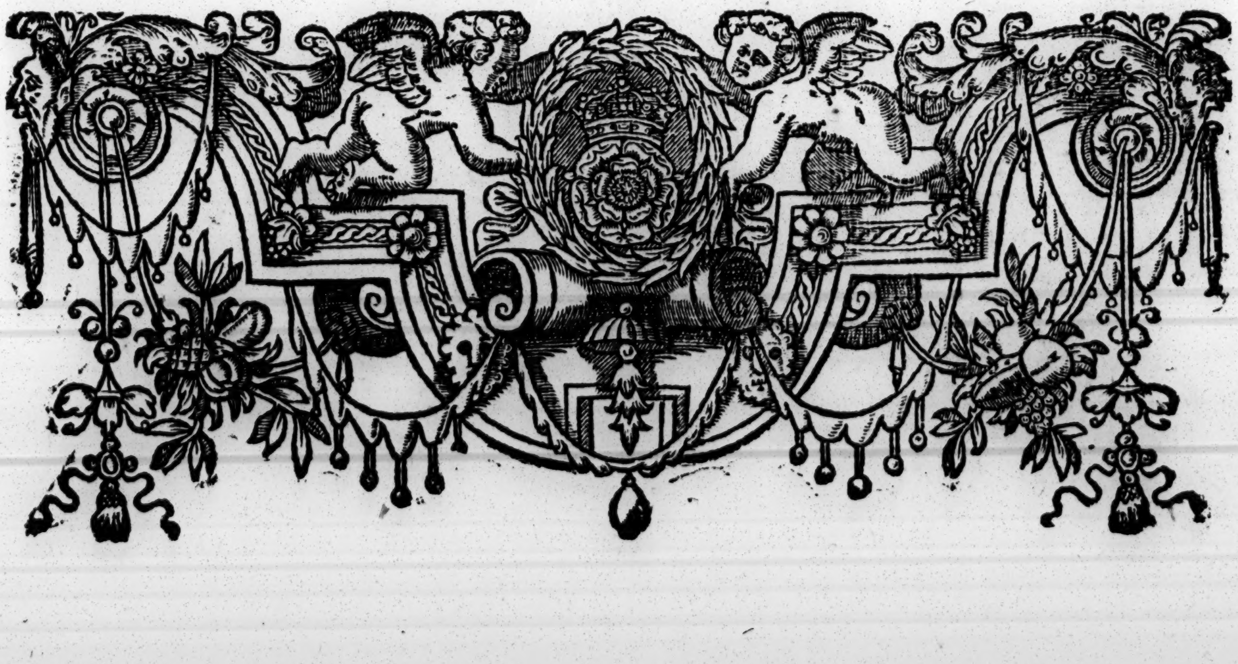
But that graue auncient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wiſe, briefe, pithy ſaying, and it is this: Nemo tentauit inquirere in columnas *Herculis*, ſanctiúſq; ac reuerentius habitum eſt de factis Deorum credere, quàm ſcire. Which ſaying, in my fancy, fitteth marueilous well for this purpoſe: and ſo much the rather, for that this Cadiz is that very place, (at leaſt by the common opinion) where thoſe ſaid pillers of Hercules were thought to be placed: and, as ſome ſay, remaine as yet not farre off to be ſeene. But to let that paſſe, the ſaying beareth this diſcrete meaning in it, albeit in a prety kind of myſtical maner vttered: That it befitteth not inferiour perſons to be curious, or too inquiſitiue after Princes actions, neither yet to be ſo ſawcy and ſo malapert, as to ſeeke to diue into their ſecrets, but rather alwayes to haue a right reuerend conceite and opinion of them, and their doings: and theron ſo reſting our inward thoughts, to ſeek to go no further, but ſo to remaine ready alwaies to arme our ſelues with dutiful minds, and willing obedience, to perform and put in execution that which in their deepe inſight and heroicall deſignements, they ſhall for our good, and the care of the common wealth determine vpon.

This, and much leſſe to, might ſuffice to ſatiſfie any honeſt minded man. But yet if any will needs deſire to be a little farther ſatiſfied, albeit it neede not, yet then, thus much I dare ſay and affirme, that vpon my knowledge, the chiefeſt cauſe why Port Saint Mary, and the reſt were left vntouched, was this: For that it was moſt certainly knowen, that they were townes not woorth the ſaluting of ſuch a royal companie, in which there was no maner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houſes of ſtone, and ſtanding walles, and might well haue ſerued rather as a ſtale, perchance, to haue entrapped, then as a meanes to haue enriched. And it had bin more then a ſuſpition of follie, for ſuch an army as this, to haue ſought to fight with the aire, and to haue laboured with great paine and charges, yea, and with ſome euident danger too, to haue ouerthrowen that, which could very litle or nothing haue profited, being deſtroyed: and yet nowe, can doe as little harme being left, as it is, vntouched.

And thus much for our iourney to Cadiz: for the accidents that happened by the way, for the winning, ſpoiling, and burning of the ſaid towne, for the ouerthrowe of the Spaniſh Fleet there, and for al other by-matters that happened, as appendances to the ſame, both in the time of our abode there, as alſo at the very laſt houre of our comming from thence.

As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portingal by the way, with the taking, ſpoyling, and burning of the towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spaniſh confines therabouts, &c. I minde to leaue it to ſome other, whoſe chance was to be preſent at the action, as my ſelfe was not, and ſhalbe of more ſufficient ability to performe it.

The end of the first volume.



THE
SECOND VOLVME
OF THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFfiques and Diſcoueries of the *Engliſh Nation*, made by

Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-eaſt parts of the
World, at any time within the compaſſe of theſe 1600. yeres:
Diuided into two ſeuerall parts:

Whereof the firſt containeth the perſonall trauels, &c.
of the *Engliſh*, through and within the Streight of *Gibraltar*, to *Alger*,
Tunis, and *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, to *Alexandria* and *Cairo* in *AEgypt*, to the Iſles
of *Sicilia*, *Zante*, *Candia*, *Rhodus*, *Cyprus*, and *Chio*, to the Citie of *Conſtantinople*, to diuers parts
of *Aſia minor*, to *Syria* and *Armenia*, to *Ieruſalem*, and other places in *Iudæa*; As alſo to *Arabia*,
downe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, to *Babylon* and *Balſara*, and ſo through the *Perſian*
gulph to *Ormuz*, *Chaul*, *Goa*, and to many Iſlands adioyning vpon the
South parts of *Aſia*; And likewiſe from *Goa* to *Cambaia*, and to all the
dominions of *Zelabdim Echebar* the great *Mogor*, to the mighty
Riuer of *Ganges*, to *Bengala*, *Aracan*, *Bacola*, and *Chonderi*,
to *Pegu*, to *Iamahai* in the kingdome of *Siam*,
and almoſt to the very frontiers
of *China*.

The ſecond comprehendeth the Voyages, Trafficks, &c.
of the *Engliſh Nation*, made without the Streight of *Gibraltar*,
to the Iſlands of the *Açores*, of *Porto Santo*, *Madera*, and the *Canaries*,
to the kingdomes of *Barbary*, to the Iſles of *Capo Verde*, to the Riuers of *Senega*, *Gambra*,
Madrabumba, and *Sierra Leona*, to the coaſt of *Guinea* and *Benin*, to the Iſles
of *S. Thomé* and *Santa Helena*, to the parts about the Cape of *Buona Eſperanza*,
to *Quitangone* neere *Mozambique*, to the Iſles of *Comoro* and
Zanzibar, to the citie of *Goa*, beyond *Cape Comori*, to the Iſles
of *Nicubar*, *Gomes Polo*, and *Pulo Pinaom*, to the
maine land of *Malacca*, and to the kingdome
of *Iunſalaon*.

¶ By RICHARD HACKLVYT Preacher, and ſometime Student
of Chriſt-Church in Oxford.

Imprinted at London by *George Biſhop*,
Ralph Newbery, and *Robert Barker*.
ANNO 1599.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE Sir *Robert Cecil* Knight, principall Secretarie to her Maieſtie, maſter of the Court of Wardes and Liueries, and one of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſell.

RIght honorable hauing newly finiſhed a Trea*tiſe of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the* Leuant *within the Streight of* Gibraltar, *& from thence ouer-land to the South and Southeaſt parts of the world, all circumſtances conſidered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee preſented then to your ſelfe: wherein hauing begun at the higheſt Antiquities of this realme vnder the gouernment of the* Romans; *next vnder the Saxons; and thirdly ſince the conqueſt vnder the* Normans, *I haue continued the hiſtories vnto theſe our dayes. The time of the* Romans *affoordeth ſmall matter. But after that they were called hence by forren inuaſions of their Empire, and the* Saxons *by degrees became lords in this Iland, and ſhortly after receiued the Chriſtian faith, they did not onely trauell to* Rome, *but paſſed further vnto* Ieruſalem, *and therewith not contented,* Sigelmus *biſhop of* Shireburne *in* Dorcetſhire *caried the almes of king* Alfred *euen to the Sepulcher of* S. Thomas *in* India, *(which place at this day is called* Maliapor) *and brought from thence moſt fragrant ſpices, and rich iewels into* England: *which iewels, as* William *of* Malmesburie *in two ſundry treatiſes writeth, were remaining in the aforeſayd Cathedrall Church to be ſeene euen in his time. And this moſt memorable voyage into* India *is not onely mentioned by the aforeſayd* Malmesburie, *but alſo by* Florentius Wigornienſis, *a graue and woorthy Author which liued before him, and by many others ſince, and euen by M.* Foxe *in his firſt volume of his* Acts *and* Monuments *in the life of king* Alfred. *To omit diuers other of the* Saxon *nation, the trauels of* Alured *biſhop of* Worceſter *through* Hungarie *to* Conſtantinople, *and ſo by* Aſia *the leſſe into* Phœnicia *and* Syria, *and the like courſe of* Ingulphus, *not long afterward Abbot of* Croiland, *ſet downe particularly by himſelfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the* Normans, *in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of* William Rufus, *and ſo downward for the ſpace of aboue 300 yeeres, ſuch was the ardent deſire of our nation to viſite the Holy land, and to expell the* Saracens *and* Mahumetans, *that not onely great numbers of Erles, Biſhops, Barons, and Knights, but euen Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible deuotion, courage and alacritie intruded themſelues into this glorious expedition. A ſufficient proofe hereof are the voiages of prince* Edgar *the nephew of* Edmund Ironſide, *of* Robert Curtois *brother of* William Rufus, *the great beneuolence of king* Henry *the 2. and his vowe to haue gone in perſon to the ſuccour of* Ieruſalem, *the perſonall going into* Paleſtina *of his ſonne king* Richard *the firſt, with the chiualrie, wealth, and ſhipping of this realme; the large contribution of king* Iohn, *and the trauels of* Oliuer Fitz-Roy *his ſonne, as is ſuppoſed, with* Ranulph Glanuile *Erle of* Cheſter to the ſiege of Damiata in Ægypt: the proſperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of prince Edward, the firſt king of the Norman race of that name; the iourney of Henry Erle of Derbie, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4 againſt the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ſhips and gallies to go himſelfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the ſudden bene preuented by death; the trauel of Iohn of Holland brother by the mothers ſide to king Richard the 2 into thoſe parts. All theſe, either Kings, Kings ſonnes, or Kings brothers, expoſed themſelues with inuincible courages to the manifeſt hazard of their perſons, liues, and liuings, leauing their eaſe, their countries, wiues and children, induced with a zelous deuotion and ardent deſire to protect and dilate the Chriſtian faith. Theſe memorable enterpriſes in part concealed, in part ſcattered, and for the moſt part vnlooked after, I haue brought together in the beſt Method and breuitie that I could deuiſe. Whereunto I haue annexed the loſſe of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French, yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the Engliſh natiō, as of any other Chriſtians that ſerued in that moſt violent ſiege. After which enſueth the princely promiſe of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, againſt Solyman the mortall enemie of Chriſtendome. Theſe and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chiualry, I haue in the firſt place expoſed and ſet foorth to the view of this age, with the ſame intention that the old Romans ſet vp in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy anceſtors; whereof Saluſt in his treatiſe of the warre of Iugurtha, writeth in this maner: Sæpe audiui ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea ciuitatis noſtræ præclaros viros ſolitos ita dicere, cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementiſſimè animum ſibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neq; figuram, tantam vim in ſeſe habere, ſed memoria rerum geſtarum flammam eam egregijs viris in pectore creſcere, neq; prius ſedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquauerit. I haue often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to ſay, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their anceſtors, that they were moſt vehemently inflamed vnto vertue. Not that the ſayd wax or portraiture had any ſuch force at all in it ſelfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breaſts, and could neuer be quenched, vntill ſuch time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing haue I preſented to the noble courages of this Engliſh Monarchie, the like images of their famous predeceſſors, with hope of like effect in their poſteritie. And here by the way if any man ſhall think, that an vniuerſall peace with our Chriſtian neighbours will cut off the emploiment of the couragious increaſing youth of this realme, he is much deceiued. For there are other moſt conuenient emploiments for all the ſuperfluitie of euery profeſſion in this realme. For, not to meddle with the ſtate of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is vnder our noſes the great & ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee ſo ſweete and holeſome a climate, ſo rich and abundant in ſiluer mines, ſo apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can affoord, that the Spaniards themſelues in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris, and in a ſecret mappe of thoſe partes made in Mexico the yeere before for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the cuſtodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot) as alſo in their intercepted letters come vnto my hand, bearing date 1595. they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueua Spania it ſelfe. And on the other ſide their chiefeſt writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the moſt learned Venetian Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the reſt, acknowledge with one conſent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees

Northward to the latitude almoſt of Florida was firſt diſcouered out of England, by the commaundement of king Henry the ſeuenth, and the South part thereof before any other Chriſtian people of late hath bene planted with diuers Engliſh Colonies by the royal conſent of her ſacred Maieſtie vnder the broad ſeale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, aliue in the countrey. Which action, if vpon a good & godly peace obtained, it ſhal pleaſe the Almighty to ſtirre vp her Maieſties heart to continue with her fauourable countenance (as vpon the ceaſing of the warres of Granada, hee ſtirred vp the ſpirite of Iſabella Queene of Caſtile, to aduaunce the enterpriſe of Columbus) with tranſporting of one or two thouſand of her people, and ſuch others as vpon mine owne knowledge will moſt willingly at their owne charges become Aduenturers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; ſhe ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance, in ſhort ſpace, worke many great and vnlooked for effects, increaſe her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Chriſt. The neglecting hitherto of which laſt point our aduerſaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay vnto the charge of the profeſſors of the Goſpell. No ſooner ſhould we ſet footing in that pleaſant and good land, and erect one or two conuenient Fortes in the Continent, or in ſome Iland neere the maine, but euery ſtep we tread would yeeld vs new occaſion of action, which I wiſh the Gentrie of our nation rather to regard, then to follow thoſe ſoft vnprofitable pleaſures wherein they now too much conſume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeaſed, they are like to haue leſſe emploiment then nowe they haue, vnleſſe they bee occupied in this or ſome other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpoſe giue me leaue (I beſeech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and prouident cõſideration: that in the yere one thouſand fiue hundred eighty and ſeuen, when I had cauſed the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris, which by the malice of ſome too much affectioned to the Spaniſh faction, had bene aboue twentie yeeres ſuppreſſed, aſſoone as that booke came to the view of that reuerend and prudent Counſeller Monſieur Harlac the lord chiefe Iuſtice of France, and certaine other of the wiſeſt Iudges, in great choler they asked, who had done ſuch intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to haue concealed that woorthie worke ſo long? Proteſting further, that if their Kings and the Eſtate had throughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long ciuill warres, and the variable humours of all ſortes of people might haue had very ample and manifold occaſions of good and honeſt emploiment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the Weſt Indies. The application of which ſentence vnto our ſelues I here omit, haſtening vnto the ſummarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke. It may pleaſe your Honour therefore to vnderſtand, that the ſecond part of this firſt Treatiſe containeth our auncient trade and traffique with Engliſh ſhipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio, which by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to haue bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to haue continued vntill the yeere 1552. and ſomewhat longer. But ſhortly after (as it ſeemeth) it was intermitted, or rather giuen ouer (as is noted in maſter Gaſpar Campions diſcreet letters to maſter Michael Lock and maſter William Winter inſerted in this booke) firſt by occaſiõ of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Maunceſes or gouernours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the ſayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in Aprill, 1566. ſending thither Piali Baſha with foureſcore gallies for that purpoſe; and afterward by his growing ouer mightie and troubleſome in thoſe Seas, by the cruell inuaſion of Nicoſia and Famaguſta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Muſtapha Baſha. Which lamentable Tragedie I haue here againe reuiued, that the poſteritie may neuer forget what truſt may bee giuen to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath aduauntage and is in his choler.

Laſtly, I haue here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increaſing of our interrupted trade in all the Leuant, accompliſhed by the great charges and ſpeciall induſtrie of the worſhipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Maieſtie and the Grand Signior, with the great priuileges, immunities, and fauours obteyned of his imperiall Highneſſe in that behalfe, the admiſſions and reſidencies of our Ambaſſadours in his ſtately Porch, and the great good and Chriſtian offices which her Sacred Maieſtie by her extraordinary fauour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Chriſtian Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Hauens of Africa and Egypt: the ſearching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white ſea, euen to the walles of Conſtantinople: the voyages ouer land and by riuer through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balſara, and downe the Perſian gulfe to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean ſea to Goa, and againe ouer-land to Biſnagar, Cambaia, Orixa, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and euen to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diuerſe times by ſundry of our nation, and the laſt great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. Iohn Newbery and two other conſorts departed from London with her Maieſties letters written effectually in their fauour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yeere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull trauailes, which he preſented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.

Now here if any man ſhall take exception againſt this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleeuers, he ſhall ſhew himſelfe a man of ſmall experience in old and new Hiſtories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or ſome worſe humour. * For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entred into league vpon neceſſitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguſeans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and haue beene theſe many yeeres, and haue vſed trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Chriſtendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a penſion for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath trauailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Hiſtories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elſewhere, haue ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them penſions, and vſe them in their ſeruice and warres? Why then ſhould that be blamed in vs, which is vſuall and common to the moſt part of other Chriſtian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which haue found moſt fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themſelues and their owne fooliſh pride, whereby we were vrged to ſeeke further to prouide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke prouerbe was moſt truely verified, That euill counſaile proueth worſt to the author and deuiſer of the ſame.

1. King. cap. 5.
2. Chron. cap. 2.

Hauing thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the firſt part of this ſecond Volume, it remayneth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the ſecond part. It may therefore pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that herein I haue likewiſe preſerued, diſpoſed, and ſet in order ſuch Voyages, Nauigations, Traffikes, and Diſcoueries, as our Nation, and eſpecially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, haue painefully performed to the South and Southeaſt parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, vpon the coaſts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Sperança, to and beyonde the Eaſt India. To come more neere vnto particulars, I haue here ſet downe the very originals and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie riuers of Senega and Gambra, to thoſe of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Iſles of Cape Verde, with twelue ſundry voyages to the ſultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Iſle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake eſtate of the Portugales in

Angola, *as alſo the whole courſe of the Portugale Caracks from* Lisbon *to the barre of* Goa *in* India, *with the diſpoſition and qualitie of the climate neere and vnder the Equinoctiall line, the ſundry infallible markes and tokens of approching vnto, and doubling of* The Cape of good Hope, *the great variation of the compaſſe for three or foure pointes towards the Eaſt betweene the Meridian of S.* Michael *one of the Iſlands of the* Azores, *and the aforeſaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape* Das Agulias, *and that place being paſſed outward bound, the ſwaruing backe againe thereof towards the Weſt, proportionally as it did before, the two wayes, the one within and the other without the Iſle of S.* Laurence, *the dangers of priuie rockes and quickſands, the running ſeas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and vndoubted ſignes of land. All theſe and other particularities are plainly and truely here deliuered by one* Thomas Steuens *a learned Engliſhman, who in the yeere 1579 going as a paſſenger in the Portugale Fleete from* Lisbon *into* India, *wrote the ſame from* Goa *to his father in* England: *Whereunto I haue added the memorable voyage of M.* Iames Lancaſter, *who doth not onely recount and confirme moſt of the things aboue mentioned, but alſo doth acquaint vs with the ſtate of the voyage beyond Cape* Comori, *and the Iſle of Ceilon, with the Iſles of* Nicubar *and* Gomes Polo *lying within two leagues of the rich Iſland* Samatra, *and thoſe of* Pulo Pinaom, *with the maine land of* Iunçalaon *and the ſtreight of* Malacca. *I haue likewiſe added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall reuealing the ſecret and moſt gainefull trade of* Pegu, *which is alſo confirmed by* Cæſar Fredericke *a Venetian, and M.* Ralph Fitch *now liuing here in* London.

And becauſe our chiefe deſire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall cōmoditie of this our Realme, the fitteſt places, which in al my readings and obſeruations I find for that purpoſe, are the manifold Iſlands of Iapan, *& the Northern parts of* China, *& the regions of the Tartars next adioyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is* Aſſi fria como Flandes, *that is to ſay, as cold as* Flanders, *& that the riuers be ſtrongly ouerfrozen) and therefore I haue here inſerted two ſpeciall Treatiſes of the ſayd Countries, the one beginning pag. 68, the other, pag. 88: which laſt diſcourſe I hold to be the moſt exact of thoſe parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in* Macao *a citie of* China, *in China-paper, in the yeere a thouſand fiue hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called* Madre de Dios *two yeeres after, incloſed in a caſe of ſweete Cedar wood, and lapped vp almoſt an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene ſome incomparable iewell.*

But leauing abruptly this diſcourſe, I thinke it not impertinent, before I make an end, to deliuer ſome of the reaſons, that moued me to preſent this part of my trauailes vnto your Honour. The reuerend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choyſe of ſuch patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the ſame, or by their wiſedome and vnderſtanding were able to cenſure and approoue them, or with their abilitie were likely to ſtand them or theirs in ſteade in the ordinarie neceſſities and accidents of their life. Touching the firſt, your deſcent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, *your owne place and credite in execution of her Maieſties inward counſailes and publike ſeruices, added to your well diſcharging your forren imployment (when the greateſt cauſe in Chriſtendome was handled) haue not onely drawen mens eyes vpon you, but alſo forcibly haue moued many, and my ſelfe among the reſt to haue our labours protected by your authoritie. For the ſecond point, when it pleaſed your Honour in ſommer was two yeeres to haue ſome conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the ſtate of the Country of* Guiana, *and whether it were fit to be planted by the Engliſh: I then (to my no ſmall ioy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of thoſe matters of* Indian *Nauigations: and how carefull you were, not to be ouertaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared alſo, by the ſound arguments which you made* pro & contra, *of the likelihood and reaſon of good or ill ſucceſſe of the ſame, before* *the State and common wealth (wherein you haue an extraordinarie voyce) ſhould be farther engaged. In conſideration whereof I thinke my ſelfe thriſe happie to haue theſe my trauailes cenſured by your Honours ſo well approoued iudgement. Touching the third and laſt motiue I cannot but acknowledge my ſelfe much indebted for your fauourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honeſt cauſes. Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to paſſe vnto the preſſe, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a perſon of ſpeciall experience, as in many others ſo in marine cauſes, to ouerſee and peruſe the ſame, but alſo vpon his good report with your moſt fauourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approue and allow my labours, and deſire to publiſh the ſame. Wherefore to conclude, ſeeing they take their life and light from the moſt cheerefull and benigne aſpect of your fauour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much baſhfulneſſe to recommend my ſelfe and them vnto your right Honorable and fauourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull tuition of the moſt High. From* London *this 24. of October. 1599.*

Your Honors moſt humble

to be commanded,

Richard Hakluyt preacher.

¶ A Catalogue of the English Voyages made by and within the Streight of *Gibraltar*, to the South and Southeaſt quarters of the world, conteined in the firſt part of this ſecond volume.

Voyages before the Conqueſt.

1 The voyage of *Helena* the Empreſſe, daughter of *Coelus* king of *Britain*, and mother of *Conſtantine* the Great, to *Ieruſalem*. An. 337. pag. 1.2

2 The voyage of *Conſtantine* the Great, Emperour and king of *Britaine*, to *Greece*, *Ægypt*, *Perſia*, and *Aſia*, Anno 339. pag. 2.3

3 The voyage of *Pelagius Cambrenſis*, vnder *Maximus* king of the *Britaines*, into *Ægypt* and *Syria*, Anno 390. pag. 4

4 The voyage of certaine Engliſhmen ſent by the French king to *Conſtantinople*, vnto *Iuſtinian* the Emperour, about the yeere of our Lord 500. pag. 4

5 The memorable voyage of *Sighelmus* biſhop of *Shirburne*, ſent by king *Alphred* vnto S. *Thomas* of *India*, An. 883. confirmed by two teſtimonies. pag. 5

6 The voyage of *Iohn Erigen*, vnder king *Alphred*, to *Athens*, in the yeere of our Lorde 885. pag. 5.6

7 The voyage of *Andrew Whiteman*, aliàs *Leucander*, vnder *Canutus* the Dane, to *Palæſtina*, Anno 1020. pag. 6

8 The voyage of *Swanus* one of the ſonnes of Earle *Godwin*, vnto *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1052. pag. 6

9 A voyage of three Ambaſſadours ſent in the time of king *Edward* the Confeſſor, vnto *Conſtantinople*, and from thence vnto *Epheſus*, Anno 1056. pag. 7

10 The voyage of *Alured* biſhop of *Worceſter* vnto *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1058. pag. 8

11 The voyage of *Ingulphus*, afterward Abbat of *Croiland*, vnto *Ieruſalem*. An. 1064. pag. 8.9

Voyages ſince the Conqueſt.

12 A Voyage made by diuerſe of the honourable family of the *Beauchamps*, with *Robert Curtois* the ſonne of *William* the Conquerour, to *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1096. pag. 10

13 The voyage of *Gutuere* an Engliſh Lady married vnto *Baldwine* brother of *Godfrey* duke of *Bouillon*, toward *Ieruſalem*, An. 1097. 10. 11

14 The voyage of *Edgar* the ſonne of *Edward*, which was the ſonne of *Edmund* ſurnamed *Ironſide*, brother vnto king *Edward* the Confeſſor (being accompanied with valiant *Robert* the ſonne of *Godwine*) to *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1102. 11

15 The voyage of *Godericus* a valiant Engliſhman, who trauailed with his ſhips in an expedition vnto the holy land, Anno 3. *Hen. 1.* 12

16 The voyage of *Hardine* an Engliſhman, and one of the principall commaunders of 200 ſayles of Chriſtians ſhips, which arriued at *Ioppa*, Anno 1102 12. 13

17 A voyage by ſea of Engliſhmen, Danes, and Flemings, who arriued at *Ioppa* in the holy land, the ſeuenth yeere of *Baldwine* the ſecond, king of *Ieruſalem*, and in the 8. yeere of *Henry* the firſt, king of *England*. pag. 13, 14, 15

18 The voyage of *Athelard* of *Bathe* to *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, in the yeere of our Lord 1130 pag. 15. 16

19 The voyage of *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre* to *Ieruſalem* and to the citie of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, Anno 1130. 16

20 The voyage of *Robert Ketenenſis*, vnder king *Stephen*, to *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*, Anno 1143. 16

21 A voyage of certaine Engliſhmen vnder the conduct of *Lewis* the French king, vnto the holy land, Anno 1147. 17

22 The voyage of *Iohn Lacy* to *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1173 17

23 The voyage of *William Mandeuile* Erle of *Eſſex* to *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1177. 17
24 The famous voyage of *Richard* the firſt, king of *England* into *Aſia*, for the recouering of *Ieruſalem* out of the hands of the *Saracens*, Anno 1190. 20
25 The voyage of *Baldwine* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* vnto *Syria* and *Palæſtina*, in the yeere 1190. 28
26 The voyage of *Richard* Surnamed *Canonicus*, vnder king *Richard* the firſt, into *Syria*, and *Palæſtina*, Anno 1190. 30
27 The voyage of *Gulielmus Peregrinus*, vnder king *Richard* the firſt, to *Palæſtina*, Anno 1190. 30
28 The voyage of *Hubert Walter* biſhop of *Salisbury*, vnder king *Richard* alſo, vnto *Syria*, Anno 1190. 31
29 The voyage of *Robert Curſon* a nobleman of *England*, and a Cardinall, vnder *Hen.* the third, to *Damiata* in *Ægypt*, Anno 1218. 31.32
30 The voyage of *Rainulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, of *Saer Quincy* Earle of *Wincheſter*, of *William de Albanie* Earle of *Arundel*, &c. to the holy land, Anno 1218. 32
31 The voyage of *Henry Bohun*, and *Saer Quincy* to the holy land, in the yeere of our Lord, 1222. 32
32 The voyage of *Rainulph Glanuile* Earle of *Cheſter* to the holy land, and to *Damiata* in *Ægypt*. 32
33 The voyage of *Petrus de Rupibus* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1231. 33
34 The honourable voyage of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, brother to king *Hen.* the third, accompanied with *William Long-eſpee* Earle of *Salisburie*, and diuerſe other noblemen, into *Syria*, Anno 1240. 33
35 The voyage of *William Long-eſpee*, or *Long-ſword* Erle of *Salisburie* into *Ægypt* with *Lewis* the French king, Anno 1248. 33
36 The voyage of prince *Edward* the ſonne of king *Henry* the third, into *Syria*, An. 1270. 36
37 The voyage of *Robert Turneham*, vnder the ſaid prince *Edward*, into *Syria*, in the yeere of our Lord, 1270 38.39
38 The voyage of Frier *Beatus Odoricus* to *Aſia minor*, *Armenia*, *Chaldæa*, *Perſia*, *India*, *China*, and other remote parts, &c. 39.53
39 The voyage of *Matthew Gurney* an Engliſh knight, againſt the Moores of *Alger*, to *Barbary* and to *Spaine*. 67
40 The voyage of *Henrie* Earle of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and laſtly *Henry* the fourth king of *England*, with an army of Engliſhmen, to *Tunis* in *Barbary*. 69
41 The trauailes and memorable victories of *Iohn Hawkwood* Engliſhman, in diuerſe places of *Italy*, in the reigne of *Richard* the ſecond. 70
42 The voyage of Lord *Iohn* of *Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, brother (by the mother) to K. *Richard* the ſecond, to *Ieruſalem*, and S. *Katherins* mount, Anno 1394. 70
43 The voyage of *Thomas* Lord *Mowbrey* duke of *Norfolke*, to *Ieruſalem*, in the yeere of our Lord, 1399. 70
44 The voyage of the biſhop of *Wincheſter* to *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1417. 71
45 A voyage intended by king *Henry* the fourth to the holy land, againſt the *Saracens* and *Infidels*, Anno 1413. 71.72
46 A voyage made with two ſhips called *The holy Croſſe*, and *The Matthew Gunſon*, to the Iſles of *Candia* and *Chio*, about the yeere 1534. 98
47 Another voyage vnto *Candia* and *Chio* made by the foreſayd ſhip called *The Matthewe Gunſon*, Anno 1535. 98
48 The voyage of the valiant Eſquire M. *Peter Read* to *Tunis* in *Barbarie* 1538, recorded in his Epitaph. 99
49 The voyage of Sir *Thomas Chaloner* to *Alger*, with the Emperour *Charles* the fift, Anno 1541. 99
50 The voyage of M. *Roger Bodenham*, with the great barke *Aucher*, to *Candia* and *Chio*, Anno 1550. 99
51 The voyage of M. *Iohn Lok* to *Ieruſalem*, Anno 1553. 101
52 The voyage of *Iohn Foxe* to the Streit of *Gibraltar*, in a ſhip called *The three halfe-moones*, Anno 1563. And his worthy enterprize in deliuering 266 Chriſtians from the captiuitie of the Turkes at *Alexandria*, Anno 1577. 131.132
53 The voyage of M. *Laurence Alderſey* to the cities of *Ieruſalem*, and *Tripolis*, in the yeere 1581. 150

54 The

54 The voyage of *The Suſan* of *London* to *Conſtantinople*, wherein M. *William Hareborne* was ſent firſt Ambaſſadour vnto *Zuldan Murad Can* the great Turke. Anno 1582. 165
55 The voyage of a ſhip called *The Ieſus*, to *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, Anno 1583. 184
56 The voyage of M. *Henry Auſtel* by *Venice* to *Raguſa*, and thence ouer-land to *Conſtantinople*: and from thence through *Moldauia*, *Polonia*, *Sileſia*, and *Germany* into *England*, Anno 1586. 194
57 The voyage of Maſter *Ceſar Frederick* into the eaſt *India*, and beyonde the *Indies*, Anno 1563. 213
58 The long, dangerous, and memorable voyage of M. *Ralph Fitch* marchant of *London*, by the way of *Tripolis* in *Syria*, to *Ormuz*, to *Goa* in the Eaſt *India*, to *Cambaia*, to the riuer of *Ganges*, to *Bengala*, to *Bacola*, to *Chonderi*, to *Pegu*, to *Siam*, &c. begunne in the yeere 1583, and ended in the yeere 1591. 250
59 The voyage of M. *Iohn Eldred* to *Tripolis* in *Syria* by ſea, and from thence by land and riuer to *Babylon*, and *Balſara*, Anno 1583. 268
60 The voyage of M. *Iohn Eueſham* by ſea into *Ægypt*, Anno 1586. 281
61 The voyage of M. *Laurence Alderſey* to the cities of *Alexandria* and *Cairo* in *Aegypt*, Anno 1586. 282
62 The voyage of fiue marchants ſhips of *London* into Turkie: and their valiant fight in their returne with 11 gallies and two frigats of the king of *Spaine*, at *Pantalarea* within the Streits of *Gibraltar*, Anno 1586. 285
63 The voyage of Maſter *William Hareborne* ouer-land from *Conſtantinople* to *London*, Anno 1588. 289
64 A deſcription of a voyage to *Conſtantinople* and *Syria* begun the 21 of March, 1593, and ended the ninth of Auguſt 1595: wherein is ſhewed the manner of deliuering the ſecond preſent, by M. *Edward Barton* her Maieſties ambaſſadour, which was ſent from her Maieſtie to *Sultan Murad Can*, the Emperour of *Turkie*. 33

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The Ambaſſages, Letters, Priuileges, Diſcourſes, Aduertiſements, and other obſeruations depending vpon the Voyages contayned in the firſt part of this ſecond Volume.

1 *A Teſtimony, that the Britons were in* Italy *and* Greece, *with the Cimbrians and Gauls, before the incarnation of Chriſt.* pag. 1
2 *A teſtimony that certain Engliſhmen were of the guard of the Emperour of* Conſtantinople, *in the time of* Iohn *the ſonne of* Alexius Comnenus. 17
3 *A great ſupply of money ſent to the Holy land by King* Henry *the ſecond.* 18
4 *A letter written from* Manuel *the Emperour of* Conſtantinople, *vnto* Henry *the ſecond, King of* England, *Ann. 1177: wherein mention is made that certaine of king* Henries *noblemen and ſubiects were preſent with the ſayd Emperour in a battel againſt the Soldan of* Iconium. 18
5 *A note drawen out of a very auncient booke in the cuſtodie of the right Wor.* M. Thomas Tilney *Eſquire, touching Sir* Fredericke Tilney *his anceſter, knighted for his valour at* Acon *in the Holy land, by king* Richard *the firſt.* 29
6 *A large contribution to the ſuccour of the holy land made by king* Iohn *king of* England, *Anno 1201.* 30
7 *The comming of Baldwin the Emperour of* Conſtantinople *into* England, *An. 1247.* 31
8 *A teſtimony concerning* Anthony Beck *biſhop of* Dureſme, *that he was elected Patriarke of* Ieruſalem, *and confirmed by* Clement *the 5, biſhop of Rome,* Anno 1305. 39
9 *The comming of* Lyon *king of* Armenia *into* England, Anno 1386, *to make a treaty of peace betweene* Richard *the ſecond, king of* England, *and the French king.* 67
10 *The comming of the Emperour of* Conſtantinople *into* England, *to deſire the ayde of king* Henry *the fourth, againſt the Turkes.* Anno 1400. 70
11 *A relation of the ſiege and taking of the citie of* Rhodes, *by* Sultan Soliman *the great* Turke: *Wherein honorable mention is made of diuers valiant Engliſh knights,* Anno 1522. 72

12 An ambaſſage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the Emperour Charles the fift, vnto King Henry the eight, crauing his ayde againſt Soliman the great Turke, An. 1527. 95
13 The antiquitie of the trade of Engliſh marchants vnto the remote parts of the Leuant ſeas, Anno 1511, 1512, &c. 96
14 A letter of Henry the eight, king of England, to Iohn the third king of Portugale, for a Portugale ſhip fraighted at Chio, with the goods of Iohn Greſham, William Lok, and others, and wrongfully vnladen in Portugale, Anno 1531. 96
15 The maner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke, with his army, into Alepo in Syria, as hee was marching toward Perſia, againſt the great Sophi, Anno 1553. 112
16 A note of the preſents that were giuen at the ſame time in Alepo, to the Grand Signor, and the names of the preſenters. 113
17 The ſafe conduct granted by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, to M. Anthony Ienkinſon at Alepo in Syria, Anno 1553. 114
18 A diſcourſe of the trade to Chio written by Gaſpar Campion, in the yeere 1569. 114
19 A letter of the ſayd Gaſpar Campion, to M. William Winter, in the yeare 1569. 116
20 A briefe deſcription of the Iſle of Cyprus. 119
21 A report of the ſiege and taking of Famaguſta the ſtrongeſt citie in al Cyprus, by Muſtafa Baſſa Generall of the great Turkes army, Anno 1571. 121
22 The renewing and great increaſing of an ancient trade vnto diuers places in the Leuant ſeas, and to the chiefeſt parts of all the great Turkes dominions, Anno 1575, 1578. 136
23 The letters of Zuldan Murad Can the great Turke, to the ſacred Maieſtie of Queene Elizabeth, Anno 1579. 137
24 The anſwere of her Maieſtie to the foreſayd letters of the great Turke, ſent by M. Richard Stanly, in the Prudence of London, Anno 1579. 138
25 The charter of priuiledges granted to the Engliſh, and the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Maieſtie, for traffique onely, Anno 1580. 141
26 Her Maieſties letter to the great Turke, promiſing redreſſe for the diſorders of Peter Baker of Radcliffe, committed in the Leuant, Anno 1581. 145
27 The letters Patents or Priuileges granted by her Maieſtie to Sir Edward Osborne, M. Richard Staper, and certaine other marchants of London, for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, Anno 1581. 146
28 The Paſport made by the great Maſter of Malta vnto the Engliſhmen in the Barke Rainolds, Anno 1582. 154
29 The Queenes commiſſion giuen to her ſeruant M. William Hareborne, to bee Her Maieſties Ambaſſador or Agent in the parts of Turkie, Anno 1582. 157
30 Her Maieſties letter to the great Turke, written in commendation of M. William Hareborne, when he was ſent Ambaſſador, Anno 1582. 158
31 A letter of the Queenes Maieſtie to Alli Baſſa, the Turkes high Admiral, ſent by her Ambaſſador M. William Hareborne, and deliuered vnto him aboord his Galley in the Arſenal. 159
32 A briefe remembrance of things to bee indeuoured at Conſtantinople, and at other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and Dying, and touching the ample vent of our naturall commodities, &c. written by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, Anno 1582. 160
33 Certaine other moſt profitable and wiſe inſtructions penned by the ſayd M. Richard Hakluyt, for a principall Engliſh Factor at Conſtantinople. 161
34 A letter of Muſtafa Chaus to the Queenes Maieſtie, Anno 1583. 171
35 A letter of M. William Hareborne, to M. Haruie Millers, appointing him Conſul for the Engliſh nation, in Alexandria, Cairo, & other places of Egypt, in the yeare of our Lord 1583. 171
36 A Commiſſion giuen by M. William Hareborne the Engliſh Ambaſſador, to M. Richard Forſter, authorizing him Conſul of the Engliſh nation, in the partes of Alepo, Damaſco, Aman, Tripolis, Ieruſalem, &c. together with a letter of directions to the ſayd M. Forſter, Ann. 1583. pag. 172
37 A letter ſent from Alger to M. William Hareborne her Maieſties Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, Anno 1583. 173
38 A letter of M. Hareborne to Muſtafa, chalenging him for his diſhoneſt dealing in tranſlating three of the Grand Signors commandements. 174
39 A Paſport graunted to Thomas Shingleton by the king of Alger, in the yeare 1583. 174
40 A letter written in Spaniſh by Sir Edward Osborne in his Maioraltie, to the king of Alger, on the behalfe of certaine Engliſh captiues, An. 1584. 175
41 Notes concerning the trades of Alger and Alexandria. 176

42 A

42 A letter of M. William Hareborne the Engliſh Ambaſſadour, to M. Edward Barton, Anno 1584. 177

43 A commandement obtayned of the Grand Signor by her Maieſties Ambaſſadour M. William Hareborne, for the quiet paſſing of her ſubiects to and from his dominions, ſent to the Viceroyes of Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary, An. 1584. 177

44 A letter of the hon. M. William Hareborne, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour with the Grand Signor, to M. Tipton, appointing him Conſul of the Engliſh, in Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary, Anno 1585. 178

45 A Catalogue or regiſter of the Engliſh ſhips, goods, and perſons wrongfully taken by the Galleys of Alger, with the names of the Engliſh captiues, deliuered to Haſſan Baſſa the Beglerbeg of Alger, &c. 179

46 A letter of M. William Hareborne her Maieſties Ambaſſador &c. to Aſſan Aga, Eunuch and treaſurer vnto Haſſan Baſſa king of Alger: which Aſſan Aga was ſonne to Francis Rowly merchant of Briſtol, and was taken in an Engliſh ſhip called the Swallow. 180

47 A petition exhibited to the Viceroy of the Turkiſh empire for reformation of ſundry iniuries offered our nation in Morea, as alſo for ſundry demaundes needefull for the eſtabliſhing of the trafficke in thoſe parts. 181

48 A commandement of the Grand Signor to Patraſſo in Morea, on the behalfe of the Engliſh. pag. 181

49 The Grand Signors commandement to Chio on the behalfe of the Engliſh merchants. 182

50 Two of his commandements ſent to Baliabadram and to Egypt, for the ſame purpoſe. 182

51 A commandement of the Grand Signor to the Cadi of Alexandria, for the reſtoring of an Engliſh mans goods wrongfully taken by the French Conſul. 183

52 Another commaundement to the Baſſa of Alexandria, for the very ſame purpoſe. 183

53 A cōmandement to the Byes and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies & Byes in the way to Conſtantinople, for the courteous and iuſt vſage of the Engliſh merchants. 183

54 A commandement ſent to Alepo concerning the goods of M. William Barret deceaſed. 183

55 The Queenes letters to the great Turke for the reſtitution of an Engliſh ſhip called The Ieſus, and of the Engliſh captiues detained at Tripolis in Barbary, & for certaine other Engliſh men which remained priſoners at Alger, Anno 1584. 191

56 The great Turkes letters to the king of Tripolis in Barbary, commanding the reſtitution of an Engliſh ſhip called The Ieſus, with the men and goods &c. Anno 1584. 192

57 The letter of M. William Hareborne her Maieſties Ambaſſadour to Baſſa Romadan the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbary, for the reſtoring of the ſayd ſhip called The Ieſus, Anno 1585. pag. 193

58 The great Turkes Paſport of ſafeconduct, for Captaine Auſtel, and Iacomo Manuchio. 198

59 A Paſport of the Erle of Leiceſter, for Thomas Forſter gent. traueiling to Conſtantinople, Anno 1586. 198

60 A deſcription of the yearely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumetans, Turkes and Moores to Mecca in Arabia. 198

61 A letter written from the Queenes Maieſtie to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, and ſent by M. Iohn Newbery, Anno 1583. 245

62 A letter written from her Maieſtie to the king of China, in the yeare of our Lord 1583. 245

63 A letter of M. Iohn Newbery ſent from Alepo to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, Ann. 1583 pag. 245

64 Another letter of the ſayd M. Newbery written from Alepo to M. Leonard Poore at London, Anno 1583 246

65 A ſecond letter of the ſayd M. Newbery, written from Babylon to the aforeſayd M. Poore, Anno 1583. 247

66 M. Newbery his letter from Ormuz to M. Iohn Eldred, and William Shales, at Balſara, Anno 1583. 248

67 His third letter written to M. Leonard Poore from Goa, in the yeare 1584. 248

68 A letter written from Goa by M. Ralph Fitch, to M. Leonard Poore abouesayd, Anno 1584. pag. 250

69 The report of Iohn Huighen van Linſchoten of the impriſonment of M. Newbery and M. Fitch at Goa, and of their eſcape from thence, which happened while himſelfe was in Goa. 265

70 The money, weights, meaſures, and cuſtomes vſed in Babylon, Balſara, Ormuz, Goa, Cochin, and Malacca: written from Alepo in Syria, by M. William Barret, Anno 1584. 271

71 The charge of a iourney by land and riuer, from Alepo in Syria to Goa in the Eaſt India. 276

72 A

72 *A declaration of all the places from whence each particular commoditie of the* Eaſt Indies *commeth.* 277
73 *The times or ſeaſonable windes called* Monſons, *wherein the ſhips depart from place to place in the* Eaſt Indies. 278
74 *A deſcription of the Iſle of* S. Helena *frequented by the Portugales in their returne from the* Eaſt India. 280
75 *A Priuiledge granted by* Peter *Prince of* Moldauia, *to the Engliſh merchants,* Anno 1588. pag. 290
76 *A briefe extract ſpecifying the certaine dayly payments anſwered quarterly in time of peace, by the Grand Signor, out of his treaſury, to the officers of his* Seraglio *or Court, ſucceſſiuely in degrees.* pag. 290
77 *The chiefe officers of the great Turkes Empire; the number of ſouldiers attending vpon each of his Beglerbegs; the principal officers in his* Seraglio *or Court; his yeerely reuenues, and his allowances to forren Ambaſſadours.* 292, 293, 294
78 *The letters of* Sinan Baſſa *chiefe counſellor to* Sultan Murad Can *the Grand Signor,* An. 1590, *to the ſacred Maieſtie of* Elizabeth *Queene of* England: *ſignifying, that vpon her requeſt, and for her ſake eſpecially he granted peace vnto the king of* Poland. 294
79 *The ſecond letters patents granted by the Queenes Maieſtie, to the right wor. company of the Engliſh merchants for the Leuant, in the yere of our Lord 1592.* 295
80 *A letter written by the moſt high and mighty Empreſſe the wife of the Grand Signor* Sultan Murad Can *to her moſt ſacred Maieſty of* England, Anno 1594. 311

A briefe Catalogue of the principall Engliſh Voyages made without the Straight of *Gibraltar* to the South and Southeaſt quarters of the world, contayned in the ſecond part of this ſecond volume immediatly following. Wherein alſo mention is made of certaine Sea-fights, and other memorable *acts performed by the Engliſh Nation.*

1 The voyage of *Macham* the firſt diſcouerer of the Iſle of *Madera*, in the yeere 1344. pag. 1
2 The firſt voyage to *Barbary*, Anno 1551. pag. 7. 8
3 The ſecond voyage to *Barbary*, Anno 1552. pag. 8. 9
4 The voyage of M. *Thomas Windam* to *Guinea* and the kingdom of *Benin*, Anno 1553. pag. 9
5 The voyage of M. *Iohn Lok* to *Guinea*, Anno 1554. 14
6 The firſt voyage of Maſter *William Towrſon* marchant of *London* to *Guinea*, in the yeere of our Lord, 1555. 23
7 The ſecond voyage of M. *William Towrſon* to *Guinea* and the caſtle of *Mina*. An. 1556. 36
8 The third voyage of the ſayd M. *William Towrſon* to the coaſt of *Guinea* and the riuer of *Seſtos*, Anno 1557. 44
9 A voyage made to *Guinea* at the charges of Sir *William Gerard*, Sir *William Cheſter*, &c. Anno 1562. 54
10 The ſucceſſe of another voyage made to *Guinea*, at the direction of the ſaid Sir *William Gerard*, and others, Anno 1564. 56
11 The voyage of M. *George Fenner* to *Guinea* and to the Iſles of *Capo Verde*, An. 1566. 57
12 The voyage and ambaſſage of Maſter *Edmund Hogan* to the Emperour of *Marocco*, Anno 1577. 64
13 The voyage of *Thomas Stukeley* into *Barbary*, 1578. 67
14 The voyage of *Thomas Steuens* about the Cape of *Buona Eſperanza* vnto *Goa* in the Eaſt *India*, Anno 1579. 99

The

15 The memorable voyage of M. *Iames Lancaſter* about the Cape of *Buona Eſperanza*, along the Eaſterne coaſt of *Africa*, beyond Cape *Comori*, as far as the maine land of *Malacca*, and from thence home againe, begun in the yeere 1591. 102

16 The voyage and ambaſſage of Maſter *Henry Roberts* to *Mully Hamet* Emperour of *Marocco*, Anno 1585. 117

17 The voyage made by two of ſir *Walter Raleghs* Pinaſſes called *The Serpent* and *The Mary Spark* of *Plimouth* to the *Azores*: which tooke the gouernour of the Iſle of S. *Michael*, and *Pedro Sarmiento* gouernour of the Streights of *Magellan* in the yere 1586. 120

18 The voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* to *Cadiz*, and the memorable exploits and ſeruices performed by him as well there as at diuerſe other places vpon the coaſt of *Spaine* and *Portugale*, and his taking of the great Eaſt Indian Carak called *The Sant Philip*, neere the Iſle of S. *Michael*, Anno 1587. 121

19 A voyage to *Benin* beyond the countrey of *Guinea* made by Maſter *Iames Welſh*, who ſet foorth in the yeere 1588. 126

20 The ſecond voyage made by M. *Iames Welſh* to *Benin* in *Africa*, An. 1590. 130

21 The voyage to *Spaine* and *Portugale* written (as it is thought) by Colonell *Anthonie Wingfield*, An. 1589. 134

22 The voyage of the Right honourable the Earle of *Cumberland* to the *Azores*, in the yeere 1589. 155

23 A fight performed by ten marchants ſhips of *London* againſt 12 Spaniſh gallies, in the Streit of *Gibraltar*. An. 1590. 166

24 The valiant fight performed in the Streit of *Gibraltar* by the *Centurion* of *London*, againſt fiue Spaniſh gallies, An. 1591. 168

25 A true report of the fight about the Iſles of the *Azores*, betweene the *Reuenge* one of her Maieſties ſhips, vnder the conduct of Sir *Richard Grinuile*, and an Armada of the king of *Spaine*, An. 1591. 169

26 A voyage of certaine ſhips of *London* to the coaſt of *Spaine*, and the *Azores*, Anno. 1591 Reported by M. *Robert Flick*. 176

27 The voyage of *Richard Rainolds* and *Thomas Daſſell* to the riuers of *Senega* and *Gambra*, neere the coaſt of *Guinea*, Anno 1591. 188

28 The taking of two Spaniſh ſhips laden with quickſiluer and with the Popes Bulles, bound for the weſt *Indies*, by M. *Thomas White* in the *Amitie* of *London*, An. 1592. 193

29 The taking of the mightie and rich Carak called *The Madre de Dios*, and of the *Santa Clara* a Biskaine of 600 tunnes, as likewiſe the firing of another great Carak called *The Santa Cruz*, Anno 1592. 194

30 The firing and ſinking of the ſtout and warlike Carak called *The Cinquo Chaguas*, or *The fiue woundes*, by three ſhips of the R. H. the Earle of *Cumberland*, Anno 1594. 199

The Ambaſſages, Letters, Priuiledges, Diſcourſes, and *other neceſſary matters of circumſtance appertaining to the voyages in* the ſecond part of this ſecond volume next enſuing.

1 A *Note concerning the ayde and aſſiſtance giuen to king* Iohn *the firſt of* Portugale, *by certaine Engliſh merchants, for the winning of* Ceut *in* Barbary, Anno 1415. *pag.* 1,2

2 *The Ambaſſage of* Iohn *the ſecond, king of* Portugale *to* Edward *the 4. king of* England, *to ſtay* Iohn Tintam, *and* William Fabian *Engliſhmen, preparing for a voyage to* Guinea, Anno 1481. *pag.* 2

3 *A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of Engliſh marchants to the* Canarie *Iſles,* Anno 1526. 3

4 *A deſcription of the* Canarie *Iſlands, with their ſtrange fruits and commodities.* 3

5 *The commodities and wares that are moſt deſired in* Guinea, *betwixt* Sierra Leona, *and the furtheſt place of the* Mina. 52

6 *Certaine articles of remembrance deliuered to* M. Iohn Lok, *touching a voyage to* Guinea, Anno 1561. *52*

7 *A letter of* M. Iohn Lok *to the worſhipfull company of marchants aduenturers of* Guinea, Anno 1561. *53*

8 *The relation of one* William Rutter *concerning a voyage ſet out to* Guinea, Anno 1562. *Deſcribed alſo in verſe by* Robert Baker. *54*

9 *A meeting at* Sir William Gerards *houſe for the ſetting foorth of a voyage to* Guinea, *with the* Minion *of the Queenes, The* Iohn Baptiſt *of* London, *and the* Merline *of* M. Gonſon, Anno 1564. *55*

10 *A relation of the ſucceſſe of the ſame voyage, taken out of a voyage of* Sir Iohn Haukins *to the* Weſt Indies. *56*

11 *Certaine reports of the mighty kingdome of* China *deliuered by Portugales which were there impriſoned.* *68*

12 *A diſcourſe of the Iſle of* Iapan, *and of other Iſles in the Eaſt* Ocean, *&c.* *80*

13 *An excellent deſcription of the kingdome of* China, *and of the eſtate and gouernement thereof. pag.* *88*

14 *A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich trafficke of the kingdom of* Pegu, *beyond the* Eaſt India. *102*

15 *Certaine remembrances of a voyage intended to* Braſil, *and to the riuer of* Plate, *but miſerably ouerthrowen neere* Rio grande *in* Guinea, *in the yeere 1583.* *110, 111*

16 *The eſcape of the* Primroſe, *a ſhip of* London, *from before the towne of* Bilbao *in* Biſcay, *and the taking of the* Corrigidor, Anno 1585. *112*

17 *The king of* Spaines *Commiſſion for the generall imbargment or arreſt of the Engliſh &c.* Anno 1585. *114*

18 *The Letters patents granted by her Maieſtie to certaine noblemen and merchants of* London, *for a trade to* Barbary, Anno 1585. *114*

19 *An edict from the Emperour of* Marocco *in fauour of all Engliſhmen trading throughout his dominions,* Anno 1587. *118*

20 *A letter of the ſayd emperour written to the Erle of Leiceſter, in the yeare 1587.* *118*

21 *A letter of the Queenes Maieſtie written to the emperour of* Marocco, *in the yere 1587.* *119*

22 *A patent graunted to certaine merchants of* Exceter, *and others of the VVeſt parts, and of* London, *for a trade to the riuers of* Senega *and* Gambra *in* Guinea, Anno 1588. *123*

23 *A relation concerning a voyage ſet foorth by* M. Iohn Newton, *and* M. Iohn Bird, *merchants of* London, *to the kingdome and citie of* Benin, *written by* Antony Ingram, An. 1588. *129*

24 *An aduertiſement to king* Philip *the 2. of* Spaine, *from* Angola, *touching the ſtate of the ſame countrey.* An. 1591. *133*

25 *A particular note of the VVeſt Indian fleete expected to haue arriued in* Spaine, An. 1592, *with the number of ſhips of the ſame fleete that periſhed and ſuffered ſhipſhrack &c.* *175*

26 *A large teſtimony of* Iohn Huighen van Linſchoten *concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right hon. the erle of* Cumberland, *by* Sir Martin Frobiſher, Sir Richard Grinuile, *and diuers other Engliſh Captains, about the Iſles of the Açores, and vpon the coaſtes of* Spaine *and* Portugale, *in the yeares 1589, 1590, 1591.* *178*

27 *A relation concerning the eſtate of the Iſland and Caſtle of* Arguin, *and touching the rich and ſecret trade from the inland of Africa thither, written in the yere 1491.* *188*

28 *Two briefe relations concerning the Cities and Prouinces of* Tombuto *and* Gago, *and concerning the exceeding great riches of the ſayd Prouinces, and the conqueſt thereof by the king of* Marocco, *and of the huge maſſe of gold, which he yerely receiueth thence for tribute. VVritten* Anno 1594. *192*

29 *A briefe extract of a patent granted to* M. Thomas Gregory *of* Tanton, *and others, for trafficke betweene the riuer of* Nonnia, *and the riuers of* Madrabumba *and* Sierra Leona, *on the coaſt of* Guinea, An. 1592. *193*

30 *A report of the caſting away of the* Tobie, *a ſhip of* London, *neere* Cape Eſpartel *on the coaſt of* Barbary *without the Streight of* Gibraltar, *in the yere of our Lord 1593.* *201*

31 *The letters of the Queens Maieſtie ſent by* Laurence Alderſey *vnto the Emperour of* Ethiopia, Anno 1597. *203*

¶THE

THE SECOND VOLVME OF THE principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and *Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the South and South-eaſt* quarters of the world, within the Straight of *Gibraltar*, *with the Directions, Letters, Priuiledges, Diſcourſes, and* Obſeruations incident to the ſame.

That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation of Chriſt. *M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33.*

BRitannos autem cum Cimbris & Gallis permiſtos fuiſſe in expeditionibus illis in Italiam & Græciam videtur. Nam præter nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro vetuſtiſſimo, vbi tres maximi exercitus, qui è Britannis conſcripti erant, memorantur, proditum eſt, exterum quendam ducem longè maximum exercitum hinc contraxiſſe, qui, populata magna Europæ parte, tandem ad Græcum mare (forſitan Gallatiam innuit) conſederit.

Triadum liber.

Britomarum item ducem inter illos militarem, cuius meminit Florus & Appianus, Britonem fuiſſe nomẽ euincit, quod Britonem magnum ſignificat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis, qui Brennum natione Prauſum fuiſſe ſcribit, vt natione Britonem faciam.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IT is not vnlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in thoſe expeditions to Italy and Greece. For beſides the common name, it is recorded in that moſt ancient Britiſh booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein alſo mention is made of three huge armies that were leuied out of Britaine) that a certaine outlandiſh Captaine gathered from hence a mightie armie; who hauing waſted a great part of Europe, at length tooke vp his abode (perhaps the Author meaneth in Gallatia) neere vnto the ſea of Greece.

Likewiſe, that the warrelike captaine Britomarus (of whom Florus and Appian doe make report) was himſelfe a Briton, his very name doeth teſtifie, which ſignifieth A great Briton. Neither will I wreſt that teſtimonie of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to haue bene a Prauſe by birth) that I may prooue him alſo to haue bene a Briton borne.

¶ The trauaile of *Helena.*

HElena Flauia Auguſta sereniſſimi *Coeli* Britannici Regis Hæres, & vnica filia, Magni *Conſtantini Cæſaris* mater, incomparabili decôre, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, *Euſebio* etiam teſte, per totum reſplenduit orbem: Inter omnes ætatis ſuæ fœminas, nulla inueniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in inſtrumentis muſicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copioſior. Innatam habebat ingenij claritudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum ornatiſſimam compoſitionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia ſobole (inquit *Virumnius*) quæ Regni ſolio potiretur. Illam propterea his inſtrui fecit per optimos præceptores, vt eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, *Conſtantius Chlorus Cæſar* illam duxit in vxorem, atque ex eâ filium in Britanniâ genuit *Conſtantinum* Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum *Annâ* illâ Euangelicâ, in ſanctâ viduitate perdurauit ad vltimum vitæ diem, tota

Chriſtianæ religioni dedita. Sunt enim authores, qui narrent per iſtam, ceſſante perſecutione, pacem Eccleſijs datam: Ad tantam cœleſtis Philoſophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt poſt agnitum Euangelium perueniſſe, vt olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucúſque à Pontico ſupereſſe perhibentur. Viſionibus admonita Hieroſolymam petijt, & omnia ſaluatoris loca perluſtrauit. Romæ tandem octogenaria fœliciter in Chriſto quieuit. 15. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc ſuperſtite, anno ſalutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non minimâ nunc curâ Venetijs ſeruatur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

HElena Flauia Auguſta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus ſometime the moſt excellent king of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Conſtantine the great, by reaſon of her ſingular beautie, faith, religion, goodneſſe and godly Maieſtie (according to the teſtimonie of Euſebius) was famous in all the world. Amongſt all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberall arts more learned, or in inſtruments of muſike more ſkilfull, or in the diuers languages of nations more abundant then herſelfe. She had a naturall quickneſſe or excellency of wit, eloquence of ſpeech, and a moſt notable grace in all her behauiour. She was ſeene in the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine tougues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to ſucceed in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore cauſed her to be inſtructed in theſe things by the beſt teachers, that thereby ſhe might the better in time gouerne the Realme: ſo that by reaſon of her paſſing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Conſtantius Chlorus the Emperour married her, and had by her a ſonne called Conſtantine the great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceaſing at Yorke, this Helena (no otherwiſe then Anna of whom mention is made in the new Teſtament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There are ſome writers which doe affirme, that perſecution ceaſed, and peace was granted to the Chriſtian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Goſpel, ſhe grewe ſo ſkilfull in diuinitie, that ſhee wrote and compoſed diuers bookes, and certaine Greeke verſes alſo, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by ſome viſions ſhe went to Ieruſalem, and viſited all the places there, which Chriſt had frequented. She liued to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then died at Rome the 15. day of Auguſt, in the yeere of our redemption 337. Octauius being then king of Britaine, and her ſonne Conſtantine the Emperour then alſo liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully preſerued at Venice.

The life and trauels of *Conſtantine* the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

FLauius Conſtantinus cognomento Magnus poſt Genitorem Cõſtantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæſar Auguſtus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificè ſuæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hiſpanis, & Francis, eorúmque Regibus pro ſpectaculo beſtijs obiectis, Galliam ſubiectam tenuit: Tres Helenæ matris auunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris ſemper fidentiores habuerat in ſuis fortunis, Italis à Maxentij tyrannide fœliciter liberatis, in Senatorum ordinem Romæ promouit. Innumeræ in eo (vt Eutropius habet) claruêre tam animi, quàm corporis virtutes, dum appetentiſſimus eſſet gloriæ militaris, ſucceſſu ſemper in bellis proſpero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Chriſtianiſſima matre Helena Chriſti fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philoſophia Chriſtiana vitam reclinaſſent. Vnde ab Oceani finibus nempe Britannis incipiens, ope fretus diuina, religionis curam in medijs ſuperſtitionum tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ ſpem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo ſtudijs, noctes trahebat inſomnes, & quæſita ſcribendi diuerticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Chriſtianæ diſciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuitijs omnibus, atque adeò ipſi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falſorum deorum euerſor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Perſiam, Aſiam, & vniuerſam ditionem Romanam, repetitis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Chriſtum coli, Euangelium prędicari ſacrum, Miniſtris honores, & alimenta dari, atq; idolorum vbique deſtrui templa. Et vt fidei forma cunctis videretur, Euangelium Ieſu Chriſti ante ſe ſemper ferri fecit, & Biblia ſacra ad omnes prouincias deſtinari, diademáque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Eccleſijs infinita

præſtitit, agros, annonam, ſtipem egenis, ægris, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibuſque vt pater ſollicitus. Euſebium, Lactantium, & ſimiles, familiariſſimos habuit, & hanc ad Deum orationem indiès ipſis in eius vita teſtibus fudit. Vnum te Deum eſſe nouimus, vnum te Regem intelligimus, appellamus adiutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Aduerſarium fudimus, &c. Pro delicijs habuit, vt Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum ſtudia colere, bonos artes fouere, legere, ſcribere, meditari: compoſuit Græcè & Latinè multos libros & Epiſtolas. E vita Nicomedię diſceſſit Senex, ætatis ſuæ Anno *66.* & Imperij 32, à Chriſti verò incarnatione 339. Conſtantinopli ſepultus, Octauio in Britãnijs regnante. Eius vitam in quatuor libris Euſebius Cæſarienſis Græcè ſcripſit, & Ioannes Porteſius Gallus in Latinum tranſtulit ſermonem.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

FLauius Conſtantine, ſurnamed the great, king of the Britaines after his father, and Emperor of the Romanes, borne in Britanie of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his natiue countrey partaker of his ſingular glory and renoume.

Hauing conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a ſpectacle throwen out to wild beaſts, he held France it ſelfe as ſubiect vnto him: and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, he preferred three of his mothers vncles, all Britaines, namely, Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull vnto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body alſo, and that hauing a pleaſure in the practiſe of warre, and in the iuſt commendation of Martiall prowesſe, he neuer pitched his field but his ſucceſſe in the battel was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena hauing inſtructed him in the faith of Chriſt, although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he yeelded ſpeciall honor to thoſe that ſpent their time in the ſtudie of Diuinitie, which he called Chriſtian Philoſophie: ſo that beginning at the furtheſt part of the Ocean ſea, which then was taken to be his owne natiue ſoyle of Britaine, and truſting in the aſſiſtance of God, when the darkenes of ſuperſtition was moſt thicke, then hee vndertooke a care of Religion, ſtirring vp innumerable nations from the Weſt as farre as India it ſelfe, to the hope of eternall life.

Hee paſſed many nightes without ſleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine ſtudies: and whenſoeuer his laiſure from greater affaires did permit him, his vacant times ſhould be ſpent in the vſe of writing and other good exerciſes, aſſuring himſelfe that his kingdomes and Empire were to be continued and ſtrengthened to him by prayer and holy workes: and oftentimes taking vpon him as it were the perſon of a notable preacher of Chriſtian diſcipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that godlineſſe was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Monarchie of all the world.

He ouerthrew the falſe gods of the heathens, and by many lawes often reuiued, he abrogated the worſhipping of Images in all the countries of Greece, Ægypt, Perſia, Aſia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Chriſt onely by his Edicts to be worſhipped, the ſacred Goſpell to be preached, the Miniſters thereof to be honoured and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euery where to be deſtroyed.

Whitherſoeuer he went hee cauſed the booke of the Goſpell of Chriſt to be ſtill caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the firſt that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was moſt beneficiall to all Churches, beſtowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpon the poore, ſicke perſons, widowes and orphanes, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father.

He vſed learned men moſt familiarly, as Euſebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witneſſes that this was his vſuall prayer to God. O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are ſure that thou art the onely King, and we call vpon thee as our helper: through thee we haue gotten the victorie, and by thee we haue ouerthrowen the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greateſt delight to imbrace the ſtudie of learning, to fauour good Arts, to read, write and meditate, and that he compoſed many bookes and Epiſtles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then *66.* yeres of age, in the 32. yere of his reigne, and in the 339. yeere after the Incarnation of Chriſt, and was buried at Conſtantinople, Octauius being then King of Britaine: whoſe life Euſebius biſhop of Cæſarea hath written in Greeke in 4. bookes, which afterwards were tranſlated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Portes a Frenchman.

¶ The life and trauailes of *Pelagius* borne in Wales.

PElagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniæ parte oriundus, famati illius Collegij Banchorenſis a Ceſtria non procul, præpoſitus erat, in quo Chriſtianorum philoſophorum duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Chriſto commoditatem militabant, manuum ſuarum laboribus, iuxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Poſt quam plures exhibitos, pro Chriſtiana Repub. labores, vir eruditione inſignis, & tum Græcè, tum Latinè peritus, vt Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum laceſſitus iniurijs, grauatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Gallijs, in Aegyptum, & Syriam aliáſque orientis Regiones demum peruenit. Vbi ex earum partiū Monacho præſul ordinatus, ſui nominis hæreſim fabricabat: aſſerens hominem ſine peccato naſci, ac ſolo voluntatis imperio ſine gratia ſaluari poſſe, vt ita nefarius baptiſmum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his & conſimilibus impoſtricis doctrinæ fœcibus in patriam ſuam reuerſus, omnem illam Regionem, Iuliano & Cæleſtino Pſeudoepiſcopis fautoribus, conſpurcabat. Verum ante lapſum ſuum ſtudia tractabat honeſtiſſima, vt poſt Gennadium, Bedam, & Honorium alij ferunt authores, compoſuitq; multos libros ad Chriſtianam vtilitatem. At poſtquam eſt Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit hæreſi ſuccurrentes, & ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, vnde erat a ſuis Britannis in exilium pulſus, vt in Epiſtola ad Martinum 5. Valdenus habet. Claruit anno poſt Chriſtum incarnatum, 390. ſub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

PElagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head or gouernour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Cheſter, wherein liued a Societie of 2100. Diuines, or Students of Chriſtian philoſophie, applying themſelues to the profite of the Chriſtian people, and liuing by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and ſkilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian, after his long and great trauailes for the good of the Chriſtian common wealth, ſeeing himſelfe abuſed, and iniuriouſly dealt withall by ſome of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter ſo grieuouſly, that at the laſt he relapſed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and hauing gone through France, hee went therehence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countries of the Eaſt, and being made Prieſt by a certaine Monke of thoſe partes, he there hatched his hereſie, which according to his name was called the hereſie of the Pelagians: which was, that man was borne without ſinne, and might be ſaued by the power of his owne will without grace, that ſo the miſerable man might take away faith and baptiſme. With this and the like dregges of falſe doctrine, hee returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two falſe Prelates Iulian and Celeſtine, who fauoured his hereſie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apoſtaſie from the faith, he exerciſed himſelfe in the beſt ſtudies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authors doe report of him, and wrote many bookes ſeruing not a litle to Chriſtian vtilitie: but being once fallen into his hereſie, hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honeſt, and ſincere: whereupon, at the laſt his owne Countreymen baniſhed him, as Walden teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to Pope Martine the fift. He flouriſhed in the yere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine.

¶ Certaine Engliſhmen ſent to Conſtantinople by the French King to *Iuſtinian* the Emperor, about the yeere of Chriſt, 500. out of the fourth booke of *Procopius de Bello Gothico*.

BRitanniam inſulam tres numeroſiſſimæ gentes incolunt: Quorum vnicuique ſuus Rex imperat. Nominantur hæ gentes Angili, Friſones, & qui eiuſdem ſunt cum inſula cognominis Britones. Tanta vero hominum multitudo eſſe videtur, vt ſingulis annis inde magno numero cum vxoribus & liberis ad Francos emigrent. Illi autem in eorum terram, quæ maximè deſerta videtur, excipiunt. Vnde inſulam ſibi vendicare ferunt. Vtique non ita pridem, cum Francorum Rex quoſdam è ſuis Conſtantinopolim ad Iuſtinianum legaret, Anglos etiam miſit, ambitioſius vendicans, quaſi hæc inſula ſuo ſubeſſet imperio.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The Iſle of Britaine is inhabited by three moſt populous nations, euery of which is gouerned by a ſeuerall king. The ſayd nations are named Angili, Friſones, and Britones, which laſt are called after the name of the Iſland. In this Iſle there are ſuch ſwarmes of people, that euery yeere they goe foorth in great numbers with their wiues and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receiue them into their lande, which ſeemeth very deſolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is ſayd that the French doe challenge the foreſayd Iſland vnto themſelues. For not long ſince, when the king of the Frankes ſent certaine of his ſubiects ambaſſadours to Conſtantinople vnto Iuſtinian the Emperour, he ſent Engliſh men alſo, ambitiouſly boaſting, as though the ſayd Iſle had bene vnder his iuriſdiction.

A teſtimonie of the ſending of *Sighelmus* Biſhop of *Shirburne*, by King *Alphred*, vnto Saint *Thomas* of *India* in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by *William* of *Malmesburie*, in his ſecond booke and fourth Chapter *de geſtis regum Anglorum*.

ELeemoſynis intentus priuilegia eccleſiarum, ſicut pater ſtatuerat, roborauit; & trans mare *Romam*, & ad ſanctum *Thomam* in *Indiam* multa munera miſit. Legatus in hoc miſſus *Sighelmus Shirburnenſis* Epiſcopus cum magna proſperitate, quod quiuis hoc ſeculo miretur, *Indiam* penetrauit; inde rediens exoticos ſplendores gemmarum, & liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax eſt, reportauit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

KIng Alphred being addicted to giuing of almes, confirmed the priuileges of Churches as his father had determined; and ſent alſo many giftes beyond the ſeas vnto Rome, and vnto S. Thomas of India. His meſſenger in this buſineſſe was Sighelmus biſhop of Schirburne; who with great proſperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) trauailed thorough India, and returning home brought with him many ſtrange and precious vnions and coſtly ſpyces, ſuch as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

A ſecond teſtimony of the foreſaid *Sighelmus* his voyage vnto Saint *Thomas* of *India* &c. out of *William* of *Malmesbury* his ſecond booke *de geſtis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de epiſcopis Schireburnenſibus Salisburienſibus, Wiltunenſibus*.

S*Ighelmus* trans mare, cauſa eleemoſynarum regis, & etiam ad Sanctum *Thomam* in *Indiam* miſſus, mira proſperitate, quod quiuis in hoc ſeculo miretur, *Indiam* penetrauit; indequè rediens exotici generis gemmas, quarum illa humus ferax eſt, reportauit. Nonnullæ illarum adhuc in eccleſiæ monumentis viſuntur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

SIghelmus being for the performance of the kings almes ſent beyond the ſeas, and trauailing vnto S. Thomas of India, very proſperouſly (which a man would woonder at in this age) paſſed through the ſayde countrey of India, and returning home brought with him diuers ſtrange and precious ſtones, ſuch as that climate affourdeth. Many of which ſtones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The life and trauailes of Iohn Erigena.

IOannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Meneuia vrbe, ſeu ad fanum Dauidis, & patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis moleſtarent, ac omnia illic eſſent tumultibus plena, longam ipſe peregrinationem Athenas vſque ſuſcepit, annoſq́; quamplures literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, & Arabicis inſudauit: omnia illic inuiſit Philoſophorum loca, ac ſtudia, imo & ipſum oraculum Solis, quod Aeſculapius ſibi conſtruxerat, Inueniens tandem quod longo quæſierat labore, in Italiam & Galliam eſt reuerſus vbi ob inſignem eruditionem, Carolo Caluo, & poſtea Ludouico Balbo acceptus, Dionyſij Areopagitæ libros de cœleſti Hierarchia, ex Conſtantinopoli tunc miſſos Latinos fecit, Anno Dom. 858. Profectus poſtea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, & ſuorum liberorum factus eſt præceptor, atque ipſo mox adhortante, inter ocia literaria è Græco tranſtulit in tres linguas, ſcilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Latinam, Ariſtotelis moralia, de ſecretis ſecretorum, ſeu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquiſitum. In Malmsburienſi cænobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia ſe contulerat, inter legendum a quibuſdam diſcipulis maleuolis interimebatur, Anno Chriſti, 884.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IOhn Erigene a Britane, deſcended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. Dauid in Wales, ſeeing the Engliſhmen to be oppreſſed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time vndertooke a long iourney, euen as farre as Athens, and there ſpent many yeres in the ſtudie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and ſchooles of the Philoſophers, and the oracle alſo of the Sunne, which Aeſculapius had built vnto himſelfe. And hauing found at length that which he had with long trauell ſearched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his ſingular learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he tranſlated into Latine the bookes of Dionyſius Areopagita concerning the Heauenly Hierarchie, which were ſent from Conſtantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was ſchoolemaſter vnto Alphred then King of England, and his ſonnes: and vpon his requeſt, at his times of leaſure, he tranſlated Ariſtotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into theſe three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquiſitely. At the laſt, being in the Abbie of Malmſburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner diſputing, and reading to the Students, ſome of them miſliking and hating him, roſe againſt him, and ſlue him in the yeere of Chriſt, 884.

The trauailes of *Andrew VVhiteman* aliâs *Leucander,*

Centur. 2.

ANdræas Leucander aliàs Whiteman (iuxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas Rameſienſis Cænobij tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus ſtudio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies inuigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Acceſſit præterea & ardens quoddam deſiderium, ea proprijs & apertis oculis videndi loca, in quibus Seruator Chriſtus redemptionis noſtræ myſteria omnia conſummauit, quorum prius ſola nomina ex ſcripturarum lectione nouerat: vnde & ſacram Hieroſolymorum vrbem, miraculorum, prædicationis, ac paſſionis eius teſtem inuiſit, atque domum rediens factus eſt Abbas. Claruiſſe fertur anno nati Seruatoris, 1020. ſub Canuto Dano.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ANdrew Leucander otherwiſe called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profeſſion a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramſie: he was exceedingly giuen to the ſtudie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and profited greatly thereby. And amongſt all other things, he had an incredible deſire to ſee thoſe places with his eyes, wherein Chriſt our Sauiour performed and wrought all the myſteries of our redemption, the names of which places he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his iourney, and went to Ieruſalem a witneſſe of the miracles, preaching, and paſſion of Chriſt, and being againe returned into his countrey, he was made the aforeſayd Abbat. He flouriſhed in the yere of Chriſt 1020. vnder Canutus the Dane.

The voyage of *Swanus* one of the ſonnes of Earle *Godwin* vnto *Ieruſalem, Anno Dom.* 1052, recorded by *William* of *Malmsburie*

lib. 2. de geſtis regum Anglorum, *Capite 13.*

SWanus peruerſi ingenij & infidi in regem, multoties a patre & fratre Haroldo deſciuit: & pirata factus, prædis maritimis virtutes maiorum polluit. Poſtremò pro conſcientia Brunonis cognati intetempti, & (vt quidam dicunt) fratris Ieroſolimam abijt: indeque rediens, a Saracenis circumuentus, & ad mortem cæſus eſt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

SWanus being of a peruerſe diſpoſition, and faithleſſe to the king, often times diſagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards proouing a pirate, he ſtained the vertues of his anceſtours with his robberies vpon the ſeas. Laſt of all, being guilty vnto himſelfe of the murther of his kinſeman Bruno, and (as ſome do report) of his owne brother, he trauailed vnto Ieruſalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded vnto death.

A voyage of three Ambaſſadours, who in the time of K. *Edward* the Confeſſor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were ſent vnto *Conſtantinople*, and from thence vnto *Epheſus*, together with the occaſion of their ſending, &c. recorded by *William* of *Malmesburie, lib. 2. de geſtis regum* Anglorum, *capite 13.*

DIe ſancti paſchatis ad menſam apud Weſtmonaſterium aſſederat, diademate faſtigatus, & optimatum turma circumuallatus. Cùmque alij longam quadrageſimæ inediam recentibus cibis compenſantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis reuocato animo, diuinum quiddam ſpeculatus, mentes conuiuantium permouit ampliorem perfuſus in riſum: nullóque cauſam lætitiæ perquirere præſumente, tùnc quidèm ita tacitum, donec edendi ſatietas obſonijs finem impoſuit. Sed remotis menſis, cum in triclinio regalibus exueretur, tres optimates eum proſequuti, quorum vnus erat comes Haroldus, ſecundus abbas, tertius epiſcopus, familiaritatis auſu interrogant quid riſerat: mirum omnibus nec immeritò videri, quarè in tanta ſerenitate diei & negotij, tacentibus cæteris, ſcurrilem cachinnum ejecerit. Stupenda (inquit) vidi, nec ideo ſine cauſa riſi. Tum illi, vt moris eſt humani ingenij, ſciſcitari & quærere cauſam ardentiùs, vt ſupplicibus dignantèr rem impertiatur. Ille multùm cunctatus tandem inſtantibus mira reſpondit: ſeptem dormientes in monte Cælio requieſcere iam ducentis annis in dextro iacentes latere: ſed tunc in hora ipſa riſus ſui, latus inuertiſſe ſiniſtrum: futurum vt ſeptuaginta quatuor annis ita iaceant: dirum nimirum miſeris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in his ſeptuaginta quatuor annis, quæ dominus circa finem mundi prædixit diſcipulis ſuis: gentem contra gentem ſurrecturam, & regnum aduerſus regnum, terræmotus per loca, peſtilentiam & famem, terrores de cœlo, & ſigna magna, regnorum mutationes, gentilium in Chriſtianos bella, item Chriſticolarum in paganos victorias. Talia mirantibus inculcans paſſionem ſeptem dormientium, & habitudines corporum ſingulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita promptè diſſeruit: ac ſi cum eis quotidiano victitaret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, epiſcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum exſculpendam, Manicheti Conſtantinopolitano imperitori miſere, adiectis regis ſui literis & muneribus. Eos ille benignè ſecum habitos epiſcopo Epheſi deſtinauit, epiſtola pariter, quam ſacram vocant, comitante: vt oſtenderentur legatis regis Angliæ ſeptem dormientium marturiales exuuiæ. Factúmq; eſt vt vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui ſe a patribus accepiſſe iurarent, ſuper dextrum illos latus quieſcere: ſed poſt introitum Anglorum in ſpeluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus ſuis prædicarunt. Nec moram feſtinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, & Arabes, & Turci, alienæ ſcilicèt a Chriſto gentes, Syriam, & Lyciam, & minorem Aſiam omnino, & maioris multas vrbes, inter quas & Epheſum, ipſam etiam Hieroſolymam depopulati, ſuper Chriſtianos inuaderent.

The ſame in Engliſh.

VPon Eaſter day king Edward the Confeſſour being crowned with his kingly diademe, and accompanied with diuers of his nobles, ſate at dinner in his pallace at Weſtminſter. And when others, after their long abſtinence in the Lent, refreſhed themſelues with dainty meats, and fed thereupon very earneſtly, he lifting vp his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heauenly viſions (to the great admiration of thoſe which were preſent) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man preſuming to enquire the cauſe of his mirth, they all kept ſilence til dinner was ended. But after dinner, as hee was in his bed-chamber putting off his ſolemne roabes, three of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Biſhop, being more familiar with him then the reſidue followed him in, and bouldly aſked him what was the occaſion of his laughter: for it ſeemed very ſtrange vnto them all, what ſhould moue him at ſo ſolemne a time and aſſembly, while others kept ſilence, to laugh ſo exceſſiuely. I ſaw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occaſion. Then they (as it is the common guiſe of all men) demaunded and enquired the cauſe more earneſtly, humbly beſeeching him that hee would vouchſafe to impart that ſecret vnto them. Whereupon muſing a long while vnto himſelfe, at length he told them wonderfull things: namely that ſeuen Sleepers had reſted in mount Cælius two hundred yeeres, lying vpon their right ſides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themſelues on their left ſides; and that they ſhould continue ſo lying for the ſpace of 74. yeeres after; being a diſmal ſigne of future calamitie vnto mankinde. For all things ſhould come to paſſe within thoſe 74. yeeres, which, as our Sauiour Chriſt foretold vnto his diſciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world; namely that nation ſhould riſe againſt nation, and kingdome againſt kingdome, and that there ſhould bee in many places earthquakes, peſtilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heauens, and great ſignes, together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels againſt the Chriſtians, and victories of the Chriſtians againſt the infidels. And as they wondered at theſe relations, he declared vnto them the paſſion of the ſeuen Sleepers, with the proportion and ſhape of eache of their bodies (which things no man liuing had as then committed vnto writing) and that ſo plainely and diſtinctly, as if he had conuerſed a long time in their company. Hereupon the earle ſent a knight, the biſhop a clearke, and the abbot a monke vnto Maniches the Emperour of Conſtantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giuing them friendly entertainment, ſent them ouer vnto the biſhop of Epheſus; and wrote his letters vnto him giuing him charge, that the Engliſh Ambaſſadours might be admitted to ſee the true, and material habiliments of the ſeuen Sleepers. And it came to paſſe that King Edwards viſion was approued by all the Greekes, who proteſted they were aduertiſed by their fathers, that the foreſaid ſeuen Sleepers had alwayes before that time reſted vpon their right ſides; but after the Engliſhmen were entered into the caue, thoſe Sleepers confirmed the trueth of the outlandiſh propheſie, vnto their countreymen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time delayed: for the Agarens, Arabians, Turkes and other vnbeleeuing nations inuading the Chriſtians, harried and ſpoiled Syria, Lycia, the leſſer Aſia, and many cities of Aſia the greater, and amongſt the reſt Epheſus, yea, and Ieruſalem alſo.

The voyage of *Alured* biſhop of *VVorceſter* vnto *Ieruſalem*, an. 1058.

Recorded by *Roger Houeden in parte priore Annalium, fol.* 255*-linea* 15.

A.D.1058. ALuredus Wigornienſis Epiſcopus eccleſiam, quam in ciuitate Glauorna à fundamentis conſtruxerat, in honore principis Apoſtolorum Petri honorificè dedicauit: & poſteà regis licentia Wolſtanum Wigornienſem Monachum à ſe ordinatum Abbatem conſtituit ibidem. Dein præſulatu dimiſſo Wiltonienſis eccleſiæ, qui ſibi ad regendum commiſſus fuerat, & Hermanno, cujus ſuprà mentionem fecimus, reddito, mare tranſijt, & per Hungariam profectus eſt Hieroſolymam, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of our Lord 1058. Alured biſhop of Worceſter, very ſolemnely dedicated a Church (which himſelfe had founded and built in the citie of Gloceſter) vnto the honour of S. Peter the chiefe Apoſtle: and afterward by the kings permiſſion ordained Wolſtan a Monke of Worceſter of his owne choice, to be Abbate in the ſame place. And then hauing left his Biſhopricke which was committed vnto him ouer the Church of Wilton, and hauing reſigned the ſame vnto Hermannus aboue mentioned, paſſed ouer the ſeas, and trauailed through Hungarie vnto Ieruſalem, &c.

The voyage of *Ingulphus* Abbat of *Croiland* vnto *Ieruſalem*, performed (according to *Florentius Wigornienſis*) in the yeere of our Lord, 1064, and deſcribed by the ſaid *Ingulphus* himſelfe about the concluſion of his briefe Hiſtorie.

A.D.1064. EGo Ingulphus humilis miniſter Sancti Guthlaci Monaſterijq́; ſui Croilandenſis, natus in Anglia, & a parentibus Anglicis, quippè vrbis pulcherrimæ Londoniarum, pro literis addiſcendis in teneriori ætate conſtitutus, primum Weſtmonaſterio, poſtmodum Oxonienſi ſtudio traditus eram. Cumq́ue in Ariſtotele arripiendo ſupra multos coætaneos meos profeciſſem, etiam Rhetoricam Tullij primam & ſecundam talo tenus induebam. Factus ergo adoleſcentior, faſtidiens parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquere, & palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus veſtiri, pompoſiſque lacinijs amiciri indies ardentius appetebam. Et eccè, inclytus nunc rex noſter Anglię, tunc adhuc

A.D. 1051.

A.D. 1064. According to Florentius Wigornienſis.

huc comes Normanniæ Wilhelmus ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi cognati ſui, cum grandi miniſtrantium comitatu Londonias aduentabat. Quibus citius inſertus, ingerens me vbique ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum proſperè plurima perfeciſſem, in breui agnitus illuſtriſſimo comiti & aſtrictiſſimê adamatus, cum ipſo Normanniam enauigabam. Factus ibidem ſcriba eius, pro libito totam comitis curiam, ad nonnullorum inuidiam regebam; quoſque volui humiliabam, & quos volui exaltabam. Cumque iuuenili calore impulſus in tam celſo ſtatu ſupra meos natales conſiſtere tæderem, quin ſemper ad altiora conſcendere, inſtabili animo, ac nimium prurienti affectu, ad erubeſcētiam ambitioſus auidiſſimè deſiderarem: nuntiatur per vniuerſam Normanniam plurimos archiepiſcopos imperij cum nonnullis alijs terræ principibus velle pro merito animarum ſuarum more peregrinorum cum debita deuotione Hieroſolymam proficiſci. De familia ergo comitis domini noſtri plurimi tam milites quàm clerici, quorum primus & præcipuus ego eram, cum licentia, & domini noſtri comitis beneuolentia, in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus: & Alemanniam petentes, equites triginta numero & ampliùs domino Maguntino coniuncti ſumus. Parati namque omnes ad viam, & cum dominis epiſcopis connumerati ſeptem millia, pertranſeuntes proſperè multa terrarum ſpatia, tandem Conſtantinopolim peruenimus. Vbi Alexium Imperatorem eius adorantes Agioſophiam vidimus, & infinita ſanctuaria oſculati ſumus. Diuertentes inde per Lyciam, in manus Arabicorum latronum incidimus; euiſceratique de infinitis pecunijs, cum mortibus multorum, & maximo vitæ noſtræ periculo vix euadentes, tandem deſideratiſſimam ciuitatem Hieroſolymam lęto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipſo tunc patriarcha Sophronio nomine, viro veneranda canitie honeſtiſſimo ac ſanctiſſimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru, & luminarium immenſo fulgore ſuſcepti, ad diuiniſſimam eccleſiam ſanctiſſimi ſepulchri, tam Syrorum, quàm Latinorum ſolenni proceſſione deducti ſumus. Ibi quot preces inorauimus, quot lachrymas infleuimus, quot ſuſpiria inſpirauimus, ſolus eius inhabitator nouit D. noſter Ieſus Chriſtus. Ab ipſo itaque glorioſiſſimo ſepulchro Chriſti ad alia ſanctuaria ciuitatis inuiſenda circumducti, infinitam ſummam ſanctarum eccleſiarum, & oratoriorum, quæ Achim Soldanus dudum deſtruxerat, oculis lachrymoſis vidimus. Et omnibus ruinis ſanctiſsimæ ciuitatis, tam extra, quàm intra; numeroſis lachrymis intimo affectu compaſsi, ad quorundam reſtaurationem datis non paucis pecunijs, exire in patriam & ſacratiſsimo Iordane intingi, vniuerſáque Chriſti veſtigia oſculari, deſiderantiſsima deuotione ſuſpirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi qui omnem viam obſeruabant, longiùs a ciuitate euagari, ſua rabioſa multitudine innumera non ſinebant. Vere igitur accedente, ſtolus nauium Ianuenſium in porta Ioppenſi applicuit. In quibus, cum ſua mercimonia Chriſtiani mercatores per ciuitates maritimas commutaſſent, & ſancta loca ſimilitèr adoraſſent, aſcendentes omnes mari nos commiſimus. Et iactati fluctibus & procellis innumeris tandem Brunduſiū, & proſpero itinere per Apuliam Romam petentes, ſanctorū Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli limina, & copioſiſsima ſanctorū martyrum monumenta per omnes ſtationes oſculati ſumus. Indè archiepiſcopi, cęterique principes imperij Alemanniam per dextram repetentes, nos verſùs Franciam ad ſiniſtram declinantes, cum inenarrabilibus & gratijs & oſculis ab inuicem diſceſsimus. Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues exiuimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, & omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reuerſi ſumus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

I Ingulphus an humble ſeruant of reuerend Guthlac and of his monaſtery of Croiland, borne in England, and of Engliſh parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed firſt at Weſtminſter, and afterward ſent to the Vniuerſitie of Oxford. And hauing excelled diuers of mine equals in learning of Ariſtotle, I inured my ſelfe ſomewhat vnto the firſt & ſecond Rhethorique of Tullie. And as I grew in age, diſdayning my parents meane eſtate, and forſaking mine owne natiue ſoyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was deſirous to be clad in ſilke, and to weare braue and coſtly attire. And loe, at the ſame time William our ſouereigne king now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troup of followers and attendants came vnto London, to conferre with king Edward the Confeſſour his kinſman. Into whoſe company intruding my ſelfe, and proffering my ſeruice for the performance of any ſpeedy or weightie affayres, in ſhort time, after I had done many things with goood ſucceſſe, I was knowen and moſt entirely beloued by the victorious Erle himſelfe, and with him I ſayled into Normandie. And there being made his ſecretarie, I gouerned the Erles Court (albeit with the enuie of ſome) as my ſelfe pleaſed, yea whom I would I abaſed, and preferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthfull heat and luſtie humour, I began to be wearie euen of this place, wherein I was aduanced ſo high aboue my parentage, and with an inconſtant minde, and affection too too ambitious, moſt vehemently aſpi-

A.D. 1051.

red at all occaſions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that diuers Archbiſhops of the Empire, and ſecular princes were deſirous for their ſoules health, and for deuotion ſake, to goe on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lorde the Earle, ſundry of vs, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was my ſelfe) with the licence and good will of our ſayd lord the earle, ſped vs on that voiage, and trauailing thirtie horſes of vs into high Germanie, we ioyned our ſelues vnto the Archbiſhop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Biſhops ſeuen thouſand perſons ſufficiently prouided for ſuch an expedition, we paſſed proſperouſly through many prouinces, and at length attained vnto Conſtantinople. Where doing reuerence vnto the Emperour Alexius, we ſawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kiſſed diuers ſacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theeues: and after we had bene robbed of infinite ſummes of money, and had loſt many of our people, hardly eſcaping with extreame danger of our liues, at length wee ioyfully entered into the moſt wiſhed citie of Ieruſalem. Where we were receiued by the moſt reuerend, aged and holy patriarke Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied vnto the moſt diuine Church of our Sauiour his ſepulchre with a ſolemne proceſſion aſwell of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we vttered, what abundance of teares we ſhed, what deepe ſighs we breathed foorth, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the moſt glorious ſepulchre of Chriſt to viſite other ſacred monuments of the citie, we ſaw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souldan of Egypt had lately deſtroyed. And ſo hauing bewailed with ſadde teares, and moſt ſorowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that moſt holy city both within and without, and hauing beſtowed money for the reedifying of ſome, we deſired with moſt ardent deuotion to go forth into the countrey, to waſh our ſelues in the moſt ſacred riuer of Iordan, and to kiſſe all the ſteppes of Chriſt. Howbeit the theeuiſh Arabians lurking vpon euery way, would not ſuffer vs to trauell farre from the city, by reaſon of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the ſpring there arriued at the port of Ioppa a fleet of ſhips from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Chriſtian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coaſt townes, and had likewiſe viſited the holy places) wee all of vs embarked, committing our ſelues to the ſeas: and being toſſed with many ſtormes and tempeſts, at length wee arriued at Brunduſium: and ſo with a proſperous iourney trauelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there viſited the habitations of the holy apoſtles Peter and Paul, and did reuerence vnto diuers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thorowout the city. From thence the archbiſhops and other princes of the empire trauelling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed aſunder, taking our leaues with vnſpeakable thankes and courteſies. And ſo at length, of thirty horſemen which went out of Normandie fat, luſty, and frolique, we returned thither ſkarſe twenty poore pilgrims of vs, being all footmen, and conſumed with leanneſſe to the bare bones.

¶ Diuers of the honourable family of the *Beauchamps*, with *Robert Curtoys* ſonne of *William* the Conqueror, made a voyage to *Ieruſalem* 1096.

Hol. pag. 22. vol. 2.

POpe Vrbane calling a councell at Clermont in Auuergne, exhorted the Chriſtian princes ſo earneſtly to make a iourney into the Holy land, for the recouery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the ſaide great and generall iourney was concluded vpon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Chriſtendome went vnder the leading of Godfrey of Bouillon & others, as in the Chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the Holy land doeth more plainely appeare. There went alſo among other diuers noble men foorth of this Realme of England, ſpecially that worthily bare the ſurname of Beauchampe.

¶ The voyage of *Gutuere* an Engliſh Lady maried to *Balduine* brother of *Godfreide* duke of *Bouillon*, toward *Ieruſalem* about 1097. And the 11. yeere of *William Rufus* King of England.

THe Chriſtian armie of Godfrie of Bouillon paſſing the citie of Iconium, alias Agogna in the countrey of Licaonia, and from thence by the city of Heraclia, came at length vnto the citie of Maraſia, where they encamped, and ſoiourned there three whole dayes, becauſe of the wife of Balduine brother germane of the duke of Loraigne. Which Lady being long time vexed with a grieuous malady, was in extremitie; where at length paying the debt due to nature, ſhe changed this tranſitorie life, for life eternall; Who, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, borne in England, and deſcended of moſt noble parentage named Gutuere; Which, according to her degree, was there moſt honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William Archbiſhop of Tyre, lib.3.cap.17.hiſt.belli ſacri. The ſame author in the 10. booke & firſt chapter of the ſame hiſtorie concerning the ſame Engliſh Lady, writeth further as followeth, Baldwine hauing folowed the warres for a time, gaue his minde to marriage, ſo that being in England he fell in loue with a very honourable and noble Lady named Gutuere; whom he married and caried with him in that firſt happy expedition, wherin he accompanied his brethren the Lords, duke Godfrey and Euſtace, perſons very commendable in all vertues and of immortall memorie. But he had hard fortune in his iourney, becauſe his foreſaid wife, being wearied with a long ſicknes finiſhed her life with a happie end neere the citie of Maraſia, before the Chriſtian armie came vnto Antioch, where ſhe was honourably buried, as we haue declared before.

¶ *Chronicon Hieroſolymitanum in lib.3.cap.27.* maketh alſo mention of this Engliſh Lady, which he calleth *Godwera* in this maner.

Hac in regione Mareſch vxor Baldewini nobiliſſima, quam de regno Angliȩ eduxit, diutina corporis moleſtia aggrauata, & duci Godefrido commendata, vitam exhalauit, ſepulta Catholicis obſequijs; cuius nomen erat Godwera.

The ſame in Engliſh.

In this prouince of Mareſch the moſt noble wife of Baldwine, which he caried with him out of England being viſited with dayly ſickneſſes and infirmities of body, and commended to the cuſtody of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Chriſtian maner. Her name was Godwera.

¶ The voyage of *Edgar* the ſonne of *Edward* which was the ſonne of *Edmund* ſurnamed *Ironſide*, brother vnto *K. Edward* the confeſſor, (being accompanied with valiant *Robert* the ſonne of *Godwin*) vnto Ieruſalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1102. Recorded by *William* of Malmesburie, *lib.3.hiſto.fol.58.*

Subſequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini milite audaciſſimo Edgarus Hieroſolymam pertendit. A.D.1102. Illud fuit tempus quo Turci Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obſederunt: qui cum obſidionis iniuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hoſtium acies effugit, ſolius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, & euaginato gladio dextra leuaque Turcos cædentis. Sed cum ſucceſſu ipſo truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, enſis manu excidit. Ad quem recolligendum cum ſe inclinaſſet, omnium incurſu oppreſſus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babyloniam (vt aiunt) ductus, cum Chriſtum abnegare nollet, in medio foro ad ſignum poſitus, & ſagittis terebratus, martyrium conſecrauit. Edgarus amiſſo milite regreſſus, multaque beneficia ab Imperatoribus Græcorum, & Alemannorum adeptus (quippè qui etiam eum retinere pro generis amplitudine tentaſſent) omnia pro natalis ſoli deſiderio ſpreuit. Quoſdam enim profectò fallit amor patriæ, vt nihil eis videatur iucundum, niſi conſuetum hauſerint cœlum. Vndè Edgarus fatua cupidine illuſus Angliam redijt, vbi (vt ſuperius dixi) diuerſo fortunæ ludicro rotatus, nunc remotus & tacitus, canos ſuos in agro conſumit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Afterward Edgar being ſonne vnto the nephewe of Edward the confeſſour, traueiled with Robert the ſonne of Godwin a moſt valiant knight, vnto Ieruſalem. And it was at the ſame time when the Turkes beſieged king Baldwin at Rama: who not being able to endure the ſtraight ſiege, was by the helpe of Robert eſpecially, going before him, and with his drawen ſword making a lane, and ſlaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, deliuered out of that danger, and eſcaped through the midſt of his enemies campe. But vpon his happie ſucceſſe being more eager and fierce, as hee went forward ſomewhat too haſtily, his ſworde fell out of his hand. Which as he ſtouped to take vp, being oppreſſed with the whole multitude, hee was there taken and bound. From whence (as ſome ſay) being carried vnto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt, when he would not renounce Chriſt, he was tyed vnto a ſtake in the midſt of the market place, and being ſhot through with arrowes, died a martyr. Edgar hauing loſt his knight returned, and being honoured with many rewards both by the Greekiſh and by the Germaine Emperour (who both of them would right gladly haue entertained him ſtil for his great nobilitie) contemned all things in reſpect of his natiue ſoile. Foꝛ in very deede ſome are ſo inueagled with the loue of their countrey, that nothing can ſeeme pleaſant vnto them, vnleſſe they bꝛeath in the ſame aire where they were bꝛed. Wherefoꝛe Edgar being miſledde with a fond affection, returned into England; and afterward being ſubiect vnto diuers changes of foꝛtune (as we haue aboue ſignified) he ſpendeth * now his extreeme olde age in an obſcure and pꝛiuate place of the countrey.

* When the authoꝛ was writing of this hiſtoꝛy.

¶ Mention made of one *Godericus*, a valiant Engliſhman, who was with his ſhips in the voyage vnto the *Holy land* in the ſecond yeere of *Baldwine* King of *Ieruſalem*, in the third yere of *Henry* the firſt of *England*.

CHronicon Hieroſolymitanum lib. 9. cap. 9. Verùm dehinc ſeptem diebus euolutis rex ab Aſſur exiens, nauem quæ dicitur Buza aſcendit, & cum eo Godericus pirata de regno Angliæ, ac vexillo haſtæ præfixo & elato in aëre ad radios ſolis vſque, Iaphet cum paucis nauigauit, vt hoc eius ſigno ciues Chriſtianĩ recognito, fiduciam vitæ regis haberent, & non facile hoſtiũ minis pauefacti, turpiter diffugium facerent, aut vrbem reddere cogerentur. Sciebat enim eos multum de vita & ſalute eius deſperare. Saraceni autẽ viſo eius ſigno, & recognito, ea parte quę vrbem nauigio cingebat illi in galeis viginti & Carinis tredecim, quas vulgo appellant Cazh, occurrerunt, volentes Buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio vndis maris illis ex aduerſo tumeſcentibus ac reluctantibus, Buza autem regis facili, & agili curſu inter procellas labente, ac volitante, in portu Ioppæ deluſis hoſtibus ſubitò affuit, ſex ex Saracenis in arcu ſuo in nauicula percuſſis, ac vulneratis. Intrans itaque ciuitatem dum incolumis omnium pateret oculis, reuixit ſpiritus cunctorum gementium & de eius morte hactenus dolentium, eo quòd caput & rex Chriſtianorum & princeps Hieruſalem adhuc viuus & incolumis receptus ſit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BUt ſeuen dayes afterward, the King comming out of the towne of Aſſur entred into a ſhippe called a Buſſe, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and faſtening his banner on the toppe of a ſpeare, and holding it vp aloft in the aire againſt the beames of the Sunne, ſailed vnto Iaphet with a ſmall company; That the Chꝛiſtian Citizens there ſeeing this his banner, might conceiue hope that the King was yet liuing, and being not eaſily terrified with the thꝛeates of the enemies might ſhamefully runne away, oꝛ be conſtrained to yeeld vp the citie. Foꝛ hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and ſafetie. The Saracens ſeeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which enuironed the Citie by water made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene ſhippes, which they commonly cal Cazh, ſeeking to incloſe the Kings ſhippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea ſwelling and raging againſt them, and the Kings ſhippe gliding and paſſing thꝛough the waues with an eaſie and nimble courſe arriued ſuddenly in the hauen of Ioppa, the enemies fruſtrated of their purpoſe; and ſixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by ſhot out of the Kings ſhippe. So that the King entering into the Citie, and nowe appearing in ſafetie in all their ſightes, the ſpirits of all them that mourned foꝛ him, and vntil then lamented as though hee had bene dead, reuiued, becauſe that the head and King of the Chꝛiſtians, and pꝛince of Ieruſalem was yet aliue, and come againe vnto them in perfect health.

¶ Mention made of one *Hardine* of *England* one of the chiefeſt perſonages, and a leader among other of two hundred ſaile of ſhips of Chriſtians that landed at Ioppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.

CHronicon Hieroſolymitanum libro 9. cap. 11. Interea dum hæc obſidio ageretur 200. naues Chriſtianorum nauigio Ioppen appulſæ ſunt, vt adorarent in Hieruſalem. Horum Bernardus Witrazh de terra Galatiæ, Hardinus de Anglia, Otho de Roges, Hadewerck, vnus de præpotentibus Weſtfalorum, primi & ductores fuiſſe referuntur, &c. Erat autem tertia feria Iulij menſis, quando hæ Chriſtianorum copiæ, Deo protegente, huc nauigio anguſtiatis & obſeſſis ad opem collatæ ſunt. Sarracenorum autem turmæ, videntes quia Chriſtianorum virtus audacter facie ad faciem vicino ſibi hoſpitio proximè iungebatur, media nocte orbi incumbente, amotis tentorijs amplius milliari ſubtractæ conſederunt, dum luce exorta conſilium inirent, vtrum Aſcalonem redirent, aut ciues Iaphet crebris aſſultibus vexarent.

The

Hardin.

The ſame in Engliſh.

WHile the Sarazens continued their ſiege againſt Ioppa, two hundred ſaile of Chriſtian ſhips arriued at Ioppa, that they might performe their deuotions at Hieruſalem. The chiefe men and leaders of theſe Chriſtians are reported to haue bene: Bernard Witrazh of the land of Galatia, Hardine of England, Otho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noble men of Weſtphalia, &c. This Chriſtian power through Gods ſpeciall prouiſion, arriued here for the ſuccour and reliefe of the diſtreſſed & beſieged Chriſtians in Ioppa, the third day of Iuly, 1102. and in the ſecond yeere of Baldwine king of Ieruſalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, ſeeing that the Chriſtian power ioyned themſelues boldly, cloſe by them euen face to face in a lodging hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooued their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee aduiſed whether they ſhould returne to Aſcalon, or by often aſſaults vexe the citizens of Iaphet.

Chronicon Hieroſolymitanum, eodem libro 9. cap. 12. continueth this hiſtorie of theſe two hundreth ſaile of ſhips, and ſheweth how by their prowesse chiefly, the multitude of the Sarazens were in ſhort ſpace vanquiſhed and ouerthrowen: The words are theſe; Ab ipſo verò die tertiæ feriæ dum ſic in ſuperbia & elatione ſuæ multitudinis immobiles Saraceni perſiſterent, & multis armorum terroribus Chriſtianum populum vexarent, ſexta feria appropinquante, Rex Baldwinus in tubis & cornibus a Iaphet egrediens, in manu robuſta equitum & peditum virtutem illorum crudeli bello eſt aggreſſus, magnis hinc & hinc clamoribus intonantes. Chriſtiani quoque qui nauigio appulſi ſunt horribili pariter clamore cum Rege Baldwino, & graui ſtrepitu vociferantes, Babylonios vehementi pugna ſunt aggreſſi, ſæuiſſimis atq; mortiferis plagis eos affligentes, donec bello fatigati, & vltrà vim non ſuſtinentes fugam verſus Aſcalonem inierunt. Alij verò ab inſecutoribus eripi exiſtimantes, & mari ſe credentes, intolerabili procellarum fluctuatione abſorpti ſunt. Et ſic ciuitas Ioppe cum habitatoribus ſuis liberata eſt. Ceciderunt hac die tria millia Sarracenorum: Chriſtianorum verò pauci perijſſe inuenti ſunt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

YEt notwithſtanding, after the ſaid third day of Iuly, the Sarazens perſiſted high minded and inſolent, by reaſon of their great multitude, and much annoied the Chriſtian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the ſixt day of Iuly early in the morning king Baldwine iſſued out of Iaphet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and lowd ſound, and with a very ſtrong armie as well of horſemen as footemen, who on euery ſide making great ſhoutes and outcries, with fierce and ſharpe battell ſet on the maine power of their enemies. The Chriſtians alſo who arriued in the nauie, rearing great clamours and noyſes, with loud voices and ſhoutings in horrible wiſe together, with king Baldwine aſſaulted likewiſe with ſtrong battell the Babylonians, and afflicted them with moſt ſore and deadly wounds, vntill the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, nor able longer to endure and hold out againſt the valure of the Chriſtians, fled towards Aſcalon. And other of them hoping to eſcape from them that purſued them, lept into the ſea, and were ſwalowed vp in the waues thereof. And ſo the citie of Ioppa with the inhabitants thereof were freed of their enemies. There were ſlaine this day three thouſand Sarazens, and but a few of the Chriſtians periſhed.

¶ A Fleete of Engliſhmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arriued at *Ioppa in the Holy land, the ſeuenth yeere of* Baldwine *the ſecond king* of Hieruſalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hieruſalem, in the 8. yeere of *Henry* the firſt of England.

Cap. 1.

AT the ſame time alſo in the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholike king of Hieruſalem, a very great warrelike Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about ſeuē thouſand, hauing with them more men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Antwerpe, arriued with ſhips which they call Buſſes, at the hauen of the citie of Iaphet, determining there to make their abode, vntill they hauing obtained the kings licence and ſafeconduct, might ſafely worſhip at Hieruſalem. Of which nauie the chiefeſt and beſt ſpoken repairing to the king, ſpake to him in this maner. Chriſt preſerue the Kings life, and proſper his kingdome from day to day; Wee, being men and ſouldiours of Chriſtian profeſſion, haue, through the helpe of God, ſayled hither through mightie and large ſeas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to worſhip at Ieruſalem, and to viſit the ſepulchre of our Lord. And therefore we are aſſembled to intreat your clemency touching the matter, that by your fauour and ſafe conduct we may peaceably goe vp to Ieruſalem, and worſhip there, and ſo returne.

Chap. 2.

The king fauourably hearing their whole petition, granted vnto them a ſtrong band of men to conduct them, which brought them ſafely from all aſſaults and ambuſhes of the Gentiles by the knowen wayes vnto Ieruſalem and all other places of deuotion. After that theſe pilgrims, & new Chriſtian ſtrangers were brought thither, they offering vnto our Lord their vowes in the temple of the holy ſepulchre, returned with great ioy, and without all let vnto Ioppa; where finding the king, they vowed that they would aſſiſt him in all things, which ſhould ſeeme good vnto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hoſpitality, anſwered that he could not on the ſudden anſwere to this point, vntill that after he had called his nobles together, he had conſulted with my lord the Patriarch what was moſt meet and conuenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine ſo willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling vnto him my lord the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfride the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of Dauid, and the other chiefeſt men of warre, he determined to haue a meeting in the city of Rames, to conſult with them what was beſt to be done.

Chap. 3.

Who, being aſſembled at the day appointed, and propoſing their diuers opinions & iudgements, at length it ſeemed beſt vnto the whole company to beſiege the city Sagitta, which is alſo called Sidon, if peraduenture, through Gods helpe, and by the ſtrength of this new army, by land and ſea it might be ouercome. Whereupon all they which were there preſent, and required that this city ſhould be beſieged, becauſe it was one of thoſe cities of the Gentiles which continually rebelled, were commended, and admoniſhed of the king euery one to go home, and to furniſh themſelues with things neceſſary, and armour for this expedition. Euery one of them departed home; likewiſe Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre againſt the inuaſions of the enemies, which could neuer be wearied day nor night in the countie of the Pagans, in purſuing them with warre and warlike ſtratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediatly after this conſultation the king ſent ambaſſadours to all the multitude of the Engliſh men, requiring them not to remoue their campe nor fleet from the city of Iaphet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The ſame ambaſſadours alſo declared vnto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to beſiege and aſſault the city Sagitta by ſea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull: and that for this purpoſe, the king and the patriarch were comming downe vnto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engins, and warlike inſtruments, to inuade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane ſeaſon they were to remaine at Iaphet, vntill the kings further commandement were knowen. Whereupon they all agreed that it ſhould ſo be done according to the kings commandement; and anſwered that they would attend his directions in the hauen of Iaphet, & would in all points be obedient vnto him vnto the death.

Chap. 4.

The king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the ſpace of fortie dayes engins, and many kindes of warlike inſtruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which ſeemed to be moſt conuenient for the aſſaulting of the city. Aſſoone as this purpoſe and intent of the king was come vnto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an inuincible power of men of warre was arriued at Iaphet to helpe the king, they were greatly aſtonied, fearing that by this meanes, they ſhould be conſumed and ſubdued by the king by dint of ſword, as other cities, to wit, Cæſaria, Aſſur, Acres, Cayphas, and Tabaria were vanquiſhed and ſubdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promiſed to the king by ſecret mediatours, a mighty maſſe of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yeerely pay a great tribute, vpon condition that ceaſing to beſiege and inuade their city, he would ſpare their liues. Whereupon theſe buſineſſes were handled from day to day betweene the king and the citizens, and they ſollicited the king for the ranſomming both of their city and of their liues, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and perplexed for the payment of the wages which he ought vnto his ſouldiers, harkened wholy vnto this offer of money. Howbeit becauſe he feared the Chriſtians, leaſt they ſhould lay it to his charge as a fault, he durſt not as yet meddle with the ſame.

Chap. 5.

IN the meane ſpace Hugh of Tabaria being ſent for, accompanied with the troopes of two hundred horſemen and foure hundred footmen, inuaded the countrey of the Groſſe Carle called Suet, very rich in gold and ſiluer moſt abundant in cattle frontering vpon the countrie of the Damaſcenes, where hee tooke a pray of ineſtimable riches and cattle, which might haue ſuffiſed him for the beſiege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king, and his companie. This pray being gathered out of ſundry places thereabout, and being led away as farre as the citie of Belinas, which they call Cæſaria Philippi, the Turkes which dwelt at Damaſcus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrie perceiuing this, flocking on all partes together by troopes, purſued Hughes companie to reſcue the pray, and paſſed foorth as farre as the mountaines, ouer which Hughes footemen did driue the pray. There beganne a great ſkirmiſh of both partes, the one ſide made reſiſtance to keepe the pray, the other indeuoured with all their might to recouer it, vntill at length the Turkes and Saracens preuailing, the pray was reſcued and brought backe againe: which Hugh and his troopes of horſemen, ſuddenly vnderſtanding, which were on the ſide of the mountaines, incontinently rid backe vpon the ſpurre, among the ſtraight and craggie rockes, ſkirmiſhing with the enemies, and ſuccouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought vnfortunately. For Hugh, being vnarmed, and immediatly ruſhing into the middeſt of all dangers, and after his wounted manner inuading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe ſhot through the backe which pierced thorough his liuer and breſt, he gaue vp the ghoſt in the handes of his owne people. Hereupon the troopes of the Gentiles being returned with the recouered pray, and being deuided through the ſecret and hard paſſages of the craggie hilles, the ſouldiers brought the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the citie of Nazareth, which is by the mount Thaber, where with great mourning and lamentation, ſo worthie a prince, and valiant champian was honourably and Catholikely interred. The brother of the ſaid Hugh named Gerrard, the ſame time lay ſicke of a grieuous diſeaſe. Which hearing of the death of his brother, his ſickneſſe of his body increaſing more vehemently through griefe, he alſo deceaſed within eight dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Chriſtian maner.

Chap. 6.

AFter the lamentable burials of theſe ſo famous Princes, the King, taking occaſion of the death of theſe principall men of his armie, agreed, making none priuie thereto, to receiue the money which was offered him for his differring off the ſiege of the citie of Sagitta, yet diſſembling to make peace with the Saracens, but that he ment to go through with the worke, that he had begunne. Whereupon ſending a meſſage vnto Iaphet, hee aduiſed the Engliſh ſouldiers to come downe to Acres with their fleete, and to conferre and conſult with him touching the beſieging and aſſaulting of the citie of Sagitta, which riſing immediatly vpon the kings commaundement, and foorthwith hoyſing vp the ſayles of their ſhippes aloft with pendants and ſtremers of purple, and diuerſe other glorious colours, with their flagges of ſcarlet colour and ſilke, came thither, and caſting their ancres, rode hard by the citie. The king the next day calling vnto him ſuch as were priuie & acquainted with his dealings, opened his griefe vnto the chiefe Captaines of the Engliſh men and Danes, touching the ſlaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother, and what great confidence he repoſed in them concerning theſe warres: and that nowe therefore they being departed and dead, he muſt of neceſſity differre the beſieging of Sagitta, & for this time diſmiſſe the armie aſſembled. This reſolution of the king being ſpred among the people, the armie was diſſolued, and the Engliſhmen, Danes and Flemings, with ſailes and oares going aboard their fleete, ſaluted the king, and returned home vnto their natiue countries.

The trauailes of one *Athelard* an Engliſhman, recorded

by maſter *Bale Centur. 2.*

ATHelardus Bathonienſis Cœnobij monachus, naturalium rerum myſteria, & cauſas omnes, diligentiâ tam vndecunque exquiſitâ perſcrutatus eſt, vt cum aliquibus veteris ſeculi philoſophis non indignè conferri poſſit. Hic olim ſpectatæ indolis Adoleſcens, vt virente adhuc ætate iuuenile ingenium fœcundaret, atque ad res magnas pararet, relicta dulci patria longinquas petijt regiones. Cum verò Ægyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura inueniſſet, quæ eius deſiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam tum demùm reuertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Athelard a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe was ſo diligent a ſearcher of the ſecrets, and cauſes of naturall things, that he deſerueth worthely to be compared with ſome of the auncient Philoſophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being deſirous to increaſe and enrich the ſame with the beſt things, and to prepare himſelfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and trauailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he deſired to his owne priuate contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and ſo being ſatiſfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flouriſhed in the yeere 1130. Henry the firſt being then king of England.

¶ The life and trauailes of one *VVilliam* of *Tyre*, an Engliſhman. *Centur. 13.*

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrenſis claruit ſub Henrico primo.

GVlielmus, Eccleſiæ Dominici ſepulchri Hieroſolymæ Regularium Canonicorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus cõmendabilis, Anno Dom. 1128. poſtquam Tyrorum Ciuitas fidei Chriſtianæ reſtituta eſt a Guimundo Hieroſolymorum patriarcha, eidem vrbi primus Archiepiſcopus præficiebatur. Eſt autem Tyrus ciuitas antiquiſſima, Phœniciæ vniuerſæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ prouincias, & bonorum omnium penè commoditate, & incolarum frequentia primum ſemper obtinuit locum: poſt conſcripta quædam opuſcula, & Epiſtolas, ad Dominum migrauit, An. Chriſti 1130. quum duobus tantum ſediſſet annis, & in Tyrenſi Eccleſia ſepelitur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

William the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Ieruſalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Engliſhman borne, and of a vertuous and good behauiour. After that the Citie of Tyre was reſtored againe to the Chriſtian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Ieruſalem made him the firſt Archbiſhop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefeſt Prouince of Syria, both for fruitful commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William hauing in his life written many Bookes and Epiſtles, died at laſt in the yeere 1130. hauing bene Archbiſhop the ſpace of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The trauailes of *Robertus Ketenenſis.*

ROBertus Ketenenſis natione & cognomine Anglus, deguſtatis primùm per Anglorum gymnaſia humanarum artium elementis literarijs, vltramarinas ſtatim viſitare prouincias in animo conſtituit: Peragratis ergò Gallijs, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum peruenit in Aſiam, vbi non paruo labore, ac vitæ ſuæ periculo inter Saracenos truculentiſſimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amuſſim didicit. In Hiſpaniam poſtea nauigio traductus, circa fluuium Hiberum Aſtrologicæ artis ſtudio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni ſui itineris comite ſe totum dedit. Claruit anno ſeruatoris noſtri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Pampilonæ ſepelitur.

Claruit ſub Stephano.

The ſame in Engliſh.

This Robert Ketenenſis was called an Engliſhman by ſurname, as he was by birth: who after ſome time ſpent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Vniuerſities of England, determined to trauaile to the partes beyond ſea: and ſo trauailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at laſt into Aſia, where he liued in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by ſea into Spaine, and there about the riuer Iberus, gaue himſelfe wholy to the ſtudie of Aſtrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flouriſhed in the yeere 1143. Steuen being then King of England, and was buried at Pampilona.

A voyage of certaine Engliſh men vnder the conduct of *Lewes* king of *France* vnto the Holy land.

TAntæ expeditionis explicito apparatu vterque princeps iter arripuit, & exercitu ſepartito. Imperator enim Conradus præcedebat itinere aliquot dierum, cum Italorum, Germanorum, aliarúmque gentium ampliſſimis copijs. Rex vero Lodouicus ſequebatur Francorum, Flandrenſium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Prouincialium, Aquitanorum, equeſtri ſimul & pedeſtri agmine comitatus. *Gulielmus Neobrigenſis, fol. 371.* 1147. Tempore regis Stephani.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BOth the princes prouiſion being made for ſo great an expedition, they ſeuering their armies, entered on their iourney. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes iourney, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horſemen and footmen of French men, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, Engliſh men, Burgundions, men of Prouence, and Gaſcoins.

The voyage of *Iohn Lacy* to *Ieruſalem.*

ANno Domini 1172 fundata fuit abbatia de Stanlaw per dominum Iohannem Lacy Conſtabularium Ceſtriæ & dominum de Halton, qui obijt in Terra ſancta anno ſequenti: qui fuit viceſſimus annus regni regis Henrici ſecundi. 1173.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord Iohn Lacy Conſtable of Cheſter, & lord of Halton, who deceaſed in the Holy land the yere following: which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the ſecond.

The voyage of *VVilliam Mandeuile* to *Ieruſalem.*

WIlliam Mandeuile earle of Eſſex, with diuers Engliſh lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the ſecond. Holinſhed pag. 101. 1177.

Engliſh men were the guard of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople* in the reigne of *Iohn* the ſonne of *Alexius Comnenus.* *Malmesburienſis, Curopolata* and *Camden, pag. 96.*

IAm inde Anglia non minus belli gloria, quàm humanitatis cultu inter Florentiſſimas orbis Chriſtiani gentes inprimis floruit. Adeo vt ad cuſtodiam corporis Conſtantinopolitanorum Imperatorum euocati fuerint Angli. Ioannes enim Alexij Comneni filius, vt refert noſter Malmesburienſis, eorum fidem ſuſpiciens præcipue familiaritati ſuæ applicabat, amorem eorum filio tranſcribens: Adeo vt iam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum illorum ſatellites, Inglini Bipenniferi Nicetæ Choniatæ, Barangi Curopolatæ dicti. Qui vbiq; Imperatorem proſequebantur ferentes humeris ſecures, quas tollebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio ſpectandum ſe exhibebat, Anglicè vitam diuturnam ſecures ſuas collidentes vt ſonitum ederent, comprecabantur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

FRom this time forward the kingdome of England was reputed amongſt the moſt flouriſhing eſtates of Chriſtendome, no leſſe in chiualrie then humanitie. So farforth that the Engliſh men were ſent for to be the guarders of the perſons of the Emperours of Conſtantinople. For Iohn the ſonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly eſteeming their fidelity, vſed them very nere about him, recommending them ouer to his ſonne: ſo that long time afterwards the guard of thoſe Emperours were Engliſh halberdiers, called by Nicetas Choniata, Inglini Bipenniferi, and by Curopolata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their ſhoulders, which they held vp when the Emperour comming from his Oratorie ſhewed himſelfe to the people; and claſhing their halberds together to make a terrible ſound, they in the Engliſh tongue wiſhed vnto him long life.

A great ſupply of money to the Holy land by *Henry* the 2.

The ſame yeere King Henry the ſecond being at Waltham, aſſigned an aide to the maintenance of the Chriſtian ſouldiers in the Holy lande, That is to wit, two and fortie thouſand markes of ſiluer, and fiue hundred markes of golde. Matth. Pariſ. and Holenſ. pag. 105.

A letter written from *Manuel* the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, vnto *Henrie* the ſecond King of *England*, *Anno Dom.* 1177. wherein mention is made that certaine of king *Henries* Noble men and ſubiects were preſent with the ſayd Emperour in a battell of his againſt the Soldan of *Iconium*. Recorded by *Roger Houeden, in Annalium parte poſteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, & 317.*

Eodem anno Manuel Conſtantinopolitanus imperator, habito prælio campeſtri cum Soltano Iconij & illo deuicto, in hac forma ſcripſit Domino regi Angliæ.

Manuel in Chriſto deo Porphyrogenitus, diuinitùs coronatus, ſublimis, potens, excelſus, ſemper Auguſtus, & moderator Romanorum, Comnenus, Henrico nobiliſſimo regi Angliæ, chariſſimo amico ſuo, ſalutem & omne bonum. Cum imperium noſtrum neceſſarium reputet notificare tibi, vt dilecto amico ſuo, de omnibus quæ ſibi obueniunt; ideò & de his quæ nunc acciderunt ei, opportunum iudicauit declarare tuæ voluntati. Igitur a principio coronationis noſtræ imperium noſtrum aduerſus dei inimicos Perſas noſtrum odium in corde nutriuit, dum cerneret illos in Chriſtianos gloriari, eleuarique in nomen dei, & Chriſtianorum dominari regionibus. Quocirca & alio quidem tempore indifferentèr inuaſit eos, & prout deus ei conceſſit, ſic & fecit. Et quæ ab ipſo frequenter patrata ſunt ad contritionem ipſorum & perditionem, imperium noſtrum credit nobilitatem tuam non latere. Quoniam autem & nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere propoſuit, & bellum contra omnem Perſidem mouere, quia res cogebat. Et non vt voluit multum aliquem apparatum fecit, ſicut ei viſum eſt. Veruntamen prout tempus dabat & rerum ſtatus, potentèr eos inuaſit. Collegit ergo circa ſe imperium noſtrum potentias ſuas: ſed quia carpenta ducebat armorum, & machinarum, & aliorum inſtrumentorum conferentium ciuitatum expugnationibus, pondera portantia: idcircò nequaquam cum feſtinatione iter ſuum agere poterat. Ampliùs autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, antequam barbarorum aliquis aduerſus nos militaret in bellis aduerſarius, ægritudo difficillima fluxus ventris invaſit nos, qui diffuſus per agmina imperij noſtri pertranſibat, depopulando & interimendo multos, omni pugnatore grauior. Et hoc malū inualeſcens maximè nos contriuit. Ex quo verò fines Turcorum inuaſimus, bella quidem primum frequentia concrepabant, & agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperij noſtri vndique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto à noſtris in fugam vertebantur barbari. Poſt verò vbi ei qui illic adjacet anguſtiæ loci, quæ à Perſis nominatur Cibrilcimam, propinquauimus, tot Perſatum turmæ peditum & equitum, quorum pleræque ab interioribus partibus Perſidis occurrerant in adiutorium contribulium ſuorum, exercitui noſtro ſuperuenerunt, quot penè noſtrorum excederent numerum. Exercitu itaque imperij noſtri propter viæ omnino anguſtiam & difficultatem, vſq; ad decem milliaria extenſo; & cum neque qui præibant poſſent poſtremos defendere, neque verſa vice rurſus poſtremi poſſent præeuntes iuuare, non mediocritèr ab inuicem hos diſtare accidit; Sanè primæ cohortes permultùm ab acie imperij noſtri diuidebantur, poſtremarum oblitæ, illas non præſtolantes. Quoniam igitur Turcorum agmina ex iam factis prælijs cognouerant, non conferre ſibi à fronte nobis repugnare, loci anguſtiam bonum ſubuentorem cum inueniſſent, poſteriora ſtatuerunt inuadere agmina, quod & fecerunt. Arctiſſimo igitur vbique loco exiſtente, inſtabant barbari vndique, à dextris & â ſiniſtris, & aliundè dimicantes, & tela ſuper nos, quaſi imbres deſcendentia interimebant viros & equos complures. Ad hæc itaque imperium noſtrū vbi malum ſuperabundabat, reputans ſecum oportunū iudicabat retrò expectare, atque illos qui illic erant adiuuare, expectando vtiquè contra infinita illa Perſarum agmina bellum ſuſtinuit. Quanta quidem, dum ab his circundaretur, patrauerit, non opus eſt ad tempus ſermonibus pertexere, ab illis autem qui interfuerunt, forſitan diſcet de his tua nobilitas. Inter hæc autem exiſtente imperio noſtro, & omne belli grauamen in tantum ſuſtinente; poſtremæ cohortes vniuerſæ Græcorum & Latinorum, & reliquorum omnium generum conglobatæ, quæ iaciebantur ab inimicis tela non ſuſtinentes, impactione vtuntur, & ita violentèr ferebantur, dùm ad adiacentem ibi collem quaſi ad propugnaculum feſtinarent: ſed precedentes impellunt nolentes. Multo autem eleuato puluere, ac perturbante oculos, & neminem permittente videre quæ circa pedes erant, in præcipitium quod aderat profundiſſimæ vallis alius ſuper alium homines & equi ſic incontinentèr portati corruerunt, quòd alij alios conculcantes ab inuicem interemerunt non ex gregarijs tantum, ſed ex clariſſimis & intimis noſtris conſanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat tantæ multitudinis importabilem impulſum? At verò imperium noſtrum tot & tantis confertum barbaris ſaucians, ſauciatúmque, adeò vt non modicam in eos moueret perturbationem, obſtupentes perſeuerantiam ipſius, & non remittebatur, benè iuuante deo, campum obtinuit. Neque locum illum ſcandere aduerſarios permiſit, in quo dimicauit cum barbaris. Nec quidem equum ſuum illorum timore incitauit, celerius aliquando ponere veſtigia. Sed congregando omnia agmina ſua, & de morte eripiendo ea, collocauit circa ſe: & ſic primos attigit, & ordinatìm proficiſcens ad exercitus ſuos acceſſit. Ex tunc igitur videns Soltanus, quòd poſt tanta quæ acciderant exercitibus noſtris, imperium noſtrum, ſicut oportunum erat, rem huiuſmodi diſpenſauit, vt ipſum rursùm inuaderet: mittens ſupplicauit imperio noſtro, & deprecatorijs vſus eſt ſermonibus, & requiſiuit pacem illius, promittens omnem imperij noſtri adimplere voluntatem, & ſeruitium ſuum contra omnem hominem dare, & omnes qui in regno ſuo tenebantur captiuos abſoluere, & eſſe ex toto voluntatis noſtræ. Ibidem ergo per duos dies integros, in omni poteſtate morati ſumus, & cognito quòd nihil poterat fieri contra ciuitatem Iconij, perditis teſtudinibus & machinis bellicis, eo quòd boues cecidiſſent a telis in modo pluuiæ iactis, qui eas trahebant: Simul autem eo quòd & vniuerſa animalia noſtra irruente in illa difficillima ægritudine laborabant, ſuſcepit Soltani depræcationem & fœdera & iuramenta peracta ſub vexillis noſtris, & pacem ſuam ei dedit. Inde ingreſſum imperium noſtrum in regionem ſuam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem ſuper his quos perdidit conſanguineis, maximas tamen Deo gratias agens, qui per ſuam bonitatem & nunc ipſum honorauit: Gratum autem habuimus, quòd quoſdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit intereſſe nobiſcum, qui narrabūt de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ voluntati ſeriem. Cæterùm autem, licèt contriſtati ſimus propter illos qui ceciderunt: oportunum tamen duximus, de omnibus quæ acciderant, declarare tibi, vt dilecto amico noſtro, & vt permultùm coniuncto imperio noſtro, per puerorum noſtrorum intimam conſanguinitatem. Vale. Data menſe Nouembris, indictione tertia.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yeere 1177, Manuel the emperour of Conſtantinople hauing fought a field with the Soldan of Iconium, and vanquiſhed him, wrote vnto Henry the ſecond king of England in maner following.

Manuel Comnenus in Chriſt the euerliuing God a faithful emperour, deſcended of the linage of Porphyrie, crowned by Gods grace, high, puiſſant, mighty, alwayes moſt ſouereigne, and gouernour of the Romans; vnto Henry the moſt famous king of England, his moſt deare friend, greeting and all good ſucceſſe. Whereas our imperiall highneſſe thinketh it expedient to aduertiſe you our welbeloued friend of all our affaires: We thought it not amiſſe to ſignifie vnto your royall Maieſtie certaine exploits at this preſent atchieued by vs. From the beginning therefore of our inauguration our imperiall highnes hath mainteined moſt deadly feod and hoſtility againſt Gods enemies the Perſians, ſeeing them ſo to triumph ouer Chriſtians, to exalt thēſelues againſt the name of God, and to vſurpe ouer Chriſtian kingdomes. For which cauſe our imperiall highneſſe hath in ſome ſort encountered them heretofore, and did as it pleaſed God to giue vs grace. And we ſuppoſe that your Maieſtie is not ignorant, what our imperiall highneſſe hath often performed for their ruine and ſubuerſion. For euen now, being vrged thereunto, we haue determined to leade a mighty army againſt them, and to wage warre againſt all Perſia. And albeit our forces be not ſo great as we could wiſh they were, yet haue we according to the time, and the preſent ſtate of things, ſtrongly inuaded them. Wherefore our Maieſtie imperiall hath gathered our armies together: but becauſe we had in our army ſundry carts laden with armour, engines, & other inſtruments for the aſſault of cities, to an exceeding weight we could not make any great ſpeed in our iourney. Moreouer, while our imperiall highneſſe was yet marching in our owne dominions, before any barbarous enemy had fought againſt vs: our people were viſited with the moſt grieuous diſeaſe of the fluxe, which being diſperſed in our troups deſtroyed and ſlew great numbers, more then the ſword of the enemy would haue done. Which miſchiefe ſo preuailing, did woonderfully abate our forces. But after we had inuaded the Turkiſh frontiers, we had at the firſt very often and hot ſkirmiſhes, and the Turks came ſwarming to fight againſt our imperiall troups. Howbeit by Gods aſſiſtance thoſe miſcreants were altogether ſcattered and put to flight by our ſouldiers. But as we approched vnto that ſtraight paſſage which is called by the

Perſians Cibrilciman, ſo many bands of Perſian footemen and horſemen (moſt whereof came from the innermoſt parts of Perſia, to ſuccour their Allies) encountred our army, as were almoſt ſuperiour vnto vs in number. Wherefore the army of our Imperiall highneſſe, by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe and difficultie of the way, being ſtretched ten miles in length; and the firſt not being able to helpe the laſt, nor yet contrarywiſe the laſt to reſcue the firſt, it came to paſſe that they were very farre diſtant aſunder. And in very deed the foremoſt troupes were much ſeparated from the guard of our imperiall perſon, who forgetting their fellowes behind, would not ſtay any whit for them. Becauſe therefore the Turkiſh bands knew full well by their former conflicts that it was bootleſſe for them to aſſaile the forefront of our battell, and perceiuing the narowneſſe of the place to be a great aduantage, they determined to ſet vpon our rereward, and did ſo. Wherefore our paſſage being very ſtraight, and the infidels aſſayling vs vpon the right hand and vpon the left, and on all ſides, and diſcharging their weapons as thicke as haileſtones againſt vs, ſlew diuers of our men and horſes. Hereupon, the ſlaughter of our people ſtill encreaſing our maieſtie imperiall deemed it requiſite to ſtay behind, and to ſuccour our bands in the rereward, and ſo expecting them we ſuſtained the fierce encounter of many thouſand Perſians. What exploits our Imperiall perſon atchieued in the ſame ſkirmiſh, I hold it needleſſe at this time to recount: your maieſtie may perhaps vnderſtand more of this matter by them which were there preſent. Howbeit our Imperiall highneſſe being in the middeſt of this conflict, and enduring the fight with ſo great danger, all our hindermoſt troups, both Greekes, Latines, and other nations, retiring themſelues cloſe together, and not being able to ſuffer the violence of their enemies weapons, preſſed on ſo hard, and were caried with ſuch maine force, that haſtening to aſcend the next hill for their better ſafegard, they vrged on them which went before, whether they would or no. Whereupon, much duſt being raiſed, which ſtopped our eyes and vtterly depriued vs of ſight, and our mē and horſes preſſing ſo ſore one vpon the necke of another, plunged themſelues on the ſudden into ſuch a ſteepe and dangerous valley, that treading one vpon another, they quelled to death not onely a multitude of the common ſouldiours, but diuers moſt honourable perſonages, & ſome of our neere kinſmen. For who could reſtraine the irreſiſtable throng of ſo huge a multitude? Howbeit our Imperiall highneſſe being enuironed with ſuch ſwarmes of Infidels, and giuing and receiuing wounds (inſomuch that the miſcreants were greatly diſmaied at our conſtancie) we gaue not ouer, but by Gods aſſiſtance wonne the field. Neither did we permit the enemie to aſcend vnto that place, from whence we ſkirmiſhed with him. Neither yet ſpurred wee on our horſe any faſter for all their aſſaults. But marſhalling all our troupes together, and deliuering them out of danger, we diſpoſed them about our Imperial perſon; and ſo we ouertooke the foremoſt, and marched in good order with our whole army. Nowe the Soldan perceiuing that notwithſtanding the great damages which we had ſuſtained, our Imperial highnes prouided to giue him a freſh encounter, humbly ſubmitting himſelfe vnto vs, and vſing ſubmiſſe ſpeaches, made ſuite to haue peace at our hands, and promiſed to fulfill the pleaſure of our maieſtie Imperiall, to doe vs ſeruice againſt all commers, to releaſe all our ſubiects which were captiues in his realme, and to reſt wholy at our commaund. Here therefore we remained two dayes with great authoritie; and conſidering that wee could attempt nought againſt the citie of Iconium, hauing loſt all our warrelike engines both for defence and for batterie, for that the oxen which drew them were ſlaine with the enemies weapons, falling as thicke as haileſtones: and alſo for becauſe all our beaſts in a maner were moſt grieuouſly diſeaſed; our maieſtie Imperial accepted of the Soldans petition, league, and oath being made and taken vnder our enſignes, and granted our peace vnto him. Then returned we into our owne dominions, being greatly grieued for the loſſe of our deere kinſmen, and yeelding vnto God moſt humble thanks, who of his goodneſſe had euen now giuen vs the victory. We are right glad likewiſe that ſome of your maieſties princes and nobles accompanied vs in this action, who are able to report vnto you all things which haue happened. And albeit we were exceedingly grieued for the loſſe of our people; yet thought it we expedient to ſignifie vnto you the ſucceſſe of our affaires, as vnto our welbeloued friend, & one who is very neerly allied vnto our highneſſe Imperial, by reaſon of the conſanguinitie of our children. Farewell. Giuen in the moneth of Nouember, and vpon the tenth Indiction.

The citie of Iconium intended to haue bene beſieged.

Certaine noble men of the king of England were with the Emperor in his battell againſt the Soldan of Iconium.

¶ The woorthy voiage of *Richard* the firſt, K. of *England* into *Aſia*, for the recouerie of *Ieruſalem* out of the hands of the *Saracens*, drawen out of the booke of *Acts and Monuments* of the Church of England, written by *M. Iohn Foxe*.

King Richard the firſt of that name, for his great valure ſurnamed Ceur de Lion, the ſonne of Henry the ſecond, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had vndutifully raiſed againſt him, ſought for abſolution of his treſpaſſe, and in part of ſatiſfaction for the ſame, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voiage with him for the recouerie of Chriſtes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land: whereupon the ſayd king Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himſelfe the better towards his iourney, vſed diuers meanes to take vp ſummes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Chriſtians to make threeſcore and ten thouſand pounds, and the Iewes which then dwelt in the Realme threeſcore thouſand.

Hauing thus gotten ſufficient money for the exploite, he ſent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promiſe made for the recouerie of Chriſts holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he ſent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himſelfe by ſolemne othe, depoſing vpon the Euangeliſts, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Eaſter, had certainly prefixed to addreſſe himſelfe toward that iourney, requiring him likewiſe not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme aboue limited, appointing alſo the place where both the Kings ſhould meete together.

In the yeere therfore 1190. King Richard hauing committed the gouernment of this realme in his abſence to the biſhop of Ely then Chancellor of England, aduanced forward his iourney, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, & after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king & he ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, aſſured themſelues by ſolemne othe, ſwearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whoſe oth was this.

> *That either of them ſhould defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of life, members & worldly honor, and that neither of them ſhould faile one the other in their affaires: but the French King ſhould aide the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himſelfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were beſieged: and that* Richard *king of England likewiſe ſhould aide the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwiſe then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan if it were beſieged, &c.*

¶ The oth of fidelitie betwixt King Richard, and the French king.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Nauie, the forme thereof was this.

The diſcipline and orders of the king.

1. That who ſo killed any perſon on ſhipboord, ſhould be tied with him that was ſlaine, and throwen into the ſea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he ſhould in like maner be tied with the partie ſlaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that ſhalbe conuicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to ſtrike any man, or that hath ſtriken any to the drawing of blood, ſhall looſe his hand.

4. Alſo he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hand without effuſion of blood, ſhall be plunged three times in the ſea.

5. Item, who ſo ſpeaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reuiling or curſing one another, for ſo oftentimes as he hath reuiled, ſhall pay ſo many ounces of ſiluer.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath ſtollen being lawfully cōuicted, ſhal haue his head ſhorne, and boyling pitch powred vpon his head, and feathers or downe ſtrawed vpon the ſame, whereby he may be knowen, and ſo at the firſt landing place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt vp.

Theſe things thus ordered, king Richard ſending his Nauie by the Spaniſh ſeas, and by the ſtreights of Gibraltar, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marſilia, hee himſelfe went as is ſaid to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the flood Rhodanus with preaſſe of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occaſion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were conſtrained to diſſeuer themſelues for time of their iourney, appointing both to meet together in Sicily: and ſo Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marſilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Nauie to meete him. From thence croſſing ouer to Genua where the French king was, he paſſed forward by the coaſts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard ſtaying in Marſilia 8. dayes for his Nauie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ſhip ouer his men, and ſo came to Naples, and ſo partly by horſe and wagon, and partly by the ſea, paſſing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ſhips were arriued at Meſſana in Sicilie, he made the more ſpeed, and ſo the 23. of September entred Meſſana with ſuch a noyſe of Trumpets and Shalmes, with ſuch a rout and ſhew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the ſight.

To the ſaid towne of Meſſana the French king was come before the 16. of the ſame moneth of September, and had taken vp the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arriuall eftſoones reſorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke ſhipping and entred the ſeas, thinking to ſaile towards the land of Ieruſalem: but after he was out of the hauen, the winde riſing contrary againſt him, returned him backe againe to Meſſana. Then king Richard (whoſe lodging was prepared in the ſuburbs without the Citie) after he had reſorted againe and talked with the French king, and alſo had ſent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for deliuerance of Ioane his ſiſter (who had bin ſomtimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be ſent vnto him, the laſt day of September paſſed ouer the ſtreight del Fare, and there getting a ſtrong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his ſiſter with a ſufficient garriſon, he returned againe to Meſſana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan another ſtrong hold, called Monaſterium Griffonum, ſituated in yͤ midſt of the ſtreight del Fare, betweene Meſſana & Calabria, from whence yͤ Monks being expulſed, he repoſed there all his ſtore and prouiſion of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Meſſana ſeeing that the king of England had wonne the caſtle and Iſland de la Baguare, and alſo the Monaſterie of the Griffons, and doubting leaſt the king would extend his power further to inuade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Iſle of Sicilie, began to ſtirre againſt the Kings armie, and to ſhut the Engliſhmen out of the gates, and kept their walles againſt them. The Engliſhmen ſeeing that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, inſomuch that the King riding amongſt them with his ſtaffe, and breaking diuers of their heads, could not aſſwage their fierceneſſe, ſuch was the rage of the Engliſhmen agaynſt the citizens of Meſſana. The King ſeeing the furie of his people to be ſuch that hee could not ſtay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was ſo taken vp by the wiſe handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the ſayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbiſhop of Meſſana with two other Archbiſhops alſo with the French king, and ſundry other Earles, Barons, and Biſhops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together conſulting, and had almoſt concluded vpon the peace, the Citizens of Meſſana iſſuing out of the towne, ſome went vp vpon the mountains, ſome with open force inuaded the manſion or lodging of Hugh Brune an Engliſh captaine. The noyſe whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee ſuddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the reſt, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themſelues. Who then with certaine of his ſouldiours making vp to the top of the mountaine (which ſeemed to paſſe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chaſing them downe the mountaines, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom alſo certaine of the kings ſeruants purſued into the citie, of whom fiue valiant ſouldiers & twentie of the kings ſeruants were ſlaine, the French King looking vpon, and not once willing to reſcue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there preſent, rode in the midſt of them ſafely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well haue eaſed the Kings partie, more then he, if it had ſo liked him.

Meſſana won by the Engliſh

This being knowen to the Engliſh hoſte how their fellowes were ſlaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred againſt them, being alſo ſtopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themſelues in armes, braſt open the gates, and ſcaled the wals, and ſo winning the citie, ſet vp their flags with the Engliſh armes vpon the wals: which when the French King did ſee, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might alſo be ſet vp, & ioyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no caſe agree, notwithſtanding to ſatiſfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the cuſtodie of the citie to the Hoſpitalaries and Templaries of Ieruſalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he ſhould agree together vpon conditions.

Theſe things being done the fift and ſixt day of October, it followed then vpon the eight day of the ſame, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, firſt king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and ſocietie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace alſo was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforeſaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in caſe king Richard ſhould die without iſſue, ſhould be married to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters ſent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time vntill Februarie the next yeere, theſe two kings kept ſtill at Meſſana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their ſhippes. And in the aforeſayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King Richard ſent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Nauarre, whom he was purpoſed to marry, who by that time were come to Brunduſium, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and ſo proceeding vnto Naples, they found the kings ſhippes wherein they ſayled to Meſſana.

In this meane ſpace, king Richard ſhewed himſelfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king firſt he gaue diuers ſhippes, vpon others likewiſe he beſtowed riche rewardes, and of his treaſure and goods he deſtributed largely to his ſouldiers and ſeruants about him, of whom it was reported, that he diſtributed more in one moneth, then any of his predeceſſors did in a whole yeere: by reaſon whereof he purchaſed great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but alſo to his ſingular vſe and profite, as the ſequele afterward prooued.

The firſt day of March following, he left the citie of Meſſana, where the French King was, and went to Cathneia, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he ſhould depart, the aforeſaid Tancredus offred him many rich preſents in gold and ſiluer, and precious ſilkes, whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche ſworde. At length when king Richard ſhould take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him ſo depart, but needes would giue him 4. great ſhippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore hee himſelfe would needes accompanie him the ſpace of two dayes iourney, to a place called Tauernium.

Then the next morning when they ſhould take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the meſſage, which the French King a little before had ſent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were theſe: That the King of England was a falſe Traytour, & would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the ſayd Tancredus would warre againſt him, or ſecretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would aſſiſt him, to the deſtruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King proteſted againe, that he was no traytour, nor neuer had bene: and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the ſame ſhould neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleeue that the French King being his good lord, and his ſworne Compartner in that voyage, would vtter any ſuch wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth foorth the letters of the French King, ſent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the ſaid letters, he was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters, and muſing not a little vpon the ſame, returneth againe to Meſſana. The ſame day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to ſpeake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Meſſana againe.

From that time King Richard mooued in ſtomacke againſt King Philip, neuer ſhewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was woont: whereat the French king greatly marueiling, and enquiring earneſtly what ſhould be the cauſe thereof, word was ſent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what wordes he had ſent to the king of Sicily, and for teſtimony thereof the letters were ſhewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king vnderſtood, firſt he held his peace as guilty in his conſcience, not knowing well what to anſwere. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he ſought cauſes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therfore he forged (ſayd he) theſe lies vpon him, and all becauſe he by that meanes would auoid to marry with Aliſe his ſiſter, according as he had promiſed. Adding moreouer that if he would ſo do, and would not marry the ſaid Aliſe his ſiſter according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he liued.

To this king Richard ſayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forſomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and alſo had by her a ſonne: for proofe whereof he had there preſently to bring forth diuers & ſundry witneſſes to the kings face, to teſtifie with him.

In concluſion, through counſell and perſwaſion of diuers about the French king, agreement at laſt was made, ſo that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his ſiſter, and king Richard againe ſhould be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the ſpace of fiue yeeres, two thouſand markes, with certaine other conditions beſides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28 day of the ſayd moneth of

March, the French king lanching out of the hauen of Meſſana, the 22 day after in the Eaſter weeke, came with his armie to the ſiege of Achon.

After the departure of the French king from Meſſana, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behinde, arriued Queene Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, to be eſpouſed to king Richard: which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the ſayd moneth, departed from the hauen of Meſſana with 150 great ſhips, and 53 great gallies well manned and appointed, and tooke his iourney toward Achon: who being vpon the Seas on Good friday about the ninth houre, roſe a mighty South winde with a tempeſt, which diſſeuered and ſcattered all his Nauie, ſome to one place, and ſome to another. The king with a few ſhips was driuen to the Ile of Creta, and there before the hauen of Rhodes caſt anker. The ſhips that caried the kings ſiſter, queene of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, with two ſhips were driuen to the Ile of Cyprus.

The Nauie of King Richard.

The king making great mone for the ſhips of his ſiſter, and Berengaria his wife that ſhould be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempeſt was ouerblowen, ſent forth his gallies diligently to ſeeke the reſt of his Nauie diſperſed, but eſpecially the ſhippe wherein his ſiſter was, and the maiden whom he ſhould marry, who at length were found ſafe and merry at the port of Lymſzem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithſtanding the two other ſhips, which were in their company before in the ſame hauen, were drowned with diuers of the kings ſeruants and men of worſhip, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings ſeale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Iſakius (called alſo the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and impriſoned all Engliſh men, which by ſhipwracke were caſt vpon his land, alſo inuegled into his hands the goods and priſes of them which were found drowned about his coaſtes, neither would ſuffer the ſhips wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ſhips together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he firſt in gentle wiſe ſignifieth to king Iſakius, how he with his Engliſh men, comming as ſtrangers to the ſupportation of the holy land, were by diſtreſſe of weather driuen vpon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition beſought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy croſſe, to let go ſuch priſoners of his as he had in captiuitie, and to reſtore againe the goods of them that were drowned which he deteined in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their ſoules. And this the king once, twiſe, and thriſe deſired of the Emperour: but he proudly anſwering againe, ſent the king word, that he neither would let the captiues go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Iſakius made of his ſo humble and honeſt petition, & how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eftſoones giueth commandement throwout all his hoſte to put themſelues in armour and follow him, to reuenge the iniuries receiued of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their truſt in God, and not to miſdoubt but that the Lord would ſtand with them, and giue them the victory. The Emperour in the meane time with his people ſtood warding the Sea coaſts, where the Engliſh men ſhould arriue, with ſwords, billes, and lances, and ſuch other weapons as they had, ſetting boordes, ſtooles, and cheſtes before them as a wall: few of them were harneſſed, and for the moſt part all vnexpert and vnſkilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his ſouldiers iſſuing out of their ſhips, firſt ſet his bowmen before, who with their ſhot made a way for others to followe. The Engliſhmen thus winning the land vpon them, ſo fiercely preſſed vpon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at laſt the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly purſued, and ſlue many, and diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere alſo to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much ſpoyle, and great victory, returning to the port Towne of Lymſzem, which the Towneſmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle and victuals.

The day after the victory gotten, Ioanna the Kings ſiſter, and Berengaria the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymſzem, with 50. great ſhips, and 14. galliots: ſo that all the whole Nauie there meeting together, were 254. tall ſhippes, and aboue threeſcore galliots. Then Iſakius the Emperour, ſeeing no way for him to eſcape by Sea, the ſame night pitched his tentes fiue miles off from the Engliſh army, ſwearing that the third day after, he would ſurely giue battell to king Richard: but he preuenting him before, ſuddenly the ſame morning before the day of battell ſhould be, ſetteth vpon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being vnawares and a ſleepe, and made of them a great ſlaughter, inſomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leauing his tents and pauilions to the Engliſhmen, full of horſes and rich treaſure, alſo with the Imperial ſtanderd, the lower part whereof with a coſtly ſtreamer was couered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his ſiſter and Berengaria, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the ſaid moneth, married the ſaid Berengaria daughter of Zanctius, king of Nauarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymſzem.

The king of Cyprus ſeeing himſelfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeelde himſelfe with conditions to giue king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of ſuch ſpoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, alſo to reſtore all the captiues againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne perſon to attend vpon the king to the lande of Ieruſalem, in Gods ſeruice and his, with 400. horſemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would giue to his hands his caſtles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour ſwearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Ieruſalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Iſakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard beſetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with ſhippes and gallies, did in ſuch ſort preuaile, that the ſubiects of the land were conſtrained to yeelde themſelues to the King, and at laſt the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himſelfe, whom king Richard cauſed to be kept in fetters of gold and ſiluer, and to be ſent to the citie of Tripolis.

These things thus done, and all ſet in order touching the poſſeſſion of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe ſonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the firſt day of Iune vpon the fift of the ſaide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his ſhippes and gallies toward the ſiege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was reſtrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the firſt day of Iune, croſſing the ſeas, he met with a great carak fraught with ſouldiers and men of warre to the number of a thouſand and fiue hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and ſetting foorth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens, ſecretly ſent with wilde fire and certaine barrels of vnknowen ſerpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiuing, eftſoones ſet vpon them and ſo vanquiſhed them, of whom the moſt were drowned and ſome taken aliue: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great diſcomfort to them, ſo it was a great helpe to the Chriſtians for winning the citie.

The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left gouernour of Cyprus.

A great ſhip of Saracens taken by king Richard

The next day after which was the ſeuenth of Iune, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long beſieged by the Chriſtians. After whoſe comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, ſeeing their wals to be vndermined and towers ouerthrowen, were driuen by compoſition to eſcape with life and limme, to ſurrender the citie to the two kings.

King Richard arriued at Achon.

Another great helpe to the Chriſtians in winning the citie, was this. In the ſaid city of Achon there was a ſecret Chriſtian among the Saracens, who in time of the ſiege thereof vſed at ſundry times to caſt ouer the wals into the campe of the Chriſtians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he diſcloſed to the Chriſtians from time to time, the doings and counſels of the enemies, aduertiſing them how and what way they ſhould worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus ſancti Amen. By reaſon whereof the Chriſtians were much aduantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heauines vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer vnderſtand who he was.

To make of a long ſiege a ſhort narration. Vpon the twelfth day of Iuly the yeere aforeſaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, vpon agreement reſorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

1 That the Kings ſhould haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captiues of the Chriſtians ſhould be reſtored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy croſſe ſhould be to them rendred, and a thouſand Chriſtian captiues with two hundreth horſemen, whoſoeuer they themſelues would choſe out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would giue vnto the Kings two hundreth thouſand Byſants, ſo that they themſelues ſhould remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies, the aforeſayd couenants were not accompliſhed, they ſhould abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

Theſe couenants being agreed vpon, the Kings ſent their ſouldiers and ſeruants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richeſt & beſt of the city, to cloſe them vp in towers vnder ſtrong keeping, & the reſidue they committed to be kept in houſes and in ſtreetes, miniſtring vnto them according to their neceſſities: to whom notwithſtanding this they premitted, that ſo many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Chriſt, ſhould be free to goe whither they would: wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward ſo ſoone as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterward commauded by the Kings, that none of them ſhould be baptized againſt their wils.

The thirteenth day of the ſaid moneth of Iuly, King Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obteined the poſſeſſion of Achon, deuided betweene them all things therein conteined as well the people as golde and ſiluer, with all other furniture whatſoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in deuiding the ſpoyle, were ſo good caruers to themſelues that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their ſhare, whereupon they began to ſhew themſelues ſomewhat diſcontented, which being knowen of the kings, they ſent them anſwere that their wils ſhould be ſatiſfied.

The twentieth day of Iuly, king Richard ſpeaking with the French King, deſired him that they two with their armies, would binde themſelues by othe to remaine there ſtil in the land of Ieruſalem the ſpace of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of thoſe countreys: but he ſayd he would ſweare no ſuch othe, and ſo the next day after king Richard with his wife and ſiſter entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himſelfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houſes of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of Auguſt, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido & Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Ieruſalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithſtanding king Richard & all the Princes of the Chriſtian armie with great intreatie deſired him to tary, ſhewing what a ſhame it were for him to come ſo farre, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of Auguſt departed from Tyrus, leauing the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforeſayd Conradus Marques.

The French kings ſhamefull returne home.

After his departure the Pagans refuſed to keepe their couenants made, who neither would reſtore the holy Croſſe nor the money, nor their captiues, ſending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of ſuch captiues of the Chriſtians, as were in their hands.

Shortly after this the Saladine ſending great gifts to king Richard, requeſted the time limited for beheading of the captiues to be proroged, but the king refuſed to take his gifts, and to graunt his requeſt, whereupon the Saladine cauſed all the Chriſtian captiues within his poſſeſſion forthwith to be beheaded, which was the 28. of Auguſt: which albeit king Richard vnderſtood, yet would not he preuent the time before limitted for the execution of his priſoners, being the 20. day of Auguſt: vpon which day he cauſed the priſoners of the Saracens openly in the ſight of the Saladines armie to looſe their heads: the number of whom came to two thouſand and fiue hundreth, ſaue onely that certaine of the principal of them he reſerued for purpoſes and conſiderations, eſpecially to make exchange for the holy Croſſe, and certaine other of the Chriſtian captiues.

The captiues of the Saracens ſlaine by King Richard.

A notable victorie againſt the Saladine.

After this king Richard purpoſed to beſiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way betwene Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Aſſur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely againſt the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the ſame battell, the kings warriers acquited themſelues ſo well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Chriſtians purſued the ſpace of 3. miles, & he loſt that ſame day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in ſuch ſort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to ſuch confuſion 40. yeres before, and but one Chriſtian Captaine called Iames Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen.

King Richard in poſſeſſion of Syria.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Aſcalon, where he found firſt the citie of Ioppe forſaken of the Saracens, who durſt not abide the kings comming: Aſcalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewiſe forſooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free paſſage without reſiſtance: neither durſt the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atcheuances the ſayd K. Richard ſent his letters of certificate as well into England, as alſo to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping yͤ he God willing ſhould be able to make his repaire againe to them by Eaſter next.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by theſe two Kings, and moe ſhould haue bene, had not they falling into diſcorde diſſeuered themſelues, by reaſon whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within ſhort ſpace: who being returned againe eftſoones inuaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting alſo Iohn the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of Englande in his brothers abſence: who then made league vpon the ſame

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1193.

with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next ſpring following returned alſo, who in his returne driuen by diſtreſſe of weather about the parts of Hiſtria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the ſame countrey, and ſo ſolde to the Emperour for ſixtie thouſand Markes: who for no ſmall ioy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, theſe letters here following.

King Richard returneth from Palæſtina.

The letter of the Emperour to *Philip* the French king, concerning the taking of King *Richard*.

Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus, Dilecto & ſpeciali amico ſuo, Philippo illuſtri Prancorum Regi ſalutem, & ſinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celſitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de vniuerſis quibus omnipotentia creatoris noſtri nos ipſos, & Romanum Imperium honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præſentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperij noſtri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum eſſet in tranſeundo mare ad partes ſuas reuerſurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui ſua, in qua ipſe erat, induceret eum in partes Hiſtriæ ad locum qui eſt inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Vbi Rex, Dei permiſſione paſſus naufragium cum paucis euaſit.

Quidam itaq; fidelis noſter Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & conſiderato diligentiùs, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promiſſionis proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis ſuæ cumulum exercuerat, inſecuti ſunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipſo autem Rege in fugam conuerſo, ceperunt de ſuis octo milites: Poſtmodum proceſſit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiſcopatu Salſeburgenſi, qui vocatur Friſorum, vbi Fridericus de Beteſow, Rege cum tribus tantum verſus Auſtriam properante, noctu ſex milites de ſuis cœpit: Dilectus autem Conſanguineus noſter Lympoldus Dux Auſtriæ, obſeruata ſtrata ſæpè, dictum Regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo deſpecta captiuauit.

Cum itaq; in noſtra nunc habeatur Poteſtate, & ipſe ſemper tua moleſtauit, & turbationis operam præſtiterit, ea quæ præmiſimus, nobilitati tuæ inſinuare curauimus: ſcientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita exiſtere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum 5. Kalendas Ianua.

King Richard being thus traiterouſly taken, and ſolde to the Emperour by the Duke of Auſtridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in cuſtodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In ſome ſtories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Aſia, came to Italy with proſperous winde, where he deſired of the Pope to be abſolued of an othe made againſt his will and could not obteine it: and ſo ſetting out from thence towards England, paſſing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whoſe death (he being ſlaine a litle before) was falſly imputed by the French king to the king of England, there traiterouſly was taken (as is aforeſayde) by Limpoldus duke of Auſtridge.

Albeit in another ſtorie I finde the matter more credibly ſet forth: which ſaith thus. That king Richard ſlewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Cheſſe in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel againſt him and deliuered him (as is ſayde) to the Emperour. In whoſe cuſtodie he was deteined during the time aboue mentioned, a yeere & 3. moneths. During which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane ſeaſon ſtirred warre in Normandie: and Earle Iohn the Kings brother, made ſtirre and inuaded England, but the Barons and Biſhops of the land mightily withſtood him.

At length it was ſo agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard ſhould be releaſed for a hundreth and foure thouſand pound: of which money part ſhould remaine to the Duke of Auſtridge, the reſt ſhould be the Emperours. The ſumme of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, croſſes, ſhrines, candleſtickes and other Church plate, alſo with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other ſubiects of the Realme: whereof part was preſently paid, and for the reſidue remaining, hoſtages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope, that Prieſtes might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforeſaide money was payde, and the hoſtages giuen for the ranſome of the King, I haue an olde hiſtorie which ſaith, that the aforeſaid Duke of Auſtridge was ſhortly after plagued by God, with 5. ſundry plagues.

The iuſt iudgment of God vpon the Duke of Auſtria.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2 With drowning of tenne thouſand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3 By turning all the eares of his corne fieldes into wormes.

4. By taking away almoſt all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horſe, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the ſame: who then at his death is reported to forgiue K. Richard 50000. marks, and ſent home the hoſtages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the ſayd Limpoldus duke of Auſtrich fell in diſpleaſure with the biſhop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you haue heard, Richard the King was ranſomed & deliuered from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperor, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Aſia, which was both honourable to himſelfe and to all Chriſtian ſtates, but to the Saracens the enemies of Chriſtianitie, terrible and diſhonourable.

This hiſtorie of King *Richards* voiage to Ieruſalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by *Guilielmus Neobrigenſis*, and *Roger Houeden.*

Epitaphium Richardi *primi regis Anglorum apud fontem* Ebraldi.

SCribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota
aurea, materiæ conueniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
tertia, Caruanna quarta, ſuprema *Iope.
Retruſi Siculi, Cyprus peſſundata, Dromo
merſus, Caruanna capta, retenta Iope.

*Ciuitas Ioppe.

Epitaphium eiuſdem vbi viſcera eius requieſcunt.

VIſcera Kareolum, corpus fons ſeruat Ebraldi,
& cor Rothomagus, magne *Richarde*, tuum.

The life and trauailes of *Baldwinus Deuonius*, ſometime Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

BAldwinus Deuonius, tenui loco Exceſtriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philoſophus, & ad omne ſtudiorum genus per illos dies aptiſſimus inueniebatur. Scholarum rector primùm erat, tum poſtea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac ſapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit prætereà Ciſtercienſis Monachus, & Abbas Fordenſis Cœnobij, magnus ſuorum æſtimatione, ac vniuerſæ eorum ſocietati quaſi Anteſignanus: fuit deinde Wigornienſis præſul, fuit & mortuo demùm Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopus, ac totius Angliæ Primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus ſollicitè inuigilans, egregium ſe paſtorem exhibuit, dominicum ſemen, quantum patiebatur eius temporis iniquitas, vbique locorum ſpargens. Richardus Anglorum rex, acceptis tunc regni inſignijs, ſummo ſtudio claſſem, ac omnia ad Hieroſolymitanum bellum gerendum neceſſaria parauit. Secutus eſt illicò regem in Syriam, & Palęſtinam vſque Baldwinus, vt eſſet in tam Sancto (vt ipſe putabat) itinere laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Pręfuit Cantuarienſi Eccleſię ferè 6. annis, & Richardum regem in Syriam ſecutus, anno Salutis noſtræ 1190. Tyri vitam finiuit, vbi & ſepultus eſt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

BAldwine a Deuonſhire man borne in Exceter of mean parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philoſopher, and in thoſe dayes very excellent in all kind of ſtudies. He was firſt of all a Schoolemaſter; afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning & wiſdom in all his doings. He was alſo a Ciſtercian Monke and Abbot of Foord Monaſterie, and the chiefe of all thoſe that were of his order: he grew after this to be biſhop of Worceſter, and at laſt after the death of Archb. Richard he was promoted & made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. In the diſcharge of which place he being very vigilant, ſhewed himſelfe a worthy Paſtor, ſowing the ſeed of Gods word in euery place as farre foorth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all indeuour prepared a Fleet and all things neceſſary for waging of warre againſt the Infidels at Jeruſalem, taking with him the ſtanderd and enſignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftſoones folowed the king into Syria and Paleſtina, as one deſirous to be partaker of his trauailes, paines, and perils in ſo holy a voyage. Hee was Archbiſhop of Canterburie almoſt ſixe yeres: but hauing followed the king into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre, where he was alſo buried.

An

¶ An annotation concerning the trauailes of the ſayd *Baldwine*, taken out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.*

INter primos Thomæ Becketi ſucceſſor hic ſecundus, audita ſaluatoris & ſalutiferæ Crucis iniuria noſtris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce ſignatus, in eiuſdem obſequijs, tam remotis finibus quàm propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter aſſumpſit. Et poſtmodùm iter accipiens, nauigióque fungens apud Marſiliam, tranſcurſo tandem pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrenſi incolumis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum noſtrum obſidentem pariter & obſeſſum Aconem tranſiuit: vbi multos ex noſtris inueniens, & ferè cunctos principum defectu, in ſumma deſolatione iam poſitos, & deſperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame & inopia grauiter afflictos, quoſdam verò aëris inclementia diſtemperatos, diem fœlicitèr in terra ſacra clauſurus extremum, ſingulos pro poſſe vinculo charitatis amplectens, ſumptibus & impenſis, verbis, & vitæ meritis confirmauit.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THis Baldwine being the ſecond ſucceſſor vnto Thomas Becket, after he had heard ÿ wrong which was done to our Sauiour, and the ſigne of the Croſſe by Saladine the Sultan of Egypt, taking vpon him the Lords Character, he couragiouſly perfourmed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre diſtant Countreis as at home. And afterwards taking his iourney and imbarking himſelfe at Marſeils, hauing at length paſſed ÿ Leuant ſea, he arriued ſafely in the Hauen of Tyrus, and from thence went ouer to Achon vnto our armie, beſieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) beſieged it ſelfe: where finding many of our Countreymen, and almoſt all men remaining in wonderfull penſiueneſſe and deſpaire, through the withdrawing of the Princes, ſome of them tyred with long expectation, others grieuouſly afflicted with hunger and pouertie, and others diſtempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing euery one according to his abilitie in the bond of loue, he ayded them at his coſtes and charges, and ſtrengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

¶ A note drawen out of a very ancient booke remaining in the hands of the right worſhipfull M. *Thomas Tilney* Eſquire, touching Sir *Frederike Tilney* his anceſtor, knighted at *Acon* in the *Holy land* for his valour, by K. *Richard* the firſt, as foloweth.

PErtinuit iſte liber prius Frederico Tilney de Boſton, in comitatu Lincolniæ militi facto apud Acon in terra Iudææ anno regis Richardi primi tertio. Vir erat iſte magnæ ſtaturæ & potens in corpore: qui cum patribus ſuis dormit apud Tirrington iuxta villam ſui nominis Tilney in Merſhland. Cuius altitudo in ſalua cuſtodia permanet ibidem vſque in hunc diem. Et poſt eius obitum ſexdecem militibus eius nominis Tilney hæreditas illa ſucceſſiuè obuenit, quorum vnus poſt alium ſemper habitabat apud Boſton prædictum: dum fratris ſenioris hæreditas hæredi generali deuoluta eſt, quæ nupta eſt Iohanni duci Norfolciæ. Eorum miles vltimus fuit Philippus Tilney nuper de Shelleigh in Comitatu Suffolciæ, pater & genitor Thomæ Tilney de Hadleigh in Comitatu prædicto Armigeri, cui modò attinet iſte liber. Anno ætatis ſuæ 64. Anno Domini 1556.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

THis booke pertained in times paſt vnto Sir Frederick Tilney of Boſton, in the Countie of Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Iurie, in the third yeere of the reigne of king Richard the firſt. This knight was of a tall ſtature, and ſtrong of body, who reſteth interred with his forefathers at Tirrington, neere vnto a towne in Marſhland called by his owne name Tilney. The iuſt height of this knight is there kept in ſafe cuſtody vntill this very day. And after this mans deceaſe, the inheritance of his landes fell ſucceſſiuely vnto ſixteene ſundry knights called all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes one after another, at the towne of Boſton aforeſayd, vntill ſuch time as the poſſeſſions of the elder brother fell vnto an heire general, which was maried vnto Iohn duke of Northfolke. The laſt knight of that name was ſir Philip Tilney late of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predeceſſor and father vnto Thomas Tilney of Hadleigh in the Countie aforeſayd Eſquire, vnto whom the ſayd booke of late appertained. In the yeere of his age 64. and in the yeere of our Lord, 1556.

¶ The trauailes of one *Richard* ſurnamed *Canonicus.*

Richardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis fanum Londini Regularis, ab ipſa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impenſè amauit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem euaſit orator, & Poeta, quales ea ætas rariſſimos nutriebat. Ob id Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem in Palęſtinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, ſuſcepit. Vnde in Angliam tum demum reuerſus, omnia quæ præſens vidit in vrbibus, agris, ac militum caſtris, fideli narratione, tam carmine quàm proſa deſcripſit. Neque interim omiſit eiuſdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis lineamenta deſignare, addidítque præclaro ſuo operi hoc aptiſſimum pro titulo nomen, ſcilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis noſtræ 1200. ſub Ioanne Anglorum Rege.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Richard ſurnamed Canonicus an obſeruant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great loue with the ſtudies of good Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at laſt by his continuall endeuour and long exerciſe therein, hee grewe to bee ſuch an Oratour and Poet, as fewe were in that age liuing, by reaſon whereof hee grew in fauour with Richard then King of England, and vndertooke that long voyage with him into Paleſtina and Syria agaynſt the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully deſcribed both in Verſe and Proſe all ſuch things as hee had ſeene in the Cities, fieldes and tentes of the ſouldiours, where hee was preſent, and omitted not to note the behauiour, forme, and proportion of body in the foreſayd king, giuing to his notable worke this moſt apt name for the title, The Iournall of King Richard. He flouriſhed in the yeere of our Redemption 1200, vnder Iohn king of England.

¶ The trauailes of *Gulielmus Peregrinus.*

Gvlielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam ætatem excellens, genere Anglus, florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat ſtudijs. Hic cum accepiſſet, expeditionem in Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit ſe ad iter illud, non tantum vt miles, ſed etiam peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hiſpanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria & Palęſtina commiſſa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babylonię Regem, ac perfidos Saracenos. Omnia hæc ſcripſit, & viuis depinxit coloribus, ita vt quaſi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idémque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infœliciter, Heroico pettractauit carmine, opúſq; iam abſolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertiſſimo dedicauit, addito hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multáque alia edidiſſe Poetam talem non dubito, ſed num extent illa eius ſcripta, mihi non conſtat. Hoc tamen ſatis conſtat, eum fuiſſe in pretio, Anno à ſalutifero virginis partu 1200. ſub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

The ſame in Engliſh.

William the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in thoſe dayes and an Engliſhman borne, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as many then were) and beſtowed his good time in the beſt kinde of ſtudies. Hee vnderſtanding of the preparation of king Richard againſt the Saracens, prepared himſelfe alſo for the ſame voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime alſo. He ſawe thoſe things which happened in the Spaniſh Seas, and which were done in Syria and Paleſtina, againſt the Sultan the king of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and expreſſed them as it were in liuely colours, as if they had bene ſtill in doing before his eyes, and handled the ſame Argument in Heroicall verſe which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finiſhed his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a moſt expert Captaine of the warres, giuing it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that ſo good a Poet as hee was publiſhed many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flouriſhed in the yeere after the birth of Chriſt 1200. vnder king Iohn.

The large contribution to the ſuccour of the *Holy land*, made by king *Iohn* king of *England*, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. *Matth. Paris* and *Holinſh.pag.164*.

At the ſame time alſo the kings of France and England gaue large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this preſent went forth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian faith at the inſtance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted vnto them the fortieth part of all the reuenues belonging vnto eccleſiaſticall perſons, towards the ayd of the Chriſtians then being in the Holy land: and all ſuch aſwel of the nobility, as other of the weaker ſort, which had taken vpon them the croſſe, and ſecretly layed it downe were compelled efſoones to receiue it now againe.

The trauailes of *Hubert VValter* biſhop of *Sarisburie*.

Hvbertus Walterus Sarisburienſis Epiſcopus, vir probus, ingenióq; ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos vnus eorum erat, qui poſt Richardum regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiſcebantur. Cum ex Palæſtina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorum manus incidiſſet, omiſſo itinere incœpto, ad eum cursìm diuertebat: Quem & ille ſtatim in Angliam miſit, vt illic regij Senatus authoritate, indicto pro eius redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & induſtrius fecit ac regem liberauit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopus factus, poſt eius mortem Ioanni illius fratri ac ſucceſſori paria fidelitatis officia præſtitit. Longa enim oratione toti Anglorum nationi perſuaſit, quod vir prouidus, præſtans, fortis, genere nobiliſſimus, & imperio digniſſimus eſſet: quo ſalutatus a populo fuit, atque in regem coronatus. Compoſuit quædam opuſcula, & ex immenſo animi dolore demum obijſſe fertur, Anno ſalutis humanæ 1205. cum ſediſſet annos 11. Menſes octo, & dies ſex: quum vidiſſet ex inteſtinis odijs, omnia in tranſmarinis regionibus peſsum ire, regnante Ioanne.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Hvbert Walter biſhop of Sarisburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefeſt of them that followed king Richard into Syria going againſt the Saracens. As he returned from Palæſtina and came in his iourney into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leauing his iourney homewards, he went preſently and in all haſte to the place where the king was captiued, whom the king immediatly vpon his comming ſent into England, that by the authority of the councell, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and deliuered the king. After this he was made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and after the death of king Richard he ſhewed the like dueties of fidelitie and truſt to his brother Iohn that ſucceeded him. For by a long oration he perſwaded the whole nation of the Engliſh men, that he was a very circumſpect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and moſt worthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was ſo receiued of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the laſt with very great griefe of minde, in the yeere 1205, hauing beene archbiſhop the ſpace of 11 yeres 8 moneths and ſixe dayes, by reaſon of the ciuil diſcords abroad, whereby all things went topſie turuy, and in the reigne of king Iohn.

The trauailes of *Robert Curſon*.

Robertus Curſon ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, diſciplinis tum prophanis, tum ſacris ſtudioſus incubuit, idque (quantum ex coniecturis colligo) in celebratiſſima Oxonij Academia. Præſtantiſſimis illic inſtitutoribus vſus, ex ſumma circa ingenuas artes induſtria, & aſſiduo literarum labore, famam ſibi inter ſuos celeberrimam comparauit. Ampliora deinde meditatus Pariſiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipſam petijt, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Vnde vterque Matthæus Pariſius, ac Weſtmonaſterius, hoc de ipſo teſtimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. ſuorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini 1218 (inquiunt) in captione Damiatæ Ægypti vrbis, ſub Ioanne Brenno Hieroſolymorum rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanenſi Magiſter Robertus de Curſon, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis, &c. Boſtonus Burienſis in ſuo Catalogo

Curſonum aliquos libros compoſuiſſe narrat. Claruit anno ſuperius numerato per prædictos teſtes in Anglia regnante Henrico tertio Ioannis regis filio: fuítque hic diebus Honorij tertij Romani pontificis in Angliam, Boſtono teſte, legatus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Robert Curſon deſcended of a noble family of England, vſed great diligence aſwell in prophane as in diuine ſtudies in the famous Vniuerſity of Oxford (as I coniecture.) He had there the beſt ſcholemaſters that were to be gotten, and was moſt induſtrious in the arts and continual exerciſes of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he liued. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it ſelfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Diuinity, at Rome he was made cardinall: whereupon both Matthew Paris & Matthew of Weſtminſter produce this teſtimony of him, the one in his ſecond booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (ſay they) 1218, at the taking of Damiata a city of Egypt vnder Iohn Brenne king of Ieruſalem, M. Robert Curſon an Engliſh man, a moſt famous clearke of noble parentage, and cardinall of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanenſis, &c. Boſton of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue reporteth, that he wrote diuers books. He flouriſhed in the yeere aforeſayd by the witneſſes aforeſayd, Henry the third ſonne of king Iohn being then king of England: and by the further teſtimony of Boſton, this Curſon was legate into England in the dayes of Honorius the third, biſhop of Rome.

The voyage of *Ranulph* earle of *Cheſter*, of *Saer Quincy* earle of *VVincheſter*, *William* de *Albanie* earle of *Arundel*, with diuers other noble men to the *Holy land*, in the ſecond yere of K. *Henry* the third. *Matth. Paris. Holenſh. pag. 202.*

In the yeere 1218, Ranulph earle of Cheſter was ſent into the Holy land by king Henry the third with a goodly company of ſouldiers and men of warre, to ayde the Chriſtians there againſt the Infidels, which at the ſame time had beſieged the city of Damiata in Egypt. In which enterpriſe the valiancy of the ſame earle after his comming thither was to his great praiſe moſt apparant. There went with him in that iourney Saer de Quincy earle of Wincheſter, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, beſides diuers barons, as the lord Robert fitz Walter, Iohn conſtable of Cheſter, William de Harecourt, and Oliuer fitz Roy ſonne to the king of England, and diuers others.

The voyage of *Henry Bohun* and *Saer Quincy* to the *Holy land.*

This yere, being the ſixt yere of Henry the third, deceaſed Henry de Bohun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Wincheſter, in their iourney which they made to the Holy land. Matth. Paris. Holenſh. pag. 202. col. 2.

The trauailes of *Ranulph Glanuile* earle of *Cheſter.*

Ranulphus Glanuile Ceſtriæ Comes, vir nobiliſſimi generis, & vtroque iure eruditus, in albo illuſtrium virorum à me meritò ponendus venit. Ita probè omnes adoleſcentiæ ſuæ annos legibus tum humanis tum diuinis conſecrauit, vt non prius in hominem per ætatem euaſerit, quàm nomen decúſque ab inſigni eruditione ſibi comparauerit. Cum profecti eſſent Francorum Heroes Ptolemaidem, inito cum Ioanne Brenno Hieroſolymorum rege concilio, Damiatam Ægypti vrbem obſidendam conſtituebant, anno ſalutis humanæ 1218. Miſit illùc Henricus rex, ab Honorio 3 Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranulphum, ad rem Chriſtianam iuuandam. Cuius virtus, Polydoro teſte, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reuerſus, ſcripſit, De legibus Angliæ librum vnum. Fertur præterea, & alia quædam ſcripſiſſe, ſed tempus edax rerum, ea nobis abſtulit. Claruit anno à Seruatoris noſtri natiuitate 1230 confectus ſenio, dum Henricus tertius ſub Antichriſti tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Ranulph Glanuile earle of Cheſter, a man of a very noble houſe, and learned in both the Lawes, deſerues of duetie to be here placed by me in the catalogue of worthy and notable men. He applied ſo well all the yeeres of his youth to the ſtudy of humane and diuine Lawes, that he came not ſo ſoone to the age of a man, as he had purchaſed to himſelfe by reaſon of his ſingular learning, renowme and honour. When the noble men of France went to Ptolomais, vpon the counſell of Iohn Brenne king of Ieruſalem, they reſolued to beſiege Damiata a city of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the king vpon the motion of Honorius the third biſhop of Rome, ſent thither this earle Ranulph with a great power of armed ſouldiers, to further the enterpriſe of the Chriſtians: whoſe valure in that warre (by the teſtimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marueilouſly commended of all men. After the end of which buſineſſe, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the lawes of England. It is alſo reported that he wrote other books, but time the deſtroyer of many memorials, hath taken them from vs. He flouriſhed in the yeere after the natiuity of Chriſt 1230, being very aged, and in the reigne of K. Henry the third.

The voyage of *Petrus de Rupibus* biſhop of *VVincheſter*, to *Ieruſalem* in the yere of grace 1231, and in the 15 of *Henry* the third.

ANno gratiæ 1231, menſe verò Iulio, Petrus Wintonienſis epiſcopus, completo in terra ſancta iam fere per quinquennium magnificè peregrinationis voto, reuerſus eſt in Angliam, Kalendis Auguſti; & Wintoniam veniens, ſuſceptus eſt cum proceſſione ſolenni in ſua eccleſia cathedrali.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of grace 1231, and in the moneth of Iuly, Peter biſhop of Wincheſter hauing ſpent almoſt fiue whole yeres in fulfilling his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy land with great pompe, returned into England, about the Kalends of Auguſt, and comming vnto Wincheſter was receiued with ſolemne proceſſion into his cathedrall church.

The honourable and proſperous voyage of *Richard* earle of *Cornewall,* brother to king *Henry* the third, accompanied with *William Longeſpee* earle of *Sariſburie*, and many other noble men into *Syria*.

IN the 24 yeere of king Henry the third, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, with a nauy of ſhips ſailed into Syria, where in the warres againſt the Saracens he greatly aduanced the part of the Chriſtians. There went ouer with him the earle of Sariſburie, William Longſpee, and William Baſſet, Iohn Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, Iohn Neuel, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Brenſe, and William Furniuall. 1240.

Simon Montfort earle of Leiceſter went ouer alſo the ſame time: but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the ſea at Marſeils, the earle of Leiceſter paſſed thorow Italy, and tooke ſhipping at Brindize in Apulia: and with him went theſe perſons of name, Thomas de Furniual with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiſcard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Peſmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after alſo Iohn earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancy greatly renowmed, went thither, leading with them a great number of Chriſtian ſouldiers. Matth. Paris. Matth. Weſt. Holeſh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The comming of the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* called *Baldwine* into *England* in the yere 1247, out of *Matth. Paris, & Holenſh. pag. 239. vol. 2.*

ABout the ſame time, Baldwine naming himſelfe emperour of Conſtantinople, came againe into England, to procure ſome new ayd of the king towards the recouery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

The voyage of *VVilliam* ‖ *Longeſpee* Earle of *Sariſburie* into *Aſia*, in the yeere 1248, and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of *Henry* the third, king of *England*.

‖*Or, Long-ſword.*

LEwis the French king being recouered of his ſickeneſſe which he fell into, in the yere 1234, vowed thereupon for a free will ſacrifice to God, that he (if the Councell of his realme would ſuffer him) would in his owne perſon viſit the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow ſhould take his iourney into Aſia, and the time thereof was alſo prefixed, which ſhould be after the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt the next yeere enſuing.

At which time William Longeſpee a worthie warrior, with the biſhop of Worceſter and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooued with the example of the Frenchmen) prepared themſelues likewiſe to the ſame iourney.

It fell out in this enterpriſe, that about the beginning of October, the French king aſſaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and hauing fortified the Citie with an able garriſon left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooued his tents from thence to goe Eaſtward. In whoſe armie followed William Longeſpee, accompanied with a piked number of Engliſh warriors retaining vnto him. But ſuch was the diſdaine of the Frenchmen againſt this William Longeſpee and the Engliſhmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with Engliſh tailes, inſomuch that the French king himſelfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

A fort won by the Engliſhmen.

The originall cauſe of this grudge betweene them began thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a ſtrong fort or caſtle repleniſhed with great Ladies and rich treaſure of the Saracens: which hold it chanced the ſayd William Longeſpee with his company of Engliſh ſoldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherwith he & his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made priuie hereto) began to conceiue an heart burning againſt the Engliſh ſouldiers, & could not ſpeake well of them after that.

A rich bootie alſo gotten by the Engliſhmen.

It hapned againe not long after, that the ſayd William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, hauing their camels, aſſes and mules, richly loden with ſilkes, precious iewels, ſpices, gold, & ſiluer, with cart loades of other wares, beſide victuall and other furniture, whereof the ſouldiers then ſtood in great need: he hauing ſecret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Engliſhmen vnto him that he could, and ſo by night falling vpon the merchants, ſome he ſlew with their guides and conducters, ſome hee tooke, ſome hee put to flight: the carts with the driuers, and with the oxen, camels, aſſes and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke & brought with him, looſing in all the ſkirmiſh but one ſouldier, and eight of his ſeruitors: of whom notwithſtanding ſome he brought home wounded to be cured.

The iniurie of the Frenchmen to our Engliſh.

This being knowen in the Campe, foorth came the Frenchmen which all this while loytered in their pauillions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foreſayd praie whole to themſelues, rating the ſaid William and the Engliſhmen for aduenturing and iſſuing out of the Campe without leaue or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the diſcipline of warre. William ſaid againe he had done nothing but he would anſwere to it, whoſe purpoſe was to haue the ſpoyle deuided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

Will. Longſpee iuſtly forſaketh yͤ French king.

When this would not ſerue, hee being ſore grieued in his minde ſo cowardly to be ſpoyled of that which he ſo aduenturouſly had trauailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reaſon nor complaint would ſerue by reaſon of the proude Earle of Artoys the Kings brother, which vpon ſpight and diſdaine ſtood agaynſt him, he bidding the King farewell ſayd hee would ſerue him no longer: and ſo William de Longeſpee with the reſt of his company breaking from the French hoſte went to Achon. Vpon whoſe departure the earle of Artoys ſayd, Now is the army of French men well rid of theſe tailed people, which words ſpoken in great deſpight were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

But not long after, when the keeper of Cayro & Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Chriſtian religion, and being offended alſo with the Souldan, promiſed to deliuer the ſame to the French king, inſtructing him what courſe was beſt for him to take to accompliſh it, the king hereupon in all haſte ſent for William Longeſpee, promiſing him a full redreſſe of all his iniuries before receiued: who at the kings requeſt came to him againe, and ſo ioyned with the French power.

After this, it happened that the French king paſſing with his armie towardes Cayro aforeſayd, came to the great riuer Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himſelfe to withſtand his comming ouer: there was at this time a Saracen lately conuerted to Chriſt, ſeruing the earle Robert the French kings brother, who told him of the abſence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a ſhallow foord in the riuer where they might eaſily paſſe ouer. Whereupon the ſayd earle Robert & the Maſter of the Temple with a great power, eſteemed to the third part of the army iſſued ouer the riuer, after whom followed W. Longſpee with his band of Engliſh ſouldiers. Theſe being ioyned together on the other ſide of the water, encountred the ſame day with the Saracens remaining in the tents & put them to the worſt. Which victory being gotten, the French earle ſurpriſed with pride and triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole earth, would needs forward, diuiding himſelfe from the maine hoſte, thinking to winne the ſpurres alone. To whom certaine ſage men of the Temple, giuing him contrary counſell, aduiſed him not to do ſo, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure againſt all deceits and dangers, which might be layed priuily for them. The maner of that people (they ſayd) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alledging moreouer their wearied bodies, their tired horſes, their famiſhed ſouldiers, and the inſufficiency alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtand the multitude of the enemies, eſpecially at this preſent brunt, in which the aduerſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominion now to conſiſt either in winning all or loſing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no leſſe arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reuiled them, calling them cowardly daſtards, & betrayers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, which ſayd, that the land of the holy croſſe might ſoone be woon to Chriſtendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hoſpitalaries, and their followers.

To theſe contumelious rebukes, when the maſter of the Temple anſwered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him diſplay his enſigne when he would, and where he durſt, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them. Then began William de Longeſpe the worthy knight to ſpeake, deſiring the earle to giue eare to thoſe men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe countreyes and people then had he, commending alſo their counſell to be diſcreet and wholeſome, and ſo turning to the maſter of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mitigate him likewiſe. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth, began to fume and ſweare, crying out of thoſe cowardly Engliſhmen with tailes: What a pure armie (ſayde he) ſhould we haue here, if theſe tailes and tailed people were purged from it, wich other like words of villany, and much diſdaine: whereunto the Engliſh knight anſwering againe, well, Earle Robert (ſaid he) whereſoeuer you dare ſet your foote, my ſtep ſhall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleeue) we goe this day where you ſhall not dare to come neere the taile of my horſe, as in deede in the euent it prooued true: for Earle Robert would needes ſet forward, weening to get all the glory to himſelfe before the comming of the hoſte, and firſt inuaded a litle village or caſtle, which was not farre off, called Manſor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, ſeeing the Chriſtians comming, ranne out with ſuch a maine cry and ſhout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Chriſtians inuading and entring into the munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by them which ſtood aboue, whereby a great number of our men were loſt, and the armie ſore maymed, and almoſt in deſpaire.

The worthy anſwere of William Longſpe to Earle Robert.

Then immediatly vpon the ſame, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which ſeeing the Chriſtian armie to be deuided, and the brother ſeparated from the brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them round about, that none ſhould eſcape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady raſhnes, but it was too late, who then ſeeing William the Engliſh knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried vnto him moſt cowardly to flie, ſeeing God (ſaith he) doth fight againſt vs: To whom the Knight anſwering againe, God forbid (ſayth he) that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away from the face of a Saracene. The Earle then turning his horſe, fled away, thinking to auoid by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, and ſo taking the riuer Thafnis, oppreſſed with harneſſe, was there ſunken and drowned.

The cowardly flight of Earle Robert.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to diſpaire and ſcatter. Then William de Longeſpe bearing all the force of the enemies, ſtoode againſt them as long as he could, wounding and ſlaying many a Saracen, till at length his horſe being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer ſtande, who yet notwithſtanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much ſorrow, till at laſt after many blowes and wounds, being ſtoned of the Saracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Saracens ſetting vpon the reſidue of the armie, whom they had compaſſed on enery ſide, deuoured and deſtroyed them all, inſomuch that ſcarce one man remained aliue, ſauing two Templaries, one Hoſpitaler, and one poore raſcall ſouldier, which brought tidings, hereof to the King.

The valiant ende of William Longeſpe.

And thus by the imprudent and fooliſh hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and that valiant Engliſh Knight ouermatched, to the griefe of all Chriſtian people, the glory of the Saracens, and the vtter deſtruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

¶ The Voyage of Prince *Edward* the ſonne of king *Henry* the third into *Aſia*, in the yeere 1270.

ABout the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the ſonne of king Henry, and diuers other Noblemen of England tooke vpon them the croſſe vpon S. Iohn Baptiſts day, by the ſayd Legates hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the ſubuerſion of the enemies of the croſſe of Chriſt. For which purpoſe, and for the better furniſhing of the prince towards the iourney, there was granted him a ſubſidie throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270. he began to ſet forward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Eguemortes, which is from Marſilia eight leagues Weſtward, and there taking ſhip againe (hauing a mery and proſperous wind) within ten dayes arriued at Tunez, where he was with great ioy welcommed, and entertained of the Chriſtian princes that there were to this purpoſe aſſembled, as of Philip the French King, whoſe father Lodouicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came alſo Henry the ſonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was ſlaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demanded of theſe kings and princes what was to be done, they anſwered him againe, and ſayd, the prince of this citie and the prouince adioyning to the ſame hath bene accuſtomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicily euery yere: and now for that the ſame hath bene for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres vnpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make inuaſion vpon him. But the king knowing the ſame tribute to be but iuſtly demaunded, hath now according to our owne deſire ſatiſfied for the time paſt, and alſo paied his tribute before hand.

Then ſayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpoſe? are we not here all aſſembled, & haue taken vpon vs the Lords Character to fight againſt the infidels & enemies of Chriſt? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we ſhould do ſo, for now the land is plaine and hard, ſo that we may approch to yͤ holy city Ieruſalē. Then ſaid they, now haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for vs to breake the ſame. But let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is paſt we may well take ſhipping to Acra. But this counſel nothing at all liked him, neither did he ſhew himſelfe wel pleaſed there with: but after hee had made them a princely banket, he went into his cloſet or priuy chamber from amongſt them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithſtanding continuing their purpoſe, at the next mery wind tooke ſhipping, and for want of ſhips left 200. of their men a ſhore, crying out, and pitiouſly lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being ſomewhat mooued to compaſſion, came backe againe to the land, and receiued and ſtowed them in his owne ſhips, being the laſt that went aboord.

Within ſeuen dayes after, they arriued in the kingdom of Sicilia, ouer agaynſt the Citie Trapes, caſting their ankers a league from thence within the ſea, for that their ſhippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the hauen of the citie they ſent out barges and boates to receiue and bring ſuch of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horſes for the moſt part, and all their armour they kept ſtill within boord.

At length towards the euening the ſea began to be rough, & increaſed to a great tempeſt and a mightie: inſomuch that their ſhips were beaten one againſt anothers ſides, and drowned there was of them at that tempeſt lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable ſoules beſides, and that wicked money alſo which they had taken before, likewiſe periſhed, and was loſt.

But the tempeſt hurt not ſo much as one ſhip of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man loſt thereby, for that (as it may be preſuppoſed) he conſented not to the wicked counſell of the reſt.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the ſea ſide, and ſaw all their ſhips drowned, and ſaw their men and horſes in great number caſt vpon the land drowned, they had full heauie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ſhips and mariners, which were in number 1500. beſides the common ſouldiers, there was no more ſaued then the mariners of one onely ſhip, and they in this wiſe.

There was in that ſhip a good & wiſe Matrone, a Counteſſe or an Erles wife, who perceiuing the tempeſt to grow, & fearing her ſelfe, called to her the M. of the ſhip, & aſked him whether in attempting to the ſhoare it were not poſſible to ſaue thēſelues: he anſwered, that to ſaue the ſhip it was impoſſible: howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then ſayd the counteſſe, for the ſhip force no whit, ſaue the ſoules therein, and haue to thee double the value of the ſhippe: who immediatly hoiſing the ſailes with all force, ran the ſhippe aground ſo nere the ſhore as was poſſible, ſo that with the vehemency of the weather & force he came withall, he braſt the ſhip and ſaued all that was within the ſame, as he had ſhewed, and ſayd before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpoſe after this ſo great a ſhipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne lands: onely Edward the ſonne of the king of England, remained behinde with his men and ſhips, which the Lord had ſaued and preſerued.

Then prince Edward renouating his purpoſe, tooke ſhipping againe, and within fifteene daies after Eaſter arriued he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers and moſt expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreſhing both his men and horſes, and that in this ſpace he might learne and know the ſecrets of the land. After this he tooke with him ſixe or ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and thoſe that he found there he ſlew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue ſet vpon them at ſome ſtreit or other aduantage, were eſpied by the prince, and returning againe vpon them gaue a charge, and ſlew many of them, and the reſt they put to flight.

The arriuall of prince Edward at Acra.

Nazareth taken by the prince.

After this, about Midſummer, when the prince had vnderſtanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither, ſet vpon them very earely in the morning, and ſlew of them more then a thouſand, the reſt he put to flight, and tooke rich ſpoiles, marching forward till they came to a caſtle named Caſtrum peregrinorum, ſituate vpon the ſea coaſt, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

A victorie againſt the Saracens, wherein 1000 of the were ſlaine.

In the meane ſeaſon the king of Ieruſalem ſent vnto the noble men of Cyprus, deſiring them to come with ſpeed to ayd the Chriſtians, but they would not come, ſaying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward ſent vnto them, deſiring that at his requeſt they would come and ioyne in ayd with him: who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation & furniture for the warres, ſaying, that at his commandement they were bound to do no leſſe, for that his predeceſſors were ſometimes the gouernors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to ſhew their fidelity to the kings of England.

The princes of Cyprus acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Chriſtians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or road, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula ſancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had ſlain certaine there, not finding any to make reſiſtance againſt them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongſt his enemies, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of him, they deuiſed among themſelues how by ſome pollicy they might circumuent him, and betray him. Whereupon the prince and admirall of Ioppa ſent vnto him, faining himſelfe vnder great deceit willing to become a Chriſtian, and that he would draw with him a great number beſides, ſo that they might be honorably entertained and vſed of the Chriſtians. This talke pleaſed the prince well, and perſwaded him to finiſh the thing he had ſo well begun by writing againe, who alſo by the ſame meſſenger ſent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the ſame matter, whereby no miſtruſt ſhould ſpring.

This meſſenger (ſayth mine author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the ſtony hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this meſſenger came, and was of the princes ſeruants ſearched according to the maner and cuſtome what weapon and armour he had about him, as alſo his purſe, that not ſo much as a knife could be ſeene about him, he was had vp into the princes chamber, and after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitſuntide, vpon a Tueſday, ſomewhat before night, at which time the prince was layed vpon his bed bare headed, in his ierkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that vpon the Saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accompliſh all that he had written and promiſed. The report of theſe newes by the prince to the ſtanders by, liked them well, who drew ſomewhat backe to conſult thereof amongſt themſelues. In the meane time, the meſſenger kneeling, and making his obeiſance to the prince (queſtioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would haue pulled out ſome ſecret letters, and ſuddenly he pulled out an inuenomed knife, thinking to haue ſtroken the prince into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was ſtriken a great wound into the arme, and being about to fetch another ſtroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him ſuch a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with ſuch violence wraſted the

Prince Edward traiterouſly wounded.

knife from him, that he hurt himſelfe therewith on the forehead, and immediatly thruſt the ſame into the belly of the meſſenger and ſtriker, and ſlew him.

The princes ſeruants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the buſling, came with great haſte running in, and finding the meſſenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke vp a ſtoole, and beat out his braines: whereat the prince was wroth for that he ſtroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was ſtrange, ſo it went ſoone thorowout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heauy, and greatly diſcouraged. To him came alſo the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a coſtly and precious drinke againſt poiſon, leaſt the venime of the knife ſhould penetrate the liuely blood, and in blaming wiſe ſayd vnto him: did I not tell your Grace before of the deceit and ſubtilty of this people? Notwithſtanding, ſayd he, let your Grace take a good heart, you ſhall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But ſtraight way the Surgions and Phyſicians were ſent for, and the prince was dreſſed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the fleſh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the prince began to mutter among themſelues, and were very ſad and heauy.

Which thing he himſelf perceiuing, ſaid vnto them: why mutter you thus among your ſelues? what ſee you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one ſayd vnto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we miſtruſt not, but yet it will be very painfull for you to ſuffer. May ſuffering (ſayd he againe) reſtore health? yea ſayth the other, on paine of loſing my head. Then ſayd the prince, I commit my ſelfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then ſayd one of the Phyſicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace repoſeth ſpecial truſt? to whom the prince anſwered Yea, naming certeine of the Noble men that ſtood about him. Then ſayd the Phyſician to the two, whom the prince firſt named, the Lord Edmund, and the lord Iohn Voiſie, And doe you alſo faithfully loue your Lord and Prince? Who anſwered both, Yea vndoubtedly. Then ſayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not ſee her lord and huſband, till ſuch time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes preſence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then ſayd they vnto her, Be you contented good Lady & Madame, it is better that one woman ſhould weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England ſhould weepe a great ſeaſon.

This lord Edmund was the prince his brother.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and inuenimed fleſh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and ſayd vnto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promiſe you within theſe fifteene dayes you ſhall ſhew your ſelfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horſebacke, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promiſe he made the prince, it came to paſſe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his ſubiects.

When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet aliue, he could ſcarſely beleeue the ſame, and ſending vnto him three of his Nobles and Princes, excuſed himſelfe by them, calling his god to witneſſe that the ſame was done neither by him nor his conſent. Which princes and meſſengers ſtanding aloofe off from the kings ſonne, worſhipping him, fell flat vpon the ground: you (ſayd the prince) do reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderſtood him not, becauſe he ſpake in Engliſh vnto them, ſpeaking by an Interpreter: neuertheleſſe he honourably entertained them, and ſent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke ſhipping about the Aſſumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after ſeuen weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence trauailed thorow the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whoſe fame and noble proweſſe was there much bruted among the common people, and enuied of the Nobility, eſpecially of the earle of Chalons, who thought to haue intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the ſtory: but Prince Edward continued foorth his iourney to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gaſcoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of England, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The trauaile of *Robert Turneham.*

Robertus Turneham Franciſcanus, Theologiæ profeſſor inſignis, Lynnæ celebri Irenorum ad ripas Iſidis emporio, collegio ſuorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, Henrici tertij filius, bellicam expeditionem contra

Saracenos Aſſyriam incolentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam profectionem quæſitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in cauſa religionis animos excitaret, Turnehamus principi viſus vel digniſſimus eſt, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam ſignifer conſtitutus Aſſyrios vnà cum Anglico exercitu petijt, ac ſuum non ſine laude præſtitit officium. Claruit anno ſalutiferi partus, 1280, varia componens, ſub eodem Edwardo eius nominis primo poſt Conqueſtum.

The ſame in Engliſh.

RObert Turneham Franciſcan, a notable profeſſour of Diuinity, was with great dignity Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Mart towne of Linne, ſituate vpon the riuer of Iſis in Norfolke. Prince Edward ſurnamed the Long, the ſonne of Henry the third, prepared his warlike voyage againſt the Saracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1268. For the which expedition ſome earneſt preacher was ſought to ſtir vp the peoples minds in the cauſe of religion. And this Turneham ſeemed to the Prince moſt worthy to performe that office: ſo that he being appointed as it were a ſtanderd bearer, went into Syria with the Engliſh army, and performed his duety with good commendation. He flouriſhed in the yeere of Chriſt 1280, ſetting foorth diuers works vnder the ſame king Edward the firſt of that name after the Conqueſt.

Anthony Beck biſhop of *Duriſme* was elected Patriarch of *Hieruſalem*, and confirmed by *Clement* the fift biſhop of *Rome*: in the 34 yere of *Edward* the firſt, *Lelandus.*

ANtonius Beckus epiſcopus Dunelmenſis fuit, regnante Edwardo eius appellationis ab aduentu Gulielmi magni in Angliam primo. Electus eſt in patriarcham Hieroſolomitanum anno Chriſti 1305, & a Clemente quinto Rom. pontifice confirmatus. Splendidus erat ſupra quâm decebat epiſcopum. Conſtruxit caſtrum Achelandæ, quatuor paſſuum millibus a Dunelmo in ripa Vnduglesſi fluuioli. Elteſhamum etiam vicinum Grenouico, ac Somaridunum caſtellum Lindianæ prouinciæ, ædificijs illuſtria reddidit. Deinde & palatium Londini erexit, quod nunc Edwardi principis eſt. Tandem ex ſplendore nimio, & potentia conflauit ſibi apud nobilitatem ingentem inuidiam, quam viuens nunquam extinguere potuit. Sed de Antonio, & eius ſcriptis fuſiùs in opere, cuius titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus. Obijt Antonius anno a nato in ſalutem noſtram Chriſto, 1310, Edwardo ſecundo regnante. 1305.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ANthony Beck was biſhop of Duriſme in the time of the reigne of Edward the firſt of that name after the inuaſion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Ieruſalem in the yeere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the fift, pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a biſhop. He founded alſo the caſtle of Acheland foure miles from Duriſme, on the ſhore of a prety riuer called Vnduglesme. He much beautified with new buildings Eltham mannor being nere vnto Greenwich, and the caſtle Somaridune in the county of Lindſey. And laſtly, he built new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in the poſſeſſion of prince Edward. Inſomuch, that at length, through his ouer great magnificence and power he procured to himſelfe great enuy among the nobility, which he could not aſſwage during the reſt of his life. But of this Anthony & of his writings we will ſpeake more at large in our booke intitled of the Britain biſhops. This Anthony finiſhed his life in the yere of our Lord God 1310, and in the reigne of king Edward the ſecond.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris *Odorici* fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.

LIcet multa & varia de ritibus & conditionibus, hujus mundi enarrentur a multis, ego tamen frater Odoricus de foro Iulij de portu Vahonis, volens ad partes infidelium transfretare, magna & mira vidi & audiui, quæ poſſum veraciter enarrare. Primò tranſiens Mare Maius me de Pera iuxta Cõſtantinopolim tranſtuli Trapeſundam, quæ antiquitùs Pontus vocabatur: Hæc terra benè ſituata eſt, ſicut ſcala quædam Perſarum & Medorum, & eorum qui ſunt vltra mare. In hac terra vidi mirabile quod mihi placuit, ſcilicet hominem ducentem ſecum pluſquam 4000 perdicum. Homo autem per terram gradiebatur, perdices vero volabant per aëra, quas ipſe ad quoddam caſtrum dictum Zauena duxit, diſtans à Trapeſunda per tres dietas: Hæ perdices illius conditionis erant, cùm homo ille quieſcere voluit, omnes ſe aptabant circa ipſum, more pullorum gallinarum, & per illum modum duxit eas vſque ad Trapeſundam, & vſque ad palatium imperatoris, qui de illis ſumpſit quot voluit, & reſiduas vir ille ad locum vnde venerat, adduxit. In hac ciuitate requieſcit corpus Athanaſij ſupra portam ciuitatis.

Armenia maior.

Vltra tranſiui vſque in Armeniam maiorem, ad quandam ciuitatem quæ vocatur Azaron, quæ erat multùm opulenta antiquitùs, ſed Tartari eam pro magna parte deſtruxerunt: In ea erat abundantia panis & carnium, & aliorum omniũ victualium pręterquam vini & fructuum. Hæc ciuitas eſt multũ frigida, & de illa dicitur quòd altius ſituatur quàm aliqua alia in hoc mundo: hæc optimas habet aquas, nam venæ illarum aquarum oriri videntur & ſcaturire à flumine magno Euphrate quod per vnam dietã ab ciuitate diſtat: hæc ciuitas via media eundi Tauriſium. Vltra progreſſus ſum ad quendam montem dictum Sobiſſacalo. In illa contrata eſt mons ille ſupra quem requieſcit arca Noe; in quem libenter aſcendiſſem, ſi ſocietas mea me præſtolare voluiſſet: A gente tamen illius contratæ dicitur quòd nullus vnquam illum montem aſcendere potuit, quia vt dicitur, hoc Deo altiſſimo non placet.

Tauris ciuitas Perſiæ.

Vltra veni Tauris ciuitatem magnam & regalem, quæ antiquitùs Suſis dicta eſt. Hæc ciuitas melior pro mercenarijs reputatur, quàm aliqua quæ ſit in mundo, nam nihil comeſtibile, nec aliquid quod ad mercimonium pertinet, reperitur, quod illic in bona copia non habetur. Hæc ciuitas multum benè ſituatur: Nam ad eam quaſi totus mundus pro mercimonijs confluere poteſt: De hac dicunt Chriſtiani qui ibi ſunt, quòd credunt Imperatorem plus de ea accipere, quàm Regem Franciæ de toto regno ſuo: Iuxta illam ciuitatem eſt mons ſalinus præbens ſal ciuitati, & de illo ſale vnuſquiſque tantum accipit, quantum vult, nihil ſoluendo alicui. In hac ciuitate multi Chriſtiani de omni natione commorantur, quibus Saraceni in omnibus dominantur.

Sultania.

Vltra iui per decem dietas ad ciuitatem dictam Soldania, in qua imperator Perſarum tempore æſtiuo commoratur; In hyeme autem vadit ad ciuitatem aliam ſitam ſupra mare vocatam Bakuc: Prædicta autem ciuitas magna eſt, & frigida, in ſe habens bonas aquas, ad quam multa mercimonia portantur.

Vel Caſsibin.

Vltra cum quadam ſocietate Carauanorum iui verſus Indiam ſuperiorem, ad quam dum tranſiſſem per multas dietas perueni ad ciuitatem trium Magorum quæ vocatur Caſſan, quæ regia ciuitas eſt & nobilis, niſi quod Tartari eam in magna parte deſtruxerunt: hæc abundat pane, vino, & alijs bonis multis. Ab hac ciuitate vſque Ieruſalem quo Magi iuerunt miraculoſè, ſunt L. dietæ, & multa mirabilia ſunt in hac ciuitate quæ pertranſeo.

Geſt.

Indè receſſi ad quandam ciuitatem vocatam Geſt à qua diſtat mare arenoſum per vnam dietam, quod mirè eſt mirabile & periculoſum: In hac ciuitate eſt abundantia omnium victualium, & ficuum potiſſimè, & vuarum ſiccarum & viridium, plus vt credo quàm in alia parte mundi. Hæc eſt tertia ciuitas melior quam Rex Perſarum habet in toto regno ſuo: De illa dicunt Saraceni, quod in ea nullus Chriſtianus vltra annum viuere vnquam poteſt.

Como.

Vltra per multas dietas iui ad quandam ciuitatem dictam Comum quæ maxima ciuitas antiquitùs erat, cuius ambitus erat ferè L. miliaria, quæ magna damna intulit Romanis antiquis temporibus. In ea ſunt palatia integra non habitata, tamen multis victualibus abundat. Vltra per multas terras tranſiens, perueni ad terram Iob nomine Hus quæ omnium victualium pleniſſima eſt, & pulcherrimè ſituata; iuxta eam ſunt montes in quibus ſunt paſcua multa pro animalibus: Ibi manna in magna copia reperitur. Ibi habentur quatuor perdices pro minori, quàm pro vno groſſo: In ea ſunt pulcherrimi ſenes, vbi homines nent & filant, & fæminæ non: hæc terra correſpondet Chaldeæ verſus tranſmontana.

De moribus Chaldæorum, & de India.

Indè iui in Chaldæam quæ eſt regnum magnum, & tranſiui iuxta turrim Babel: Hæc regio ſuam linguam propriam habet, & ibi ſunt homines formoſi, & fœminæ turpes: & homines illius regionis vadunt compti crinibus, & ornati, vt hîc mulieres, & portant ſuper capita ſua faſciola aurea cum gemmis, & margaritis; mulieres verò ſolum vnam vilem camiſiam attingentem vſque ad genua, habentem manicas longas & largas, quæ vſque ad terram protenduntur: Et vadunt diſcalciatæ portantes Serablans vſque ad terram. Triceas non portant, ſed capilli earum circumquaque diſperguntur: & alia multa & mirabilia ſunt ibidem. Indè veni in Indiam quæ infra terram eſt, quam Tartari multum deſtruxerunt; & in ea vt plurimum homines tantum dactilos comedunt, quarum xlij. libræ habentur pro minori quam pro vno groſſo. Vltra tranſiui per multas dietas ad

Ormus.

mare oceanum, & prima terra, ad quam applicui, vocatur Ormes, quæ eſt optimè murata, & multa mercimonia & diuitiæ in ea ſunt; in ea tantus calor eſt, quod virilia hominum exeunt corpus, & deſcendunt vſque ad mediam tibiarum: ideò homines illius terræ volentes viuere, faciunt vnctionem, & vngunt illa, & ſic vncta in quibuſdam ſacculis ponunt circa ſe cingentes, & aliter morerentur: In hac terra homines vtuntur nauigio quæ vocatur Iaſe, ſutum ſparto. Ego autem aſcendi in vnum illorum in quo nullum ferrum potui reperire, & in viginti octo dietis perueni ad ciuitatem Thana, in qua pro fide Chriſti quatuor de fratribus noſtris martyrizati ſunt. Hæc terra eſt optimè ſituata, & in ea abundantia panis & vini, & aliorum victualium. Hæc terra antiquitùs fuit valdè magna, & fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro præliũ magnum commiſit. Huius terræ populus Idolatrat, adorans ignem, ſerpentes, & arbores: Et iſtam terram regunt Saraceni, qui violenter eam acceperunt, & ſubiacent imperio regis Daldili. Ibi ſunt diuerſa genera beſtiarum, leones nigri in maxima quantitate: Sunt & ibi ſimiæ, gatimaymones, & noctuæ magnæ ſicut hic habentur columbæ; ibi mures magni ſunt, ſicut ſunt hîc ſcepi, & ideò canes capiunt ibi mures, quia murelegi non valent. Ad hæc, In illa terra quilibet homo habet ante domum ſuam vnum pedem faſciculorum, ita magnum ſicut eſſet vna columna, & pes ille non deſiccatur, dummodò adhibeatur ſibi aqua. Multæ nouitates ſunt ibi, quas pulcherrimum eſſet audire.

Thana.

De martyrio fratrum.

MArtyrium autem quatuor fratrum noſtrorum in illa ciuitate Thana fuit per iſtũ modum; dum prædicti fratres fuerant in Ormes, fecerunt pactum cum vna naui, vt nauigarent vſque Polumbrum, & violentèr deportati ſunt vſque Thanam vbi ſunt 15. domus Chriſtianorum, qui Neſtoriani ſunt & Schiſmatici, & cùm illic eſſent, hoſpitati ſunt in domo cuiuſdam illorum; contigit dum ibi manerent litem oriri inter virum domus, & vxorem eius, quam ſerò vir fortitèr verberauit, quæ ſuo Kadi. 1. Epiſcopo conqueſta eſt; à qua interrogauit Kadi, vtrum hoc probari poſſet? quæ dixit, quòd ſic; quia 4. Franchi. 1. viri religioſi erant in domo hoc videntes, ipſos interrogate, qui dicent vobis veritatem: Muliere autem ſic dicente, Ecce vnus de Alexandria pręſens rogauit Kadi vt mitteret pro eis, dicens eos eſſe homines maximæ ſcientiæ & ſcripturas benè ſcire, & ideò dixit bonum eſſe cum illis de fide diſputare: Qui miſit pro illis, & adducti ſunt iſti quatuor, quorum nomina ſunt frater de Tolentino de Marchia, frater Iacobus de Padua, frater Demetrius Laicus, Petrus de Senis. Dimiſſo autem fratre Petro, vt res ſuas cuſtodiret, ad Kadi perrexerunt, qui cœpit cum illis de fide noſtra diſputare;. dicens Chriſtum tantùm hominem eſſe & non Deum. E contrà frater Thomas rationibus & exemplis Chriſtum verum Deum & hominem eſſe euidenter oſtendit, & in tantum confudit Kadi, & infideles qui cum eo tenuerunt, quòd non habuerunt quid rationabiliter contradicere: Tunc videns Kadi ſe ſic confuſum, incepit clamare ſic; Et quid dicis de Machometo? Reſpondit frater Thomas: Si tibi probauimus Chriſtum verum Deum & hominem eſſe, qui legem poſuit inter homines, et Machometus è contrario venit, & legem contrariam docuit, ſi ſapiens ſis optimè ſcire poteris, quid de eo dicendum ſit. Iterum Kadi & alij Saraceni clamabant, Et tu quid iterum de Machometo dicis? Tunc frater T. reſpondit: vos omnes videre poteſtis, quid dico de eo. Tum ex quo vultis quòd planè loquar de eo, dico, quòd Machometus veſter filius perditionis eſt, & in inferno cum Diabolo patre ſuo. Et non ſolùm ipſe, ſed omnes ibi erunt qui tenent legem hanc, quia ipſa tota peſtifera eſt, & falſa, & contra Deum, & contra ſalutem animæ. Hoc audientes Saraceni, cœperunt clamare, moriatur, moriatur ille, qui ſic contra Prophetam locutus eſt. Tunc acceperunt fratres & in ſole vrente ſtare permiſerunt, vt ex calore ſolis aduſti, dira morte interirent. Tantus enim eſt calor ſolis ibi, quòd ſi homo in eo per ſpacium vnius miſſæ perſiſteret, moreretur: fratres tamen illi ſani & hilares à tertia vſque ad nonam laudantes & glorificantes dominum in ardore ſolis permanſerunt, quod videntes Saraceni ſtupefacti ad fratres venerunt, & dixerunt, volumus ignem accendere copioſum, & in illum vos proijcere, & ſi fides veſtra ſit vt dicitis, ignis non poterit vos comburere: ſi autem vos combuſſerit, patebit quòd fides veſtra nulla ſit. Reſponderunt fratres; parati ſumus pro fide noſtra ignem, carcerem, & vincula, & omnium tormentorum genera tolerare: veruntamen ſcire debetis, quòd ſi ignis poteſtatem habeat comburendi nos hoc non erit propter fidem noſtram, ſed propter peccata noſtra: fides enim noſtra perfectiſſima & veriſſima eſt, & non eſt alia in mundo in qua animæ hominum poſſunt ſaluæ fieri. Dum autem ordinaretur quòd fratres cõburerentur, rumor inſonuit per totã ciuitatem, de qua omnes ſenes, & iuuenes, viri & mulieres, qui ire poterant, accurrerunt ad illud ſpectaculum intuendum. Fratres autem ducti fuerunt ad plateam ciuitatis, vbi accenſus eſt ignis copioſus, in quem frater Thomas voluit ſe proijcere, ſed quidam Saracenus cepit eum per caputium, & retraxit, dicens;

Non vadas tu cum ſis ſenex, quia carmen aliquod vel experimentum habere poſſes ſuper te, quare te ignis non poſſet lædere, ſed alium ire in ignem permittas. Tunc 4 Saraceni ſumentes fratrem Iacobum, eum in ignem proijcere volebant; quibus ille, permittatis me, quia libenter pro fide mea ignem intrabo: Cui Saraceni non adquieſcentes eum violentèr in ignem proiecerunt: ignis autem ita accenſus erat, quòd nullus eum videre poterat, vocem tamen eius audierunt, inuocantem ſemper nomen virginis glorioſæ; Igne autem totalitèr conſumpto ſtetit frater Iacobus ſuper prunas illæſus, & lętus, manibus in modum crucis eleuatis, in cœlũ reſpiciens, & Deũ laudans & glorificans, qui ſic declararet fidem ſuam: nihil autem in eo nec pannus, nec capillus læſus per ignem inuentus eſt; Quod videns populus vnanimitèr conclamare cœpit, ſancti ſunt, ſancti ſunt, nefas eſt offendere eos, modò videmus quia fides eorum bona & ſancta eſt. Tunc clamare cœpit Kadi: ſanctus non eſt ille, quia combuſtus non eſt, quia tunica quam portat eſt de lana terræ Habraæ, & ideò nudus exſpolietur, & in ignem proijciatur, & videbitur ſi comburetur vel non. Tunc Saraceni peſſimi ad præceptum Kadi ignem in duplo magis quàm priùs accenderunt, & fratrem Iacobum nudantes, corpus ſuum abluerunt, & oleo abundantiſſimè vnxerunt, inſuper & oleum maximum in ſtruem lignorum ex quibus ignis fieret, fuderunt, & igne accenſo fratrem in ipſum proiecerunt. Frater autem Thomas, & frater Demetrius extra populum in loco ſeparato flexis genibus orantes cum lachrymis deuotioni ſe dederunt. Frater autem Iacobus iterum ignem exiuit illæſus ſicut prius fecerat: quod videns omnis populus clamare cœpit, peccatum eſt, peccatum eſt, offendere eos, quià ſancti ſunt. Hoc autem tantum miraculum videns Melich, i. poteſtas ciuitatis, vocauit ad ſe fratrem Iacobum, & fecit eum ponere indumenta ſua, & dixit, videte fratres, Ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini a nobis, modò benè videmus vos ſanctos eſſe, & fidem veſtram bonam ac veram eſſe; & ideo conſulimus vobis, vt de iſta terra exeatis, quàm citiùs poteritis, quia Kadi pro poſſe ſuo vobis nocere curabit, quia ſic confudiſtis eum: Hora autem tunc erat quaſi completorij, & dixerunt illi de populo, attoniti, admirati, & ſtupefacti, tot & tanta mirabilia vidimus ab iſtis hominibus, quòd neſcimus quid tenere & obſeruare debemus. Melich verò fecit duci illos tres fratres vltra vnum paruum brachium maris in quendam Burgum modicum ab illa ciuitate diſtantem: ad quem etiam ille in cuius iam domo fuerant hoſpitati aſſociauit eos, vbi in domo cuiuſdam idolatri recepti ſunt. Dùm hæc agerentur, Kadi iuit ad Melich, dicens quid facimus? Lex Machometi deſtructa eſt, veruntamen hoc ſcire debes, quod Machomet pręcepit in ſuo Alcorano, quod ſi quis vnum Chriſtianum interficeret, tantũ mereretur, ac ſi in Mecha ad ipſum peregrinaretur. Eſt enim Alkoranus lex Saracenorum ſicut Euangelium, Mecha verò eſt locus vbi iacet Machomet. Quem locum ita viſitant Saraceni, ſicut Chriſtiani ſepulchrum Chriſti. Tunc Melich reſpondet, vade & fac ſicut vis: quo dicto ſtatim Kadi accepit quatuor homines armatos vt irent, & illos fratres interficerent, qui cùm aquam tranſijſſent, facta eſt nox, & illo ſero eos non inuenerunt, ſtatim Melich omnes Chriſtianos in ciuitate capi fecit, & incarcerauit, media autem nocte fratres ſurrexerunt dicere matutinum, quos illi Saraceni qui miſſi fuerant, inuenerunt, & extra burgum, ſub quadam arbore adduxerunt, dixerunt eis. Sciatis fratres nos mandatum habere a Kadi & Melich interficere vos, quod tamen faciemus inuiti, quia vos eſtis boni homines & ſancti, ſed non audemus aliter facere; quia ſi iuſſa ſua non perficeremus, & nos cum liberis noſtris & vxoribus moreremur. Tunc fratres reſponderunt, vos qui hûc veniſtis, & tale mandatum recepiſtis, vt per mortem temporalem vitam æternam adipiſcamur, quod vobis iniunctum eſt perficite; quia pro amore domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, qui pro nobis crucifigi & mori dignatus eſt, & pro fide noſtra, parati ſumus omnia tormenta, & etiam mortem libenter ſuſtinere. Chriſtianus autem qui fratres comitabatur, multum cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus eſt dicens, quod ſi gladium haberet, vel eos à nece tam ſanctorum hominum impediret, vel ipſe cum eis interfectus eſſet. Tunc armati fecerunt fratres ſe exſpoliare, & frater Thomas primus iunctis manibus in modũ crucis genu flectens capitis abſciſſionẽ ſuſcepit: Fratrem verò Iacobum vnus percuſſit in capite, & eum vſque ad oculos ſcidit, & alio ictu totum caput abſcidit. Frater autem Demetrius primò percuſſus eſt cum gladio in pectore, & ſecundò caput ſuum abſciſſum eſt: Statim vt fratres ſuum martyrium compleuerunt, aër ita lucidus effectus eſt, quod omnes admirati ſunt, & luna maximam claritatem oſtendit. Statim quaſi ſubito tanta tonitrua, & fulgura, & coruſcationes, & obſcuritas fiebant, quòd omnes mori crediderunt: Nauis etiam illa quæ illos debuerat deportaſſe ſubmerſa eſt cum omnibus quæ in ſe habuit, ita quod nunquam de illa poſteà aliquid ſcitum eſt. Facto mane miſit Kadi pro rebus fratrum prædictorum noſtrorum, & tunc inuentus eſt frater Petrus de Senis quartus ſocius fratrum prædictorum, quem ad Kadi duxerunt: Cui Kadi, & alij Saraceni maxima promittentes perſuaſerunt quòd fidem ſuam renueret, & legem machometi confiteretur, & teneret. Frater autem Petrus de illis truffabat, eos multum deridendo, quem de mane vſque ad meridiem diuerſis pœnarum ac tormentorum generibus afflixerunt ipſo ſemper conſtantiſſimè in fide,& in Dei laudibus perſiſtente,& fidem illorum Machometi deridente & deſtruente.Videntes autem Saraceni eum nõ poſſe a ſuo propoſito euelli, eum ſuper quandam arborẽ ſuſpenderunt,in qua de nona vſq; ad noctem viuus & illæſus pependit: nocte verò ipſum de arbore ſumpſerunt, & videntes illum lætũ,viuum,& illæſum per medium ſuum corpus diuiſerunt,mane autẽ facto nihil de corpore eius inuentum eſt; vni tamen perſonæ fide dignæ reuelatum eſt,quod Deus corpus eius occultauerat reuelandũ in certo tempore, quandò Deo placuerit Sanctorum corpora manifeſtare. Vt autem Deus oſtenderet animas ſuorum martyrum iam in cœlis conſiſtere, & congaudere cum Deo & Angelis & alijs Sanctis eius,die ſequenti poſt martyriũ fratrum prædictorũ Melich dormitioni ſe dedit, & ecce aparuerunt ſibi iſti fratres glorioſi, & ſicut Sol,lucidi,ſingulos enſes tenentes in manibus, & ſupra eum eos ſic vibrantes, quod vt ſi eum perfodere ac diuidere vellent: qui excitatus horribilitèr exclamauit, ſic,quòd totã familiã terruit: quæ ſibi accurrens quæſiuit, quid ſibi eſſet? quibus ille,Illi Raban Franchi quos interfici iuſſi, venerunt huc ad me cum enſibus, volentes me interficere. Et ſtatim Melich miſit pro Kadi,referens ſibi viſionẽ, & petens conſilium,& conſolationem,quia timuit per eos finaliter interire. Tunc Kadi ſibi conſuluit, vt illis maximas eleemoſynas faceret, ſi de manibus interfectorũ euadere vellet. Tunc miſit pro Chriſtianis quos in carcere intrudi præceperat: A quibus cum ad eum veniſſent indulgentiam petijt pro facto ſuo,dicens ſe eſſe amodò ſocium eorũ, & confratrem: Præcepit autem & legem ſtatuit,quòd pro tempore ſuo, ſi quis aliquẽ Chriſtianũ offenderet,ſtatim moreretur,& ſic omnes illæſos,& indemnes abire permiſit. Pro illis autẽ quatuor fratribus interfectis quatuor moſquetas(.i.) Eccleſias ædificari fecit,quas per Sacerdotes Saracenorum inhabitari fecit. Audiens autem imperator Dodſi iſtos tres fratres talem ſententiam ſubijſſe,miſit pro Melich, vt vinctus ad eum duceretur, A quo cùm adductus eſſet,quæſiuit imperator, quare ita crudelitèr illos fratres iuſſerat interfici,reſpondit, quia ſubuertere volebant legem noſtram, & malum & blaſphemiam de propheta noſtro dicebant:& imperator ad eum; O crudeliſſime canis,cùm videres quod Deus omnipotens bis ab igne eos liberauerit,quo modo auſus fuiſti illis mortem inferre tam crudelem. Et edicta ſententia, ipſum Melich cum tota ſua familia per medium ſcindi fecit, ſicut ipſe talem mortem fratri inflixerat. Kadi verò audiens, de terra illa, & etiam de imperatoris illius dominio clàm fugit, & ſic euaſit.

De miraculis quatuor fratrum occiſorum.

ESt autem conſuetudo in terra illa, quòd corpora mortua non traduntur ſepulturæ, ſed in campis dimittuntur,& ex calore Solis citò reſoluuntur,& ſic conſumuntur: Corpora autem triũ fratrũ prędictorum per 14. dies illic in feruore Solis iacuerunt, & ita recentia & redolentia inuenta fuerunt ſicut illa die quandò martirizati erant:quod videntes Chriſtiani qui in illa terra habitabant, prædicta corpora ceperunt, & honorificè ſepelierunt. Ego autem Odoricus audiens factum & martyrium illorũ fratrum, iui illuc, & corpora eorũ effodi,& oſſa omnia mecum accepi,& in pulchris towallijs colligaui, & in Indiam ſuperiorem ad vnũ locũ fratrum noſtrorũ ea deportaui, habens mecum ſocium,& vnũ famulũ.Cum autẽ eſſemus in uia,hoſpitabamus in domo cuiuſdã hoſpitarij,& ipſa oſſa capiti meo ſuppoſui,& dormiui:Et dùm dormirem domus illa à Saracenis ſubitò accendebatur,vt me cum domo comburerent. Domo autẽ ſic accenſa,ſocius meus & famulus de domo exierunt,& me ſolum cum oſſibus dimiſerunt,qui videns ignem ſupra me,oſſa accepi & cum illis in angulos domus recollegi. Tres autem anguli domus ſtatim cõbuſti fuerunt,angulo in quo ſteti cũ oſſibus ſaluo remanente: Supra me autẽ ignis ſe tenuit in modũ aëris lucidi, nec deſcendit quamdiu ibi perſiſtebam; quàm citò autẽ cum oſſibus exiui, ſtatim tota pars illa ſicut aliæ priores igne conſumpta eſt, & multa alia loca circumadiacentia cõbuſta ſunt. Aliud miraculũ contigit,me cum oſſibus per mare proficiente ad ciuitatẽ Polumbrũ vbi piper naſcitur abũdantèr,quia nobis ventus totaliter defecit:quapropter venerunt Idolatræ adorantes Deos ſuos pro vento proſpero,quẽ tamen nõ obtinuerunt: Tunc Saraceni ſuas inuocationes,& adorationes laborioſe fecerũt,ſed nihil profecerũt; Et præceptũ eſt mihi & ſocio meo vt orationes funderemus Deo noſtro: Et dixit rector nauis in Armenico mihi,quod alij nõ intelligerent:quòd niſi poſſemus ventũ proſperũ à Deo noſtro impetrare,nos cum oſſibus in mare proijcerẽt: Tunc ego & ſocius fecimus orationes, vouentes multas miſſas de beata virgine celebrare,ſic quòd ventũ placeret ſibi nobis impetrare. Cum autẽ tẽpus tranſiret,& ventus non veniret,accepi vnũ de oſſibus,& dedi famulo, vt ad caput nauis iret,& clàm in mare proijceret; quo proiecto ſtatim affuit ventus proſper qui nunquã nobis defecit, vſquequò peruenimus ad portũ,meritis iſtorũ martyrũ cum ſalute. Deinde aſcendimus aliã nauẽ vt in Indiam ſuperiorẽ iremus; Et venimus ad quandã ciuitatem vocatã Carchan in qua ſunt duo loca fratrum noſtrorum, & ibi reponere iſtas reliquias volebamus. In naui autem illa erant plus 700. mercatores

& alij : Nunc illi Idolatræ iſtam conſuetudinem habebant, quòd ſemper antequàm ad portum applicuerint, totam nauem perquirerent, ſi iſti aliqua oſſa mortuorum animalium inuenirent, qui reperta ſtatim in mare proijcerent, & per hoc bonum portum attingere, & mortis periculũ euadere crederent. Cùm autem frequentèr perquirerent, & illa oſſa frequenter tangerent, ſemper oculi deluſi fuerunt, ſic quòd illa non perpenderunt; & ſic ad locum fratrum deportauimus cum omni reuerentia, vbi in pace requieſcunt; vbi etiã inter idolatras Deus continuè miracula operatur. Cum enim aliquo morbo grauantur, in terra illa vbi fratres paſſi ſunt ipſi vadunt, & de terra vbi corpora ſanguinolenta iacuerunt ſumunt quam abluunt, & ablutionem bibunt, & ſic ab infirmitatibus ſuis liberantur.

Quo modo habetur Piper, & vbi naſcitur.

Malabar.

Polumbrum ciuitas.

Adoratio bouis.

Combuſtio mortuorum.

Mobar regnum vel Maliapor.

VT autem videatur quo modo habetur piper, ſciendum quòd in quodam imperio ad quod applicui, nomine*Minibar, naſcitur, & in nulla parte mundi tantum, quantum ibi; Nemus enim in quo naſcitur, continet octodecim dietas, & in ipſo nemore ſunt duæ ciuitates vna nomine Flandrina, alia nomine Cyncilim : In Flandrina habitant Iudęi aliqui & aliqui Chriſtiani, inter quos eſt bellum frequenter, ſed Chriſtiani vincunt Iudæos ſemper : In iſto nemore habetur piper per iſtum modum. Nam primò naſcitur in folijs olerum, quę iuxta magnas arbores plantantur, ſicut nos ponimus vites; & producunt fructum, ſicut racemi noſtri producunt vuas; ſed quandò matureſcunt ſunt viridis coloris, & ſic vindemiantur vt inter nos vindemiãtur vuæ, & ponuntur grana ad ſolem vt deſiccentur : quę deſiccata reponuntur in vaſis terreis, & ſic fit piper, & cuſtoditur. In iſto autẽ nemore ſunt flumina multa in quibus ſunt Crocodili multi, & multi alij ſerpentes ſunt in illo nemore, quos homines per ſtupam & paleas comburunt, & ſic ad colligendum piper ſecurè accedunt. A capite illius nemoris verſus meridiem eſt ciuitas Polumbrum in qua maxima mercimonia cuiuſcunque generis reperiuntur. Omnes autem de terra illa bouem viuum ſicut Deum ſuum adorant, quem 6. annis faciunt laborare, & in ſeptimo faciunt ipſum quieſcere ab omni opere; ponentes ipſum in loco ſolemni, & communi, & dicentes ipſum eſſe animal ſanctum. Hunc autem ritum obſeruant : quolibet mane accipiunt duas pelues de auro, vel de argento, & vnam ſubmittunt vrinæ bouis, & aliam ſtercori, de vrina lauant ſibi faciem & oculos, & omnes 5. ſenſus : de ſtercore verò ponunt in vtróque oculo, poſteà liniunt ſummitates genarum, & tertiò pectus, & ex tunc dicunt ſe ſanctificatos pro toto die illo : & ſicut facit populus, ita etiam facit rex & regina. Iſti etiam aliud idolum mortuum adorant, quod in medietate vna ſuperior eſt homo, & in alia eſt bos, & illud idolum dat eis reſponſa, & aliquotiens pro ſtipendio petit ſanguinẽ, 40. virginum : & ideò homines illius regionis ita vouent filias ſuas & filios, ſicut Chriſtiani aliqui alicui religioni, vel ſancto in cœlis. Et per iſtum modum immolant filios & filias, & multi homines per iſtum ritum moriuntur ante idolum illud, & multa alia abominabilia facit populus iſte beſtialis, & multa mirabilia vidi inter eos quæ nolui hîc inſerere. Aliam conſuetudinem viliſſimam habet gens illa : Nam quãdo homo moritur, comburunt ipſum mortuum, & ſi vxorẽ habet, ipſam comburunt viuam, quia dicunt quòd ipſa ibit in aratura, & cultura cum viro ſuo in alio mundo : Si autem vxor illa habeat liberos ex viro ſuo, poteſt manere cum eis ſi velit ſine verecundia & improperio, communiter tamen omnes præeligunt comburi cum marito; ſi autem vxor præmoriatur viro, lex illa non obligat virum, ſed poteſt aliã vxorem ducere. Aliam conſuetudinem habet gens illa, quòd fœminę ibi bibunt vinum, & homines non: fœminæ etiã faciunt ſibi radi cilia, & ſupercilia, & barbam, & homines non : & ſic de multis alijs vilibus contra naturam ſexus eorum. Ab iſto regno iui decem dietas ad aliud regnum dictum Mobar, quod habet in ſe multas ciuitates, & in illo requieſcit in vna eccleſia corpus beati Thomæ Apoſtoli, & eſt eccleſia illa plena idolis, & in circuitu eccleſiæ ſimul Canonici viuunt in 15. domibus Neſtoriani, id eſt, mali Chriſtiani, & ſchiſmatici.

De quodam idolo mirabili, & de quibuſdam ritibus eorum.

IN hoc regno eſt vnum Idolum mirabile, quod omnes Indi reuerentur : & eſt ſtatura hominis ita magni, ſicut noſter Chriſtophorus depictus, & eſt totum de auro puriſſimo & ſplendidiſſimo, & circa collum habet vnam chordulam ſericam cum lapidibus pretioſiſſimis, quorũ aliquis valet plus quàm vnum regnum : Domus idoli eſt tota de auro, ſcilicet in tecto, & pauimento, & ſuperficie parietum interius & exterius. Ad illud idolum peregrinantur Indi, ſicut nos ad S. Petrum : Alij veniunt cum chorda ad collum, alij cum manibus retrò ligatis, alij cum cultello in brachio vel tibia defixo, & ſi poſt peregrinationẽ fiat brachium marcidum, illum reputant ſanctum, & benè cum Deo ſuo. Iuxta eccleſiam illius idoli eſt lacus vnus manufactus, & manifeſtus, in quem peregrini proijciunt aurum & argentum, & lapides pretioſos in honorem Idoli, & ad ædificationem eccleſiæ ſuæ, & ideò quando aliquid debet ornari, vel reparari, vadunt homines ad hunc lacum, & proiecta extrahunt: dio autem annua conſtructionis illius idoli, rex & regina cum toto populo & omnibus peregrinis accedunt, & ponunt illud idolum in vno curru precioſiſſimo ipſum de eccleſia educentes cum Canticis, & omni genere muſicorum, & multæ virgines antecedunt ipſum binæ & binæ, proceſſionaliter combinatæ modulantes: Peregrini etiam multi ponunt ſe ſub curru, vt tranſeat Deus ſupra eos; & omnes ſuper quos currus tranſit, comminuit, & per medium ſcindit, & interficit, & per hoc reputant ſe mori pro deo ſuo ſanctè & ſecurè: & in omni anno hoc modo moriuntur in via ſub idolo pluſquam 500 homines, quorum corpora comburuntur, & cineres ſicut reliquiæ cuſtodiuntur, quia ſic pro Deo ſuo moriuntur. Alium ritum habent, quando aliquis homo offert ſe mori pro deo ſuo, conueniunt omnes amici eius & parentes cum hiſtrionibus multis, facientes ſibi feſtum magnum, & poſt feſtum appendunt collo eius 5 cultellos acutiſſimos ducentes eum ante idolum, quò cum peruenerit, ſumit vnum ex cultellis, & clamat alta voce, pro deo meo incido mihi de carne mea, & fruſtum inciſum proijcit in faciem idoli: vltima verò inciſione per quam ſeipſum interficit, dicit, me mori pro deo meo permitto, quo mortuo corpus eius comburitur, & ſanctum fore ab omnibus creditur. Rex illius regionis eſt ditiſſimus in auro & argento, & gemmis pretioſis; ibi etiam ſunt margaritæ pulchriores de mundo. Indè tranſiens iui per mare oceanum verſus meridiem per 50 dietas ad unam terram vocatam Lammori, in qua ex immenſitate caloris, tam viri quam fœminæ omnes incedunt nudi in toto corpore: Qui videntes me veſtitum, deridebant me, dicentes Deum, Adam & Euam feciſſe nudos. In illa regione omnes mulieres ſunt communes, ita quòd nullus poteſt dicere, hæc eſt vxor mea, & cùm mulier aliqua parit filium vel filiam dat cui vult de hijs qui concubuerunt: Tota etiam terra illius regionis habetur in communi, ita quòd non meum & tuum in diuiſione terrarũ, domos tamen habent ſpeciales: Carnes humanę quando homo eſt pinguis ita benè comeduntur, ſicut inter nos bouinæ: & licet gens ſit peſtifera, tamen terra optima eſt, & abundat in omnibus bonis, carnibus, bladis, riſo, auro, argento, & lignis Aloe, canfari, & multis alijs. Mercatores autem cum accedunt ad hanc regionem ducunt ſecum homines pingues vendentes illos genti illius regionis, ſicut nos vendimus porcos, qui ſtatim occidunt eos & comedunt. In hac inſula verſus meridiem eſt aliud regnum vocatũ Symolcra, in quo tam viri quam mulieres ſignant ſe ferro calido in facie, in 12. partibus, Et hij ſemper bellant cum hominibus nudis in alia regione. Vltra tranſiui ad aliam inſulam quæ vocatur Iaua cuius ambitus per mare eſt trium milliũ milliarium, & rex illius inſulæ habet ſub ſe 7. reges coronatos, & hæc inſula optimè inhabitatur, & melior ſecunda de mundo reputatur. In ea naſcũtur in copia garyophylli, cubibez, & nuces muſcatę: & breuiter omnes ſpecies ibi ſunt, & maxima abundantia omniũ victualium præterquam vini. Rex illius terræ habet palatium nobiliſſimũ inter omnia quæ vidi altiſſimè ſtat, & gradus & ſcalas habet altiſſimos, quorum ſemper vnus gradus eſt aureus, alius argenteus; Pauimentum verò vnum laterem habet de auro, aliũ de argẽto. Parietes verò omnes interius ſunt laminati laminis aureis, in quibus ſculpti ſunt Equites de auro habentes circa caput circulum aureum plenum lapidibus pretioſis: Tectum eſt de auro puro. Cum iſto rege ille magnus Canis de Katay frequenter fuit in bello: Quem tamen ſemper ille Rex vicit & ſuperauit.

Crudeliſſima Satanæ tyrannis, & carnificina.

Platonica κοινονία.

Simoltra vel Samotra.

Iaua.

De arboribus dantibus farinam, & mel, & venenum.

IVxta iſtam Inſulam eſt alia contrata vocata Panten, vel alio nomine Tathalamaſim, & Rex illius contratæ multas inſulas habet ſub ſe. In illa terra ſunt arbores dantes farinam, & mel, & vinum, & etiam venenum periculoſius quod ſit in mundo, quia contra illud non eſt remedium, niſi vnum ſolum, & eſt illud. Si aliquis illud venenum ſumpſiſſet, ſi velit liberari, ſumat ſtercus hominis & cum aqua temperet, & in bona quantitate bibat, & ſtatim fugat venenũ faciens exire per inferiores partes. Farinam autem faciunt arbores hoc modo, ſunt magnæ & baſſæ, & quandò inciduntur cum ſecuri propè terram, exit de ſtipite liquor quidam ſicut gummæ, quem accipiunt homines & ponunt in ſacculis de folijs factis, & per quindecim dies in ſole dimittunt, & in fine decimi quinti diei ex iſto liquore deſiccato fit farina, quã primò ponunt in aqua maris, poſteà lauant eam cum aqua dulci, & fit paſta valdè bona & odorifera, de qua faciunt cibos vel panes ſicut placet eis. De quibus panibus ego comedi, & eſt panis exterius pulcher, ſed interius aliquantulum niger. In hac contrata eſt mare mortuum quod ſemper currit verſus meridiem, in quod ſi homo ceciderit, nunquam poſteà comparet. In contrata illa inueniũtur Cannæ longiſſimæ plures paſſus habentes quàm 60 & ſunt magnæ vt arbores. Aliæ etiã Cannæ ſunt ibi quæ vocantur Caſſan quæ per terrã diriguntur vt gramen, & in quolibet nodo earũ ramuli producuntur qui etiam prolongantur ſuper terram per vnum miliare ferè: in hijs Cannis reperiuntur lapides, quorum ſi quis vnum ſuper ſe portauerit, non poterit incidi aliquo ferro,

Vel Malaſmi.

Mare quod ſemper currit verſus meridiem.

&

& ideò communiter homines illius contratæ portant illos lapides ſuper: Multi etiam faciunt pueros ſuos dum ſunt parui incidi in vno brachio, & in vulnere ponunt vnum de illis lapidibus, & faciunt vulnus recludere ſe per vnum puluerem de quodam piſce, cuius nomen ignoro, qui puluis ſtatim vulnus conſolidat & ſanat: & virtute illorum lapidum communitèr iſti homines triumphant in bellis, & in mari, nec poſſent iſti homines lędi per aliqua arma ferrea: Vnum tamen remedium eſt, quòd aduerſarij illius gentis ſcientes virtutem lapidum, prouident ſibi propugnacula ferrea contra ſpicula illorum, & arma venenata de veneno arborum, & in manu portant palos ligneos acutiſſimos & ita duros in extremitate ſicut eſſet ferrum: Similitèr ſagittant cum ſagittis ſine ferro, & ſic confundūt aliquos & perforant inermes ex lapidum ſecuritate. De iſtis etiam Cannis Caſſan faciunt ſibi vela pro ſuis nauibus & domunculas paruas, & multa ſibi neceſſaria. Inde receſſi per multas dietas ad aliud regnum vocatum Campa, pulcherrimum, & opulentiſſimum in omnibus victualibus. Cuius rex quādo fui ibi tot habuit vxores, & alias mulieres, quòd de illis 300. filios & filias habuit. Iſte rex habet decies milleſies & quatuor elephātum domeſticorū, quos ita facit cuſtodiri ſicut inter nos cuſtodiunt boues, vel greges in paſcuis.

Vela ex arundinibus facta.

Campa,

De multitudine Piſcium, qui ſe proijciunt in aridam.

IN hac contrata vnū mirabile valdè reperitur, quòd vnaquæq; generatio piſcium in mari ad iſtā contratam venit in tanta quantitate, quòd per magnū ſpatium maris nil videtur niſi dorſa piſcium, & ſuper aridam ſe proijciunt quando propè ripam ſunt, & permittūt homines per tres dies venire, & de illis ſumere quantum placuerint, & tunc redeūt ad mare: Poſt illā ſpeciem per illum modum venit alia ſpecies, & offert ſe, & ſic de omnibus ſpeciebus, ſemel tamen tantum hoc faciunt in anno. Et quæſiui à gente illa quomodo & qualiter hoc poſſit fieri? reſponderunt quòd hoc modo piſces per naturā docentur venire, & imperatorem ſuum reuereri. Ibi etiā ſunt teſtitudines ita magnę ſicut eſt vnus furnus, & multa alia vidi quę incredibilia forent, niſi homo illa vidiſſet. In illa etiā contrata homo mortuus cōburitur, & vxor viua cùm eo, ſicut ſuperius de alia cōtrata dictū eſt, quia dicunt homines illi quòd illa vadit ad alium mundum ad morandum cum eo, ne ibi aliam vxorē accipiat. Vltra tranſiui per mare Oceanum verſus meridiem, & tranſiui per multas contratas & inſulas, quarum vna vocatur Moumoran, & habet in circuitu 2000. milliaria, in qua homines portāt facies caninas & mulieres ſimilitèr, & vnū bouem adorant pro Deo ſuo, & ideò quilibet vnū bouē aureum vel argenteū in frontę portat: Homines illius cōtratæ & mulieres vadunt totaliter nudi, niſi quòd vnum pannum lineum portant ante verenda ſua. Homines illius regionis ſunt maximi & fortiſſimi, & quia vadunt nudi, quando debent bellare, portant vnum ſcutum de ferro, quod cooperit eos à capite vſq; ad pedes, & ſi contingat eos aliquem de aduerſarijs capere in bello qui pecunia non poſſit redimi, ſtatim comedunt eum; ſi autem poſſit ſe redimere pecunia, illum abire permittunt: Rex eorum portat 300. margaritas ad collum ſuum maximas & pulcherrimas, & 300. orationes omni die dicit Deo ſuo: Hic etiam portat in digito ſuo vnum lapidem longitudinis vnius ſpanſæ, & dum habet illū videtur ab alijs quaſi vna flamma ignis, & ideò nullus audet ſibi appropinquare, & dicitur quòd non eſt lapis in mundo pretioſior illo. Magnus autem imperator Tartarorum de Katai, nunquam vi, nec pecunia, nec ingenio illum obtinere potuit, cùm tamen circa hoc laborauerit.

Teſtudines magnæ.

Moumoran,

De Inſula *Ceilan*, & de monte vbi *Adam* planxit *Abel* filium ſuum.

TRanſiui per aliam inſulam vocatam Ceilan, quæ habet in ambitu pluſquā duo millia milliaria, in qua ſunt ſerpentes quaſi infiniti, & maxima multitudo leonum, vrſarum, & omnium animalium rapacium, & ſilueſtrium, & potiſſimè elephantū. In illa contrata eſt mons maximus, in quo dicunt gentes illius regionis quòd Adam planxit Abel filium ſuum 500 annis. In medio illius montis eſt planicies pulcherrima, in qua eſt lacus paruus multum habens de aqua, & homines illi dicunt aquam illam fuiſſe de lachrymis Adæ & Euæ, ſed probaui hoc falſum eſſe, quia vidi aquam in lacu ſcaturire: hæc aqua plena eſt hirudinibus & ſanguiſugis, & lapidibus pretioſis; iſtos lapides rex non accipit ſibi, ſed ſemel vel bis in anno permittit pauperes ſub aqua ire pro lapidibus, & omnes quot poſſunt colligere illis concedit, vt orent pro anima ſua. Vt autē poſſint ſub aqua ire accipiunt lymones, & cum illis vngunt ſe valdè benè, & ſic nudos ſe in aquam ſubmergunt, & ſanguiſugæ illis nocere non poſſunt. Ab iſto lacu aqua exit & currit vſq; ad mare, & in tranſitu quandò retrahit ſe, fodiuntur Rubiæ, & adamantes, & margaritæ, & aliæ gemmæ pretioſæ: vndè opinio eſt quòd rex ille magis abundat lapidibus pretioſis, quàm aliquis in mundo. In contrata illa ſunt quaſi omnia genera animalium & auium; & dixerunt mihi gentes illæ, quòd animalia illa nullū forenſem inuadunt, nec offendunt, ſed tantū homines illius regionis. Vidi in illa inſula aues ita magnas ſicut ſunt hic anſeres, habentes duo capita, & alia mirabilia quæ non ſcribo. Vltra verſus meridiem tranſiui, & applicui ad inſulam quandam quæ vocatur Bodin, quod idem eſt quod immundum in lingua noſtra. In ea morātur

Ceilan inſula.

Bodin Inſula,

peſſimi homines, qui comedunt carnes crudas, & omnem immunditiã faciunt quæ quaſi excogitari nõ poterit; nam pater comedit filium, & filius patrẽ, & maritus vxorem, & è contrario, & hoc per hunc modum: ſi pater alicuius infirmetur, filius vadit ad Aſtrologum ſacerdotem, ſcz. rogans eum quòd conſulat Deum ſuum, ſi pater de tali infirmitate euadet, vel non. Tunc ambo vadunt ad idolum aureum, vel argenteum, faciẽtes orationes in hac forma. Domine, tu es Deus noſter, te adoramus, & rogamus vt nobis reſpondeas, debetnè talis à tali infirmitate mori vel liberari? Tunc Dęmon reſpõdet, & ſi dicat, viuet, filius vadit & miniſtrat illi vſq; ad plenã conualeſcentiã: Si autẽ dicat, morietur, Sacerdos ibit ad eum, & vnum pannum ſuper os eius ponet, & ſuffocabit eum, & ipſum mortuum incidet in fruſta, & inuitabuntur omnes amici, & parentes eius ad comedendum eum cum canticis, & omni lætitia, oſſa tamen eius honorificè ſepelient. Cùm autẽ ego eos de tali ritu reprehendi, quærens cauſam: Reſpondit vnus mihi, hoc facimus ne vermes carnes eius comedant, tunc eius anima magnã pœnam ſuſtineret, nec poteram euellere eos ab iſto errore: & multę aliæ nouitates ſunt ibi, quas nõ crederent, niſi qui viderent. Ego autem coram Deo nihil hìc refero, niſi illud de quo certus ſum ſicut homo certificari poterit. De iſta inſula inquiſiui à multis expertis, qui omnes vno ore reſponderunt mihi, dicentes, quod iſta India 4400. inſulas continet ſub ſe, ſiue in ſe, in qua etiam ſunt 64. reges coronati, & etiam dicunt quod maior pars illius inſulæ benè inhabitatur. Et hìc iſtius Indiæ facio finem.

De India ſuperiori, & de Prouincia Manci.

INprimis refero, quòd cum tranſirem per mare Oceanum per multas dietas verſus Orientem, perueni ad illam magnã prouinciam Manci, quę India vocatur à Latinis. De iſta India ſuperiori inquiſiui à Chriſtianis, Saracenis, idolatris, & omnibus, qui officiales ſunt domini Canis magni, qui omnes vno ore reſponderunt, quòd hæc prouincia Manci habet pluſquàm 2000. magnarũ ciuitatum, & in ipſa eſt maxima copia omniũ victualium, puta, panis, vini, riſi, carniũ, piſciũ, &c. Omnes homines iſtius prouinciæ ſunt artifices & mercatores, qui pro quacunq; penuria, dummodo proprijs manibus iuuare ſe poſſent per labores, nunquã ab aliquo eleemoſynã peterent. Viri iſtius prouinciæ ſunt ſatis formoſi, ſed pallidi, & raſas & paruas barbas habentes; fœminę verò ſunt pulcherrimę inter omnes de mundo. Prima ciuitas ad quam veni de iſta India vocatur Ceuskalon, & diſtat à mari per vnã dietam, poſitáq; eſt ſuper flumen, cuius aqua propè mare cui contignatur, aſcendit ſuper terram per 12. dietas. Totus populus illius Indiæ idolatrat. Iſta autem ciuitas tantum nauigiũ habet, quod incredibile foret niſi videnti. In hac ciuitate vidi quod 300. libræ de bono & recenti zinzibero habentur pro minori quàm pro vno groſſo: Ibi ſunt anſeres groſſiores & pulchriores, & maius forũ de illis, quàm ſit in mundo, vt credo, & ſunt albiſſimi ſicut lac, & habent vnum os ſuper caput quantitatis oui, & habet colorem ſanguineũ, ſub gula habent vnã pellem pendentem ſemipedalem: Pinguiſſimi ſunt, & optimi fori: & ita eſt de anatibus, & gallinis, quæ magnæ ſunt valdè in illa terra pluſquam duæ de noſtris. Ibi ſunt ſerpentes maximi, & capiuntur & à gente illa comeduntur: vnde qui faceret feſtũ ſolemne, & non daret ſerpẽtes, nihil reputaret ſe facere: breuitèr in hac ciuitate ſunt omnia victualia in maxima abundantia. Indè tranſiui per ciuitates multas, & veni ad ciuitatẽ nomine Kaitan, in qua fratres Minores habent duo loca, ad quæ portaui de oſſibus fratrũ noſtrorum pro fide Chriſti interfectorum, de quibus ſupra. In hac eſt copia omnium victualium pro leuiſſimo foro, hæc ciuitas ita magna eſt, ſicut bis Bononia, & in ea multa monaſteria religioſorum, qui omnes idolis ſeruiũt. In vno autem iſtorũ monaſteriorum ego fui, & dictum eſt mihi quòd inerant 3000. religioſorum habentiũ 11000. idolorum, & vnum illorum, quod quaſi paruũ inter cętera mihi videbatur, eſt ita magnũ ſicut Chriſtophorus noſter. Iſti religioſi omni die paſcunt Deos ſuos, vnde ſemel iui ad videndũ comeſtionem illam, & vidi quòd illa quę detulerunt ſibi comeſtibilia ſunt, & calidiſſima, & multũ fumigãtia, ita quòd fumus aſcendit ad idola, & dixerũt Deos illo fumo recreari. Totum autẽ cibum illi reportauerũt & comederũt, & ſic de fumo tantũ Deos ſuos pauerunt.

Vel Ceuſcala.

Hi ſunt alcatra vel onocratoli.

Vel Zaiton.

De Ciuitate Fuko.

VLtra verſus Orientem veni ad ciuitatem quę vocatur Fuko, cuius circuitus cõtinet 30. milliaria, in qua ſunt Galli maximi & pulcherrimi, & gallinæ omnes ita albæ ſicut nix, lanam ſolum pro pennis habentes ſicut pecudes. Hæc ciuitas pulcherrima eſt, & ſita ſupra mare. Vltra iui per 18. dietas, & pertranſij multas terras & ciuitates, & in tranſitu veni ad quendam montem magnum, & vidi quòd in vno latere montis omnia animalia erant nigra vt carbo, & homines & mulieres diuerſum modum viuendi habent: ab alio autem latere omnia animalia erant alba ſicut nix, & homines totaliter diuerſè ab alijs vixerunt. Ibi omnes fœminæ quæ ſunt deſponſatæ portant in ſignum quòd habent maritos vnum magnum barile de cornu in capite. Inde tranſiui per 18. dietas alias, & veni ad quoddã magnum flumen, & intraui ciuitatem vnã, quæ tranſuerſum illius fluminis habet pontem maximũ, & hoſpitabar in domo vnius hoſpitarij, qui vo-

Vel Foquien.

Magnum flume

lens

Aliàs Canſai, vel Quinzai.

lens mihi complacere, dixit mihi: ſi velis videre piſcari, veni mecum; & duxit me ſuper pontem, & vidi in brachijs ſuis mergos ligatos ſuper perticas, ad quorum gulã vbi ille ligauit vnũ filum, ne illi capientes piſces, comederent eos: Poſtea in brachio vno poſuit 3. ciſtas magnas, & tunc diſſoluit mergos de perticis, qui ſtatim in aquã intrauerunt, & piſces ceperunt, & ciſtas illas repleuerunt in parua hora, quibus repletis vir ille diſſoluit fila à collis eorũ, & ipſi reintrantes flumen ſe de piſcibus recreauerũt, & recreati ad perticas redierunt, & ſe ligari ſicut priùs permiſerunt: Ego autẽ de illis piſcibus comedi, & optimi mihi videbãtur. Inde tranſiens per multas dietas veni ad vnã ciuitatem quæ vocatur *Kanaſia, quæ ſonat in lingua noſtra ciuitas cœli: Nunquam ita magnã ciuitatem vidi, Circuitus enim eius cõtinet 100. milliaria, nec in ea vidi ſpatiũ quin benè inhabitaretur; Imò vidi multas domus habentes 10. vel 12. ſolaria vnũ ſupra aliud: hæc habet ſuburbia maxima continentia maiorẽ populum quàm ipſa ciuitas contineat. 12. portas habet principales, & in via de qualibet illarũ portarum ad 8. milliaria ſunt ciuitates fortè maiores vt æſtimo, quàm eſt ciuitas Venetiarũ, & Padua. Hæc ciuitas ſita eſt in aquis quæ ſemper ſtant, & nec fluunt, nec refluunt, vallum tamẽ habet propter ventum ſicut ciuitas Venetiarum. In ea ſunt plus decem mille & 2. pontium, quorum multos numeraui & tranſiui, & in quolibet ponte ſtant cuſtodes ciuitatis continuè cuſtodientes ciuitatem pro magno Cane imperatore Catai. Vnum mandatum dicunt gentes illius ciuitatis a domino ſe recepiſſe. Nam quilibet ignis ſoluit vnũ balis, i. 5. cartas bombicis, qui vnum florenũ cum dimidio valent, & 10. vel 12. ſupellectiles facient vnum ignem, & ſic pro vno igne ſoluent. Iſti ignes ſunt benè 85. Thuman, cum alijs 4. Saracenorum quæ faciunt 89. Thuma verò vnum decem milia ignium facit, reliqui autem de populo ciuitatis ſunt alij Chriſtiani, alij mercatores, & alij tranſeuntes per terram, vndè maximè fui miratus quo modo tot corpora hominũ poterant ſimul habitare: In ea eſt maxima copia victualium, ſcz. panis & vini, & carnium de porco præcipuè cum alijs neceſſarijs.

De monaſterio vbi ſunt multa animalia diuerſa in quodam monte.

Pythagorica μετεμψύχωσις.

Chilenſo.

Thalay.

Kakam.

IN illa ciuitate 4. fratres noſtri conuerterant vnum potentem ad fidẽ Chriſti, in cuius hoſpitio continuè habitabã, dum fui ibi, qui ſemèl dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire & videre ciuitatem iſtã; & dixi quòd ſic, & aſcendimus vnã barcham, & iuimus ad vnũ monaſterium maximũ, de quo vocauit vnũ religioſum ſibi notũ, & dixit ſibi de me, Iſte Raban Frãcus, i. religioſus venit deindè vbi ſol occidit, & nunc vadit Cambaleth, vt deprecetur vitã pro magno Cane, & ideò oſtendas ſibi aliquid, quòd ſi reuertatur ad contratas ſuas poſſit referre quòd tale quid nouũ vidi in Canaſia ciuitate: tunc ſumpſit ille religioſus duos maſtellos magnos repletos reliquijs quæ ſupererant de menſa, & duxit me ad vnã percluſam paruam, quam aperuit cum claue, & aparuit viridarium gratioſum & magnũ in quod intrauimus, & in illo viridario ſtat vnus monticulus ſicut vnũ campanile, repletus amœnis herbis & arboribus, & dum ſtaremus ibi, ipſe ſumpſit cymbalũ, & incœpit percutere ipſum ſicut percutitur quandò monachi intrant refectoriũ, ad cuius ſonitũ multa animalia diuerſa deſcenderunt de monte illo, aliqua vt ſimiæ, aliqua vt Cati, Maymones, & aliqua faciem hominis habentia, & dum ſic ſtarem congregauerunt ſe circa ipſum, 4000. de illis animalibus, & ſe in ordinibus collocauerunt, coram quibus poſuit paropſidem & dabat eis comedere, & cum comediſſent iterum cymbalum percuſſit, & omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admiratus inquiſiui quæ eſſent animalia iſta? Et reſpondit mihi quod ſunt animæ nobilium virorũ, quas nos hîc paſcimus amore Dei, qui regit orbẽ, & ſicut vnus homo fuit nobilis, ita anima eius poſt mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat. Animæ verò ſimpliciũ & ruſticorũ, corpora vilium animaliũ intrant. Incœpi iſtã abuſionẽ improbare, ſed nihil valuit ſibi, nõ enim poterat credere, quòd aliqua anima poſſet ſine corpore manere. Indè tranſiui ad quandam ciuitatem nomine Chilenſo, cuius muri per 40. milliaria circuerunt. In iſta ciuitate ſunt 360. pontes lapidei pulchriores quàm vnquam viderim, & benè inhabitatur, & nauigiũ maximum habet, & copiã omnium victualiũ, & aliorum bonorũ. Inde iui ad quoddã flumen dictũ Thalay, quod vbi eſt ſtrictius habet in latitudine 7. milliaria, & illud flumen per medium terræ Pygmæorum tranſit, quorum ciuitas vocatur Kakam, quæ de pulchrioribus ciuitatibus mũdi eſt. Iſti Pigmæi habent longitudinẽ trium ſpanſarum mearũ, & faciunt maiora & meliora goton, & bombicinã quàm aliqui homines in mundo. Indè per illud flumen tranſiens, veni ad vnam ciuitatẽ Ianzu, in qua eſt vnus locus fratrum noſtrorũ, & ſunt in ea tres eccleſiæ Neſtorianorũ: hæc ciuitas nobilis eſt, & magna, habens in ſe 48. Thuman ignium, & in ea omnia victualia, & animalia in magna copia, de quo Chriſtiani viuunt: Dominus iſtius ciuitatis ſolum de ſale habet in redditibus 50. Thuman Baliſi, & valet baliſus vnum florenũ cum dimidio: Ita quòd vnum Thuman facit 15. millia florenorum, vnã tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei, ne ſit cariſtia in eo, 200. Thuman. Habet hęc ciuitas conſuetudinem, quòd quando vnus vult facere conuiuium amicis ſuis, ad hoc ſunt hoſpitia deputata, & vbi ille circuit per hoſpites,

ſpites, dicens ſibi tales amicos meos habebis, quos feſtabis nomine meo, & tãtum in feſto volo expendere, & per illum modum meliùs conuiuant amici in pluribus hoſpitijs quàm facerent in vno. Per 10. milliaria ab iſta ciuitate in capite fluminis Thalay eſt vna ciuitas vocata Montu, quæ maius nauigium habet, quàm viderim in toto mundo; Et omnes naues ibi ſunt albæ ſicùt nix, & in ipſis ſunt hoſpitia, & multa alia quæ nullus homo crederet niſi viderentur.

Montu.

De ciuitate Cambaleth.

INdè tranſiui per 8. dietas per multas terras & ciuitates, & veni tandèm per aquam dulcem ad quãdam ciuitatem nomine Leneyn, quæ eſt poſita ſuper flumen vocatum Caramoran, quod per medium Catai tranſit, & magnum damnum ſibi infert, quando erumpit. Indè tranſiens per flumen verſus Orientem per multas dietas & ciuitates, veni ad vnam ciuitatem nomine Sumacoto, quæ maiorem copiam habet de ſerico, quàm aliqua ciuitas in mundo; Quando enim eſt maior cariſtia Serici, ibi 40. libræ habentur pro minori quàm pro 8. groſſis. In ea eſt copia omnium mercimoniorũ, & omnium victualium, panis, vini, carnium, piſcium, & omnium ſpecierum electarum. Inde tranſiui verſus Orientem per multas ciuitates, & veni ad illam nobilem, & nominatam Cambaleth quæ eſt ciuitas multum antiqua, & eſt in prouincia Catai, & eam ceperunt Tartari: Et iuxta eam ad dimidium miliare aliam ciuitatem fecerunt, quæ vocatur Caido & hæc 12. portas habet, & ſemper inter vnam & aliam ſunt duo miliaria, & medium inter illas ciuitates benè inhabitatur, ita quòd faciunt quaſi vnam ciuitatem; Et ambitus iſtarum duarum ciuitatum eſt pluſquàm 40. milliaria. In hac ciuitate magnus imperator Canis habet ſedem ſuam principalem, & ſuum magnum palatium, cuius muri benè 4. milliaria continent; & infra illud palatium ſunt multa alia palatia dominorum de familia ſua. In palatio etiam illo eſt vnus mons pulcherrimus cõſitus arboribus, propter quod mons viridis nominatur, & in monte palatium amœniſſimum in quo communitèr Canis reſidet: A latere autem montis eſt vnus lacus magnus, ſupra quem pons pulcherrimus eſt factus, & in illo lacu eſt magna copia anſerum & anatum, & omnium auium aquaticarum; & in ſilua montis copia omnium auium & ferarum ſilueſtrium, & ideò quandò dominus Canis vult venari non oportet cum exire palatium ſuum. Palatium verò principale, in quo ſedes ſua eſt, eſt magnum valdè, & habet interius 14. columnas aureas, & omnes muri eius cooperti ſunt pellibus rubeis quæ dicuntur nobiliores pelles de mundo: Et in medio palatij eſt vna pigna altitudinis duorum paſſuum, quę tota eſt de vno lapide pretioſo nomine merdochas; & eſt tota circumligata auro, & in quolibet angulo eius eſt vnus ſerpens de auro qui verberat ös fortiſſimè: Habet etiam hęc pigna retia de margaritis, & per iſtam pignam defertur potus per meatus & conductus qui in curia regis habetur; & iuxta eam pendent multa vaſa aurea cum quibus volentes bibere poſſunt. In hoc autem palatio ſunt multi pauones de auro; & cùm aliquis Tartarus facit feſtum domino ſuo, tunc quando conuiuantes collidunt manus ſuas prę gaudio & lætitia, pauones emittunt alas ſuas, & expandunt caudas, & videntur tripudiare; Et hoc credo factũ arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela ſubterranea.

Caramoran.

Cambalec.

Mandeuil cap. 33.

De gloria magni Canis.

QVando autem magnus ille Imperator Canis in ſede ſua imperiali reſidet, tunc a ſiniſtro latere ſedet Regina, & per vnum gradum inferius duo mulieres quas ipſe tenet pro ſe, quando non poteſt ad Reginam accedere: In infimo autem gradu reſident omnes dominæ de ſua parentela. Omnes autem mulieres nuptæ portant ſupra caput ſuum vnum pedem hominis, longitudinis vnius brachij cum dimidio; & ſubter illum pedem ſunt pennę gruis, & totus ille pes ornatur maximis margaritis. A latere verò dextro ipſius Canis reſidet filius eius primogenitus, regnaturus poſt ipſum, & inferius ipſo omnes qui ſunt de ſanguine regio: Ibi etiam ſunt 4. ſcriptores ſcribentes omnia verba quæ dicit rex; Ante cuius conſpectum ſunt Barones ſui, & multi alij nobiles cum ſua gente maxima, quorum nullus audet loqui niſi à domino licentia petatur exceptis fatuis & hiſtrionibus, qui ſuum dominum conſolari habent; Illi etiam nihil audent facere, niſi ſecundum quod Dominus voluerit eis legem imponere. Ante portam palatij ſunt Barones cuſtodientes, nè aliquis limen portæ tangat. Cùm autem ille Canis voluerit facere conuiuium, habet ſecum 14000. Barones portantes circulos, & coronulas in capite, & domino ſuo ſeruientes; Et quilibet portat vnam veſtem de auro & margaritis tot quot valent plus quàm decies millies florenorum. Curia eius optime ordinatur per denarios, centenarios, & millenarios, & talitèr quòd quilibet in ſuo ordine peragit officium ſibi deputatum, nec aliquis defectus reperitur. Ego frater Odoricus fui ibi per tres annos, & multotiens in iſtis feſtis ſuis fui, quià nos fratres minores in ſua curia habemus locum nobis deputatum, & oportet nos ſempèr ire, & dare ſibi noſtram benedictionem: Et inquiſiui ab illis de curia, de numero illorum qui ſunt in curia domini, & reſponderunt mihi quòd de hiſtrionibus ſunt bene 18. Thuman; Cuſtodes autem canum & beſtiarum, & auium ſunt 15. Thuman; Medici verò pro corpore Regis ſunt 400. Chriſtiani autem 8. & vnus Saracenus. Et ego quando fui ibi, hij omnes omnia neceſſaria tam ad victum, quam ad veſtitum habebant de curia domini Canis. Quando autẽ vult equitare de vna terra ad aliam, habet 4. exercitus equitum, & vnus per vnam dietam ipſum antecedit, ſecundus aliam, & tertius ſimilitèr, & quartus; ita quòd ſemper ipſe ſe tenet in medio in modum crucis; & ita omnes exercitus habent omnes dietas ſuas ordinatas, quòd inueniunt omnia victualia parata ſine defectu. Illémet autem dominus Canis per illum modum vadit; Sedet in curru cùm duabus rotis in quo facta eſt pulcherrima ſella tota de lignis Aloe, & auro ornata, & margaritis maximis, & lapidibus pretioſis; & 4. Elephantes benè ordinati ducunt iſtum currum, quos pręcedunt 4. equi altiſſimi optimè cooperti. Iuxta currum à lateribus ſunt 4. Barones tenentes currum, nè aliquis appropinquet domino ſuo. Supra currum ſedent duo Gerfalcones albiſſimi, & dùm videt aues quos vult capere, dimittit Falcones volare, & capiunt eas; Et ſic habet ſolatium ſuum equitando, & per iactum vnius lapidis nullus audet appropinquare currui niſi populus aſſignatus: vndè incredibile eſſet homini qui non vidiſſet de numero gentis ſuæ, & reginæ, & primogeniti ſui. Iſte dominus Canis imperium ſuum diuiſit in 12. partes, & vna habet ſub ſe 200. magnarum ciuitatum: vndè ita latum & longum eſt ſuum imperium, quòd ad quamcunq; partem iret, ſatis haberes facere in ſex menſibus, exceptis inſulis, quæ ſunt bene 5000.

De hoſpitijs paratis per totum imperium pro tranſeuntibus.

ISte dominus, vt tranſeuntes habeant omnia neceſſaria ſua per totum ſuum imperium, fecit hoſpitia præparari vbique per vias; in quibus ſunt omnia parata quæ ad victualia pertinent: Cum autem aliqua nouitas oritur in imperio ſuo, tunc ſi diſtat, ambaſſiatores ſuper equos vel dromedarios feſtinant, & cùm laſſantur in curſu, pulſant cornu, & proximum hoſpitium parat vnum ſimilitèr equum, qui quando alius venit feſſus accipit literam, & currit ad hoſpitium, & ſic per hoſpitia, & per diuerſos curſores rumor per 30. dietas, vno die naturali venit ad imperarorem; & ideò nihil ponderis poteſt fieri in imperio ſuo, quin ſtatim ſcitur ab eo. Cum autem ipſe Canis vult ire venatum; iſtum modum habet. Extra Cambaleth ad 20. dietas, eſt vna foreſta quæ 6. dietas continet in ambitu; in qua ſunt tot genera animalium & auium quòd mirabile eſt dicere: Ad illud nemus vadit in fine trium annorum vel quatuor cum tota gente, cum qua ipſum circuit, & canes intrare permittit, qui animalia, ſcilicet leones, ceruos, & alia animalia reducunt ad vnam planitiem pulcherrimam in medio nemoris, quia ex clamoribus canum maximè tremunt omnes beſtiæ ſyluæ. Tunc accedit magnus Canis ſuper tres elephantes & 5. ſagittas mittit in totam multitudinem animalium, & poſt ipſum omnes Barones, & poſt ipſos alij de familia ſua emittunt ſagittas ſuas; & omnes ſagittæ ſunt ſignatæ certis ſignis & diuerſis: Tunc vadit ad animalia interfecta, dimittens viua nemus reintrare vt aliâs habeat ex eis venationem ſuam, & quilibet illud animal habebit in cuius corpore inuenit ſagittam ſuam quam iaciebat.

De quatuor feſtis quæ tenet in anno Canis in curia.

QVatuor magna feſta in anno facit Dominus Canis, ſcilicet feſtum natiuitatis, feſtum circumciſionis, coronationis, & deſponſationis ſuæ; & ad iſta feſta conuocat omnes Barones, & hiſtriones, & omnes de parentela ſua. Tunc domino Cane in ſuo throno ſedente, accedunt Barones cum circulis & coronis in capite, veſtiti vario modo, quia aliqui de viridi, ſcilicet primi, ſecundi de ſanguineo, & tertij de croceo, & tenent in manibus vnam tabulam eburneam de dentibus Elephantum, & cinguntur cingulis aureis vno ſemiſſe latis, & ſtant pedibus ſilentium tenentes. Circa illos ſtant hiſtriones cum ſuis inſtrumentis: In vno autem angulo cuiuſdã magni palatij reſident Philoſophi omnes ad certas horas, & puncta attendentes; & cùm deuenitur ad punctũ & horam petitam à philoſopho, vnus pręco clamat valentèr. Inclinetis vos omnes imperatori veſtro: tunc omnes Barones cadunt ad terram; & iterum clamat, Surgite omnes, & illi ſtatim ſurgunt. Iterum Philoſophi ad aliud punctum attendunt, & cùm peruentum fuerit, iterum præco clamat; ponite digitum in aurem, & ſtatim dicit, extrahite ipſum; iterùm ad aliud punctum clamat, Buratate farinam: & multa alia faciunt, quæ omnia dicunt certam ſignificationẽ habere, quæ ſcribere nolui, nec curaui, quia vana ſunt & riſu digna. Cùm autem peruentũ fuerit ad horam hiſtrionum, tunc Philoſophi dicunt, facite feſtum domino, & omnes pulſant inſtrumenta ſua, & faciunt maximum ſonitum; & ſtatim alius clamat; Taceant omnes, & omnes tacent: Tunc accedunt hiſtrionatrices ante dominum dulcitèr modulantes, quod mihi plus placuit. Tunc veniunt leones, & faciunt reuerentiam domino Cani; Et tunc hiſtriones faciunt ciphos aureos plenos vino volare per aërem, & ad ora hominum ſe applicare vt bibant. Hæc & multa alia mirabilia in curia illius Canis vidi, quæ nullus crederet niſi videret; & ideò dimitto ea. De alio mirabili audiui à fide dignis, quòd in vno regno iſtius Canis in quo ſunt montes Kapſei (& dicitur illud regnum Kalor) naſcuntur pepones maximi, qui quando ſunt maturi aperiuntur, & intùs inuenitur vna beſtiola ſimilis vni agnello: ſicut audiui quòd in mari Hybernico ſtant arbores ſupra ripam maris & portant fructum ſicut eſſent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam & fiunt aues vocatæ Bernakles, & illud eſt verum.

De diuerſis Prouincijs & ciuitatibus.

De iſto imperio Katay receſſi poſt tres annos, & tranſiui 50. dietas verſus Occidentẽ; & tandem veni ad terram Pretegoani, cuius ciuitas principalis Koſan vocatur, quæ multas habet ſub ſe ciuitates, Vltra per multas dietas iui, & perueni ad vnam prouinciam vocatam Kaſan; & hæc eſt ſecunda melior prouincia mundi, vt dicitur, & eſt optimè habitata: Sic quod quando exitur à porta vnius ciuitatis, videntur portæ alterius ciuitatis, ſicut egomet vidi de multis. Latitudo Prouinciæ eſt 50. dietarum, & longitudo pluſquam 60. In ea eſt maxima copia omnium victualium, & maximè caſtaneorum; & hæc eſt vna de 12. prouincijs magni Canis. Vltra veni ad vnum regnum vocatum Tibek quod eſt ſubiectum Cani, in quo eſt maior copia panis & vini, quam ſit in toto mundo vt credo. Gens illius terræ moratur communiter in tentorijs factis ex feltris nigris: Principalis ciuitas ſua murata eſt pulcherrimè ex lapidibus albiſſimis, & nigerrimis intereſcalariter diſpoſitis & curioſè compoſitis, & omnes viæ eius optimè pauatæ. In iſta contrata nullus audet effundere ſanguinem hominis, nec alicuius animalis, ob reuerentiam vnius Idoli. In iſta ciuitate moratur Abaſſi 1. Papa eorum, qui eſt caput & princeps omnium Idolatrarum; quibus dat & diſtribuit beneficia ſecundum morem eorum; ſicut noſter Papa Romanus eſt caput omnium Chriſtianorum. Fœminæ in hoc regno portant pluſquam centum tricas, & habent d[illegible]s dentes in ore ita longos ſicut apri. Quando etiam pater alicuius moritur, tunc filius conuocat omnes ſacerdotes & hiſtriones, & dicit ſe velle patrem ſuum honorare, & facit eum ad campum duci ſequentibus parentibus omnibus, amicis, & vicinis, vbi ſacerdotes cum magna ſolemnitate amputant caput ſuum, dantes illud filio ſuo, & tunc totum corpus in fruſta concidunt, & ibi dimittunt, cum orationibus cum eo redeuntes; Tunc veniunt vultures, de monte aſſuefacti ad huiuſmodi, & carnes omnes aſportant: Et ex tunc currit fama de eo quòd ſanctus eſt, quia angeli domini ipſum portant in paradiſum: Et iſte eſt maximus honor, quem reputat filius poſſe fieri patri ſuo mortuo: Tunc filius ſumit caput patris, & coquit ipſum, & comedit, de teſta eius faciens ciphum in quo ipſe cum omnibus de domo & cognatione eius bibunt cum ſolemnitate & lætitia in memoriam patris comeſti. Et multa vilia & abominabilia facit gens illa quæ non ſcribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent niſi viderent.

Caſan.

Tibec regio aliàs Tebet Guillielmo de Rubricis.

Eadem hiſtoria de eodem populo apud Guilielmũ de Rubricis.

De diuite qui paſcitur à 50. Virginibus.

Dvm fui in prouicia Manzi tranſiui iuxta palatium vnius hominis popularis, qui habuit 50. domicellas virgines ſibi continuè miniſtrantes, in omnibus paſcentes eum ſicut auis auiculas, & habet ſemper 5. fercula triplicata; & quando paſcunt eum, continuè cantant dulciſſimè: Iſte habet in redditibus Tagaris riſi 30. Thuman, quorũ quodlibet decies millies facit: vnũ autem Tagar pondus eſt aſini. Palatium ſuum duo milliaria tenet in ambitu; cuius pauimentum ſemper vnum laterem habet aureum, alium argenteum: Iuxta ambitum iſtius palatij eſt vnus monticulus artificialis de auro & argento, ſuper quo ſtant Monaſteria, & campanilia, & alia delectabilia pro ſolatio illius popularis; Et dictum fuit mihi, quòd quatuor tales homines ſunt in regno illo. Nobilitas virorum eſt longos habere vngues in digitis, præcipuè pollicis quibus circueunt ſibi manus: Nobilitas autem & pulchritudo mulierum eſt paruos habere pedes: Et ideò matres quandò filiæ ſuæ ſunt tenellæ ligant pedes earum, & non dimittunt creſcere. Vltra tranſiens verſus meridiem applicui ad quandam contratam, quæ vocatur Mileſtorite, quæ pulchra eſt valdè & fertilis; Et in iſta cõtrata erat vnus vocatus Senex de monte, qui inter duos montes fecerat ſibi vnum murum circumeuntem iſtos montes, Infra iſtum murum erant fontes pulcherrimi de mundo; Et iuxta fontes erant pulcherrimæ virgines in maximo numero, & equi pulcherrimi, & omne illud quod ad ſuauitatem, & delectationem corporis fieri poterit, & ideò illum locum vocant homines illius contratæ Paradiſum, Iſte Senex cùm viderit aliquẽ iuuenem formoſum & robuſtum, poſuit eum in illo paradiſo; Per quoſdam autem conductus deſcendere facit vinum & lac abundantèr. Iſte Senex cùm voluerit ſe vindicare, vel interficere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi paradiſo vt aliquem de notis illius regis, vel Baronis introduceret in paradiſum illum, & illum delicijs frui permitteret, & tunc daret ſibi potionem vnam, quæ ipſum ſopiebat in tantum, quòd inſenſibilem redderet, & ipſum ſic

Mulierum parui pedes.

Mileſtorite.

dormientem faceret extra paradiſum deportari: qui excitatus & ſe extra paradiſum conſpiciens, in tanta triſtitia poſitus foret, quòd neſciret quid faceret: Tunc ad illum ſenem iret, rogans eum, vt iterùm in paradiſum introduceretur; qui ſibi dicit, tu illic introduci non poteris, niſi talem vel talem interficias; & ſiue interfeceris, ſiue non, reponam te in paradiſo, & ibidem poteris ſemper manere; Tunc ille ſic faceret, & omnes ſeni odioſos interficeret; Et ideò omnes reges orientales illum ſenem timuerunt, & ſibi tributum magnum dederunt.

De morte Senis de monte.

CVm autem Tartari magnam partem mundi cepiſſent, venerunt ad iſtum Senem, & dominium illius Paradiſi ab eo abſtulerunt, qui multos ſicarios de Paradiſo illo emiſit, & nobiliores Tartarorum interfici fecit. Tartari autem hoc videntes ciuitatem, in qua erat ſenex obſederunt, eum ceperunt, & peſſima morte interfecerunt. Hanc gratiam habent fratres ibidem, quòd citiſſimè per virtutem nominis Chriſti Ieſu, & in virtute illius ſanguinis pretioſi, quem effudit in cruce pro ſalute generis humani, dæmonia ab obſeſſis corporibus expellunt; Et quia multi ibidem ſunt obſeſſi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres ligati, qui liberati ſtatim credunt in Chriſtum, qui liberauit eos habentes ipſum pro Deo ſuo, & baptizati ſunt, & idola ſua, & pecorum ſuorum ſtatim dant fratribus, quæ ſunt communitèr de feltro, & de crinibus mulierum: & fratres ignem in communi loco faciunt ad quem populus confluit, vt videat Deos vicinorum ſuorum comburi, & fratres coram populo Idola in ignem proijciunt; Et prima vice de igne exierunt; Tunc fratres ignem cum aqua benedicta conſperſerunt, & iterùm Idola in ignem proiecerunt, & dęmones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt, & Idola remanſerunt, & combuſta ſunt. Poſt[illegible] auditur clamor per aërem talis, vide, vide, quo modo de habitatione mea expulſus ſum. [illegible] per iſtum modum fratres maximam multitudinem baptizant, qui citò recidiuant ad idola pecorum: qui fratres continuò quaſi ſtent cum illis, & illos informent. Aliud terribile fuit quod ego vidi ibi. Nam cùm irem per vnam vallem, quæ ſita eſt iuxta fluuium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, & in illa valle audiui ſonos muſicos dulces & diuerſos, & maximè de cytharis, vndè multum timui. Hæc vallis habet longitudinem ſeptem, vel octo milliarium ad plus, in quam ſi quis intrat, moritur, & nunquam viuus poteſt tranſire per medium illius vallis, & ideò omnes de contrata declinant à latere: Et tentatus eram intrare, & videre, quid hoc eſſet. Tandem orans & Deo me recommendans, & cruce ſignans, in nomine Ieſu intraui, & vidi tot corpora mortua ibi, quòd nullus crederet niſi videret. In hac valle ab vno eius latere, in vno ſaxo vnam faciem hominis vidi, quæ ita terribilitèr me reſpexit, quòd omninò credidi ibi fuiſſe mortuus: Sed ſemper hoc verbum (verbum caro factum eſt & habitauit in nobis) protuli, & cruce me ſignaui, nec propiùs quàm per 7. paſſus, vel 8. accedere capiti auſus fui: Iui autem fugiens ad aliud caput vallis, & ſuper vnum monticulum arenoſum aſcendi, in quo vndique circumſpiciens nihil vidi niſi cytharas illas, quas per ſe (vt mihi videbatur) pulſari & reſonare mirabiliter audiui. Cùm verò fui in cacumine montis, inueni ibi argentum in maxima quantitate, quaſi fuiſſent ſquamæ piſcium. Congregans autem inde in gremio meo pro mirabili oſtendendo, ſed ductus conſcientia, in terram proieci, nihil mecum reſeruans, & ſic per gratiam dei liber exiui. Cùm autem homines illius contratæ ſciuerunt me viuum exiſſe, reuerebantur me multum, dicentes me baptizatum & ſanctum; & corpora illa fuiſſe dæmonum infernalium qui pulſant cytharas vt homines alliciant intrare, & interficiant. Hæc de viſis certudinalitèr ego frater Odoricus hîc inſcripſi; & multa mirabilia omiſi ponere, quia homines non credidiſſent niſi vidiſſent.

De honore & reuerentia factis Domino Cani.

VNum tantùm referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Conſuetudo eſt in partibus illis quòd quando prędictus dominus per aliquam contratam tranſit, homines ante oſtia ſua accendunt ignem & apponunt aromata, ac faciunt fumum, vt dominus tranſiens ſuauem ſentiat odorem, & multi obuiam ſibi vadunt. Dum autem ſemel veniret in Cambeleth, & fama vndique diuulgaretur de ſuo aduentu, vnus noſter Epiſcopus, & aliqui noſtri minores fratres & ego iuimus obuiàm ſibi benè per duas dietas: Et dum appropinquaremus ad eum, poſuimus crucem ſuper lignum, & ego habebam mecum in manu thuribulum, & incepimus cantare alta voce dicentes: Veni creator ſpiritus: Et dum ſic cantaremus audiuit voces noſtras, fecitque nos vocari, ac iuſſit nos ad eum accedere; cùm vt ſuprà dictum eſt, nullus audeat appropinquare currui ſuo ad iactum lapidis, niſi vocatus, exceptis illis qui currum cuſtodiunt. Et dum iuiſſemus ad eum, ipſe depoſuit galerum ſuum, ſiue capellũ ineſtimabilis quaſi valoris, &

fecit reuerentiam Cruci; & ſtatim incenſum poſui in thuribulo; Epiſcopus noſter accepit thuribulum, & thurificauit eum; ac ſibi prædictus Epiſcopus dedit benedictionem ſuam. Accedentes verò ad prædictum dominum, ſempèr ſibi aliquid offerendum deferunt; ſecum illam antiquam legem obſeruantes; Non apparebis in conſpectu meo vacuus; Idcircò portauimus nobiſcum poma, & ea ſibi ſuper vnum inciſorium reuerentèr obtulimus; & ipſe duo accepit, & de vno aliquantulum comedit: Et tunc fecit nobis ſignum quòd recederemus, ne equi venientes in aliquo nos offenderent; ſtatimque ab eo diſceſſimus, atque diuertimus, & iuimus ad aliquos Barones per fratres noſtri ordinis ad fidem conuerſos, qui in exercitu eius erant, & eis obtulimus de pomis prædictis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipſa accipientes ita videbantur lætari, ac ſi præbuiſſemus eis familiaritèr magnum munus. Hæc prędicta frater Guilelmus de Solangna in ſcriptis redegit, ſicùt prædictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exexprimebat. Anno Domini 1330. menſe Maij in loco Sancti Antonij de Padua; Nec curauit de latino difficili, & ſtilo ornato; Sed ſicut ipſe narrabat ad hoc vt homines faciliùs intelligerent quæ dicuntur. Ego frater Odoricus de Foro Iulij de quadam terra quæ dicitur Portus Vahonis de ordine minorum teſtificor, & teſtimonium perhibeo reuerendo patri Guidoto miniſtro prouinciæ Sancti Antonij in Marchia Triuiſana, cùm ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requiſitus, quòd hæc omnia quæ ſuperiùs ſcripta ſunt, aut proprijs oculis ego vidi, aut a fide dignis audiui: Communis etiam loquutio illarum terrarum illa quæ nec vidi teſtatur eſſe; Multa etiam alia ego dimiſiſſem, niſi illa proprijs oculis conſpexiſſem. Ego autem de die in diem me propono contratas ſeu terras accedere, in quibus mori, & viuere me diſpono, ſi placuerit Deo meo.

De morte fratris Odorici.

ANno igitur Domini 1331. diſponente ſe prædicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter ſuæ peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, & etiam vt via & labor eſſet ſibi magis ad meritum, decreuit primò præſentiam adire Domini & patris omnium ſummi Pontificis Domini Ioannis Papæ 22. cuius benedictione obedientiáque recepta cum ſocietate fratrum ſecum ire volentium ad partes infidelium ſe transferret: Cúmque ſic eundo verſus ſummum Pontificem, non multum diſtaret à ciuitate Piſana, in quadam via occurrit ſibi quidam ſenex in habitu peregrini eum ſalutans ex nomine, Aue (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cùm frater quæreret quo modo ipſius haberet noticiam? Reſpondit, Dum eras in India noui te, tuúmque noui ſanctum propoſitum; Sed & tu modò ad conuentum vndè veniſti reuertere, quia die ſequenti decimo ex hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur ſenis attonitus & ſtupefactus, præſertim cùm Senex ille ſtatim poſt dictum ab eius aſpectu diſparuit; reuerti decreuit; Et reuerſus eſt in bona proſperitate nullam ſentiens grauedinem corporis, ſeu aliquam infirmitatem; Cúmque eſſet in conuentu ſuo Vtinenſi. N. in prouincia Paduana decimo die, prout facta ſibi fuit reuelatio, accepta communione, ipſóque ad Deum diſponente, etiam corpore exiſtens incolumis in Domino fœlicitèr requieuit: Cuius ſacer obitus Domino ſummo Pontifici præfato ſub manu Notarij publici tranſmittitur; qui ſic ſcribit.

Anno Domini 1331. decima quarta die menſis Ianuarij obijt in Chriſto Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cuius precibus omnipotens Deus multa, & varia miracula demonſtrauit; quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Vtini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato & voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Caſtaldionis, & conſilij Vtini, ſcripſi, ſicut potui, bona fide, & fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; ſed non de omnibus, quià ſunt innumerabilia, & mihi difficilia ad ſcribendum.

¶ Here beginneth the iournall of Frier *Odoricus*, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning ſtrange things which hee ſawe among the *Tartars* of the Eaſt.

ALbeit many and ſundꝛy things are repoꝛted by diuers authoꝛs concerning the faſhions and conditions of this woꝛld: notwithſtanding I frier Odoricus of Friuli, de portu Vahonis being deſirous to trauel vnto the foꝛrein and remote nations of infidels, ſawe and heard great and miraculous things, which I am able truely to auouch. Firſt of al therefoꝛe ſayling from Pera by Conſtantinople, I arriued at Trapeſunda. This place is right commodiouſly ſituate, as being an hauen foꝛ the Perſians and Medes, and other countreis beyonde the ſea. In this lande I behelde with great delight a very ſtrange ſpectacle, namely a certaine man leading about with him moꝛe then foure thouſande partriges. The man himſelfe

Pera.

Trapeſunda.

The citie of Azaron in Armenia maior.

Sobiſſacalo.

Tauris a citie of Perſia.

Or, Sultania.

The Caſpian ſea.

Or, Caſſibin.

Geſte.

Como.

walked vpon the ground, and the partriges flew in the aire, which he ledde vnto a certaine caſtle called Zauena, being three dayes iourney diſtant from Trapeſunda. The ſaide partriges were ſo tame, that when the man was deſirous to lie downe and reſt, they would all come flocking about him like chickens. And ſo hee led them vnto Trapeſunda, and vnto the palace of the Emperour, who tooke as many of them as he pleaſed, and the reſt the ſaide man carried vnto the place from whence he came. In this citie lyeth the body of Athanaſius, vpon the gate of the citie. And then I paſſed on further vnto Armenia maior, to a certaine citie called Azaron, which had bene very rich in olde time, but nowe the Tartars haue almoſt layed it waſte. In the ſaide citie there was abundance of bread and fleſh, and of all other victuals except wine and fruites. This citie alſo is very colde, and is reported to be higher ſituated, then any other city in the world. It hath moſt holeſome and ſweete waters about it: for the veines of the ſaid waters ſeeme to ſpring and flow from the mighty riuer of Euphrates, which is but a dayes iourney from the ſaide city. Alſo, the ſaid citie ſtands directly in the way to Tauris. And I paſſed on vnto a certaine mountaine called Sobiſſacalo. In the foreſaide countrey there is the very ſame mountaine whereupon the Arke of Noah reſted: vnto the which I would willingly haue aſcended, if my company would haue ſtayed for me. Howbeit the people of that countrey report, that no man could euer aſcend the ſaid mountaine, becauſe (ſay they) it pleaſeth not the higheſt God. And I trauailed on further vnto Tauris that great and royal city, which was in old time called Suſis. This city is accompted for traffique of marchandize the chiefe city of the world: for there is no kinde of victuals, nor any thing elſe belonging vnto marchandize, which is not to be had there in great abundance. This city ſtands very commodiouſly: for vnto it all the nations of the whole worlde in a maner may reſort for traffique. Concerning the ſaid citie, the Chriſtians in thoſe parts are of opinion, that the Perſian Emperour receiues more tribute out of it, then the King of France out of all his dominions. Neare vnto the ſaid city there is a ſalt-hill yeelding ſalt vnto the city: and of that ſalt ech man may take what pleaſeth him, not paying ought to any man therefore. In this city many Chriſtians of all nations do inhabite, ouer whom the Saracens beare rule in all things. Then I traueiled on further vnto a city called * Soldania, wherein the Perſian Emperour lieth all Sommer time: but in winter hee takes his progreſſe vnto another city ſtanding vpon the Sea called *Baku. Alſo the foreſaid city is very great and colde, hauing good and holeſome waters therein, vnto the which alſo ſtore of marchandize is brought. Moreouer I trauelled with a certaine company of Carauans toward vpper India: and in the way, after many dayes iourney, I came vnto the citie of the the three wiſemen called *Caſſan, which is a noble and renowmed city, ſauing that the Tartars haue deſtroyed a great part thereof: and it aboundeth with bread, wine, and many other commodities. From this city vnto Ieruſalem (whither the three foreſaid wiſemen were miraculouſly led) it is fiftie dayes iourney. There be many wonders in this citie alſo, which, for breuities ſake, I omit. From thence I departed vnto a certaine city called *Geſte, whence the Sea of Sand is diſtant, one dayes iourney, which is a moſt wonderfull and dangerous thing. In this city there is abundance of all kinds of victuals, and eſpecially of figs, reiſins, and grapes; more (as I ſuppoſe) then in any part of the whole world beſides. This is one of the three principall cities in all the Perſian Empire. Of this city the Saracens report, that no Chriſtian can by any meanes liue therein aboue a yeere. Then paſſiug many dayes iourney on forward, I came vnto a certaine citie called *Comum, which was an huge and mightie city in olde time, conteyning well nigh fiftie miles in circuite, and hath done in times paſt great damage vnto the Romanes. In it there are ſtately palaces altogether deſtitute of inhabitants, notwithſtanding it aboundeth with great ſtore of victuals. From hence traueiling through many countreys, at length I came vnto the land of Iob named Hus, which is full of all kinde of victuals, and very pleaſantly ſituated. Thereabouts are certaine mountaines hauing good paſtures for cattell vpon them. Here alſo Manna is found in great aboundance. Foure partriges are here ſolde for leſſe then a groat. In this countrey there are moſt comely olde men. Here alſo the men ſpin and card, and not the women. This land bordereth vpon the North part of Chaldęa.

Of the maners of the *Chaldæans*, and of *India*.

The tower of Babel.

FRom thence I traueled into Chaldęa, which is a great kingdome, and I paſſed by the tower of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar vnto it ſelfe, and there are beautifull men, and deformed women. The men of the ſame countrey vſe to haue their haire kempt, and trimmed like vnto our women: and they weare golden turbants vpon their heades richly ſet with pearle, and pretious ſtones. The women are clad in a courſe ſmock onely reaching to their knees, and hauing long ſleeues hanging downe to the ground. And they goe bare-footed, wearing breeches which reach to the ground alſo. They weare no attire vpon their heads, but their haire hangs diſheaueled about their eares: and there be many other ſtrange things alſo. From thence I came into the lower India, which the Tartars ouerran and waſted. And in this countrey the people eat dates for the moſt part, whereof 42. li. are there ſold for leſſe then a groat. I paſſed further alſo many dayes iourney vnto the Ocean ſea, and the firſt land where I arriued, is called *Ormes, being well fortified, and hauing great ſtore of marchandize and treaſure therein. Such and ſo extreme is the heat in that countrey, that the priuities of men come out of their bodies and hang downe euen vnto their mid-legs. And therefore the inhabitants of the ſame place, to preſerue their owne liues, do make a certaine ointment, and anointing their priuie members therewith, do lap them vp in certaine bags faſtened vnto their bodies, for otherwiſe they muſt needs die. Here alſo they vſe a kinde of Bark or ſhippe called Iaſe being compact together onely with hempe. And I went on bourd into one of them, wherein I could not finde any yron at all, and in the ſpace of 28. dayes I arriued at the city of Thana, wherein foure of our Friers were martyred for the faith of Chriſt. This countrey is well ſituate, hauing abundance of bread and wine, and of other victuals therein. This kingdome in olde time was very large and vnder the dominion of king Porus, who fought a great battel with Alexander the great. The people of this countrey are idolaters worſhipping fire, ſerpents and trees. And ouer all this land the Saracens do beare rule, who tooke it by maine force, and they themſelues are in ſubiection vnto king Daldilus. There be diuers kinds of beaſts, as namely blacke lyons in great abundance, and apes alſo, and monkeis, and battes as bigge as our doues. Alſo there are miſe as bigge as our countrey dogs, and therefore they are hunted with dogs, becauſe cats are not able to incounter them. Moreouer, in the ſame countrey euery man hath a bundle of great boughs ſtanding in a water-pot before his doore, which bundle is as great as a piller, and it will not wither, ſo long as water is applied thereunto: with many other nouelties and ſtrange things, the relation whereof would breed great delight.

Ormus.

Thana, whereof Frederick Ceſar maketh mention.

How peper is had: and where it groweth.

Moreouer, that it may be manifeſt how peper is had, it is to be vnderſtood that it groweth in a certaine kingdome whereat I my ſelfe arriued, being called *Minibar, and it is not ſo plentifull in any other part of the worlde as it is there. For the wood wherein it growes conteineth in circuit 18. dayes iourney. And in the ſaid wood or forreſt there are two cities, one called *Flandrina, and the other Cyncilim. In Flandrina both Iewes and Chriſtians doe inhabite, betweene whom there is often contention and warre: howbeit the Chriſtians ouercome the Iewes at all times. In the foreſaid wood pepper is had after this maner: firſt it groweth in leaues like vnto pot-hearbs, which they plant neere vnto great trees as we do our vines, and they bring forth pepper in cluſters, as our vines doe yeeld grapes, but being ripe, they are of a greene colour, and are gathered as we gather grapes, and then the graines are layed in the Sunne to be dried, and being dried are put into earthen veſſels: and thus is pepper made and kept. Now, in the ſame wood there be many riuers, wherein are great ſtore of Crocodiles, and of other ſerpents, which the inhabitants thereabout do burne vp with ſtraw and with other dry fewel, and ſo they go to gather their pepper without danger. At the South end of the ſaid forreſt ſtands the city of Polumbrum, which aboundeth with marchandize of all kinds. All the inhabitants of that countrey do worſhip a liuing oxe, as their god, whom they put to labour for ſixe yeres, and in the ſeuenth yere they cauſe him to reſt from al his worke, placing him in a ſolemne and publique place, and calling him an holy beaſt. Moreouer they vſe this fooliſh ceremonie; Euery morning they take two baſons, either of ſiluer, or of gold, and with one they receiue the vrine of the oxe, and with the other his dung. With the vrine they waſh their face, their eyes, and all their fiue ſenſes. Of the dung they put into both their eyes, then they annoint the bals of their checks therewith, and thirdly their breaſt: and then they ſay that they are ſanctified for all that day; And as the people doe, euen ſo doe their King and Queene. This people worſhippeth alſo a dead idole, which, from the nauel vpward, reſembleth a man, and from the nauel downeward an oxe. The very ſame Idol deliuers oracles vnto them, and ſometimes requireth the blood of fourtie virgins for his hire. And therefore the men of that region do conſecrate their daughters and their ſonnes vnto their idols, euen as Chriſtians do their children vnto ſome Religion or Saint in heauen. Likewiſe they ſacrifice their ſonnes and their daughters, and ſo, much people is put to death before the ſaid Idol by reaſon of that accurſed ceremony. Alſo, many other hainous and abominable villanies doeth that brutiſh beaſtly people commit: and I ſawe many moe ſtrange things among them which I meane not here to inſert. Another moſt vile cuſtome the foreſaide nation doeth retaine: for when any man dieth they burne his dead corps to aſhes: and if his wife ſuruiueth him, her they burne quicke, becauſe (ſay they) ſhe ſhall accompany her huſband in his tilthe and huſbandry, when he is come into a new world. Howbeit the ſaid wife hauing children by her huſband, may if ſhe will, remaine ſtill aliue with them,

Malabar.

Or, Alandrina.

Polumbrum.

The burning of their dead.

without ſhame or reproch: notwithſtanding, for the moſt part, they all of them make choice to be burnt wᵗ their huſbands. Now, albeit the wife dieth before her huſband, that law bindeth not the huſband to any ſuch incōuenience, but he may mary another wife alſo. Likewiſe, yͤ ſaid nation hath another ſtrange cuſtome, in that their women drink wine, but their men do not. Alſo the women haue the lids & brows of their eyes & beards ſhauen, but the men haue not: with many other baſe & filthy faſhions which the ſaid women do vſe contrary to the nature of their ſexe. Frō that kingdom I traueiled 10. daies iourney vnto another kingdom called Mobar, which containeth many cities. Within a certaine church of the ſame countrey, the body of S. Thomas the Apoſtle is interred, the very ſame church being full of idols: and in 15. houſes round about the ſaid Church, there dwell certaine prieſts who are Neſtorians, that is to ſay, falſe, and bad Chriſtians, and ſchiſmatiques.

Mobar, or Maliapor.

Of a ſtrange and vncouth idole: and of certaine cuſtomes and ceremonies.

IN the ſaid kingdome of Mobar there is a wonderfull ſtrang idole, being made after the ſhape and reſemblance of a man, as big as the image of our Chriſtopher, & conſiſting all of moſt pure and glittering gold. And about the neck thereof hangeth a ſilke riband, ful of moſt rich & precious ſtones, ſome one of which is of more value then a whole kingdome. The houſe of this idol is all of beaten gold, namely the roofe, the pauement, and the ſieling of the wall within and without. Unto this idol the Indians go on pilgrimage, as we do vnto S. Peter. Some go with halters about their necks, ſome with their hands bound behind them, ſome other with kniues ſticking on their armes or legs: and if after their peregrination, the fleſh of their wounded arme feſtereth or corrupteth, they eſteeme that limme to be holy, & thinke that their God is wel pleaſed with them. Neare vnto the temple of that idol is a lake made by the hands of men in an open & common place, whereinto the pilgrimes caſt gold, ſiluer, & precious ſtones, for the honour of the idol and the repairing of his temple. And therfore when any thing is to be adorned or mended, they go vnto this lake taking vp the treaſure which was caſt in. Moreouer at euery yerely feaſt of the making or repairing of the ſaid idol, the king and queene, with the whole multitude of the people, & all the pilgrimes aſſemble themſelues, & placing the ſaid idol in a moſt ſtately & rich chariot, they cary him out of their temple with ſongs, & with all kind of muſical harmonie, & a great company of virgins go proceſſion-wiſe two and two in a rank ſinging before him. Many pilgrims alſo put themſelues vnder the chariot wheeles, to the end that their falſe god may go ouer them: and al they ouer whom the chariot runneth, are cruſhed in pieces, & diuided aſunder in the midſt, and ſlaine right out. Yea, & in doing this, they think themſelues to die moſt holily & ſecurely, in the ſeruice of their god. And by this meanes euery yere, there die vnder the ſaid filthy idol, mo then 500. perſons, whoſe carkaſes are burned, and their aſhes are kept for reliques, becauſe they died in that ſort for their god. Moreouer they haue another deteſtable ceremony. For when any man offers to die in the ſeruice of his falſe god, his parents, & all his friends aſſemble themſelues together with a conſort of muſicians, making him a great & ſolemne feaſt: which feaſt being ended, they hang 5. ſharpe kniues about his neck carying him before the idol, & ſo ſoone as he is come thither, he taketh one of his kniues crying with a loud voice, For the worſhip of my god do I cut this my fleſh, and then he caſteth the morſel which is cut, at yͤ face of his idol: but at the very laſt wound wherewith he murthereth himſelfe, he vtterth theſe words: Now do I yeeld my ſelf to death in the behalfe of my god, and being dead, his body is burned, & is eſteemed by al men to be holy. The king of the ſaid region is moſt rich in gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones, & there be the faireſt vnions in al the world. Traueling from thence by the Ocean ſea 50. daies iourney ſouthward, I came vnto a certain land named Lammori, where, in regard of extreeme heat, the people both men and women go ſtark-naked from top to toe: who ſeeing me apparelled ſcoffed at me, ſaying, that God made Adam & Eue naked. In this countrey al women are common, ſo that no man can ſay, this is my wife. Alſo when any of the ſaid women beareth a ſon or a daughter, ſhe beſtowes it vpon any one that hath lien with her, whō ſhe pleaſeth. Likewiſe al the land of that region is poſſeſſed in cōmon, ſo that there is not mine & thine, or any propriety of poſſeſſion in the diuiſion of lands: howbeit euery man hath is owne houſe peculiar vnto himſelfe. Mans fleſh, if it be fat, is eaten as ordinarily there, as beefe in our country. And albeit the people are moſt lewd, yet the cōtry is exceeding good, abounding with al cōmodities, as fleſh, corne, riſe, ſiluer, gold, wood of aloes, Campheir, and many other things. Marchants comming vnto this region for traffique do vſually bring wᵗ them fat men, ſelling them vnto the inhabitants as we ſel hogs, who immediatly kil & eat them. In this iſland towards the ſouth, there is another kingdome called Simoltra, where both men and women marke themſelues with red-hot yron in 12. ſundry ſpots of their faces: and this nation is at cōtinual warre with certaine naked people in another region. Then I traueled further vnto another iſland called Iaua, the compaſſe whereof

Perhaps he meaneth Comori.

Sumatra.

Iaua.

by ſea is 3000. miles. The king of this Iland hath 7. other crowned kings vnder his iuriſdiction. The ſaid Iſland is throughly inhabited, & is thought to be one of the principall Ilands of yͤ whole world. In the ſame Iland there groweth great plenty of cloues, cubibez, and nutmegs, and in a word all kinds of ſpices are there to be had, and great abundance of all victuals except wine. The king of the ſaid land of Iaua hath a moſt braue and ſumptuous pallace, the moſt loftily built, that euer I ſaw any, & it hath moſt high greeſes & ſtayers to aſcend vp to the roomes therin contained, one ſtayre being of ſiluer, & another of gold, throughout the whole building. Alſo the lower roomes were paued all ouer with one ſquare plate of ſiluer, & another of gold. All the wals vpon the inner ſide were ſeeled ouer with plates of beaten gold, wherupon were ingrauen yͤ pictures of knights, hauing about their temples, ech of them a wreath of golde, adorned with precious ſtones. The roofe of the palace was of pure gold. With this king of Iaua the great Can of Catay hath had many conflictes in war: whom notwithſtanding the ſaid king hath alwayes ouercome & vanquiſhed.

Of certaine trees yeelding meale, hony, and poyſon.

NEere vnto the ſaid Iland is another countrey called Panten, or Tathalamaſin. And the king of the ſame country hath many Ilands vnder his dominion. In this land there are trees yeelding meale, hony, & wine, & the moſt deadly poiſon in all yͤ whole world: for againſt it there is but one only remedy: & that is this: if any man hath taken of yͤ poyſon, & would be deliuered from the danger therof, let him temper the dung of a man in water, & ſo drinke a good quantity thereof, & it expels the poyſon immediatly, making it to auoid at the fundement. Meale is produced out of the ſaid trees after this maner. They be mighty huge trees, and when they are cut with an axe by the ground, there iſſueth out of the ſtocke a certain licour like vnto gumme, which they take and put into bags made of leaues, laying them for 15 daies together abroad in the ſun, & at the end of thoſe 15 dayes, when the ſaid licour is throughly parched, it becõmeth meale. Then they ſteepe it firſt in ſea water, waſhing it afterward with freſh water, and ſo it is made very good & ſauorie paſte, wherof they make either meat or bread, as they thinke good. Of which bread I my ſelfe did eate, & it is fayrer without & ſomewhat browne within. By this countrey is the ſea called Mare mortuũ, which runneth continually Southward, into yͤ which whoſoeuer falleth is neuer ſeene after. In this countrey alſo are found canes of an incredible length, namely of 60 paces high or more, & they are as bigge as trees. Other canes there be alſo called Caſſan, which ouerſpread the earth like graſſe, & out of euery knot of them ſpring foorth certaine branches, which are continued vpon the ground almoſt for the ſpace of a mile. In the ſayd canes there are found certaine ſtones, one of which ſtones, whoſoeuer carryeth about with him, cannot be wounded with any yron: & therefore the men of that countrey for the moſt part, carry ſuch ſtones with them, whitherſoeuer they goe. Many alſo cauſe one of the armes of their children, while they are yong, to be launced, putting one of the ſaid ſtones into the wound, healing alſo, and cloſing vp the ſaid wound with the powder of a certaine fiſh (the name whereof I do dot know) which powder doth immediatly conſolidate and cure the ſaid wound. And by the vertue of theſe ſtones, the people aforeſaid doe for the moſt part triumph both on ſea and land. Howbeit there is one kind of ſtratageme, which the enemies of this nation, knowing the vertue of the ſayd ſtones, doe practiſe againſt them: namely, they prouide themſelues armour of yron or ſteele againſt their arrowes, & weapons alſo poiſoned with the poyſon of trees, & they carry in their hands wooden ſtakes moſt ſharpe & hard-pointed, as if they were yron: likewiſe they ſhoot arrowes without yron heads, and ſo they confound & ſlay ſome of their vnarmed foes truſting too ſecurely vnto the vertue of their ſtones. Alſo of the foreſayd canes called Caſſan they make ſayles for their ſhips, and litle houſes, and many other neceſſaries. From thence after many dayes trauell, I arriued at another kingdome called Campa, a moſt beautiful and rich countrey, & abounding with all kind of victuals: the king wherof, at my being there, had ſo many wiues & concubines, that he had 300 ſonnes & daughters by thē. This king hath 10004 tame Elephants, which are kept euen as we keepe droues of oxen, or flocks of ſheepe in paſture.

A ſea running ſtill Southward.

Sayles made of reedes.

Campa.

Of the abundance of fiſhes, which caſt thēſelues vpon the ſhore.

IN this countrey there is one ſtrange thing to be obſerued, yͭ euery ſeueral kind of fiſhes in thoſe ſeas come ſwimming towards the ſaid countrey in ſuch abundance, that, for a great diſtance into the ſea, nothing can be ſeene but yͤ backs of fiſhes: which, caſting thēſelues vpon the ſhore when they come neere vnto it, do ſuffer men, for the ſpace of 3. daies, to come & to take as many of thē as they pleaſe, & then they returne againe vnto the ſea. After that kind of fiſhes comes another kind, offering it ſelfe after the ſame maner, and ſo in like ſort all other kinds whatſoeuer: notwithſtanding they do this but once in a yere. And I demaunded of the inhabitants there, how, or by what meanes this ſtrange accident could come to paſſe? They anſwered, that fiſhes were taught, euen by nature, to come & to do homage vnto their Emperour. There be Tortoiſes alſo as bigge as an ouen.

Tortoiſes.

Moumoran.

ouen. Many other things I ſaw which are incredible, vnleſſe a man ſhould ſee them with his own eies. In this country alſo dead men are burned, & their wiues are burned aliue with them, as in the city of Polumbrum aboue mentioned: for the men of that country ſay that ſhe goeth to accompany him in another world, that he ſhould take none other wife in mariage. Moreouer I traueled on further by the ocean-ſea towards the ſouth, & paſſed through many countries and iſlands, wherof one is called Moumoran, & it cõtaineth in compaſſe ii. M. miles, wherin men & women haue dogs faces, and worſhip an oxe for their god: and therefore euery one of them cary the image of an oxe of gold or ſiluer vpon their foreheads. The men and the women of this country go all naked, ſauing that they hang a linen cloth before their priuities. The men of the ſaid country are very tall and mighty, and by reaſon that they goe naked, when they are to make battell, they cary yron or ſteele-targets before them, which do couer and defend their bodies from top to toe: and whomſoeuer of their foes they take in battel not being able to ranſom himſelfe for money, they preſently deuoure him: but if he be able to redeeme himſelfe for money, they let him go free. Their king weareth about his necke 300. great and moſt beautifull vnions, and ſaith euery day 300. prayers vnto his god. He weareth vpon his finger alſo a ſtone of a ſpan long, which ſeemeth to be a flame of fire, and therefore when he weareth it, no man dare once approch vnto him: and they ſay that there is not any ſtone in the whole world of more value then it. Neither could at any time the great Tartarian Emperour of Katay either by force, money, or policie obtaine it at his hands: notwithſtanding that he hath done the vtmoſt of his indeuour for this purpoſe.

Of the iſland of *Sylan*: and of the mountaine where *Adam* mourned for his ſonne *Abel*.

I Paſſed alſo by another iſland called Sylan, which conteineth in cõpaſſe aboue ii. M. miles: wherin are an infinit number of ſerpents, & great ſtore of lions, beares, & al kinds of rauening & wild beaſts, and eſpecially of elephants. In the ſaid country there is an huge mountaine, whereupon the inhabitants of that regiõ do report that Adam mourned for his ſon Abel yͤ ſpace of 500. yeres. In the midſt of this moũtain there is a moſt beautiful plain, wherin is a litle lake cõteining great plẽty of water, which water yͤ inhabitants report to haue proceeded frõ the teares of Adam & Eue: howbeit I proued that to be falſe, becauſe I ſaw the water flow in the lake. This water is ful of horſ-leeches, & blood-ſuckers, & of precious ſtones alſo: which precious ſtones the king taketh not vnto his owne vſe, but once or twiſe euery yere he permitteth certaine poore people to diue vnder the water for yͤ ſaid ſtones, & al that they can get he beſtoweth vpon them, to the end they may pray for his ſoule. But yͭ they may with leſſe danger diue vnder the water, they take limons which they pil, anointing themſelues throughly with the iuice therof, & ſo they may diue naked vnder yͤ water, the horſ-leeches not being able to hurt them. From this lake the water runneth euen vnto the ſea, and at a low ebbe the inhabitants dig rubies, diamonds, pearls, & other pretious ſtones out of the ſhore: wherupon it is thought, that yͤ king of this iſland hath greater abũdance of pretious ſtones, then any other monarch in the whole earth beſids. In the ſaid country there be al kinds of beaſts and foules: & the people told me, that thoſe beaſts would not inuade nor hurt any ſtranger, but only the natural inhabitants. I ſaw in this iſland fouls as big as our country geeſe, hauing two heads, and other miraculous things, which I will not here write off. Traueling on further toward the ſouth, I arriued at a certain iſland called Bodin, which ſignifieth in our language vnclean. In this iſland there do inhabit moſt wicked perſons, who deuour & eat raw fleſh cõmitting al kinds of vncleannes & abominations in ſuch ſort, as it is incredible. For the father eateth his ſon, & the ſon his father, the huſband his owne wife, & the wife her huſband: and that after this maner. If any mans father be ſick, the ſon ſtraight goes vnto the ſooth-ſaying or prognoſticating prieſt, requeſting him to demand of his god, whether his father ſhall recouer of that infirmity or no: Then both of them go vnto an idol of gold or of ſiluer, making their praiers vnto it in maner folowing: Lord, thou art our god, & thee we do adore, beſeeching thee to reſolue vs, whether ſuch a man muſt die, or recouer of ſuch an infirmity or no: Then the diuel anſwereth out of yͤ foreſaid idol: if he ſaith (he ſhal liue) then returneth his ſon and miniſtreth things neceſſary vnto him, til he hath attained vnto his former health: but if he ſaith (he ſhal die) then goes yͤ prieſt vnto him, & putting a cloth into his mouth doth ſtrangle him therewith: which being done, he cuts his dead body into morſels, & al his friends and kinſfolks are inuited vnto the eating thereof, with muſique and all kinde of mirth: howbeit his bones are ſolemnely buried. And when I found fault with that cuſtome demanding a reaſon thereof, one of them gaue me this anſwere: this we doe, leaſt the wormes ſhould eat his fleſh, for then his ſoule ſhould ſuffer great torments, neither could I by any meanes remooue them from that errour. Many other nouelties and ſtrange things there bee in this countrey, which no man would credite, vnles he ſaw them with his owne eyes. Howbeit, I (before almighty God) do here make

Or, Dadin.

make relation of nothing but of that only, whereof I am as ſure, as a man may be ſure. Concerning the foreſaid iſlands I inquired of diuers wel-experienced perſons, who al of them, as it were with one conſent, anſwered me ſaying, That this India contained 4400. iſlands vnder it, or within it: in which iſlands there are ſixtie and foure crowned kings: and they ſay moreouer, that the greater part of thoſe iſlands are wel inhabited. And here I conclude cõcerning that part of India.

Of the vpper *India*: and of the prouince of *Mancy*.

Or, China.

FIrſt of al therefore, hauing traueled many dayes iourney vpõ the Ocean-ſea toward the Eaſt, at length I arriued at a certaine great prouince called Mancy, being in Latine named India. Concerning this India I inquired of Chriſtians, of Saracens, & of Idolaters, and of al ſuch as bare any office vnder the great Can. Who all of them with one conſent anſwered, that this prouince of Mancy hath mo then 2000. great cities within the precincts thereof, & that it aboundeth with all plenty of victuals, as namely with bread, wine, riſe, fleſh, and fiſh. All the men of this prouince be artificers & marchants, who, though they be in neuer ſo extreme penurie, ſo long as they can helpe themſelues by the labor of their hands, wil neuer beg almes of any man. The men of this prouince are of a faire and comely perſonage, but ſomewhat pale, hauing their heads ſhauen but a litle: but the women are the moſt beautiful vnder the ſunne. The firſt city of yͤ ſaid India which I came vnto, is called Ceuskalon, which being a daies iourney diſtant frõ the ſea, ſtands vpon a riuer, the water whereof, nere vnto the mouth, where it exonerateth it ſelfe into the ſea, doth ouerflow the land for the ſpace of 12. daies iourney. All the inhabitants of this India are worſhippers of idols. The foreſaid city of Ceuskalon hath ſuch an huge nauy belonging thereunto, that no man would beleeue it vnleſſe he ſhould ſee it. In this city I ſaw 300. li. of good & new ginger ſold for leſſe then a groat. There are the greateſt, and the faireſt geeſe, & moſt plenty of them to be ſold in al the whole world, as I ſuppoſe: they are as white as milke, and haue a bone vpon the crowne of their heads as bigge as an egge, being of the colour of blood: vnder their throat they haue a ſkin or bag hanging downe halfe a foot. They are exceeding fat & wel ſold. Alſo they haue ducks and hens in that country, one as big as two of ours. There be mõſtrous great ſerpents likewiſe, which are taken by the inhabitants & eaten: whereupon a ſolemne feaſt among them without ſerpents is nought ſet by: and to be briefe, in this city there are al kinds of victuals in great abundance. From thence I paſſed by many cities, & at length I came vnto a city named Caitan, wherin yͤ friers Minorites haue two places of aboad, vnto the which I tranſported the bones of the dead friers, which ſuffred martyrdom for the faith of Chriſt, as it is aboue mentioned. In this city there is abundance of al kind of victuals very cheap. The ſaid city is as big as two of Bononia, & in it are many monaſteries of religious perſons, al which do worſhip idols. I my ſelfe was in one of thoſe Monaſteries, & it was told me, that there were in it iii. M. religious men, hauing xi. M. idols: and one of yͤ ſaid idols which ſeemed vnto me but litle in regard of the reſt, was as big as our Chriſtopher. Theſe religious men euery day do feed their idol-gods: wherupon at a certaine time I went to behold the banquet: and indeed thoſe things which they brought vnto them were good to eat, & fuming hote, inſomuch that the ſteame of the ſmoke thereof aſcended vp vnto their idols, & they ſaid that their gods were refreſhed with the ſmoke: howbeit, all the meat they conueyed away, eating it vp their owne ſelues, and ſo they fed their dumb gods with the ſmoke onely.

Or, Ceuskala.

He meaneth Pellicans, which the Spaniards cal Alcatrarzi.

Or, Zaiton.

Of the citie Fuco.

TRaueling more eaſtward, I came vnto a city named Fuco, which conteineth 30. miles in circuit, wherin be exceeding great & faire cocks, and al their hens are as white as the very ſnow, hauing wol in ſtead of feathers, like vnto ſheep. It is a moſt ſtately & beautiful city & ſtandeth vpon the ſea. Then I went 18. daies iourney on further, & paſſed by many prouinces & cities, and in the way I went ouer a certain great mountaine, vpon yͤ one ſide whereof I beheld al liuing creatures to be as black as a cole, & the men and women on that ſide differed ſomwhat in maner of liuing frõ others: howbeit, on the other ſide of the ſaid hil euery liuing thing was ſnow-white, & the inhabitants in their maner of liuing, were altogether vnlike vnto others. There, all maried women cary in token that they haue huſbands, a great trunke of horne vpon their heads. From thence I traueiled 18. dayes iourney further, and came vnto a certaine great riuer, and entered alſo into a city, whereunto belongeth a mighty bridge to paſſe the ſaid riuer. And mine hoſte with whom I ſoiourned, being deſirous to ſhew me ſome ſport, ſaid vnto me: Sir, if you will ſee any fiſh taken, goe with me. Then hee led me vnto the foreſaid bridge, carying in his armes with him certaine diue-doppers or water-foules, bound vnto a company of poles, and about euery one of their necks he tied a threed, leaſt they ſhould eat the fiſh as faſt as they tooke them: and he caried 3. great baſkets with him alſo: then looſed he the diue-doppers from the poles, which preſently went into the water, & within leſſe then the ſpace of one houre, caught as many fiſhes as filled the 3. baſkets:

A great riuer.

Foules catching fiſh.

which being full, mine hoſte vntyed the threeds from about their neckes, and entering the ſecond time into the riuer they fed themſelues with fiſh, and being ſatiſfied they returned and ſuffered themſelues to be bound vnto the ſaide poles as they were before. And when I did eate of thoſe fiſhes, me thought they were exceeding good. Trauailing thence many dayes iourneys, at length I arriued at another city called *Canaſia, which ſignifieth in our language, the city of heauen. Neuer in all my life did I ſee ſo great a citie: for it conteineth in circuit an hundreth miles: neither ſawe I any plot thereof, which was not throughly inhabited: yea, I ſawe many houſes of tenne or twelue ſtories high, one aboue another. It hath mightie large ſuburbs containing more people then the citie it ſelfe. Alſo it hath twelue principall gates: and about the diſtance of eight miles, in the high way vnto euery one of the ſaide gates ſtandeth a city as big by eſtimation as Venice, and Padua. The foreſaid city of Canaſia is ſituated in waters or marſhes, which alwayes ſtand ſtill neither ebbing nor flowing: howbeit it hath a defence for the winde like vnto Venice. In this citie there are mo then 10002. bridges, many whereof I numbred and paſſed ouer them: and vpon euery of thoſe bridges ſtand certaine watchmen of the citie, keeping continuall watch and ward about the ſaid city, for the great Can the Emperour of Catay. The people of this countrey ſay, that they haue one duetie inioyned vnto them by their lord: for euery fire payeth one Balis in regard of tribute: and a Balis is fiue papers or pieces of ſilke, which are worth one floren and an halfe of our coine. Tenne or twelue houſholds are accompted for one fire, and ſo pay tribute but for one fire onely. Al thoſe tributary fires amount vnto the number of 85. Thuman, with other foure Thuman of the Saracens, which make 89. in al; And one Thuman cõſiſteth of 10000. fires. The reſidue of the people of the city are ſome of them Chriſtians, ſome marchants, and ſome trauellers through the countrey: whereupon I marueiled much howe ſuch an infinite number of perſons could inhabite and liue together. There is great aboundance of victuals in this citie, as namely of bread and wine, and eſpecially of hogſ-fleſh, with other neceſſaries.

*Or Canſai, or Quinzai.

The Italian copy in Ramuſius, hath 11000. bridges.

Of a Monaſtery where many ſtrange beaſtes of diuers kindes doe liue vpon an hill.

In the foreſaide citie foure of our friers had conuerted a mighty and riche man vnto the faith of Chriſt, at whoſe houſe I continually abode, for ſo long time as I remained in the citie. Who vpon a certaine time ſaide vnto me: Ara, that is to ſay, Father, will you goe and beholde the citie? And I ſaid, yea. Then embarqued we our ſelues, and directed our courſe vnto a certaine great Monaſtery: where being arriued, he called a religious perſon with whom he was acquainted, ſaying vnto him concerning me: this Raban Francus, that is to ſay, this religious Frenchman commeth from the Weſterne parts of the world, and is now going to the city of Cambaleth to pray for the life of the great Can, and therefore you muſt ſhew him ſome rare thing, that when hee returnes into his owne countrey, he may ſay, this ſtrange ſight or nouelty haue I ſeene in the city of Canaſia. Then the ſaid religious man tooke two great baſkets full of broken reliques which remained of the table, and led me vnto a little walled parke, the doore whereof he vnlocked with his key, and there appeared vnto vs a pleaſant faire greene plot, into the which we entred. In the ſaid greene ſtands a litle mount in forme of a ſteeple, repleniſhed with fragrant herbes, and fine ſhady trees. And while we ſtood there, he tooke a cymball or bell, and rang therewith, as they vſe to ring to dinner or beuoir in cloiſters, at the ſound whereof many creatures of diuers kinds came downe from the mount, ſome like apes, ſome like cats, ſome like monkeys; and ſome hauing faces like men. And while I ſtood beholding of them, they gathered themſelues together about him, to the number of 4200. of thoſe creatures, putting themſelues in good order, before whom he ſet a platter, and gaue them the ſaid fragments to eate. And when they had eaten he rang vpon his cymbal the ſecond time, and they al returned vnto their former places. Then, wondring greatly at the matter, I demanded what kind of creatures thoſe might be? They are (quoth he) the ſoules of noble men which we do here feed, for the loue of God who gouerneth the world: and as a man was honorable or noble in this life, ſo his ſoule after death, entreth into the body of ſome excellent beaſt or other, but the ſoules of ſimple and ruſticall people do poſſeſſe the bodies of more vile and brutiſh creaures. Then I began to refute that foule error: howbeit my ſpeach did nothing at all preuaile with him: for hee could not be perſwaded that any ſoule might remaine without a body. From thence I departed vnto a certaine citie named Chilenfo, the walls whereof conteined 40. miles in circuit. In this city there are 360. bridges of ſtone, the faireſt that euer I ſaw: and it is wel inhabited, hauing a great nauie belonging thereunto, & abounding with all kinds of victuals and other commodities. And thence I went vnto a certaine riuer called Thalay, which, where it is moſt narrow, is 7. miles broad: and it runneth through the midſt of the land of Pygmæi, whoſe chiefe city is called Cakam, and is one of the goodlieſt cities in the world. Theſe Pigmæans are

Chilenfo.

Thalay.

Cakam.

three

Ianzu.

three of my ſpans high, and they make larger and better cloth of cotten and ſilke, then any other nation vnder the ſunne. And coaſting along by the ſaide riuer, I came vnto a certaine citie named Ianzu, in which citie there is one receptacle for the Friers of our order, and there be alſo three Churches of the Neſtorians. This Ianzu is a noble and great citie, containing 48 Thuman of tributarie fiers, and in it are all kindes of victuals, and great plenty of ſuch beaſtes, foules and fiſhes, as Chriſtians doe vſually liue vpon. The lord of the ſame citie hath in yeerely reuenues for ſalt onely, fiftie Thuman of Balis, and one balis is worth a floren and a halfe of our coyne: inſomuch that one Thuman of balis amounteth vnto the value of fifteene thouſand florens. Howbeit the ſayd lord fauoureth his people in one reſpect, for ſometimes he forgiueth them freely two hundred Thuman, leaſt there ſhould be any ſcarcity or dearth among them. There is a cuſtome in this citie, that when any man is determined to banquet his friends, going about vnto certaine tauernes or cookes houſes appointed for the ſame purpoſe, he ſayth vnto euery particular hoſte, you ſhall haue ſuch, and ſuch of my friendes, whom you muſt intertaine in my name, and ſo much I will beſtowe vpon the banquet. And by that meanes his friendes are better feaſted at diuerſe places, then they ſhould haue beene at one. Tenne miles from the ſayde citie, about the head of the foreſayd riuer of Thalay, there is a certaine other citie called Montu, which hath the greateſt nauy that I ſaw in the whole world. All their ſhips are as white as ſnow, and they haue banqueting houſes in them, and many other rare things alſo, which no man would beleeue, vnleſſe he had ſeene them with his owne eyes.

Of the citie of *Cambaleth*.

Karamoron.

Sumacoto.

TRaueiling eight dayes iourney further by diuers territories and cities, at length I came by freſh water vnto a certaine citie named Lencyn, ſtanding vpon the riuer of * Karauoran, which runneth through the midſt of Cataie, and doeth great harme in the countrey when it ouerfloweth the bankes, or breaketh foorth of the chanell. From thence paſſing along the riuer Eaſtward, after many dayes trauell, and the ſight of diuers cities, I arriued at a citie called *Sumakoto, which aboundeth more with ſilke then any other citie in the world: for when there is great ſcarcitie of ſilke, fortie pound is ſold for leſſe then eight groates. In this citie there is abundance of all merchandize, and of all kindes of victuals alſo, as of bread, wine, fleſh, fiſh, with all choiſe and delicate ſpices. Then traueiling on ſtill towards the Eaſt by many cities, I came vnto the noble and renowmed citie of Cambaleth, which is of great antiquitie, being ſituate in the prouince of Cataie. This citie the Tartars tooke, and neere vnto it within the ſpace of halfe a mile, they built another citie called Caido. The citie of Caido hath twelue gates, being each of them two miles diſtant from another. Alſo the ſpace lying in the midſt betweene the two foreſayd cities is very well and throughly inhabited, ſo that they make as it were but one citie betweene them both. The whole compaſſe or circuit of both cities together, is 40. miles. In this citie the great emperour Can hath his principall ſeat, and his Imperiall palace, the wals of which palace containe foure miles in circuit: and neere vnto this his palace are many other palaces and houſes of his nobles which belong vnto his court. Within the precincts of the ſayd palace Imperiall, there is a moſt beautifull mount, ſet and repleniſhed with trees, for which cauſe it is called the Greene mount, hauing a moſt royall and ſumptuous palace ſtanding thereupon, in which, for the moſt part, the great Can is reſident. Vpon the one ſide of the ſayd mount there is a great lake, whereupon a moſt ſtately bridge is built, in which lake is great abundance of geeſe, ducks, and all kindes of water foules: and in the wood growing vpon the mount there is great ſtore of all birds, and wilde beaſts. And therefore when the great Can will ſolace himſelfe with hunting or hauking, he needs not ſo much as once to ſtep forth of his palace. Moreouer, the principall palace, wherein he maketh his abode, is very large, hauing within it 14 pillers of golde, and all the walles thereof are hanged with red ſkinnes, which are ſayd to be the moſt coſtly ſkinnes in all the world. In the midſt of the palace ſtandes a ciſterne of two yards high, which conſiſteth of a pretious ſtone called Merdochas, and is wreathed about with golde, & at ech corner thereof is the golden image of a ſerpent, as it were, furiouſly ſhaking and caſting forth his head. This ciſterne alſo hath a kind of networke of pearle wrought about it. Likewiſe by the ſayd ciſterne there is drinke conueyed thorow certeine pipes and conducts, ſuch as vſeth to be drunke in the emperors court, vpon the which alſo there hang many veſſels of golde, wherein, whoſoeuer will may drinke of the ſayd licour. In the foreſayd palace there are many peacocks of golde: & when any Tartar maketh a banquet vnto his lord, if the gueſts chance to clap their hands for ioy and mirth, the ſayd golden peacocks alſo will ſpread abroad their wings, and lift vp their traines, ſeeming as if they danced: and this I ſuppoſe to be done by arte magike or by ſome ſecret engine vnder the ground.

Of the glory and magnificence of the great Can.

Moreouer, when the great emperor Can ſitteth in his imperiall throne of eſtate, on his left hand ſitteth his queene or empreſſe, and vpon another inferior ſeate there ſit two other women, which are to accompany the emperor, when his ſpouſe is abſent, but in the loweſt place of all, there ſit all the ladies of his kinred. All the maried women weare vpon their heads a kind of ornament in ſhape like vnto a mans foote, of a cubite and a halfe in length, and the lower part of the ſayd foote is adorned with cranes feathers, and is all ouer thicke ſet with great and orient pearles. Vpon the right hand of the great Can ſitteth his firſt begotten ſonne and heire apparant vnto his empire, and vnder him ſit all the nobles of the blood royall. There bee alſo foure Secretaries, which put all things in writing that the emperor ſpeaketh. In whoſe preſence likewiſe ſtand his Barons and diuers others of his nobilitie, with great traines of folowers after them, of whom none dare ſpeake ſo much as one word, vnleſſe they haue obtained licence of the emperor ſo to doe, except his ieſters and ſtage-playes, who are appointed of purpoſe to ſolace their lord. Neither yet dare they attempt to doe ought, but onely according to the pleaſure of their emperor, and as hee enioineth them by lawe. About the palace gate ſtand certaine Barons to keepe all men from treading vpon the threſhold of the ſayd gate. When it pleaſeth the great Can to ſolemnize a feaſt, he hath about him 14000. Barons, carying wreathes & litle crownes vpon their heads, and giuing attendance vpon their lord, and euery one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious ſtones, which is woorth ten thouſand Florens. His court is kept in very good order, by gouernours of tens, gouernours of hundreds, and gouernours of thouſands, inſomuch that euery one in his place performeth his duetie committed vnto him, neither is there any defect to bee found. I Frier Odoricus was there preſent in perſon for the ſpace of three yeeres, and was often at the ſayd banquets; for we friers Minorites haue a place of aboad appointed out for vs in the emperors court, and are enioined to goe and to beſtow our bleſſing vpon him. And I enquired of certaine Courtiers concerning the number of perſons pertaining to the emperors court: And they anſwered mee, that of ſtage-players, muſicians, and ſuch like, there were eighteene Thuman at the leaſt, and that the keepers of dogs, beaſts and foules were fifteene Thuman, and the phyſicians for the emperours body, were foure hundred; the Chriſtians alſo were eight in number, together with one Saracen. At my being there, all the foreſayd number of perſons had all kind of neceſſaries both for apparell and victuals out of the emperors court. Moreouer, when he will make his progreſſe from one countrey to another, hee hath foure troupes of horſemen, one being appointed to goe a dayes iourney before, and another to come a dayes iourney after him, the third to march on his right hand, and the fourth on his left, in the maner of a croſſe, he himſelfe being in the midſt, and ſo euery particular troupe haue their daily iourneys limited vnto them, to the ende they may prouide ſufficient victuals without defect. Nowe the great Can himſelfe is caried in maner following; hee rideth in a chariot with two wheeles, vpon which a maieſticall throne is built of the wood of Aloe, being adorned with gold and great pearles, and precious ſtones, and foure elephants brauely furniſhed doe drawe the ſayd chariot, before which elephants foure great horſes richly trapped and couered doe lead the way. Hard by the chariot on both ſides thereof, are foure Barons laying hold and attending thereupon, to keepe all perſons from approching neere vnto their emperour. Vpon the chariot alſo two milke-white Ier-falcons doe ſit, and ſeeing any game which hee would take, hee letteth them flie, and ſo they take it, and after this maner doeth hee ſolace himſelfe as hee rideth. Moreouer, no man dare come within a ſtones caſt of the chariot, but ſuch as are appointed. The number of his owne followers, of his wiues attendants, and of the traine of his firſt begotten ſonne and heire apparant, would ſeeme incredible vnto any man, vnleſſe hee had ſeene it with his owne eyes. The foreſayd great Can hath deuided his Empire into twelue partes or Prouinces, and one of the ſayd prouinces hath two thouſand great cities within the precincts thereof. Whereupon his empire is of that length and breadth, that vnto whatſoeuer part thereof he intendeth his iourny, he hath ſpace enough for ſix moneths continual progreſſe, except his Iſlands which are at the leaſt 5000.

Of certaine Innes or hoſpitals appointed for trauailers throughout the whole empire.

The foreſayd Emperor (to the end that trauailers may haue all things neceſſary throughout his whole empire) hath cauſed certaine Innes to be prouided in ſundry places vpon the high wayes, where all things pertaining vnto victuals are in a continuall readineſſe. And when any alteration or newes happen in any part of his Empire, if he chance to be farre abſent from that part, his ambaſſadors vpon horſes or dromedaries ride poſt vnto him, and when themſelues and their beaſts are weary, they blow their horne, at the noiſe whereof, the next Inne likewiſe prouideth a horſe and a man, who takes the letter of him that is weary, and runneth vnto another Inne: and ſo by diuers Innes, and diuers poſtes, the report, which ordinarily could ſkarce come in 30. dayes, is in one naturall day brought vnto the emperor: and therefore no matter of any moment can be done in his empire, but ſtraightway he hath intelligence thereof. Moreouer, when yͤ great Can himſelfe will go on hunting, he vſeth this cuſtome. Some twenty dayes iourney from the citie of Kambaleth there is a forreſt containing ſixe dayes iourney in circuit, in which forreſt there are ſo many kinds of beaſts and birds, as it is incredible to report. Vnto this forreſt, at the ende of euery third or fourth yeere, himſelfe with his whole traine reſorteth, and they all of them together enuiron the ſayd forreſt, ſending dogs into the ſame, which by hunting do bring foorth the beaſts: namely, lions and ſtags, and other creatures, vnto a moſt beautifull plaine in the midſt of the forreſt, becauſe all the beaſts of the forreſt doe tremble, eſpecially at the cry of hounds. Then commeth the great Can himſelfe, being caried vpon three elephants, and ſhooteth fiue arrowes into the whole herd of beaſts, and after him all his Barons, and after them the reſt of his courtiers and family doe all in like maner diſcharge their arrowes alſo, and euery mans arrow hath a ſundry marke. Then they all goe vnto the beaſts which are ſlaine (ſuffering the liuing beaſts to returne into the wood that they may haue more ſport with them another time) and euery man enioyeth that beaſt as his owne, wherein he findeth his arrow ſticking.

Of the foure feaſts which the great *Can* ſolemnizeth euery yeere in his Court.

FOure great feaſts in a yeere doeth the emperor Can celebrate: namely, the feaſt of his birth, the feaſt of his circumciſion, the feaſt of his coronation, and the feaſt of his mariage. And vnto theſe feaſts he inuiteth all his Barons, his ſtage-players, and all ſuch as are of his kinred. Then the great Can ſitting in his throne, all his Barons preſent themſelues before him, with wreaths and crownes vpon their heads, being diuerſly attired, for ſome of them are in greene, namely, the principall: the ſecond are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little Iuorie table of elephants tooth, and they are girt with golden girdles of halfe a foote broad, and they ſtand vpon their feete keeping ſilence. About them ſtand the ſtage-players or muſicians with their inſtruments. And in one of the corners of a certaine great pallace, all the Philoſophers or Magicians remaine for certaine howers, and doe attend vpon points or characters: and when the point and hower which the ſayd Philoſophers expected for, is come, a certaine crier crieth out with a loud voyce, ſaying, Incline or bowe your ſelues before your Emperour: with that all the Barons fall flat vpon the earth. Then hee crieth out againe; Ariſe all, and immediately they all ariſe. Likewiſe the Philoſophers attend vpon a point or character the ſecond time, and when it is fulfilled, the crier crieth out amaine; Put your fingers in your eares: and foorthwith againe he ſaieth; Plucke them out. Againe, at the third point he crieth, Boult this meale. Many other circumſtances alſo doe they performe, all which they ſay haue ſome certaine ſignification: howbeit, neither would I write them, nor giue any heed vnto them, becauſe they are vaine and ridiculous. And when the muſicians hower is come, then the Philoſophers ſay, Solemnize a feaſt vnto your Lord: with that all of them ſound their inſtruments, making a great and a melodious noyſe. And immediately another crieth, Peace, peace, and they are all whiſt. Then come the women-muſicians and ſing ſweetly before the Emperour, which muſike was more delightfull vnto me. After them come in the lions and doe their obeiſance vnto the great Can. Then the iuglers cauſe golden cups full of wine to flie vp and downe in the ayre, and to apply themſelues vnto mens mouthes that they may drinke of them. Theſe and many other ſtrange things I ſawe in the court of the great Can, which no man would beleeue vnleſſe he had ſeen them with his owne eies, and therefore I omit to ſpeake of them. I was informed alſo by certaine credible perſons, of another miraculous thing, namely, that in a certaine kingdome of the ſayd Can, wherein ſtand the mountains called Kapſei (the kingdomes name is Kalor) there growe great Gourds or Pompions, which being ripe, doe open at the tops, and within them is found a little beaſt like vnto a yong lambe, euen as I my ſelfe haue heard reported, that there ſtand certaine trees vpon the ſhore of the Iriſh ſea, bearing fruit like vnto a gourd, which, at a certaine time of the yeere doe fall into the water, and become birds called Bernacles, and this is moſt true.

A lambe in a gourd.

Of diuers prouinces and cities.

AND after three yeres I departed out of the empire of Cataie, trauailing fiftie dayes iourney towards the Weſt. And at length I came vnto the empire of Pretegoani, whoſe principall

His returne Weſtward.

Caſan.

‖Or, Thebet.

The ſame ſtory concerning the very ſame people is in William de Rubricis.

city is Koſan, which hath many other cities vnder it. From thence paſſing many dayes trauell, I came vnto a prouince called Caſan, which is for good commodities, one of the onely prouinces vnder the Sunne, and is very well inhabited, inſomuch that when we depart out of the gates of one city we may beholde the gates of another city, as I my ſelfe ſaw in diuers of them. The breadth of the ſayd prouince is fifty dayes iourney, & the length aboue ſixty. In it there is great plenty of all victuals, and eſpecially of cheſnuts, and it is one of the twelue prouinces of the great Can. Going on further, I came vnto a certaine kingdome called ‖ Tebek, which is in ſubiection vnto the great Can alſo, wherein I thinke there is more plenty of bread & wine then in any other part of the world beſides. The people of the ſayd countrey do, for the moſt part, inhabit in tents made of blacke felt. Their principall city is inuironed with faire and beautifull walles, being built of moſt white and blacke ſtones, which are diſpoſed checkerwiſe one by another, and curiouſly compiled together: likewiſe all the high wayes in this countrey are exceedingly well paued. In the ſayd countrey none dare ſhed the bloud of a man, or of any beaſt, for the reuerence of a certaine idole. In the foreſayd city their Abaſſi, that is to ſay, their Pope is reſident, being the head and prince of all idolaters (vpon whom he beſtoweth and diſtributeth gifts after his maner) euen as our pope of Rome accounts himſelfe to be the head of all Chriſtians. The women of this countrey weare aboue an hundreth tricks and trifles about them, and they haue two teeth in their mouthes as long as the tuſhes of a boare. When any mans father deceaſeth among them, his ſonne aſſembleth together all the prieſts and muſicians that he can get, ſaying that he is determined to honour his father: then cauſeth he him to be caried into the field (all his kinſfolks, friends, and neighbours accompanying him in the ſayd action) where the prieſts with great ſolemnity cut off the fathers head, giuing it vnto his ſonne, which being done, they diuide the whole body into morſels, and ſo leaue it behinde them, returning home with prayers in the company of the ſayd ſonne. So ſoone as they are departed, certaine vultures, which are accuſtomed to ſuch bankets, come flying from the mountaines, and cary away all the ſayd morſels of fleſh: and from thenceforth a fame is ſpread abroad, that the ſayd party deceaſed was holy, becauſe the angels of God carried him into paradiſe. And this is the greateſt and higheſt honour, that the ſonne can deuiſe to performe vnto his deceaſed father. Then the ſayd ſonne taketh his fathers head, ſeething it and eating the fleſh thereof, but of the ſkull he makes a drinking cup, wherein himſelfe with all his family and kinred do drinke with great ſolemnity and mirth, in the remembrance of his dead and deuoured father. Many other vile and abominable things doth the ſayd nation commit, which I meane not to write, becauſe men neither can nor will beleeue, except they ſhould haue the ſight of them.

Of a certaine rich man, who is fed and nouriſhed by fiftie virgins.

Long nailes.

Meliſtorte.

While I was in the prouince of Mancy, I paſſed by the palace of a certaine famous man, which hath fifty virgin damoſels continually attending vpon him, feeding him euery meale, as a bird feeds her yoong ones. Alſo he hath ſundry kindes of meat ſerued in at his table, and three diſhes of ech kinde: and when the ſayd virgins feed him, they ſing moſt ſweetly. This man hath in yeerely reuenues thirty thuman of tagars of riſe, euery of which thuman yeeldeth tenne thouſand tagars, and one tagar is the burthen of an aſſe. His palace is two miles in circuit, the pauement whereof is one plate of golde, and another of ſiluer. Neere vnto the wall of the ſayd palace there is a mount artificially wrought with golde and ſiluer, whereupon ſtand turrets and ſteeples and other delectable things for the ſolace and recreation of the foreſayd great man. And it was tolde me that there were foure ſuch men in the ſayd kingdome. It is accounted a great grace for the men of that countrey to haue long nailes vpon their fingers, and eſpecially vpon their thumbes, which nailes they may folde about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to haue ſmall and ſlender feet; and therefore the mothers when their daughters are yoong, do binde vp their feet, that they may not grow great. Trauelling on further towards the South, I arriued at a certaine countrey called Meliſtorte, which is a very pleaſant and fertile place. And in this countrey there was a certeine aged man called Senex de monte, who round about two mountaines had built a wall to incloſe the ſayd mountaines. Within this wall there were the faireſt and moſt chryſtall fountaines in the whole world: and about the ſayd fountaines there were moſt beautifull virgins in great number, and goodly horſes alſo, and in a word, euery thing that could be deuiſed for bodily ſolace and delight, and therefore the inhabitants of the countrey call the ſame place by the name of Paradiſe.

The ſayd olde Senex, when he ſaw any proper and valiant yoong man, he would admit him into his paradiſe. Moreouer by certaine conducts he makes wine and milke to flow abundantly.

This Senex, when he hath a minde to reuenge himſelfe or to ſlay any king or baron, commandeth him that is gouernor of the ſayd paradiſe, to bring thereunto ſome of the acquaintance of the ſayd king or baron, permitting him a while to take his pleaſure therein, and then to giue him a certaine potion being of force to caſt him into ſuch a ſlumber as ſhould make him quite voide of all ſenſe, and ſo being in a profound ſleepe to conuey him out of his paradiſe: who being awaked, & ſeeing himſelfe thruſt out of the paradiſe would become ſo ſorowfull, that he could not in the world deuiſe what to do, or whither to turne him. Then would he go vnto the foreſaid old man, beſeeching him that he might be admitted againe into his paradiſe: who ſaith vnto him, You cannot be admitted thither, vnleſſe you will ſlay ſuch or ſuch a man for my ſake, and if you will giue the attempt onely, whether you kill him or no, I wil place you againe in paradiſe, that there you may remaine alwayes: then would the party without faile put the ſame in execution, indeuouring to murther all thoſe againſt whom the ſayd olde man had conceiued any hatred. And therefore all the kings of the eaſt ſtood in awe of the ſayd olde man, and gaue vnto him great tribute.

Of the death of *Senex de monte*.

And when the Tartars had ſubdued a great part of the world, they came vnto the ſayd olde man, and tooke from him the cuſtody of his paradiſe: who being incenſed thereat, ſent abroad diuers deſperate and reſolute perſons out of his forenamed paradiſe, and cauſed many of the Tartarian nobles to be ſlaine. The Tartars ſeeing this, went and beſieged the city wherein the ſaid olde man was, tooke him, and put him to a moſt cruell and ignominious death. The friers in that place haue this ſpeciall gift and prerogatiue: namely, that by the vertue of the name of Chriſt Ieſu, and in the vertue of his pretious bloud, which he ſhedde vpon the croſſe for the ſaluation of mankinde, they doe caſt foorth deuils out of them that are poſſeſſed. And becauſe there are many poſſeſſed men in thoſe parts, they are bound and brought ten dayes iourney vnto the ſayd friers, who being diſpoſſeſſed of the vncleane ſpirits, do preſently beleeue in Chriſt who deliuered them, accounting him for their God, and being baptiſed in his name, and alſo deliuering immediatly vnto the friers all their idols, and the idols of their cattell, which are commonly made of felt or of womens haire: then the ſayd friers kindle a fire in a publike place (whereunto the people reſort, that they may ſee the falſe gods of their neighbors burnt) and caſt the ſayd idols thereinto: howbeit at the firſt thoſe idols came out of the fire againe. Then the friers ſprinkled the ſayd fire with holy water, caſting the idols into it the ſecond time, and with that the deuils fled in the likeneſſe of blacke ſmoake, and the idols ſtill remained till they were conſumed vnto aſhes. Afterward, this noiſe & outcry was heard in the ayre: Beholde and ſee how I am expelled out of my habitation. And by theſe meanes the friers doe baptiſe great multitudes, who preſently reuolt againe vnto their idols: inſomuch that the ſayd friers muſt eftſoones, as it were, vnderprop them, and informe them anew. There was another terrible thing which I ſaw there: for paſſing by a certaine valley, which is ſituate beſide a pleaſant riuer, I ſaw many dead bodies, and in the ſayd valley alſo I heard diuers ſweet ſounds and harmonies of muſike, eſpecially the noiſe of citherns, whereat I was greatly amazed. This valley conteineth in length ſeuen or eight miles at the leaſt, into the which whoſoeuer entreth, dieth preſently, and can by no meanes paſſe aliue thorow the middeſt thereof: for which cauſe all the inhabitants thereabout decline vnto the one ſide. Moreouer, I was tempted to go in, and to ſee what it was. At length, making my prayers, and recommending my ſelfe to God in the name of Ieſu, I entred, and ſaw ſuch ſwarmes of dead bodies there, as no man would beleeue vnleſſe he were an eye witneſſe thereof. At the one ſide of the foreſayd valley vpon a certaine ſtone, I ſaw the viſage of a man, which beheld me with ſuch a terrible aſpect, that I thought verily I ſhould haue died in the ſame place. But alwayes this ſentence, the word became fleſh, and dwelt amongſt vs, I ceaſed not to pronounce, ſigning my ſelfe with the ſigne of the croſſe, and neerer then ſeuen or eight paſes I durſt not approch vnto the ſaid head: but I departed & fled vnto another place in the ſayd valley, aſcending vp into a little ſandy mountaine, where looking round about, I ſaw nothing but the ſayd citherns, which me thought I heard miraculouſly ſounding and playing by themſelues without the helpe of muſicians. And being vpon the toppe of the mountaine, I found ſiluer there like the ſcales of fiſhes in great abundance: and I gathered ſome part thereof into my boſome to ſhew for a wonder, but my conſcience rebuking me, I caſt it vpon the earth, reſeruing no whit at all vnto my ſelfe, and ſo, by Gods grace I departed without danger. And when the men of the countrey knew that I was returned out of the valley aliue, they reuerenced me much, ſaying that I was baptiſed and holy, and that the foreſayd bodies were men ſubiect vnto the deuils infernall, who vſed to play vpon citherns, to the end they might allure people to enter, and ſo murther them. Thus much concerning thoſe things which I beheld moſt certainely with mine eyes, I frier Odoricus haue heere written: many ſtrange things alſo I haue of purpoſe omitted, becauſe men will not beleeue them vnleſſe they ſhould ſee them.

Of the honour and reuerence done vnto the great *Can.*

I Will report one thing more, which I ſaw, concerning the great Can. It is an vſuall cuſtome in thoſe parts, that when the foreſayd Can trauelleth thorow any countrey, his ſubiects kindle fires before their doores, caſting ſpices thereinto to make a perfume, that their lord paſſing by may ſmell the ſweet and delectable odours thereof, and much people come foorth to meet him. And vpon a certaine time when he was comming towardes Cambaleth, the fame of his approch being publiſhed, a biſhop of ours with certaine of our minorite friers and my ſelfe, went two dayes iourney to meet him: and being come nigh vnto him, we put a croſſe vpon wood, I my ſelfe hauing a cenſer in my hand, and began to ſing with a loud voice: Veni creator ſpiritus. And as we were ſinging on this wiſe, he cauſed vs to be called, commanding vs to come vnto him: notwithſtanding (as it is aboue mentioned) that no man dare approch within a ſtones caſt of his chariot, vnleſſe he be called, but ſuch onely as keepe his chariot. And when we came neere vnto him, he vailed his hat or bonet being of an ineſtimable price, doing reuerence vnto the croſſe. And immediatly I put incenſe into the cenſer, and our biſhop taking the cenſer perfumed him, and gaue him his benediction. Moreouer, they that come before the ſayd Can do alwayes bring ſome oblation to preſent vnto him, obſeruing the ancient law: Thou ſhalt not appeare in my preſence with an empty hand. And for that cauſe we carried apples with vs, and offered them in a platter with reuerence vnto him: and taking out two of them he did eat ſome part of one. And then he ſignified vnto vs, that we ſhould go apart, leaſt the horſes comming on might in ought offend vs. With that we departed from him, and turned aſide, going vnto certaine of his barons, which had bene conuerted to the faith by certaine friers of our order, being at the ſame time in his army: and we offered vnto them of the foreſayd apples, who receiued them at our hands with great ioy, ſeeming vnto vs to be as glad, as if we had giuen them ſome great gift.

All the premiſſes abouewritten frier William de Solanga hath put downe in writing euen as the foreſayd frier Odoricus vttered them by word of mouth, in the yeere of our Lord 1330, in the moneth of May, and in the place of S. Anthony of Padua. Neither did he regard to write them in difficult Latine or in an eloquent ſtile, but euen as Odoricus himſelfe rehearſed them, to the end that men might the more eaſily vnderſtand the things reported. I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of a certaine territory called Portus Vahonis, and of the order of the minorites, do teſtifie and beare witneſſe vnto the reuerend father Guidotus miniſter of the prouince of S. Anthony, in the marqueſate of Treuiſo (being by him required vpon mine obedience ſo to doe) that all the premiſſes aboue written, either I ſaw with mine owne eyes, or heard the ſame reported by credible and ſubſtantiall perſons. The common report alſo of the countreyes where I was, teſtifieth thoſe things, which I ſaw, to be true. Many other things I haue omitted, becauſe I beheld them not with mine owne eyes. Howbeit from day to day I purpoſe with my ſelfe to trauell countreyes or lands, in which action I diſpoſe my ſelfe to die or to liue, as it ſhall pleaſe my God.

Of the death of frier *Odoricus.*

IN the yeere therefore of our Lord 1331 the foreſayd frier Odoricus preparing himſelfe for the performance of his intended iourney, that his trauell and labour might be to greater purpoſe, he determined to preſent himſelfe vnto pope Iohn the two and twentieth, whoſe benediction and obedience being receiued, he, with a certaine number of friers willing to beare him company, might conuey himſelfe vnto all the countreyes of infidels. And as he was trauelling towards the pope, and not farre diſtant from the city of Piſa, there meets him by the way a certaine olde man, in the habit and attire of a pilgrime, ſaluting him by name, and ſaying: All haile frier Odoricus. And when the frier demaunded how he had knowledge of him: he anſwered: Whileſt you were in India I knew you full well, yea, and I knew your holy purpoſe alſo: but ſee that you returne immediatly vnto the couen from whence you came, for tenne dayes hence you ſhall depart out of this preſent world. Wherefore being aſtoniſhed and amazed at theſe wordes (eſpecially the olde man vaniſhing out of his ſight, preſently after he had ſpoken them) he determined to returne. And ſo he returned in perfect health, feeling no crazedneſſe nor infirmity of body. And being in his couen at Vdene in the prouince ~~of Padua~~, the tenth day after the foreſayd viſion, hauing receiued the Communion, and preparing himſelfe vnto God, yea, being ſtrong and ſound of body, hee happily reſted in the Lord: whoſe ſacred departure was ſignified vnto the Pope aforeſaid, vnder the hand of the publique notary in theſe words following.

In the yeere of our Lord 1331, the 14. day of Ianuarie, Beatus Odoricus a Frier minorite deceaſed in Chriſt, at whoſe prayers God ſhewed many and ſundry miracles, which I Guetelus publique notarie of Vtina, ſonne of M. Damianus de Porto Gruaro, at the commandement and direction of the honorable Conradus of the Borough of Gaſtaldion, and one of the Councell of Vtina, haue written as faithfully as I could, and haue deliuered a copie thereof vnto the Friers minorites: howbeit not of all, becauſe they are innumerable, and too difficult for me to write.

The voyage of *Matthew Gourney*, a moſt valiant Engliſh Knight, againſt the *Moores* of *Algier* in *Barbarie* and *Spaine. M. Camden pag. 159.*

NEc tacendum Matthæum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgari lingua Stoke vnder Hamden in comitatu Somerſetenſi appellato, ſepultum eſſe, virum bellicoſiſſimum regnante Edwardo tertio: qui *96.* ætatis anno diem obiuit, cum (vt ex inſcriptione videre licuit) obſidioni d' Algizer contra Saracenos, prælijs Benamazin, Scluſenſi, Creſſiaco, Ingenos, Pictauienſi, & Nazarano in Hiſpania dimicaſſet.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IT is by no meanes to be paſſed ouer in ſilence, that Matthew Gourney, being a moſt valiant warriour in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie of Somerſet, commonly called Stoke vnder Hamden: who deceaſed in the *96.* yeare of his age; and that (as it is manifeſt by the inſcription of his monument) after he had valiantly behaued himſelfe at the ſiege of Algizer againſt the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Creſſie, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

In the reigne of Edward the third.

The comming of *Lyon* King of *Armenia* into *England*, in the yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of *Richard* the ſecond, in truſt to finde ſome meanes of peace or good agreement betweene the King of *England* and the French king. *Iohn Froyſſart lib. 3. cap. 56.*

THus in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Conſtable, who were behind, then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had aſſigned him by the king, ſixe thouſande frankes by the yeare to maintaine his eſtate, tooke vpon him for a good intent to goe into England to ſpeake with the king there and his Councell, to ſee if he might finde any matter of peace to be had, betweene the two Realmes, England and France: And ſo he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeyne beſide Saint Denice, alonely with his owne company, and with no great apparell. So he rode to Boloine, and there he tooke a ſhippe, and ſo ſayled foorth till he came to Douer; and there he found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and moe then a hundreth men of armes, and a two thouſand Archers, who lay there to keepe that paſſage, for the brute ran, that the Frenchmen ſhould lande there or at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part of his Councell with him, and daily heard tydings from all the Portes of England. When the king of Armenia was arriued at Douer, he had there good cheere, becauſe he was a ſtranger, and ſo he came to the kings Uncles there, who ſweetly receiued him, and at a time conuenient, they demaunded of him from whence he came and whither he would. The king anſwered and ſayd, that in truſt of goodneſſe he was come thither, to ſee the king of England, and his Councell, to treate of peace betweene England and France, for he ſaide that he thought the warre was not meete: for he ſayd, by reaſon of warre betweene theſe two Realmes, which hath indured ſo long, the Saracens, Iewes & Turkes are waxed proude, for there is none that make them any warre, and by occaſion thereof I haue loſt my land and Realme, and am not like to recouer them againe without there were firme peace in all Chriſtendome: & I would gladly ſhew the matter that toucheth all Chriſtendome to the king of England, and to his Councell, as I haue done to the French king. Then the kings Uncles demaunded of him if the French king ſent him thither or no; he anſwered and ſayd, no: there is no man that ſent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne motion to ſee if the king of England & his Councel would any thing leane to any treaty of peace, then was he demaunded where the French king was, he anſwered I beleeue he be at Sluce, I ſawe not him ſithence I tooke my leaue of him at Senlize. Then he was demaunded, howe he could make any treatie of peace, and had no charge ſo to doe, and Sir, if yee be conueyed to the King our Nephew and to his Counſell, and the French king in the meane ſeaſon enter with his puiſſance into England; yee may happe thereby to receiue great blame, and your perſon to be in great ieoperdy with them of the Countrey. Then the King anſwered and ſaid, I am in ſuretie of the French king, for I haue ſent to him, deſiring him till I returne againe, not to remoue from Sluce, and I repute him ſo noble and ſo well aduiſed, that he will graunt my deſire, and that hee will not enter into the ſea, till I come againe to him. Wherefore, ſirs, I pray you in the inſtance of loue and peace, to conuey me to ſpeake with the King, for I deſire greatly to ſee him: or elſe yee that be his Uncles, if ye haue authoritie, to giue me anſwere to all my demaunds. Then the Earle of Buckingham ſayd, ſyr king of Armenia, we be ordayned here to keepe and defend this paſſage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Counſell, and wee haue no charge to meddle any further with the buſineſſe of the Realme, without we be otherwiſe commanded by the King. But ſith ye be come for a good intent into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but ſir, as for any firme anſwere ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the Councell, but we ſhall conuey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and ſaid: I deſire nothing elſe but to ſee the king and to ſpeake with him.

How the King of *Armenia* returned out of *England*, and of the anſwere that was made to him.

When the king of Armenia was refreſhed at Douer a day, and had ſpoken with the kings Uncles at good leaſure, then he departed towards London, with a good conduct that the Lords appointed to him, for feare of any recounters: ſo long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding through London he was well regarded, becauſe he was a ſtranger, and he had good cheare made him, and ſo was brought to the king, who lay at the Royall at the Queenes wardrobe, and his Councell were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were ſore fortefying of their citie. When the comming of the king of Armenia was knowen, the kings Councell drew to the King to heare what tydings the King brought in that troublous ſeaſon: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings preſence, he made his ſalutation and then beganne his proceſſe to the ſtates, how he was come out of France principally to ſee the king of England whõ he had neuer ſeene before, & ſaid, how he was right ioyous to be in his preſence, truſting that ſome goodneſſe might come thereby. And there he ſhewed by his words, that to withſtande the great peſtilence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of his owne goodwill to doe good therein if he might, not ſent from the French king, willing to ſet ſome accorde and peace betweene the two Realmes England and France. Many faire pleaſant words the king of Armenia ſpake to the king of England, and to his Counſell, then he was ſhortly anſwered thus: Syr king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our Soueraigne lord, and all we are glad to ſee you here, but ſir, we ſay that the king hath not here all his Councell, but ſhortly they ſhall be here, and then ye ſhall be anſwered. The king of Armenia was content therewith, and ſo returned to his lodging. Within foure dayes after the king was counſelled (and I thinke he had ſent to his Uncles to know their intents, but they were not preſent at the anſwere giuing) to goe to the pallace at Weſtminſter and his Councell with him, ſuch as were about him, and to ſend for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the preſence of the king of England and his Councell, the king ſate downe, and the king of Armenia by him, and then the Prelates and other of his Councell. There the king of Armenia rehearſed againe his requeſtes that he made, and alſo ſhewed wiſely how all Chriſtendome was ſore decayed and feebliſhed by occaſion of the warres betweene England and France. And how that all the knights and Squires of both Realmes entended nothing elſe, but alwayes to be on the one part or of the other: whereby the Empire of Conſtantinople leeſeth, and is like to leeſe; for before this warre the Knights and Squires were wont to aduenture themſelues. And alſo the king of Armenia ſhewed that by occaſion of this warre he had loſt his Realme of Armenia, therefore he deſired for Gods ſake that there might be ſome treaty of peace had betweene the two Realmes England and France. To theſe wordes anſwered the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, for he had charge ſo to doe; And he ſayd, Sir king of Armenia, it is not the manner nor neuer was ſeene betweene two ſuch enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the king my Soueraigne lorde ſhould be required of peace, and he to enter his land with a puiſſant army, wherefore ſir, we ſay to you, that if it pleaſe you, ye may returne to the French king, and cauſe him and all his puiſſance to returne backe into their owne countreys. And when euery man be at home, then if it pleaſe you ye may returne againe hither, and then we ſhall gladly intende to your treatie.

This was all the anſwere the king of Armenia could get there, and ſo he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee deuiſed, and the king offered him many great gifts of golde and ſiluer, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but alonely a ring to the value of a hundreth Frankes. After dinner he tooke his leaue and returned vnto his lodging, and the next day departed, and was two dayes at Douer, and there he tooke his leaue of ſuch lords as were there, and ſo tooke the ſea in a paſſager, and arriued at Calais and from thence went to Sluce, and there he ſpake with the French king and with his Vncles, and ſhewed them how he had bene in England, and what anſwere he had: the French king and his Vncles tooke no regard of his ſaying, but ſent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as ſoone as they might haue winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Conſtable came to them: The winde was ſore contrary to them, for therewith they could neuer enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland.

The voyage of *Henrie* Earle of *Derbie*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and laſtly *Henry* the fourth king of *England*, to *Tunis* in *Barbarie*, with an army of Engliſhmen written by *Polidore Virgill. pag. 1389.*

FRanci interim per inducias nacti ocium, ac ſimul Genuenſium precibus defatigati, bellum in Afros, qui omnem oram inſulaſque Italiæ latrociniјs infeſtas reddebant, ſuſcipiunt. Richardus quoque rex Angliæ rogatus auxilium, mittit Henricum comitem Derbienſem cum electa Anglicæ pubis manu ad id bellum faciendum. Igitur Franci Angliq́ue viribus & animis conſociatis in Africā traijciunt, qui vbi littus attigere, eatenùs à Barbaris deſcēſione prohibiti ſunt, quoad Anglorum ſagittariorum virtute factum eſt, vt aditus pateret: in terram egreſſi recta Tunetam vrbem regiam petunt, ac obſident. Barbari timore affecti de pace ad eos legatos mittunt, quam noſtris dare placuit, vt ſoluta certa pecuniæ ſumma ab omni deinceps Italiæ, Galliæq́ue ora manus abſtinerent. Ita peractis rebus poſt paucos menſes, quàm eo itum erat, domum repediatum eſt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THe French in the meane ſeaſon hauing gotten ſome leaſure by meanes of their truce, and being ſollicited and vrged by the intreaties of the Genuois, vndertooke to wage warre againſt the Moores, who robbed and ſpoyled all the coaſts of Italy, and of the Ilandes adiacent. Likewiſe Richard the ſecond, king of England, being ſued vnto for ayde, ſent Henry the Earle of Derbie with a choice armie of Engliſh ſouldiers vnto the ſame warfare. Wherefore the Engliſh and French, with forces and mindes vnited, ſayled ouer into Africa, who when they approched vnto the ſhore were repelled by the Barbarians from landing, vntill ſuch time as they had paſſage made them by the valour of the Engliſh archers. Thus hauing landed their forces, they foorthwith marched vnto the royall citie of Tunis, and beſieged it. Whereat the Barbarians being diſmayed, ſent Ambaſſadours vnto our Chriſtian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted vnto them, vpon condition that they ſhould pay a certaine ſumme of money, and that they ſhould from thencefoorth abſtaine from piracies vpon all the coaſts of Italy and France. And ſo hauing diſpatched their buſineſſe, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

This Hiſtorie is ſomewhat otherwiſe recorded by *Froyſard* and *Holenſhed* in manner following, pag. 473.

IN the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of king Richard the ſecond, the Chriſtians tooke in hand a iourney againſt the Saracens of Barbarie through ſute of the Genouois, ſo that there went a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Burbon being their Generall. Out of England there went Iohn de Beaufort baſtarde ſonne to the Duke of Lancaſter (as Froyſard hath noted) alſo Sir Iohn Ruſſell, Sir Iohn Butler, Sir Iohn Harecourt and others. They ſet forwarde in the latter ende of the thirteenth yeere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not verie long, but that the gallies and other veſſels of the Genouois were ready to paſſe them ouer into Barbarie. And ſo about midſomer in the begining of the foureteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole army being embarked, ſailed forth to the coaſt of Barbary, where neere to the city of Africa they

The Chronicles of Genoa.

landed: at which inſtant the Engliſh archers (as the Chronicles of Genoa write) ſtood all the company in good ſtead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the ſhore, which came downe to reſiſt their landing. After they had got to land, they inuironed the city of Africa (called by the Moores Mahdia) with a ſtrong ſiege: but at length, conſtrained with the intemperancy of the ſcalding ayre in that hot countrey, breeding in the army ſundry diſeaſes, they fell to a compoſition vpon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens: and ſo 61 dayes after their arriuall there they tooke the ſeas againe, and returned home, as in the hiſtories of France and Genoa is likewiſe expreſſed. Where, by Polydore Virgil it may ſeeme, that the lord Henry of Lancaſter earle of Derby ſhould be generall of the Engliſh men, that (as before you heard) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois.

The memorable victories in diuers parts of *Italie* of *Iohn Hawkwood* Engliſh man in the reigne of *Richard* the ſecond, briefly recorded by M. *Camden. pag. 339.*

AD alteram ripam fluuij Colne oppoſitus eſt Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, vt accepi, Ioannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum cortuptè vocant) quem illi tantopere ob virtutem militarem ſuſpexerunt, vt Senatus Florentinus propter inſignia merita equeſtri ſtatua & tumuli honore in eximiæ fortitudinis, fideíque teſtimonium ornauit. Res eius geſtas Itali pleno ore prædicant; & Paulus Iouius in elogijs celebrat: ſat mihi ſit Iulij Feroldi tetraſtichon adijcere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico præſidiúmq; ſolo,
Vt tumuli quondam Florentia, ſic ſimulachri
Virtutem Iouius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Hiſtorie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twiſe, to wit, in the common wealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The voyage of the Lord *Iohn* of *Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, brother by the mothers ſide to King *Richard* the ſecond, to *Ieruſalem* and Saint *Katherins* mount.

1394. Froyſſart.

THe Lord Iohn of Holland, Earle of Huntington, was as then on his way to Ieruſalem, and to Saint Katherins mount, and purpoſed to returne by the Realme of Hungarie. For as he paſſed through France (where he had great cheere of the king, and of his brother and vncles) hee heard how the king of Hungary and the great Turke ſhould haue battell together: therefore he thought ſurely to be at that iourney.

The voiage of *Thomas* lord *Moubray* duke of *Norfolke* to *Ieruſalem*, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. written by *Holinſhed, pag. 1233.*

THomas lord Moubray, ſecond ſonne of Elizabeth Segraue and Iohn lord Moubray her huſband, was aduanced to the dukedome of Norfolke in the 21. yeere of yͤ reigne of Richard the 2. Shortly after which, hee was appealed by Henry earle of Bullingbroke of treaſon, and caried to the caſtle of Windſore, where he was ſtrongly & ſafely garded, hauing a time of combate granted to determine the cauſe betweene the two dukes, the 16. day of September, in the 22. of the ſayd king, being the yeere of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was ſo ordred, that this duke of Norfolke was baniſhed for euer: whereupon taking his iourney to Ieruſalem, he died at Venice in his returne from the ſaid citie of Ieruſalem, in the firſt yeere of king Henry the 4. about the yeere of our redemption, 1399.

The comming of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* into *England*, to deſire the aide of *Henry* the 4. againſt the Turkes, 1400.

Thomas Walſingham.

SVb eodem tempore Imperator Conſtantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, poſtulaturus ſubſidium contra Turcas. Cui occurrit rex cum apparatu nobili ad le Blackheath, die ſancti Thomæ Apoſtoli, ſuſcepítque, prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxítq; Londonias, & per multos dies exhibuit glorioſè, pro expenſis hoſpitij ſui ſoluens, & eum reſpiciens tanto faſtigio donatiuis. Et paulò poſt: His auditis rumoribus, Imperator lætior receſſit ab Anglis, honoratus à rege donarijs precioſis.

The ſame in Engliſh.

About the ſame time the emperor of Conſtantinople came into England, to ſecke ayde against the Turkes: whom yͤ king accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall vpon Blackheath vpon the day of ſaint Thomas the Apoſtle, and receiued him as beſeemed ſo great a prince, and brought him to London, and roially entertained him for a long ſeaſon, defraying the charges of his diet, and giuing him many honorable preſents. And a litle afterward: Vpon the hearing of theſe newes, the emperor departed with great ioy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

The Voiage of the biſhop of *VVincheſter* to *Ieruſalem*, in the ſixt yeere of the reigne of *Henry* the fift, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1417. *Thomas Walſing.*

Vltimo die menſis Octobris, epiſcopus Wintonienſis acceſſit ad concilium Conſtancienſe, peregrinaturus Hieroſolymam poſt electionē ſummi pontificis celebratam, vbi tantum valuit eius facunda perſuaſio, vt & excitaret dominos Cardinales ad concordiam, & ad electionem ſummi pontificis ſe ocyùs præpararent.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The laſt day of October the biſhop of Wincheſter came to the Councell of Conſtance, which after the chuſing of the Pope determined to take his iourney to Ieruſalem: where his eloquent perſwaſion ſo much preuailed, that he both perſwaded my lords the Cardinals to vnity and concord, and alſo moued them to proceed more ſpeedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King *Henrie* the fourth to the *Holy land* againſt the infidels in the yere 1413, being the laſt yere of his reigne: wherein he was preuented by death: written by *Walſingham*, *Fabian*, *Polydore Virgile*, and *Holenſhed*.

In this foureteenth and laſt yere of king Henries reigne a councell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ſhips and gallies to be builded and made ready, and all other things neceſſary to be prouided for a voyage, which he meant to make into the Holy land, there to recouer the city of Ieruſalem from the infidels: for it grieued him to conſider the great malice of Chriſtian princes, that were bent vpon a miſchieuous purpoſe to deſtroy one another, to the perill of their owne ſoules, rather then to make warre againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian faith, as in conſcience, it ſeemed to him, they were bound. We finde, ſayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his laſt ſickeneſſe, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edwards ſhrine, there as it were, to take his leaue, and ſo to proceede foorth on his iourney. He was ſo ſuddenly and grieuouſly taken, that ſuch as were about him feared leaſt he would haue died preſently: wherefore to relieue him, if it were poſſible, they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, where they layd him on a pallet before the fire, and vſed all remedies to reuiue him. At length he recouered his ſpeech, and perceiuing himſelfe in a ſtrange place which he knew not, he willed to knowe if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto anſwere was made, that it was called Ieruſalem. Then ſayde the king, Laudes be giuen to the father of heauen: for now I knowe that I ſhall die here in this chamber, according to the propheſie of mee declared, that I ſhould depart this life in Ieruſalem.

Order taken for building of ſhips and gallies.

Of this intended voyage *Polydore Virgile* writeth in manner following:

Poſt hæc Henricus Rex memor nihil homini debere eſſe antiquius, quàm ad officium iuſtitiæ, quæ ad hominum vtilitatem pertinet, omne ſuum ſtudium conferre, protinùs omiſſo ciuili bello, quo pudebat videre Chriſtianos omni tempore turpitèr occupari, de republica Anglica benè gubernanda, de bello in hoſtes communes ſumendo, de Hieroſolymis tandem aliquando recipiendis plura deſtinabat, claſſemque iam parabat, cum ei talia agenti atque meditanti caſus mortem attulit: ſubito enim morbo tentatus, nulla medicina ſubleuari potuit. Mortuus eſt apud Weſtmonaſterium, annum agens quadrageſimum ſextum, qui fuit annus ſalutis humanæ 1413.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Afterward, King Henry calling to minde, that nothing ought to be more highly eſteemed by any man, then to doe the vtmoſt of his indeuour for the performance of iuſtice, which tendeth to the good and benefite of mankinde; altogether abandoning ciuill warre (wherewith he was aſhamed to ſee, how Chriſtians at all times were diſhonourably buſied) entered into a more deepe conſideration of well gouerning his Realme of England, of waging warre againſt the common enemie, and of recouering, in proceſſe of time, the citie of Ieruſalem, yea, and was prouiding a nauie for the ſame purpoſe, whenas in the very midſt of this his heroicall action and enterpriſe, he was ſurpriſed with death: for falling into a ſudden diſeaſe, he could not be cured by any kinde of phiſicke. He deceaſed at Weſtminſter in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.

A briefe relation of the ſiege and taking of the Citie of *Rhodes*, by *Sultan Soliman* the great Turke, tranſlated out of French into Engliſh at the motion of the Reuerend Lord *Thomas Dockwray*, great Prior of the order of *Ieruſalem* in *England*, in the yeere, 1524.

Willing faithfully to write and reduce in veritie Hiſtoriall, the great ſiege, cruel oppugnation, and piteous taking of the noble and renowmed citie of Rhodes, the key of Chriſtendome, the hope of many poore Chriſtian men, withholden in Turkie to ſaue and keepe them in their faith: the reſt and yeerely ſolace of noble pilgrimes of the holy ſupulchre of Ieſu Chriſt and other holy places: the refuge and refreſhing of all Chriſtian people: hauing courſe of marchandiſe in the parties of Leuant, I promiſe to all eſtates that ſhall ſee this preſent booke, that I haue left nothing for feare of any perſon, nor preferred it for fauour. And firſt I ſhall ſhewe the occaſions that mooued this cruell bloodſhedder, enemie of our holy Chriſtian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a great hoſte by ſea and by lande, to beſiege and aſſayle the ſpace of ſixe moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, The yere of the incarnation of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, 1522.

The occaſions why the great Turke came to beſiege the Citie of *Rhodes*.

The firſt and principall cauſe was that he did conſider and ſawe by experience, that there was none other Towne nor place in Leuant that warred againſt him nor kept him in doubt, but this poore rocke of Rhodes. And hearing the continuall complaintes of his ſubiectes aſwell of Syria, as of Turkie, for the domages and priſes dayly done of their bodies and goods by Chriſtian men of warre receiued into Rhodes: And alſo of the ſhippes and gallies of the religion, he tooke concluſion in himſelfe, that if he might put the ſayde Towne in his power and ſubiection, that then he ſhould be peaceable lord of all the parties of Leuant, and that his ſubiects ſhould complaine no more to him.

The ſecond, that he might followe the doings of his noble predeceſſours, and ſhewe himſelfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sultan Selim his father, willing to put in execution the enterpriſe by him left the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and one. The which Selim the great Turke put in all redineſſe his armie to the number of three hundreth ſayles purpoſing for to ſend them againſt Rhodes, if mortalitie had not happened in his hoſt, and he afterwarde by the will of our lorde was ſurpriſed and taken with death: wherefore he being in the latter ende of his dayes, (as ſome Turkes and falſe chriſtian men that were at this ſiege ſhewed me) did charge by his teſtament, or cauſed to charge his ſonne now being great Turke, that after his death hee ſhould make his two firſt enterpriſes, the one againſt Bellegrado in Hungarie, and the other againſt Rhodes, for to get him honour, and to ſet his Countries and ſubiectes in reſt and ſuretie. The which fatherly motion eaſilie entered into him and was imprinted in the heart and yoong will of the ſayde Solyman his ſonne, the which ſoone after the death of his father put in effect the firſt enterpriſe, and raiſed an huge hoſte both by water and by land, and went himſelfe in perſon againſt Bellegrado, a right ſtrong place in Hungarie. And after that hee had beſieged it the ſpace of two moneths or thereabout, for fault of ordinance and vitailes, it was yeelded to him by compoſition the eight day of September, in the yeere of our lord, one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and one. The ſayd Solyman hauing this victory, being ſwollen and raiſed in pride and vaineglory, turned his heart agaynſt Rhodes. Neuertheleſſe, he not ignorant of the ſtrength of it, and conſidering the qualities of the people that were within it, of whom he ſhould be well receiued as his predeceſſours had bene aforetimes, doubted much, and knew not how to furniſh his enterpriſe. For his capitaines and Baſhas turned him from it as much as they might by many reaſons, they knowing the force of it, ſaue onely Muſtofa Baſha his brother in lawe, the which counſelled and put him in minde to goe thither. Finally, hee purpoſed entirely to haue it by treaſon or by force. And alſo for the ſame cauſe and purpoſe, his father in his dayes had ſent a Iewe phyſician into Rhodes as a ſpie, to haue the better knowledge of it: the ſayd Solyman was informed that he was there yet, wherfore he ſent him worde that he ſhould abide there ſtill for the ſame cauſe. And gaue in charge to one of the chiefe men in Sio, to ſend vnto the ſayd Iewe all things needefull to maintaine him. And the ſame Iewe wrote to him of Sio, vnder priuie wordes, all that was done in Rhodes to giue knowledge thereof to the great Turke: and the better to hide his treaſon, the ſayde Iewe made himſelfe to bee baptiſed. And to bee the more named to be expert in Phyſike, he did ſome faire cures to ſuch as were diſeaſed, whereby he began to bee well truſted, and came in fauour with many ſubſtantiall folkes of the towne. Among all other things whereof hee aduertiſed the great Turke, one was of a wall that was taken downe for to be new builded at the bulwarke of Auuergne, certifying him that if hee came haſtely with his hoſte, hee might eaſilie and at vnawares ſurpriſe the towne in ſuch eſtate as it was at that time. Many other aduertiſements and warnings hee ſhewed the Turke, which ſhall bee declared hereafter. But beſide his aduertiſement, the ſayd great Turke ſtirred and prouoked by a falſe traitour, a Portingale knight of ours, that time Chanceller of the ſayd holy Religion, a man of great authoritie, dignitie, and vnderſtanding, and one of the principall lordes of the counſell of the ſame, named Sir Andrew de Merall, by little and little was mooued and kindled to the ſayd enterpriſe of treaſon, whereof was no maruell, for it was a great hope and comfort to haue ſuch a perſon for him, that knew all the eſtate and rule of the religion and of the towne. And for to declare the occaſions of the curſed and vnhappy will of the ſaid traitor that had bene occaſion of ſo great loſſe and damage, and ſhall be more at the length, if the diuine power ſet not to his hand.

The taking of Belgrade.

Forren phyſicians become ſpies oftentimes.

A Portingale traitor.

And here it is manifeſtly to bee vnderſtood of all men, that after the death of the noble and right prudent lord, Fabrice of Cacetto, great maſter of Rhodes, the ſayd Sir Andrew enflamed with ambition and couetouſneſſe to bee great maſter, and ſeeing himſelfe deceiued of his hope, by the election made the two and twentieth day of Ianuary, of the right reuerend and illuſtrate lord, Philip de Villiers Liſleadam, before him: from that time hee tooke ſo great enuie and deſperation, enmitie and euill will, not onely againſt the ſayde lord, but againſt all the holy religion, that hee ſet all his ſtudie and purpoſe, to betray and ſell his religion and the citie of Rhodes to the curſed miſbeleeuers, forgetting the great honours and goodneſſe that hee hath had of the religion, and hoped to receiue, with many other particuler pleaſures that the ſayd lord maſter had done to him. But the deuill, vnkindneſſe, and wickedneſſe had ſo blinded the eyes of his thought, that hee in no wiſe could refraine him, but at euery purpoſe that was ſpoken afore him, hee was ſhort and might not diſſemble. And one day among other hee ſayde before many knights, that hee would that his ſoule were at the deuill, and that Rhodes and the religion were loſt. And many other fooliſh and diſhoneſt purpoſes and wordes hee vttered, whereat none tooke heed, nor thought that hee had the courage to doe that thing that hee hath done. Howbeit, obſtinate as Iudas, hee put in execution his curſed will: for ſoone after that the tidings of the election was ſent Weſtward to the ſayde noble lord, the ſayd de Merall did ſend a Turke priſoner of his to Conſtantinople, vnder ſhadowe to fetch his ranſome. By whom hee aduertiſed the great Turke and his counſell, of the maner and degree of Rhodes, and in what ſtate and condicion the towne was in of all maner of things at that time, and what might happen of it, prouoking and ſtirring him to come with a great hoſte to beſiege the towne. And after the comming of the ſayd reuerend lord great maſter, he gaue other aduiſe to the great Turke, ſhewing him that hee could neuer haue better time to come, ſeeing that the

Philip de Villiers great maſter.

great maſter was new come, and part of the wall taken downe, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by occaſion of ſome Italian knights, rebels agaynſt the lord great maſter: of the which rebellion he was cauſer, the better to bring his curſed mind to paſſe: and alſo gaue the ſayde great Turke knowledge that all Chriſtian princes were buſie, warring each vpon other, and that he ſhould not doubt but if the rebellion laſted among them, the towne ſhould be his without faile, as it is ſeene by experience. And for lacke of ſuccours of euery part, and eſpecially of ſuch as might eaſily haue holpen vs beyng our neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the handes of the enemies of the chriſtian faith. The which monitions and reaſons of the falſe traitor being vnderſtood and pondered by the great Turke and his counſell, it was conſidered of them not to looſe ſo good occaſion and time. Wherefore hee made moſt extreme diligence to rigge and apparell many ſhips & veſſels of diuers ſorts, as galliaſſes, gallies, pallandrés, ſuſtes, and brigantines, to the number of 350. ſailes and moe.

When the priſoner that the ſayd de Merall did ſend into Turkie had done his commiſſion, hee returned into Rhodes, whereof euery man had maruell. And many folkes deemed euil of his comming againe, as of a thing vnaccuſtomed, but none durſt ſay any thing, ſeeing the ſayd de Merall of ſo great authoritie and dignitie, and he cheriſhed the ſayd priſoner more then he was woont to doe. Therefore belike hee had well done his meſſage, and had brought good tidings to the damnable and ſhamefull mind of the ſayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke cauſed the paſſages to be kept, that none ſhould beare tidings of his hoſte to *Rhodes*.

The great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoſte both by ſea and by land, the better to come to his purpoſe, and to take the towne vnwarily as hee was aduertiſed, thought to keepe his doings as ſecret as hee might, and commaunded that none of his ſubiects ſhould goe to Rhodes for any maner of thing. And likewiſe he tooke all the barkes and brigantines out of the hauens and portes in thoſe coaſtes, becauſe they ſhould giue no knowledge of his armie. And alſo hee made the paſſages by land to bee kept, that none ſhould paſſe. Howbeit, ſo great apparell of an armie could not bee long kept cloſe: for the ſpies which the lord great maſter had ſent into Turkie, brought tidings to the caſtle of ſaint Peter, and to Rhodes, of all that was ſayd and done in Turkie. Neuertheleſſe, the ſayd lord gaue no great credence to all that was brought and told, becauſe that many yeeres before, the predeceſſours of the great Turke had made great armies: and alway it was ſayd that they went to Rhodes, the which came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many places, that the Turke would goe to beſiege Rhodes. And for this reaſon doubt was had of this laſt armie, and ſome thought that it ſhould haue gone into Cyprus or to Cataro, a land of the lordſhip of Venice. Howbeit the great maſter not willing to bee taken vnwarily, but the meane while as carefull and diligent for the wealth of his towne, & his people, vnderſtanding theſe tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to repaire and ſtrengthen the towne. Amongſt all other things to build vp, and raiſe the bulwarke of Auuergne, and to cleanſe and make deeper the ditches. And the more to cauſe the workemen to haſte them in their buſineſſe, the ſayd lord ouerſawe them twiſe or thriſe euery day.

How the lord great maſter counſelled with the lordes for prouiſion for the towne.

Sir Ioh. Bourgh the Engliſh Turcoplier.

Then the ſayd reuerend lord thought to furniſh and ſtore the towne with more vitailes for the ſuſtenance thereof, and for the ſame many times hee ſpake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treaſurie, and of the expenſes thereof in his abſence, and ſince his comming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the ſayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir Iohn Bourgh of the Engliſh nation: and the Chanceller Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is ſpoken afore, and of his vntruth agaynſt his religion. The which three lordes ſayd, that hee ſhould take no thought for it, for the towne was well ſtored with vitailes for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new came in: Notwithſtanding it were good to haue more, or the ſiege were laied afore the towne, and therefore it were behoouefull to ſend for wheate and other neceſſaries into the Weſt for ſuccours of the towne, and at that time to puruey for euery thing.

Of the prouiſion for vitailes and ordinance of warre.

AS touching the ſtore and ordinance of warre, the ſayd lordes affirmed that there was ynough for a yeere and more, whereof the contrary was found, for it failed a moneth or the citie was yeelded. It is of trueth that there was great ſtore, and to haue laſted longer then it did. But it was needfull to ſpend largely at the firſt comming of the enemies to keepe them from comming neere, and from bringing earth to the ditches ſides as they did. And moreouer you are to conſider the great number of them, and their power that was ſpred round about the towne, giuing vs ſo many aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes in ſo many places as they did, and by the ſpace of ſixe whole moneths day and night aſſailing vs, that much ordinance and ſtore was waſted to withſtand them in all points. And if it failed, it was no maruell. Howbeit the noble lord great maſter prouided ſpeedily for it, and ſent Brigantines to Lango, to the caſtle of ſaint Peter, and to the caſtels of his iſle Feraclous and Lyndo, for to bring powder and ſaltpeter to ſtrength the towne, but it ſuffiſed not.

And for to ſpeake of the purueiance of vitailes, it was aduiſed by the lord great maſter and his three lords, that it was time to ſend ſome ſhips for wheat to places thereabout, before the Turks hoſte were come thither. And for this purpoſe was appointed a ſhip named the Gallienge, whoſe captaine hight Brambois, otherwiſe called Wolfe, of the Almaine nation, an expert man of the ſea, the which made ſo good diligence, that within a moneth he performed his voiage, and brought good ſtore of wheat from Naples and Romania, which did vs great comfort.

How a Brigantine was ſent to Candie for wine, and of diuers ſhips that came to helpe the towne.

AFter this, a motion was made to make prouiſion of wine for the towne, for the men of Candie durſt not ſaile for to bring wine to Rhodes as they were woont to doe for feare of the Turkes hoſte: and alſo they of the towne would ſend no ſhip into Candie, fearing to be taken and encloſed with the ſayd hoſte by the way. Howbeit ſome merchants of the towne were willing to haue aduentured themſelues in a good ſhip of the religion, named the Mary, for to haue laden her with wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the three lordes of the treaſure, and their let was but for a little thing: and all the cauſe came of the ſayd traitour de Merall, faining the wealth of the treaſure; for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profitable enterpriſe and will of the ſayd merchants, ſeeing that it was hurtfull to the Turke, whoſe part the ſaid traitour held in his diueliſh heart: that notwithſtanding, the reuerend lord great maſter, that in all things from the beginning to the ende, hath alway ſhewed his good will, and with all diligence and right that might bee requiſite to a ſoueraigne captaine and head of warre, found other expedience, and ſent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he ſent a brother ſergeant named Anthonie of Boſus, a well ſprighted man and wiſe, that by his wiſedome wrought ſo well, that within a ſmall time he brought fifteene veſſels called Gripes, laden with wine, and with them men of warre the which came vnder ſhadow of thoſe wines, becauſe the gouernours of Candie durſt let none of their men goe to the ſuccour of Rhodes for feare of the Turke. And beſide thoſe fifteene Gripes came a good ſhip whoſe capitaine and owner was a rich yong gentleman Venetian, Meſſire Iohn Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ſhip laden with 700. buts of wine to ſuccour the towne with his perſon and folkes, whoſe good and lowable will I leaue to the conſideration of the readers of this preſent booke. For hee being purpoſed to haue had his wines to Conſtantinople, or he was enformed of the buſines of Rhodes, and was in the porte du Caſtell in Candie, would not beare his vitailes to the enemies of the faith, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profite and aduantage. He being arriued at Rhodes, diſpatched and ſold his wine, which was a great encreaſe and comfort for the towne. And when he had ſo done, he preſented his perſon, his ſhip, and his folke, to the reuerend great maſter, the which retained him, and ſet him in wages of the Religion. And during the ſiege, the ſayd capitaine behaued him worthily in his perſon, and put himſelfe in ſuch places as worthy men ought to be, ſpending his goods largely without demanding any paiment or recompenſe for his doing, of the Religion.

How the corne was ſhorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoſte.

DUring theſe things, the reuerend lord great maſter carefull and buſie to haue euery thing neceſſary, as men and other ſtrengths, ſent veſſels called brigantines, for to cauſe the wafters of the ſea to come into Rhodes for the keeping and fortifying of the towne, the which at the firſt ſending came and preſented their perſons and ſhips to the ſeruice of the religion.

Harueſt in Aprill and May.

After that the ſayd lord cauſed to ſhere downe the Rie of his iſle, and cauſed it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in Aprill: and then in May in ſome places, he made to ſhere the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the moſt part was left in the fields, becauſe the Turkes hoſte was come out of the ſtreights of Conſtantinople. And doubting that any number of ſhips ſhould come before to take the people of the ſayd Iſle vnawares, the ſayd lord made them to leaue ſhering of wheate, and cauſed the people of the furtheſt part of the Iſle to come into the towne.

While that the great maſter prouided for all things after the courſe of time and tidings that hee had, there arriued a Carak of Genoa laden with ſpicerie from Alexandria, the which paſſed before the port of Rhodes the eight day of Aprill, and rid at anker at the Foſſe, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkiſh hoſte. Then the lord willing to furniſh him with people as moſt behoouefull for the towne, ſent a knight of Prouence named ſir Anaſtaſe de ſancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to the captaine of the Carak, praying him to come into the hauen with his ſhip for the defence of the towne, profering him what he would, aſſuring him his ſhip. The captaine excuſed him, ſaying, that the merchandiſe was not his owne, but belonged to diuers merchants to whom he muſt yeeld account. Howbeit at the laſt after many words and promiſes to him made, hee came into the hauen, the which captaine was named meſſire Domingo de Fournati, and hee in his perſon behaued him valiauntly in the time of the ſayd ſiege.

How the great maſter cauſed generall muſters to be made, and ſent a veſſell to the Turkes nauie, of whom he receiued a letter.

After the moneth of April the lord maſter ſeeing that the Turkes hoſte drew neere, and that he had the moſt part of the wafters within the towne, he cauſed generall muſters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which vpon holy Rood day in May made their muſters before the Commiſſioners ordained by the ſayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aulberge. The which Commiſſioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harneſſe & other things neceſſary for warre, & their araie faire & proper, with croſſes on them. When the muſter of the knights was done, the lord maſter thought to make the muſters of them of the towne, and ſtrangers together: but his wiſedome perceiued that harme ſhould come thereby, rather then good, doubting that the number of people ſhould not bee ſo great as he would, or needed to haue, whereof the great Turke might haue knowledge by goers and commers into Rhodes, and therefore he cauſed them of the towne to make their muſters ſeuerall by bandes and companies, and the ſtrangers alſo by themſelues, to the end that the number ſhould not bee knowen, notwithſtanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing to defend themſelues. And the more to hearten and giue them courage and good will, ſome knights of the Croſſe, decked their men with colours and deuiſes, and tooke with them men of the towne and ſtrangers, and with great noyſe of trumpets and timbrels, they made many muſters, as enuying each other which ſhould keepe beſt aray and order, and haue the faireſt company. It was a great pleaſure to ſee them all ſo well agree, and ſo well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were eſteemed, three or foure thouſand, beſide men of the villages, that might be 1500. or 2000.

The eight day of the ſame moneth, the Turkes hearing of thoſe tidings, made a fire for a token in a place called le Fiſco, in the maine land right againſt Rhodes. And certaine dayes afore they had made another, that is to weet, when the ſhip of a knight named Menetow went thither, and had with him the clarke of the gallies named Iaques truchman, the which vnder ſhadow to ſpeake with him, was withholden of the Turkes. For the great Turke had commanded to take him or ſome other man of the Rhodes to haue perfect knowledge in what eſtate the towne was then in euery thing. And they of the towne weening that the ſecond fire was for to deliuer Iaques, the reuerend lord great maſter ſent one of his galliaſſes, whoſe patron was called meſſire Boniface of Prouence, to know the cauſe thereof. And when hee arriued at the ſayd place of le Fiſco, he demaunded of the Turkes wherefore they had made the token of fire. And they ſaid that it was becauſe their lord had ſent a letter to the great maſter, but as yet it was not come, and deſired him to tary till it were brought. The patron as warie & wiſe in the buſineſſe of the ſea, thought in himſelfe that the Turkes made ſuch prolonging to ſome euill intent, or to ſurpriſe his veſſell being alone, wherefore hee bade them giue him the letter ſpeedily, or els he would goe his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the euill and diſhoneſt deed that they had done the dayes afore, to withhold the clarke vnder their words and ſafeconduct: and therewith he turned his galliaſſe to haue gone away. The Turkes ſeeing that, gaue him the letter, the which he tooke, and when he was arriued at Rhodes, he preſented it to the lord great maſter, which aſſembled the lordes of his counſell, and made it to be red: The tenor whereof was ſuch as foloweth.

The copie of the letter that the great Turke ſent to the lord great maſter, and to the people of the Rhodes.

SVltan Solyman Baſha by the grace of God, right mightie emperor of Conſtantinople, and of himſelfe holding both the lands of Perſia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Ieruſalem; of Aſia, Europe, Ægypt, and of all the Sea, lord and poſſeſſor: To the reuerend father lord Philip, great maſter of Rhodes, to his counſailors, and to all the other citizens great and ſmall, greeting. Sending conuenient and worthy ſalutations to your reuerences, wee giue you to weet, that we haue receiued your letters ſent vnto our imperiall maieſtie by George your ſeruant, the tenor whereof we doe well vnderſtand; and for this occaſion we ſend vnto you this our preſent commaundement, to the end that we will that ye know ſurely how by our ſentence we will haue that Iſle of Rhodes for many damages and euill deeds which we haue, and heare from day to day of the ſayd place done to vs and our ſubiects, and ye with your good will ſhall hold it of vs & doe vs obeiſance, and giue the citie to mine imperiall maieſtie. And we ſweare by God that made heauen and earth, and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. Miſaſi that fell from the ſkies, and by our firſt prophet Mahomet, that if ye doe vs homage, and yeeld you with good will vpon theſe othes, all you that will abide in the ſayd place, great and ſmall, ſhall not need to feare perill nor damage of mine imperiall maieſtie, neither you, your goods, nor your men: and who ſo will goe to any other place with his goods and houſhold, may ſo doe, and who ſo will dwell and inhabite in any other places vnder mine Imperiall maieſtie, may remaine where they like beſt, without feare of any perſon. And if there bee any of the principals and woorthy men among you that is ſo diſpoſed, wee ſhall giue him wages and prouiſion greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will abide in the ſayd iſle, yee may ſo doe after your auncient vſages and cuſtomes, and much better. And therefore if that yee will accept theſe our othes and intreatings, ſend vnto vs a man with your letters to mine Imperiall maieſtie, or els know yee that wee will come vpon you with all prouiſions of warre, and thereof ſhall come as it pleaſeth God. And this wee doe, to the end that ye may know, and that ye may not ſay, but we haue giuen you warning. And if ye doe not thus with your good will, wee ſhall vault and vndermine your foundations in ſuch maner, that they ſhalbe torne vpſide downe, and ſhall make you ſlaues, and cauſe you to die, by the grace of God, as we haue done many, and hereof haue ye no doubt. Written in our court at Conſtantinople the firſt day of the moneth of Iune.

How the Turkes came to land in the Iſle of *Lango*, and were driuen to their ſhips againe by the Prior of S. *Giles*.

WHen the lord great maſter and his counſell had heard the tenor of the letter, they would giue none anſwere to the great Turke, but that he ſhould be receiued with good ſtrokes of artillerie. So that to a fooliſh demaund behooued none anſwere. And it was very like that he would haue nothing. For ſixe dayes after, that was the 14. day of the ſaid moneth of Iune, the Brigantines that went toward Sio to know of the ſaid armie, came againe and ſayd, that of a trueth the ſaid armie was comming, and that nigh to Lango an Iſle of the religion, an 100. mile from Rhodes, they had ſeene and told 30. ſailes that were moſt part gallies and fuſtes: the which veſſels ſet men on land in yͤ iſle of Lango. Thē the prior of S. Giles, Meſſire pre Iohn de Bidoux commander of the ſayd place, caried not long from horſebacke with his knights and people of the iſle, and he met ſo well with the Turkes, that he droue them to their ſhips, and ſlew a certaine number of them: and of the ſide of Pre Iohn ſome were hurt, and his horſe was ſlaine. When the enemies were entered into their gallies, they went to a place called caſtle Iudeo on the maine land, betweene the ſayd iſle of Lango and the caſtle of S. Peter.

How part of the nauie and armie of the great Turke came before the citie of *Rhodes*.

THe 18. day of the ſaid moneth of Iune, theſe 30. gallies went from the ſayd place, and paſſed by the Cape of Crion, entering the gulfe of Epimes beſide Rhodes, and were diſcouered from the ſhade of the hill of Salaco, a caſtle in the iſle of Rhodes. On the morow they came out of the gulfe by plaine day, and ſailing along by the coaſts, they entered into a hauen on maine land called Malfara, where they abode three dayes. Then they went from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two dayes and two nights.

The 24 day of the ſame moneth they iſſued out of Epimes, and trauerſing the chanell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a caſtle called Faues, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of corne the ſame day, which was the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt out patron. The guard of a caſtle named Abſito in the yle of Rhodes diſcouered and ſpied the great hoſte, and in great haſte brought word to the lord maſter, and ſayd that the ſayd hoſte, that was in ſo great number of ſailes that they might not be numbred, was entred into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 ſailes that lay in the yle aroſe in the night, and went to the ſayd hoſte in the gulfe.

The 26 day of Iune the ſayd great hoſte aroſe and went out of Epimes an houre after the ſun riſing, & trauerſing the chanell, they came to a place called the Foſſe, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 firſt ſailes turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for ſhips of Chriſtian men, if any paſſed by to Rhodes. The great hoſte abode ſtill till noone or one of the clocke, and then aroſe, not all, but about 80 or 100 ſhips, as gallies, galliaſſes, and fuſts: and paſſed one after another before the towne and hauen of Rhodes three miles off, and came to ſhore in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, ſixe miles from the towne. In the which place the ſayd hoſte abode from that time to the end of that vnhappy ſiege.

The number and names of the veſſels that came to beſiege *Rhodes*.

The number of the ſhips were theſe: 30 galliaſſes, 103 gallies, aſwell baſtards as ſubtill mahonnets, 15 taffours, 20 fuſts, 64 great ſhips, ſixe or ſeuen gallions, & 30 galleres, beſide the nauy that waited for Chriſtian men, if any came to ſuccour vs. Theſe were the veſſels that came at the firſt to lay the ſiege. And ſith that the ſayd hoſt came out of Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other ſailes, aſwell gallies as fuſts. And many other ſhips came ſith, and ioyned with the ſayd army in the time of the ſayd ſiege. And it was ſayd that there were 400 ſailes and moe.

The ſame day that part of the hoſt came to the ſayd place, the reuerend lord great maſter ordeined a great brigandine to ſend into the Weſt, to certifie our holy father the pope, and the Chriſtian princes how the Turks army was afore Rhodes. And in the ſayd veſſell he ſent two knights, one a French man named Sir Claude danſoyuille called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperour.

After the comming of the Turks nauy into the ſayd place, it was 14 or 15 dayes or they ſet any ordinance on land, great or ſmall, or any quantity of men came on ſhore, whereof we marueiled. And it was tolde vs by ſome that came out of the campe, and alſo by the ſpies that the lord great maſter had ſent abroad arayed as Turks, that they abode the commandement of their great lord, vntill the hoſte by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came ſome number for to view the towne, but they went priuily, for the ordinance of the towne ſhot without ceaſe.

All this while the gallies and galliaſſes went and came to land, bringing vitaile and people. At the which ſhips paſſing nigh the town, were ſhot many ſtrokes with bombards, which made ſome ſlaughter of our enemies: and when the moſt part of them was paſt, they began to ſet ordinance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great maſter departed from his palace, and lodged him nigh a church called The victory, becauſe that place was moſt to be doubted: and alſo that at the other ſiege the great buſineſſe and aſſault was there.

How the lord great maſter made his petition before the image of *S. Iohn*, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

The day before were made many predications and ſermons, and the laſt was in the church of S. Iohn Baptiſt. When the ſermon was done, a pontificall Maſſe was celebrate with all ſolemnities, and all the reliques taken downe, and the lord great maſter and all his knights with great deuotions and reuerence heard it. And when the Maſſe was ended, the lord great maſter made a pitious oration or prayer before Saint Iohn Baptiſt his protectour: and aboue all other words, which were too long to tell, he beſought him meekly that it would pleaſe him to take the keyes of that miſerable city. The which keyes he preſented and layed vpon the altar before the image, beſeeching S. Iohn to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all the religion, as by his grace he had giuen to him vnworthy, the gouerning vnto that day: and by his holy grace to defend them from the great power of the enemies that had beſieged them.

How the women ſlaues would haue ſet fire in the towne.

The eight day of Iuly it was knowen that the Turkiſh women being ſlaues and ſeruaunts in many houſes of the towne, had appointed to ſet fire in their maſters houſes at the firſt aſſault that ſhould be made, to the end that the men ſhould leaue their poſterns & defenſes to go and ſaue their houſes and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopota being a ſlaue, was firſt moouer thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The ſame day ſome of our men went out for to ſkirmiſh with the Turkes, and many of them were ſlaine with ſhot of our artillerie, and of our men but one.

How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunſhot.

The 18. day of Iuly, for the beginning and firſt day they ſet vp a mantellet, vnder the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as ſacres, wherewith they ſhot againſt the poſterns of England and Prouence. But the mantellet was ſoone broken and caſt downe, and their pieces deſtroyed with the ſhot of the wall, and they that ſhot them were moſt part ſlaine. As this firſt mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they ſet all their ordinance on land, and caried it to the places where it ſhould be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the ſame moneth, they ſet vp two other mantellets. One beſide a church of ſaine Coſme and Damian, and another toward the Weſt. And from theſe mantellets they ſhot great pieces, as Culuerings, double gunnes, and great bombards agaynſt the wals of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordinance of the towne gaue many great ſtrokes, and often brake them. And the more to grieue the towne and to feare vs, they ſet vp many other mantellets in diuers places, almoſt round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure ſcore: the which number was well leſſened by the great quantitie of ſtrokes of artillerie ſhot out of the towne from many places.

The artillerie of the Turkes was ſuch as followeth.

Firſt there were ſixe great gunnes, cannons perriers of braſſe, that ſhot a ſtone of three foote and a halfe: alſo there were 15. pieces of iron that ſhot ſtones of fiue or ſixe ſpannes about. Alſo there were 14. great bombards that ſhot ſtones of eleuen ſpans about. Alſo there were twelue baſiliſkes, whereof they ſhot but with 8. that is to weet, foure ſhot agaynſt the poſterns of England and Spaine, and two againſt the gate of Italy: the other two ſhot ſometime againſt Saint Nicholas tower. Alſo there were 15. double gunnes caſting bullets as baſiliſkes. The meane ſhot, as ſacres and paſuolans, were in great number. The handgunſhot was innumerable and incredible. Alſo there were twelue potgunnes of braſſe that ſhot vpward, whereof eight were ſet behind the church of S. Coſme and Damian, and two at ſaint Iohn de la Fontaine toward the port of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auuergne, the which were ſhot night and day: and there were three ſorts of them, whereof the greateſt were of ſixe or ſeuen ſpannes about. And the ſayd ſtones were caſt into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and fearefull, which maner of ſhooting is little vſed amongſt chriſtian men. Howbeit by euident myracle, thanked be God, the ſayd pieces did no great harme, and ſlew not paſt 24. or 25. perſons, and the moſt part women and children, and they began to ſhoot with the ſaid pieces from the 19. day of the ſame moneth, vnto the end of Auguſt, & it was accounted that they ſhot 2000. times, more or leſſe.

Then the enemies were warned by the Iewe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and ſayd in the towne, that the ſayd potgunnes did no harme: wherefore they were angry, for they thought that they had ſlaine the third part of our people: and they were counſelled by him to leaue that ſhooting, for it was but time loſt, and pouder waſted, and then they ſhot no more with them. It is of a trueth that they ſhot with the ſayd potgunnes 12. or 15. times with bullets of braſſe or copper, full of wild fire, and when they were in the ayre, they flamed foorth, and in falling on the ground, they brake, and the fire came out and did ſome harme. But at the laſt wee knew the malice thereof, and the people was warie from comming neere to them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the captaine *Gabriel Martiningo* came to the ſuccor of *Rhodes*, and all the ſlaues were in danger to be ſlaine.

The 24. day of the ſame moueth a brigantine arriued that was ſent afore into Candie, wherein came a worthy captaine named Gabriel Martiningo with two other captains. And there went to receiue him meſsieur prou Iohn prior of S. Giles, and the prior of Nauarre. Then after his honourable receiuing as to him well appertained, they brought him before the lord great maſter, that louingly receiued him, and he was gladly ſeene and welcommed of the people, as a man that was named very wiſe and ingenious in feats of warre. Then came a Spaniard renegado from the hoſt, that gaue vs warning of all that was done in the field, and of the approching by the trenches that our enemies made.

And in likewiſe there aroſe a great noiſe in the towne, that the ſlaues Turks that wrought for vs in the diches had ſlaine their keepers, and would haue fled, which was not ſo. Neuertheleſſe, the rumour was great, and they rang alarme: wherefore the ſayd ſlaues comming to priſon, as it was ordeined in al the alarmes, were met of the people, which in great anger put them to death: ſo that there were ſlain an hundred & moe the ſame day. And if the lord great maſter had not commanded that none ſhould hurt them, they had bene all ſlaine, and there were fifteene hundreth of them: which ſlaues did great ſeruice in time of the ſiege: for they laboured dayly to make our defences, and to caſt earth out of the ditches, and in all works they were neceſſary at our needs.

How the great *Turke* arriued in perſon before *Rhodes*.

The 25 day of the ſayd moneth many of our men went out for to ſkirmiſh in the field and made great murder of Turks, and in likewiſe did our artillery. And it is to be noted that the 28 day of the ſame moneth the great Turke in perſon paſſed le Fiſco a hauen in the maine land with a galley and a fuſt, and arriued about noone, where his army lay, the which day may be called vnhappie for Rhodes. For his comming, his preſence and continuall abiding in the fielde is and hath beene cauſe of the victorie that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arriued, all the other ſhippes of the hoſte hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on their ſayle yerdes.

Soone after that the Turke was arriued, he went to land, and mounted on his horſe, and rode to his pauilion which was in a high place called Megalandra, foure or fiue miles fro the towne out of the danger of the gunne ſhot. And on the morow, as it was reported to vs, hee came to a Church nigh the towne called Saint Steuen, for to viewe the Towne and fortreſſes, whereas they had ſet vp mantellets for to lay their ordinance.

The laſt day of Iuly, one of our brigandines went out with a good company of men arayed as Turkes, and ſome of them could ſpeake Turkiſh, and went by night to lande through the Turkes hoſte, and demaunded if there were any that would paſſe ouer into Turkie, that they ſhould haſte them to come. The Turkes weening that they had beene of Turkie, there entred a 12. perſons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The firſt day of Auguſt the Captaine Gabriel Martiningo was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Maſter, and was made the firſt auncient of the Italian nation, of the firſt baliage or priorie that ſhould be vacant. And in the meane ſeaſon the religion ſhould giue him twelue hundred ducates for penſion euery yeere, and the ſame day he was receiued to the Councell in the roome of a bayliffe.

The fift day of the ſayd moneth our maſter gunner was ſlaine with a gunne, which was great loſſe for vs at that time.

The 15. day of the ſayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Meſſire Iohn Baptiſta, the phyſicion aforeſayd, which confeſſed his euill and diueliſh doings, and had his head ſtriken of.

Of the marueilous mounts that the Turks made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

After the comming of the great Turke, the enemies began to ſhoote with ordinance of another ſort then they did before, and ſpecially with harquebuſhes and handguns, and alſo to make their trenches and approches. And alſo they did more diligence then afore, to bring ye earth nigh the towne with ſpades and pickaxes. And it is to weet, that they mooued the earth from halfe a mile off, and there were ſhot out of the towne innumerable ſtrokes with ordinance againſt the ſayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people hid behind the ſayd earth, were ſlaine. Neuertheleſſe they neuer left working till they had brought it to the brimmes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raiſed it higher and higher in ſtrengthning it behind. And in concluſion the ſayd earth was higher then the wals of the towne by 10. or 12. foote, and it ſeemed a hill. And it was agaynſt the gate of Auuergne and Spaine, and beat our men that were at the gates & bulwarks, in ſuch wiſe, that none durſt be ſeene till certaine defences and repaires were made of plankes and boards to couer our people and keepe them from the ſhot. And at the gate of Italy was made ſuch another heape, and in none other part.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the wals of the ditch outward: wherethorow they ſhot infinitely with handgunnes at our men aſwell on the walles as on the bulwarks, and ſlew many of them. Then the baſſhas and captaines entred into the trenches, ech to his place after their order and dignity: that is to wit, Muſtafa Baſſha as chiefe captaine entred the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with his people & captaines vnder him. Pery Baſſha went to the trenches againſt the gate of Italy with his folkes and captaines vnder him. Acmek Baſſha was in the trenches of Auuergne and Spaine with the Aga of the Ianizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Natolia was in the trenches of Prouence. Allibey was with his company againſt the gardins of ſaint Anthony on the North ſide, and diuers other captaines with him, and ſet his ordinance againſt the wall of the gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and ſet vp ſeuen mantellets by the milles toward the Weſt: and by the ſpace of eight or nine dayes they beat vpon the ſame wall; which put vs in great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble lord great maſter forthwith cauſed repaires to be made within, and planks & tables to be ſet to fortifie the ſayd weake wall: and abode there from the morning til night, to cauſe it to be the more haſted. The artillery of the gate of Almaine, and the Maſſif of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat ſo ſore and ſo often vpon the ſayd mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them ſo often: and they tooke vp the pieces, and bare them away. And alſo they could not well beat the ſayd wall becauſe the brimmes of the ditch without were almoſt as hie as the wall that they beat. But or they bare the artillery away, they beat the ſteeple of S. Iohns church ſo, that the moſt part was broken and caſt downe. The foreſayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the ſpace of ten or twelue dayes they ſhot ſore againſt it: but they had ſo ſharpe and vigorous anſwere, that there was not one mantellet that abode whole an houre. The captaine of the ſayd tower and his folke did ſuch diligence and buſineſſe in ſhooting off their pieces, that the enemies durſt ſet vp no more mantellets by day, nor ſhoot no more but onely by night, while the Moone did ſhine, which is a thing worthy of memory, of maruaile, and of praiſe. At the laſt when they had beaten againſt the ſayd tower a certaine time, ſeeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance frō thence, and bare it where they thought beſt.

During the ſhot in the ſayd place, the other captaines were not idle nor in a ſleepe, but without ceaſe night and day they beat the wall of England and Spaine, and ſet foureteene mantellets againſt it, ſhooting great bombards, whereof ſome of the ſtones were fiue or ſixe ſpannes about, and ſome other of nine or ten: and within a moneth and leſſe they caſt downe the wall almoſt euen ſmooth with the Barbican. And when the ſayd wall was ſo beaten, they ſet to beat the bulwarke of Spaine for to raiſe the defences: and in their trenches they ſet three great bombards, which ſhot ſtones of eleuen ſpannes in compaſſe, and with the ſayd pieces they beat the ſayd bulwarke and wall in ſuch wiſe, that they made great bracks, and the ſtones and earth that fell, ſerued the enemies for ladders, ſo that they might come vpon the plaine ground. In like ſort they raiſed the defences from the height of the bulwarke at the poſterne of Prouence, and ſet three great pieces on the brimme of the ditch, which ſhot ſtones of eleuen ſpannes againſt the wall, and within a while they made a breach as at the poſterne of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did ſhoot without ceaſe againſt the mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it is ſayd in the nights. For they had all things that belonged to them, & needed. And out of the poſterne of England was ſhot a gunne that brake downe one of the ſayd mantellets, and hit vpon one of the pieces, and ſlew foure or fiue men, and bare away both the legs of the maſter of the ordinance, which died ſoone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and ſayd that he had rather haue loſt one of his baſſhas or captaines then the ſayd maſter. Alſo it is to knowen that there were three or foure mantellets addreſſed againſt the plain ground of Italy, and by continuall beating of ſhot that they made, there was alſo a breach, and by the earth and ſtones that were fallen, they might come vp to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious captaine *Gabriel Martiningo* made within the towne againſt the breaches in the walles.

The captaine Gabriel Martiningo, prompt, diligent, and expert to giue remedies to the needfull places, foorthwith cauſed to make the trauerſes vpon the wall whereas the breach was, with good repaires, and gunnes ſmall and great which were ſet in the ſayd trauerſes, the which ſhot not onely at the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies aſwell at the aſſaults that they made as otherwhiles. And beſide the trauerſes, the ſayd captaine planted ſmall artillery, as harquebuſhes, and handgunnes vpon certaine houſes within the towne, that ſtood open againſt the breach, with good repaires: and from that place great ſlaughter of Turks was made at the aſſaults. Alſo it is of trueth that beſide the ſayd mantellets that ſhot againſt the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two mantellets in an hie place toward the way to the gardin of Maupas, in the which were certaine double gunnes, as baſiliſks with holow ſtones and wilde fire in them, which ſhot againſt the wall into the towne at all auentures for to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great harme but to the houſes.

After theſe great & terrible beatings, and that the enemies had way to mount vpon the towne walles, and come to hand with vs by trauerſing of their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach more ſurely, and without hurt of our gunſhot, ſhooting thorow holes that they made in the walles of the ditch without, they caſt vp much ſtone and earth, becauſe it ſhould couer them from the ſhot of the bulwarke of Auuergne. And alſo they ſhot feruently againſt the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raiſe the defences, of the which at the laſt they raiſed the moſt part, reſeruing only a few gunners below in the mine of the ſayd bulwarke, which litle or nothing damaged them. And this is touching the gunſhot, whereof I ſay not the third part, becauſe it is a thing incredible to them that haue not ſeene it. For ſome dayes they ſhot with thoſe great bombards that were on the brimme of the ditch, and from the mantellets bent againſt the wall of England and Spaine 20 or 30 times and more. And I beleeue verily that ſince the creation of the world ſuch artillery, and ſo great quantity was neuer bent and layed before any towne as hath bene againſt Rhodes at this ſiege. Wherfore it is no maruell if the walles be and haue bene beaten downe, and if there be breaches and clifts in many places.

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they ouerthrew part of the bulwarke of *England*.

And becauſe, as it is ſayd before, that the greateſt hope that the enemies had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I haue ſpoken of the gunſhot and beatings, I ſhall ſhew of the mines that the Turks made, the which were in ſo great quantity, and in ſo many places, that I beleeue the third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many of them came not to effect, by occaſion of the countermines that they within made, and alſo trenches that the right prudent lord the great maſter cauſed to be made deepe within the ditches, vnto two or three foot of water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had cauſed in the ſayd ditches to be wrought, or the hoſt arriued, ſerued right well ſince: for night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies mined, for to meet them, and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to ſpeake of the mines that had effect, and damaged vs, it is to wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the enemies put fire in two mines, one was betweene the poſterne of Spaine and Auuergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the bulwarke of England, which was ſo fell and ſtrong, that it cauſed moſt part of the town to ſhake, and caſt down a great part of the ſayd bulwarke at the ſpring of the day: and by the earth and ſtones that fell into the ditches, the enemies came vpon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought ſore and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with ſhot of handgunnes. The lord great maſter that was come 15 dayes or more with his ſuccours to the ſayd bulwarke, went with his company to helpe them that fought. After that they had fought the ſpace of two or three houres, the enemies repelled and driuen backe by our men from the ſayd bulwarke, and beaten with ordinance on euery ſide, withdrew them with their loſſe, ſhame, and damage. And this was the firſt victory that our lord gaue vs, and there abode of our enemies a thouſand and more.

A thouſand & more Turkes ſlaine before the Engliſh bulwarke.

When this aſſault was done, they made another at the breach in the wall of Spaine, and mounted vpon it, but the ordinance of the trauerſes of the walles and of the houſes made ſo faire a riddance, that they were very willing to withdraw themſelues: for at the retreat, and alſo at their comming the ſayd ordinance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had made ſome repaire of earth. Of our men died that day 25 or thereabout, aſwell knights as other. And the ſame day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord maſter, which on a certaine day before fell from the wall as he went to ſee the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breaſt, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a feuer, whereof he died.

How the Turks aſſailed the bulwarke of *England*, and how they were driuen away.

The ninth day of the ſayd moneth, at ſeuen in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines; one at the poſterne of Prouence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of

England, which felled another piece nigh to that that was caſt downe afore. And the ſayd mine was as fierce as the other, or more, for it ſeemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almoſt all they that were in it ranne away. And when the ſtanderd of the religion came into the ſayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to haue entred: but when they ſaw the ſayd ſtanderd, as people loſt and ouercome, they went downe againe. Then the artillery of the bulwarke of Quoſquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and ſlew many of them. Howbeit, their captaines made them to returne with great ſtrokes of ſwordes and other weapons, and to remount vpon the earth fallen from the ſayd bulwarke, and pight ſeuen banners nigh to our repaire. Then our men fought with moriſpikes and fired ſpeares againſt them the ſpace of three whole houres, till at the laſt they being well beaten with great ordinance and ſmall on euery ſide, withdrew themſelues. And of their banners our men gate one, for it was not poſſible to get any more: for aſſoone as any of our men went vp on our repaires, he was ſlaine with ſmall gunnes of the trenches, and holes made in the walles of our ditches. And there was ſlaine of our enemies that day at the aſſault 2000 of meane men, and three perſons of eſtate, which lay dead along in the ditch, with faire and rich harneſſe. And it was reported to vs from the campe, they were three ſaniacbeis, that is to ſay, great ſeneſhalles or ſtuards. And of Chriſtian men of our part abode about thirty perſons. And this was the ſecond victory giuen to vs by the grace diuine.

Two thouſand Turks ſlaine at the Engliſh bulwarke.

How Sir *Iohn Bourgh* Turcoplier of *England* was ſlaine at an aſſault of the Engliſh bulwarke.

The 17 day of the ſame moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to giue another aſſault to the ſayd bulwarke, at the ſame place aforeſayd, without ſetting of fire in mines, and brought fiue banners with them, nigh to the repaires. Then was there ſtrong fighting on both parts, and there were gotten two of their banners, of the which ſir Chriſtopher Valdenare, that time Caſtelaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of ſir Iohn Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the ſuccours of the ſayd poſterne of England, a valiant man & hardy: and in holding of it he was ſlaine with the ſtroke of a handgunne, which was great damage. The ſayd banner was recouered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both ſides, the enemies ſeeing that they got nothing but ſtripes, returned into their trenches. At the ſayd fray the lord prior of S. Giles pre Iohn was hurt thorow the necke with a handgun, and was in great danger of death, but he eſcaped and was made whole. The ſame day, and the ſame houre of the ſayd aſſault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came to the repaires to the handes of our men, and fought a great while: but the great quantity of artillery that was ſhot ſo buſily and ſo ſharply from our trauerſes on ech ſide, and out of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine, ſkirmiſhed them ſo well, that there abode as many at that aſſault as at the other of England, well neere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew themſelues with their great loſſe and confuſion, which was the third time that they were chaſed and ouercome: thanked be our Lord, which gaue vs the force and power ſo to doe, for they were by eſtimation a hundred againſt one.

Alſo the 22 day of the ſame moneth of September they fired a mine betweene Italy and Prouence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the poſterne of *Auuergne*.

And the 23 day of the ſame moneth they fired two mines, one at the poſterne of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auuergne, the which mine by Auuergne was ſo terrible, that it made all the towne to ſhake, and made the wall to open from aboue to beneath vnto the plaine ground: howbeit, it fell not, for the mine had vent or breath in two places, by one of the countermines, and by a rocke vnder the Barbican, the which did cleaue, and by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had iſſue. And if the ſayd two vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned vpſide downe. And for truth, as it was reported to vs out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the ſayd mine, thinking that the wall ſhould haue bene ouerthrowen, and then they might haue entred into the towne at their pleaſures: but when they ſaw the contrary, they were very ill pleaſed. And the captaines determined to giue aſſault at foure places at once, to make vs the more adoo, and to haue an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the ſayd day and night they ceaſed not to ſhoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine threeſcore thouſand men and moe into the trenches.

How the bulwarke of *Spaine* was loſt, and woonne againe.

The 24 day of the ſame moneth, a little before day, they gaue aſſault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the poſterne of Prouence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre & one time. The firſt that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Aga of the Janiſſaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare three ſcore or three ſcore and tenne banners and ſignes, and pight them in the earth of the breach; and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other maner of fray and more rigorous then the other that were paſſed, and the ſayd ſkirmiſh laſted about ſixe houres. And forthwith, as the aſſault was giuen, a great ſort of Turks entred into the bulwarke of Spaine, and ſet vp eight or nine ſignes or banners vpon it, and droue our men out, I can not tell how, vnwares or otherwiſe. And they were lords of it three houres and more. Howbeit there were of our men beneath in the mine of the ſayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke ſo loſt, gaue vs euill hope. But incontinently the lord great maſter being at the defence of the poſterne of England, hauing knowledge of the ſayd loſſe, and that there was great fighting and reſiſtance on both ſides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifix, leauing the charge of the ſayd bulwarke in the hands of the bailife de la Moree meſsieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great ſkirmiſh, and euery man layed his handes to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recouer the bulwarke that was loſt. And the ſayde lord ſent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entred at the ſayd gate, and went vp, where they found but few Turkes. For the artillery of the poſterne of England, right againſt the bulwarke of Spaine, had ſo well met and ſcattered them, that within a while our men had ſlaine all them that were left. And thus the ſayde bulwarke was gotten and recouered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and ſtrengths to the ſayd place. And in like ſort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them eſcaped, and all their banners and ſignes were left with vs. Surely it may be ſayd, that after the grace of God (the trauerſes of Spaine and Auuergne, and the ſmall artillery ſet on the houſes right againſt the ſayd breaches, as it is ſayd, with the comming and preſence of the lord great maſter) hath giuen vs this dayes victory.

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarkes of England and Spaine, the quantity was ſuch that a man could not perceiue nor ſee any ground of the ditches. And the ſtench of the maſtifs carions was ſo grieuous, that we might not ſuffer it ſeuen or eight dayes after. And at the laſt, they that might ſaue themſelues did ſo, and withdrew themſelues to the trenches: and the reuerend lord great maſter abode victorious of the ſayd place, and in like ſort of the other three aſſaults, the which were but little leſſe then that of Spaine, for they fought long. But in concluſion, the enemies beaten on all ſides, and in ſo many ſorts, with artillery were put backe, and vanquiſhed, that there died that day at all the foure places fifteene or ſixteene thouſand. And the ſlaughter was ſo great at the plaine Italy, of the curſed enemies, that the ſea was made redde with their blood. And on our ſide alſo died to the number of an hundred men or more. And of men of dignity in the towne, hauing charge, died Sir Francis de Frenolz commander of Romania, which Sir Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ſhip of Rhodes, and he was ſlaine at the plaine of Italy, wounded with two ſtrokes of harquebuſhes: it was great dammage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of vertues. There died alſo meſſieur Naſtaly de ſancta Camilla aforenamed, hauing two hundred men vnder him of the lord great maſters ſuccours. There died alſo diuers other worthy men that day, and many were maimed. Among all other that loſt any member, meſsieur Iohn de le Touz called Pradines, being at the ſayd bulwarke, with a ſtroke of artillery had his arme ſmitten away, in great danger to haue loſt his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died not. In like ſort the ſame day was hurt Sir William Weſton aboueſayd, captaine of the poſterne of England, and had one of his fingers ſtricken away with an harquebuſh: which knight behaued himſelfe right woorthily at all the aſſaults. Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two principall captaines ſlaine vnder the Aga of the Janiſſaries, and another captaine that was come out of Surey to the campe certaine dayes before, with ſixe hundred Mamelukes, and two or three thouſand Moores. And of them that were hurt of great men the Beglarby of Natolia had a ſtroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of Prouence. And many other were wounded, whoſe names be not rehearſed here, becauſe of ſhortneſſe.

Sir Will. Weſton captaine of the Engliſh poſterne hurt.

How

How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would haue put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines vnder the bulwarke of *England*.

During this aſſault, the great Turke was by his pauillion in a place that he had cauſed to be made, and ſaw all the buſineſſe, and how his people were ſo ſharpely put backe, and the victory loſt on his ſide, & was very ſore diſpleaſed, and halfe in deſpaire: and he ſent for Muſtafa Baſha with whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, ſaying that he had cauſed him to come thither, and had made him to beleeue that he ſhould take the towne in fifteene dayes, or a moneth at the furtheſt; and he had beene there already three moneths with his army, and yet they had done nothing. And after theſe wordes he was purpoſed to put him to death in the campe: but the other Baſhas ſhewed him that he ought not to do iuſtice in the land of his enemies, for it would cōfort them and giue them courage. Wherby he did moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to ſend him to Cairo, leaſt the people there would rebell, by occaſion of the captaine of Cairo which died a few dayes before. Howbeit he departed not ſo ſuddenly, and or he went he thought to aſſay if he might do ſome thing for to pleaſe the Turke, aſwell for his honour as for to ſaue his perſon, and was maruellous diligent to make mines at the bulwarke of England for to ouerthrow it. And by account were made 11 mines aſwell to the ſayd bulwarke as elſwhere, beſide them ſpoken of before, and that they had fired. But the moſt part of the ſayd mines came to no proofe though they put fire in them, and many were met with countermines, and broken by our men by the good diligence and ſollicitude of ſir Gabriel Du-chef ſteward of the houſe of the lord great maſter, which had the charge of the ſayd countermines at the ſame bulwarke. In the which buſineſſe he behaued himſelfe well and worthily, and ſpared not his goods to cauſe the people to worke and trauell, but ſpent thereof largely.

How the Turks were minded to haue gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great aſſaults.

The Turks ſeeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not come to their intentions, and hauing but ſmall ſtore of gunpowder, were in deliberation and minde to haue raiſed the ſiege, and gone their way. And in deed ſome of them bare their cariages toward the ſhippes: and alſo certaine number of people went out of the trenches with their ſtandards ſtraight to the ſhips. And it was written vnto vs from the campe how the Ianiſſaries and other of the hoſt would fight no more: and that they were almoſt all of one opinion for to go away, ſaue ſome of the captaines of the foreſayd Muſtafa Baſſha or Acmek Baſſha. And in the meane ſeaſon the falſe traitours that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giuing them knowledge of all that was ſayd and done among vs. And alſo an Albaneſe fled to the enemies campe, and warned them not to go, for the gunſhot was nigh waſted, and that the moſt part of the knights and people ſhould be theirs ſhortly.

In like ſort then wrote the aboueſayd Chanceller Sir Andrew de Merall, whoſe treaſon as then was not knowen: but when it commeth to the effect of his treaſon, I ſhall ſhew the knowledge that he gaue to the enemies at diuers times.

When the baſhas and captaines of the hoſte vnderſtood the ſayd warnings, they all purpoſed for to tary, and cauſed thoſe tidings of the towne to be knowen ouer all the army. And beganne againe to ſhoot artillery faſter then euer they did, for new ſhot was come into the campe. Then Muſtafa Baſſha being in deſpaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunſhot, nor by aſſaults, he being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing hee thought once againe to aſſay his aduenture, and made three aſſaults three dayes together. The firſt was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The other on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Munday after dinner. And the ſayd three aſſaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was aſſailed but with ſtones and bagges full of artificiall fire. And at theſe three aſſaults many of our men were hurt with the ſayd fire, and with the ſtones that came as thicke as raine or haile. But in the end the enemies got nothing but ſtrokes, and returned into their trenches euill contented, and murmuring, and ſware by their Mahomet that Muſtafa Baſſha ſhoulde not make them to mount any more to the ſayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cauſe them to be ſlaine at the will and fantaſie of one man. Theſe wordes ſayd in Greeke by ſome of the enemies were heard of our men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And becauſe (as it is ſayd) that the enemies at the aſſaults that were made, came vp by the earth and ſtones that fell from the breaches, ſome of our men aduiſed to clenſe the barbican, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies ſhould not eaſily come vpon the wall. And in effect weening that it were well and behoouefull to be done, by great diligence night and day by mines they voided the barbican, and the moſt part of the earth that lay in the ditch was brought into the towne, the which was hurtfull afterward, and was cauſe that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithſtanding, they had it but ſcarſely. But this cleanſing furthered the time, and cauſed them to get it ſooner then they ſhould haue done if the earth had lien ſtill: but their finall intent was to raiſe the defence of the bulwarks, and then paſſe at their pleaſure, and enter into the barbican, as they haue done: for the enemies ſeeing that the barbican was clenſed, thought to get into it by trenches, and ſo they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes letted by our handgun ſhot. The enemies ſeeing that they might not come neere it, couered their trenches with tables to ſaue themſelues: and then they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbican. So by theſe two meanes, afterward they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall that they made for to eſchew the ſhot of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they ſlew by force of men. By this maner they being couered on all parts and without any danger, paſſed thorow and lept into the barbican, and got the foot of the wall; which was the 17 day of October, an vnhappy day for the poore towne, and occaſion of the ruine thereof, and winning of the ſame.

At this point they ſlept not, but lightly and with great delight they began to picke and hew the wall. And weening to make remedy therefore, and to finde meanes to driue them from the ſayde barbican with engins of fire and barrels of gunpowder, wee ſlew many of them, but it auailed nothing: for the quantity and multitude of people that trauelled there was ſo great, that they cared not for loſſe of them. And if we had had men enow within the towne, there might haue bene remedy to haue raiſed them from thence: but conſidering that our force and totall hope was in people, wee left to doe many things that might haue beene done, and that ſhould haue bene good then and other times alſo, for fault of men of warre. At the laſt it was pondred by Sir Gabriel Martiningo, that there was no remedy but to hew the wall for to meet them, and beat them with ordinance and with engins of fire to burne and vndoe them. Then our men began to hew the wall, and made ſome holes to ſhoot at the enemies that ſlept not, but did as wee did, and ſhot at vs, and indeed they ſlew & hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel Martiningo ordeined to make repaires within the towne at the front where they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the enemies ſhould know with whom to meet. The trauerſes were made on ech ſide with good artillery great and ſmall: and the ſayd trauerſes and repaires were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the maſſife of Spaine made by the reuerend lord great maſter Mery d'Amboiſe, & ended at the church of S. Saluador. The which trauerſes and repaires the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to ſay, the field.

The meane time that the repaires and trauerſes were made with all diligence, Sir Gabriel Martiningo neuer ceaſed going to euery place to puruey for all things: and he being on the bulwarke of Spaine to ordeine all things that were needfull, there came a ſtroke of a handgun from the trenches that ſmote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but thanked be God, he recouered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His hurt came ill to paſſe, for the need that we had of him that time in all things, and ſpecially to the repaires of the breaches. Neuertheles the lord priour of S. Giles (not ignorant in all ſuch things) with other men expert in warre, attended to the ſayd repaires and trauerſes, there and elſwere. The enemies on the other ſide night and day without reſt (for the great number of labourers that they had hourely and newly ready) hewed and vndermined the ſayd wall.

And the 20 day of October they put fire in the vndermines, weening to haue caſt downe the wall, but they could not: then they would haue pulled it downe with great ropes and ancres, but the artillery of the bulwarke of Auuergne brake their ropes, and ſent them away lightly.

At the laſt they made a mine vnder the ſayd wall and breach: and the 26 day of the ſame moneth they did put fire to the ſame mine, weening to haue ouerthrowen the wall, which it did not, but raiſed it, and made it to fall almoſt ſtraight vpright, which was more diſaduantage to the enemies then profit. Then they ſhot artillery at it, which in fewe dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Neuertheleſſe it was not neceſſary for them as then to enter: for the artillery of our repaires beat them in the forepart, and the artillery lying at the two milles at the poſterne of Quoſquino, and in that of England, whereas was a baſiliſke that beat right vpon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies ſought other meanes, and beganne to raiſe the earth betweene our two walles, drawing toward the bulwarke of England on the one ſide, and toward Auuergne on the other ſide, and would haue cut the wall further then our trauerſes were for to come in vnbeaten of our artillery. Then were the repaires inlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the height of twelue, & 16 foot in bredth: and ſo the enemies might goe no further forward, but ſhot great artillery againſt our repaires, for to breake and caſt them downe, and alſo they made trenches for to come right to the breach, and vnto the repaires: and certeinly we looked day by day, and houre by houre for to haue ſome aſſault. The reuerend lord great maſter, the which, as it is ſayd, had left the bulwarke of England the day that the great aſſault was made, and ſince that time he moued not from thence while they hewed the wall, & where as the breach was, becauſe that they were moſt dangerous & moſt vnquiet places. And continually the ſayd lord kept him behinde the ſayd repaires with his knights and men of ſuccours, intentiuely ready and prepared to liue and die, and to receiue his enemies as they ought to bee receiued. And he abode three or foure dayes at the ſayd breach, continuing ſince it was made, vnto the end, fighting with his enemies euery day in great perill of his body: for oftentimes hee put himſelfe further in the preaſe then needed for the danger of his perſon, but he did it for to hearten and ſtrengthen the courage of his people, being ſo well willing to defend and die for the faith.

How the enemies aſſailed the poſternes of *Prouence* and *Italy*, and how they were driuen away.

By the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would giue none aſſault, but continually ſhot againſt our repaires, and made trenches for to paſſe forward into the towne: by the which trenches they ſhot infinitely with harquebuſhes and handgunnes, and ſlew many of our folke, and ſpecially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken and craſed. And they put vs in ſuch extremity, that we had almoſt no more ſlaues nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake night and day, which was a great hinderance for vs, and the beginning of our perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not leſſe at the gate of Prouence, and at the plaine of Italy: for dayly they were doing either with aſſault or ſkirmiſh, and moſt at the plaine of Italy. Howbeit by the helpe of our Lord with the good conducting of the captaine of ſuccours of the ſame place, the priour of Nauarre, that was prompt and intentiue, and could well incourage his men, the enemies had alway the worſt, and were driuen from the ſayd plaine, and from the breach of Prouence.

How the treaſon of Sir *Andrew de Merall* was knowen, and of the maruellous aſſaults that the Turks made.

Vpon theſe termes and aſſaults, the treaſon of the chancellour Sir Andrew de Merall, of whom I ſpake before, was perceiued: for a ſeruaunt of his, named Blaſie, was found ſhooting a quarrell of a croſſebow with a letter, whereof he was accuſed to the lord great maſter, which commanded to take him and examine him by iuſtice, and he confeſſed the ſhot of that letter & of other before, at the commandement of his maſter: and ſayd that he had great acquaintance with the Turks baſhas, and that it was not long ſince he had written a letter to them, warning them that they ſhould not go, for gunſhot began to faile, and the men were waſted by ſlaying and hurting at the aſſaults in great quantity: and if they abode ſtill and gaue no more aſſaults, at the laſt the towne ſhould be theirs. And diuers other things the ſeruant ſayd of his maſter, of the which I haue ſpoken part before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gaue to the great Turke for to come.

But to returne to the plaine of Italy. After many battels and aſſaults done in the ſayd place, by continuall ſhot of ſeuenteene great gunnes that beat the ſayd plaine, the repaires and trauerſes were almoſt broken and loſt. And by trenches the enemies were come ioyning to the breach, and neuer ceaſed to grate the earth and ſcrape the earth to cauſe the repaires & trauerſes to fall: and at the laſt the moſt part fell downe, & our men were conſtrained to leaue the ſayd plaine, ſaue a cantell that was toward the ſea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afore the enemies came to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it, and raſed the earth, & at the laſt they paſſed thorow vnto the towne wall: and anon began to hew and cut as they did at that of Spaine. The lord great maſter ſeeing that, anon caſt down a part of the church of our Lady de la Victoria, and of an other church of S. Panthalion. And within they began to make the repaires and trauerſes as at the place of Spaine, whereto was made extreme diligence, but not ſuch as the lord would, and as was needfull, becauſe there were no labourers for to helpe. After that the enemies had woon the moſt part of the bulwarke of England & the plaine of Italy, they purpoſed to make aſſault to the ſayd plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and to enter into our repaires to winne them for to make an end of vs. And for euer to affeeble the repaires and for to abaſh vs, the 28 day of Nouember all along the day and night they ceaſed not to ſhoot great artillery, both from the brimmes of the ditches with thoſe great pieces, caſting ſtones of nine & eleuen foot about, and from the mantellets without. And as it was reckoned, they ſhot the ſame day and night 150 times or more againſt our repaires and trauerſes of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the ſame moneth, the vigill of S. Andrew at the ſpring of the day, the enemies went thorow the breach with their banners, and entred into the repaires with greater number of people then they did at the great battell in September, hardily and furiouſly for to fight with vs. But at their comming in, the artillery of the trauerſes, and the handgunnes, and the gunſhot of the milles found them ſo well and ſo ſharply, that he that came in, was anon diſpatched and ouerthrowen, and there abode aboue 2000 of the Turks ſlaine. The other that came after ſeeing their fellowes ſo euill welcommed, as people that were aſtonied and loſt, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the milles ſhot victoriouſly, and haſted them to go apace: and by report from the campe there died ſixe thouſand or mo that day; the which day might be called very happy, and well fortunate for vs, thanked be God, for there was none that thought to eſcape that day, but to haue died all, and loſt the towne; howbeit, the pleaſure of our Lord was by euident miracle to haue it otherwiſe, and the enemies were chaſed and ouercome. And it is to be noted, that the ſame day the raine was ſo great and ſo ſtrong, that it made the earth to ſincke a great deale that they had caſt into the ditches, for to couer them from the ſhot of Auuergne. And the ſayd earth being ſo ſuncken, the artillery of the ſayde bulwarke (vnwares to them) ſmote them going and comming, and made great murder of the ſayd dogges. The ſayd day alſo the enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to aſſault it; but when they vnderſtood that their fellowes had bene put backe ſo rudely, and with ſo great ſlaughter, they were afrayd, and ſo they returned againe to their trenches.

How the Turks got the plaine ground of *Spaine*.

AND that done, Acmek Baſha ſeeing their buſineſſe euery day goe from worſe to worſe, and that at the aſſaults were but loſſe of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any more, he intended to giue no more aſſaults, but to follow his trenches, and by them enter couertly without loſſe of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beſide Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleaſure to the foot of the wall, & began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to giue many ſkirmiſhes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were ſlaine many good men. And at the laſt, for default of more helpe and of gunſhot, it was left and giuen vp of our men, and ſo loſt. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And this is the third place where they came nere to the foot of the wall. And whoſo wel conſidered in what eſtate the poore towne was at that time, ſeeing their enemies haue ſo great aduantage, might well ſay, and iudge, that at length it ſhould be taken, and a loſt towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to ſpeake for a treaty, and deliuerance of the ſame.

A Few dayes after the ſaide iourney a Chriſtian man that was in the campe, the which by his ſpeech was a Genouois or Siotis, came to the gate of Auuergne, and demanded to parle, and after that he was demanded what he would haue, he ſayd that he had maruell of vs why we would not yeeld our ſelues, ſeeing the pitious eſtate the towne was in: and he as a Chriſtian man counſelled vs to yeeld our ſelues with ſome agreement: and that if we would looke thereto, that ſome ſhould be found expedient to do ſomewhat for our ſafegard. And it is very like that he ſayd not ſuch words, nor ſpake ſo farforth in the matter, without commiſſion frõ ſome of the chiefe of the campe, or of the great Turke himſelfe. To the which Siotis was anſwered, that he ſhould go away with an euill hap, and that it needed not to ſpeake of appointment: and that though the enemies had great aduantage, there was yet enough wherewith to receiue and feaſt them, if they made any aſſault. Theſe words heard, he went away: and two dayes after he came againe, and demanded to ſpeake with a marchant Genouois of the towne, named Matthew de Vra, and he was anſwered that he which he demanded, was ſicke, and might not come, but that he ſhould deliuer the letter, and it ſhould be giuen to him. The ſayd Siotis ſayd nay, and that he would giue it himſelfe, and ſpeake with him: and ſayd that he had alſo a letter of the Grand ſignior, for the lord maſter. Vpon this he was bidden to go his way: and to ſet him packing, they ſhot after him a piece of artillery. The next day after Ballancis Albaneſe that was fled thorow the breach of Spaine to the campe, came from the ſayd Genouois propoſing ſuch words, or like as the other had ſayd, ſaying likewiſe that the Grand ſignior had ſent a letter to the lord maſter. To whom no words were ſpoken, nor anſwere made, for the lord great maſter as wiſe and prudent conſidering that a towne that will heare intreatings is halfe loſt, defended vpon the paine of death ſith that Siotis had ſpoken theſe two times, that none ſhould be ſo hardy to ſpeake nor anſwere them of the campe, without his knowledge & commandement: but ſeeing they were ſuch ambaſſadors, they reported the words of the ſayd Albaneſe, or euer the ſayd lord had knowledge of the words of the Siotis. The which words ſpread thorow the towne put many folke in thought, and would haue vndone that that the Siotis ſaid: the which is no maruell whereas is much people; for with good will and moſt often they regard ſooner to ſaue the liues of them and their children, then they doe to the honour of the reſidue. Howbeit not one durſt ſpeake a word openly of that buſineſſe, but all ſecretly: and ſome came and ſpake to certaine lords of the great croſſe for to ſpeake to ẏ lord great maſter. And in effect ſome lords ſpake thereof to him, perſuading him that it ſhould be good to thinke thereon, ſeeing that the towne went to loſſe. To whom the ſayd lord ſhewed many things for his honor and the Religion: and that no ſuch things ought to be done or thought for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to die. The lords hearing this anſwere, went their wayes, and then returned againe to the ſayd lord, aduiſing him more to thinke well on all things, and to the ſaluation of his towne and of his religion. And they ſayd moreouer, that they doubted that the people would rather haue a peace then to die themſelues, their wiues and children. The lord ſeeing that ſuch words were as things inforced, as who ſhould ſay, if thou do it not, we ſhall do it as wiſe men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull things by counſell, called the lords of his Councell for to haue aduiſe in theſe doings, and other. And when they were aſſembled, the lord propoſed the words that were to him denounced, and ſayd: With theſe termes and wordes came two or three marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the doore of the Councell, and preſented a ſupplication to the great maſter, and lords of the Councel, whereby they required and beſought meekely the ſayd reuerend lord to haue reſpect to them and their poore houſholds, and to make ſome appointment with the great Turke, ſeeing that the ſayd matter was already forward in purpoſe, that he would do it; and that it would pleaſe him to conſider the pitious & ſorowfull eſtate that the towne was in; & that there was no remedy to ſaue it: and at the leſt way, if the lord would not make appointment, to giue them leaue (of his goodneſſe) to haue their wiues and their children out of the Rodes to ſaue them, for they would not haue them ſlaine nor made ſlaues to the enemies. And the concluſion was, that if the ſayd lord would not puruey therefore, they would puruey for it themſelues. And there was written in the ſaid requeſt the names of eight or ten of the richeſt of the towne. Which words of the ſayd ſupplication being heard, the ſayd lord and his councell were abaſhed and ill content as reaſon would, ſeeing that it was but a courſe game, and thought on many things to make anſwere to the ſayd citizens, for to content and appeaſe them: and alſo to ſee if they ſhould intend to the appointment, as they required, and after as the Genouoys had reported: and the better to make the ſayd anſwere, and to know more plainly in what eſtate the towne was in all things: that is to wit, firſt of gunpowder, and then of men of warre, and of the katteries. Alſo were demanded and asked the lord of S. Giles pre Iohn, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the captaine Sir Gabriel Martiningo, for being ouer their men of warre (as it is ſaid) as to him that knew the truth; if the towne might holde or not, or there were any meanes to ſaue it. The ſayd lord of S. Giles aroſe, ſaying and affirming vpon his honour and his conſcience that almoſt all the ſlaues and labourers were dead and hurt, and that ſcantly there were folke enow to remoue a piece of artillery from one place to another, and that it was vnpoſſible without folke any more to make or ſet vp the repaires the which euery day were broken and cruſhed by the great, furious, and continuall ſhot of the enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the ſayd lord ſayd, that all that was for ſtore in the towne, was ſpent long agone, and that which was newly brought, was not to ſerue & furniſh two aſſaults. And he ſeeing the great aduantage of the enemies being ſo farre within the towne, without power to put or chaſe them away, for default of men, was of the opinion that the towne would be loſt, and that there was no meanes to ſaue it. The words of the ſayd lord finiſhed, the captaine Gabriel Martiningo for his diſcharge ſayd and declared to the reuerend lord and them of the Councell, that ſeeing and conſidering the great beatings of the ſhot that the towne had ſuffered, and after ſeeing the entring which the enemies had ſo large, and that they were within the towne by their trenches both endlong and ouerthwart; ſeeing alſo that in two other places they were at the foot of the wall, and that the moſt part of our knights and men of warre and other were ſlaine and hurt, and the gunpowder waſted, and that it was vnpoſſible for them to reſiſt their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was loſt if there came no ſuccors for to helpe and reſiſt the ſiege. The which opinions and reaſons of theſe two worthy men and expert in ſuch feats, vnderſtood and pondered by the lord great maſter and the lords of the Councell, they were moſt part aduiſed for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the ſauegard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as part of the holy croſſe, the holy throne, the hand of S. Iohn, and part of his head, and diuers other reliques. Howbeit the lord great maſter to whom the buſineſſe belonged very neere, and that tooke it moſt heauily, and was more ſorrowfull then any of the other, as reaſon required, was alway ſtedfaſt in his firſt purpoſe, rather willing to die then to conſent to ſuch a thing, and ſayd againe to the lordes of the Councell: Aduiſe you, and thinke well on euery thing, and of the end that may happen, and he propoſed to them two points: that is to wit, Whether it is better for vs to die all, or to ſaue the people and the holy reliques. The which two points and doubts were long time diſputed, and there were diuers opinions: neuertheleſſe, at the laſt they ſayd all, that howbeit that it were well and ſafely done to die for the faith, and moſt honor for vs, notwithſtanding ſeeing and conſidering that there is no remedy to reſiſt againſt our enemies, and meanes to ſaue the towne; and on the other part, that the great Turke would not oppreſſe vs to forſake our faith, but only would haue the towne, it were much better then, and tending to greater wealth to ſaue all the iewels aboue ſayde, that ſhould be defiled and loſt if they came in the handes of the enemies of the faith. And alſo to keepe ſo much ſmall people, as women and children, that they would torment and cut ſome in pieces, other take, and perforce cauſe them to forſake their faith, with innumerable violences, and ſhamefull ſinnes that ſhould be committed and done, if the towne were put to the ſword, as was done at Modon, and lately at Bellegrado. Whereby they did conclude, that it were better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were proffered, then for to die as people deſperate, and without hope.

How the great Turke ſent two of his men to the towne, to haue it by intreating. And how the lord great maſter ſent two knights to him, to know his aſſurance.

VPon theſe conſultations and words almighty God that ſaueth them which truſt in him, and that would not that ſo many euils and cruelties ſhould come to the poore city & inhabitants of it, and alſo that the great Turke might not ariſe in ouer great pride and vaineglory, put him in minde to ſeeke to haue the ſayd towne by treaty, which he ought not to haue done for his honour, nor by reaſon, for the towne was in a maner his. And in like ſort he ought not to haue let vs goe as he did, ſeeing that we were his mortall enemies euer, and ſhall be ſtill in the time comming, conſidering the great ſlaughter of his people that we haue made in this ſiege. Howbeit, the eternall goodneſſe hath blinded him, and hath pleaſed that theſe things ſhould be thus, for ſome cauſe vnknowen of vs. And for concluſion, the great Turke ſent to haue a communication and parle in following the words of the Genoueſe afore ſayd. Then was a ſigne ſet vpon the churche of the abbey without the towne, to the which was made anſwere with another at the milles of Quoſquino. And forthwith came two Turks to ſpeake with them of the towne. Then the lord great maſter ſent the Priour of S. Giles pre Iohn, and the captaine Gabriel Martiningo to know the cauſe of their comming. And when they came to them, without holding of long ſpeech, the two Turkes deliuered them a letter for to beare to the lord great maſter from the great Turke, and then returned ſafely into their tents. When the two lords had receiued it, they bare & preſented it to the reuerend lord great maſter, which cauſed it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great maſter to yeeld the towne to him, and in ſo doing he was content to let him go & all his knights, and all the other people of what cōdition ſoeuer they were, with all their goods & iewels ſafe without feare of any harme or diſpleaſure of his folks. And alſo he ſware and promiſed on his faith ſo to do. The ſayd letter was ſealed with his ſignet that he vſeth, that is as it were gilded. And he ſayde afterward, that if the lord great maſter would not accept the ſayde treaty, that none of the city, of what eſtate ſoeuer he were, ſhould thinke to eſcape, but that they all vnto the cats ſhould paſſe by the edge of the ſword, and that they ſhould ſend him an anſwere forthwith, either yea or nay. After the ſight of the contents of the ſayd letter of ſo great weight, and the time ſo ſhort for to giue ſo great an anſwere, and with demand, the ſayd lord great maſter and all the lords of the Councell were in great thought, howbeit they determined to giue an anſwere, ſeeing the eſtate of the towne ſo ill that it could be no worſe. Hearing the report and opinions a day or two before of the two lords ordeined to view the defects of the towne, ſaying that the towne was loſt without remedy: conſidering alſo that the principalles of the towne would haue appointment. And in likewiſe, at the other counſell all the lordes had already willed and declared, that it were better to ſaue the towne for reſpect of the poore people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded to take the foreſayd treatie. After the concluſion taken, anſwere was made readily for a good reſpect; that is to weet, to take the Turke at his worde, to the ende that he ſhould not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. For euery houre his people wanne and entered further and further into the towne. And for to goe vnto the great Turke were ordained theſe two knights, ſir Paſſin afore named, and he bare the token of the White croſſe: and another of the towne named Robert de Perruſe iudge Ordinarie.

When theſe two ambaſſadours had made them readie, they went out at the gate of Quoſquino, and went to the tent of Acmek baſha, capitaine generall. And becauſe it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foreſaid captaine Acmek led and conueied our ſayd ambaſſadours to the great Turkes pauillion, that they might haue the more knowledge plainely, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were reported to the reuerend lord great maſter, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the ſayd two ambaſſadours were departed out of the towne, there did enter two men of authoritie of the campe; one was nephew or kinſman of the ſayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord maſter cauſed to be well receiued, and they were lodged nigh the ſayd gate of Quoſquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and ſpake with our folke and dranke one with another.

How the ambaſſadours of *Rhodes* ſpake with the great Turke, and what anſwere they had.

When our ambaſſadours had made reuerence to the great Turke, they ſayd that the lord great maſter of Rhodes had ſent them to his Imperiall maieſtie to know what he requeſted, and deſired that they might talke together, and how the great maſter had receiued his letter. The great Turke anſwered them by his truchman, that of demanding to ſpeake together, nor writing of letter to the great maſter he knew nothing. Howbeit, ſith the great maſter had ſent to him for to know his will, he bade ſay to them that the great maſter ſhould yeeld him the towne. And in ſo doing he promiſed by his faith for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiuing any diſpleaſure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the ſayd treatie, to certifie him that he would neuer depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turkie ſhould die there, rather then hee would faile of it, and that there ſhould neither great nor litle eſcape, but vnto the cats they ſhould be all cut in pieces, and ſayd that within 3. dayes they ſhould giue him an anſwere, for hee would not that his people ſhould looſe time, and that during the ſayd truce they ſhould make no repaires nor defences within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambaſſadours tooke their leaue of him, and returned to the towne, and there was giuen to each of them a rich garment of branched veluet, with cloth of gold of the Turkiſh faſhion. Then Acmek baſha tooke ſir Paſſin, and led him to his pauillion, and intreating him right well, cauſed him to abide all that day and night: and in eating and drinking they had many diſcourſes of things done at the ſiege, queſtioning each with other. And among all other things our ambaſſadour demaunded of Acmek, and prayed him to tell for trueth how many men died of the campe while the ſiege was laied. The ſaid Baſha ſware vpon his faith and certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to ſay, of gunſhot and other wayes, 64000. men or more, beſide them that died of ſickneſſe, which were about 40. or 50. thouſand.

64000. Turks ſlaine at the ſiege of Rhodes.

How one of the ambaſſadours made anſwere of his meſſage, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne.

Returne we now to our purpoſe and to the anſwere that our ambaſſadours brought to the lord great maſter. The ſayd Robert Perruſe made the anſwere, and told what the great Turke had ſayd, certifying that he would haue an anſwere quickly either yea or nay. The which anſwere after the demaund of the great Turke hath bene purpoſed and concluded by the whole counſel, and his offer & treatie accepted, howbeit the ſayd ambaſſadours had it not to do ſo ſoone nor the firſt time that they went for good reaſons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare leaſt he ſhould repent him. And vpon theſe determinations that they would haue ſent the ſayd Peruſe to beare the anſwere, came ſome of the common people of the towne to the lord great maſter, that was with the lordes of the counſell, and ſayd that they were aduertiſed of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and that he would yeeld the towne with couenaunts by him taken, which they ſuppoſed ought not to be done without calling of them. And becauſe they were not called to it, they ſayd that they would not agree thereto, and that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by ſome way would put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

How the lord great maſter ſent two ambaſſadors for the Commons to the great Turke.

When the reuerend lord great maſter had heard their wordes, he ſayd graciouſly to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turks offer, it was needful ſo to do in the degree that the towne was, and the cauſes wherefore he had done it the counſell had ſeene and diſcuſſed, and that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be ſayd nor publiſhed in common, for reporting of it to the enemies by traitours, but be kept ſtill and ſecret. And moreouer, that it was concluded to make an anſwere ſhortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, leaſt he repented him. For if they had bene called, or the anſwere had bene giuen, it had bene ouerlong buſineſſe, and in the meane time the Turke might haue changed his mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the lordes of the counſell had well regarded and conſidered in all things, and for their profite and aduantage, as much or more as for that of the Religion. And that they would ſend to the great Turke againe other ambaſſadours, the better to know his will, and to be ſurer of his promiſe. Then the lord great maſter ordained two other ambaſſadours for to goe to the great Turke, which were two Spaniardes, the one named ſir Raimon Marker, and the other meſſire Lopez, at whoſe iſſuing entered Sir Paſſin the firſt ambaſſadour, and the other two went to the tent of Acmek baſha, for to leade them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pauillion, and had done him reuerence as appertained, our ambaſſadours ſayd that the great maſter had heard and ſeen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for yͭ it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and ſay with many men of diuers nations, and becauſe the time of anſwere was ſo ſhort, hee might not doe that that hee demaunded ſo ſoone. Howbeit hee would ſpeake with his people, and then hee would giue him an anſwere.

How the Turke began the aſſault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

When the great Turke heard the anſwere of our ambaſſadours, he ſayd nothing, but commaunded his Baſhas that they ſhould begin the battell againe to the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the ſhot of the enemies was ſharper then it was afore. And on the other ſide nothing, or very litle for fault of pouder: for that that there was left, was kept for ſome great aſſault or neede. Howbeit the ſayd Amek Baſha kept one of the ambaſſadours, and meſſire Lopez onely entered. The great maſter ſeeing the warre begun, and the ſhot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourely by their trenches further into the towne, called them that before had ſayde to him, that they would not the towne ſhould be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the ſayd lord ſayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they ſhould diſpoſe them to defend themſelues well, or to doe their endeuour better then they had done in times paſt. And to the ende that each one of them ſhould haue knowledge of his will (for as then he ſpake but to foure or fiue of them that gaineſayd him) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the poſternes or gates ſhould giue attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for afore, the Rhodians came but litle there. And that the other that were not of the poſternes, or that were of his ſuccours, ſhould goe to the breach of Spaine where the ſayd lord was continually, and not to goe away day nor night on the aboueſayd payne. The ſayd cry made, each one were obedient for a day or twaine, howbeit a yoong Rhodian left his poſterne and went to his houſe, which on the next day was hanged for breaking of the lordes commaundement. Notwithſtanding that, by litle and litle the people annoyed them, and their heartes failed, and left the poſternes and breaches: in ſuch wiſe, that the enemies might come in without finding great reſiſtaunce, but of a fewe that the lord maſter cauſed to abide there (that is to weet) knightes of his ſuccours. And in the night he ſought out moe people for to keepe yͤ watch at the ſaid breach, and paied to them as much as they would. The ſayd lord ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned and left of his people, he ſent to aſke them againe wherefore they did not their endeuour, and why they came not to day, as they ſayd before. Which made anſwere that they ſawe and knew well that the towne was loſt for certaine reaſons that were told them: by occaſion whereof they had gaineſaid the ordinance of the ſayd lord, and ſayd that they had bene wrong enformed of diuers things: and on the other ſide, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But ſithens they ſawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the aduenture and fortune, they ſayd that they put all to the ſayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would ſee what were beſt for them. And required the lord to doe them ſo much fauour as to let them choose one or two among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambaſſadours for to haue ſuretie of him. The which was granted, and two ordinarie ambaſſadours were choſen for them; one Nicholas Vergotie, and the other Piero of ſaint Cretice, and the foreſayd Paſſin ſhould returne with them for to make the ſayd anſwere. Then the great maſter or they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) aduiſed to ſend a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written or cauſed to be written. In the which letter he gaue his malediction or curſe to his children and ſucceſſours, if they enterpriſed to beſiege Rhodes. The ſayd Robert Perruſe bare the ſayd letter, and as he was accuſtomed, he went to Acmek Baſha for to cauſe him to haue audience, and to preſent the ſayd letter. And the Baſha ſayd hee would ſee the letter: for it is the guiſe in the great Turkes court, that none may ſpeake to him nor giue him a letter, but he be aduertiſed firſt what ſhall be ſaid, or what ſhall be written. When the Baſha had ſeene the wordes written in the ſaid letter, he brake it and caſt it on the ground, and did tread vpon it, ſaying many iniurious and villanous words to the ſayd iudge. And bade him returne apace to his great maſter, and bid him to thinke on his buſineſſe, and to make anſwere to the great lord (as he had ſent and commaunded) or els it ſhould not be long or he ſawe his dolorous and woful ende. And that ſame day were taken two men of ours that bare earth toward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the ſayd Acmek cauſed an officer to cut off their noſes, fingers and eares, and gaue them a letter to beare to the lord great maſter, wherein were great wordes and threatnings. After the ſayd Perruſe was returned, meſſire Paſſin was ſent againe to the ſayde Baſha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any ſumme of money for his coſtes and expenſes, that he had made for his armie. The which anſwered that ſuch words or offers of ſiluer were not to bee ſayd nor preſented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee ſet more by honour then by ſiluer. And therefore hee bade him returne and ſay to the great maſter that hee ſhould make anſwere to the great lord after his demaund, to yeeld or not yeeld the towne. The ſayd Paſſin made relation of the wordes of the Baſha to the great maſter: the which for the great ſorrow that hee had deferred alwayes, ſaw himſelfe in ſuch pitious eſtate. Notwithſtanding, the ſayd lord putting all to the wil of our lord, & conſidering that there was no remedie to do otherwiſe, nor to reſiſt any more his enemies: and being conſtrained on all ſides to make the appointment, with great heauineſſe, ineſtimable dolours and bewailings, at the laſt gaue his voyce to yeeld the towne (with the treatiſe or offers to him preſented) which was the 20. day of December, the yeere of our lord a thouſand fiue hundreth and two and twentie.

An obiection to ſuch as will make queſtion for the deliuerance of the citie of *Rhodes*.

AND if by any it were demaunded wherefore the ſayde lord great maſter hath yeelded the towne to the great Turke, requeſting it with treatie and couenaunts, which was a ſigne that he feared and would no more fight, but goe his way. To this I anſwere: Notwithſtanding that the great Turke was aduertiſed by ſome traitours, and by other that fled into the campe, that the powder almoſt failed, and that there were but fewe men of warre within the towne, yet he beleeued not, nor gaue credence of all that was reported to him, but thought verily that wee had ynough for a great while, and conſidered that hee muſt tary till they were waſted and ſpent, whereto behooued time. And ſeeing all his eſtate entered into ſtrange places, and into the lands of his enemies, and had bene there alreadie ſixe moneths, (and not without great danger of his owne perſon) thinking on the other ſide, that taking the towne by aſſault, he ſhould loſe many of his folke; and yet when hee had ouercome and wonne the towne, they ſhould fall each vpon other in departing of the bootie or pillage, doubting finally the hazard of warre. For theſe reaſons and other that may be alleaged, the great Turke had much rather to haue the towne by compoſition and treatie, then otherwiſe. And it ſuffiſed him to driue his olde enemies out of the countreys of Leuant, and ſet the ſubiects of his countreys in reſt and ſuretie. And we of the towne that knew our weakneſſe, & that we might do no more, it ſeemed better to ſaue ſo much ſmall people, then we and they to fall into the furie of our enemies, for otherwiſe could we not haue done, but tempt God, and died as in diſpaire.

How the citie of *Rhodes* was yeelded to the great Turke, and of the euil behauiour of certaine Turkes.

BUt to returne to our principall: After that the reuerend great maſter had giuen his voyce to the yeelding of the towne, he ſent the ſaid Paſſin againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men that were choſen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the tent of Acmek Baſha. To whom the ſayd Paſſin firſt made this pitious anſwere and concluſion to yeeld the towne. Notwithſtanding, he ſayd the people had ordained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to ſpeake of their particular doings, and to haue ſome ſuretie of their perſons, wiues, and children, to the ende that it were not done to them, as to thoſe of Bellegrado. The ſayd Acmek led the three ambaſſadours toward the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pauillion, the ſayde meſſire Paſſin made the report of his ambaſſade to the ſayd lord, and ſayd that the great maſter yeelded him the towne vnder the promiſe made by his Imperiall maieſtie, with the treatie promiſed. Of the which promiſe hee held him ſure and certaine, and that hee would doe no leſſe: howbeit, the people had required him to giue them licence to goe to his maieſtie for to aſke ſome requeſt of him. Then the two citizens beſought the great Turke that he would for ſuretie remooue his campe from the towne, to the ende that they ſhould haue no maner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that they that would goe, ſhould goe, and that they that would abide ſtill, might be well entreated. The great Turke anſwered by his interpreter to meſſire Paſſin, that hee accepted the towne, and promiſed agayne vpon his faith, and on his honour to the lord great maſter, that he would performe that he had promiſed, and ſent to him by the ſame Paſſin that he ſhould not doubt of the contrary: and if he had not ſhips ynough for to carie his people and their goods, that hee would let them haue of his, and that he would deliuer the artillerie that was woont to be in the ſhips of ẏ Religion. And as touching the requeſt of the people, he ſayd that he would remooue the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they ſhould bee well entreated, and ſhould pay no tribute in fiue yeeres, and their children ſhould not be touched, and who ſo would goe within the ſayd ſpace of fiue yeeres, they ſhould goe in good time. Theſe wordes ended, our ambaſſadours tooke leaue of him, & when they were departed, they ſpake againe with the ſayd Acmek Baſha for to haue a letter of the contents of the promiſe of the ſayd lord. And by his commandement the ſayd letter was made, whereby he promiſed to let go the great maſter with all his knights, ſtrangers and men of the towne that would go with their goods, without hauing diſpleaſure of any of his people of the campe, or by the wayes. When the letter was made, it was deliuered to meſſire Paſſin. And as touching withdrawing of the campe, the ſayd Baſha promiſed againe that he would do it, ſince the great lord would ſo: howbeit he remooued but from the trenches, and ſome of his people went a litle way off. And the ſayd Baſha demaunded in the Turkes behalfe, that they ſhould ſend to him in hoſtage foure and twentie knights, whereof two ſhould bee of the great Croſſe, and two and twentie citizens. And the ſayd lord ſhould ſend onely a captaine with three or foure hundred Ianiſſaries, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withdrawen. And ſo it was done; and beſide this hee gaue twelue dayes reſpite to the lord great maſter, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in concluſion all this done, our ambaſſadours returned and made the report to the reuerend great maſter of all that they had done and practiſed with the great Turke, and the ſayd Baſha, and gaue him the letter for to goe ſurely. Then the great maſter with his counſell ordained the foure and twentie perſons, and other of the towne. When they were readie, they went to the campe, where they were well intreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferra Baſha paſſed frō the maine land to the campe, with foure and twentie or fiue and twentie thouſand Ianiſſaries, which by the commaundement of the great Turke was gone vpon the borders of the countreis of the Sophie. For the Turke ſeeing the people of the campe diſcouraged and willing no more to goe to the aſſaults, ſent to the ſayde Baſha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would haue withſtood vs ſore, as freſh men. And it was the worke of God and a wonderfull myracle, that they came after that the appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be ſuppoſed that the deed had gone otherwiſe, and there had bene many ſtrokes giuen: but I beleeue that the ende ſhould haue bene pitious for vs, but God would not that the Turke ſhould haue victory vpon vs as hee might haue had, ſeeing the great aduauntage that he had in all things, but he blinded him and would not that he ſhould know his might. And on the other part it may be ſaid and marueiled how it was poſſible alway to haue ouercome our enemies in all aſſaults & ſkirmiſhes, and at the end to looſe the towne, it was the will of God that ſo hath pleaſed for ſome cauſe to vs vnknowen. It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunſhot, and the enemies ſo farre within the towne, and ready to enter at other places, with the treaſons, haue cauſed the towne to be loſt. Two or three dayes after the comming of the ſayd Baſha, his Ianiſſaries and other of the campe entred into the Towne, which was on Chriſtmas day, within the time giuen to vs, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neuertheleſſe there was no ſword drawen, and in that reſpect promiſe was kept. But they made pillage, and entered by force into the houſes of the caſtle, and tooke all that they might and would. After that they had ranſacked the houſes, they entered into the churches, and pilled all that they found, and brake the images. And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other ſaints, that were left whole. Then with great inhumanitie they went into the hoſpitall of poore and ſicke folke, called the Fermorie, and tooke all the ſiluer veſſell that the ſicke folke were ſerued with, and raiſed them out of their beds, and droue them away, ſome with great ſtrokes and ſtaues, and ſome were caſt downe from the galleries. When theſe hounds had done that acte, they went to the church of ſaint Iohn and tooke downe the tombes of the great maſters, and ſought if there were any treaſure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that were chriſtened and had bene Turkes afore, were they men, women or children, and children that the ſayd men had made chriſtians, they led into Turkie, which thing is of greater importance then any of the other. The morrow after Chriſtmas day, the reuerend lord great maſter went to the great Turkes pauillion for to viſite him, and to be better aſſured of his promiſe, the which lord he made to be wel & graciouſly receiued. And he ſignified vnto him by his interpreter, that the caſe ſo happened to him was a thing vſuall and common; as to looſe townes and lordſhips, and that hee ſhould not take ouermuch thought for it: and as for his promiſe, he bade that he ſhould not doubt in any thing, and that he ſhould not feare any diſpleaſure to his perſon, and that he ſhould goe with his people without feare. With theſe wordes the ſayd lord thanked him, and tooke his leaue and departed.

FINIS.

¶ *Lenuoy* of the Tranſlator.

GOe little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the *Rhodian* fearefull oppugnation,
To all eſtates complaining ruthfully
Of thine eſtate, and ſudden tranſmutation:
Excuſing me if in thy tranſlation
Ought be amiſſe in language or in werke,
I me ſubmit with their ſupportation,
To be correct, that am ſo ſmall a clerke.

An ambaſſage from *Don Ferdinando*, brother to the emperor *Charles* the 5. vnto king *Henry* the 8. in the yere 1527. deſiring his aide againſt *Solyman* the great Turke. *Holinſhed. pag. 894.*

On the 14. day of March, 1527. were conueied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of Ottonburge, Iohn Burgraue of Syluerberge, and Iohn Faber a famous clerke, after biſhop of Vien, as ambaſſadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to Charles the emperor, newly elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was ſlaine by Solyman the Turke the laſt Sommer. This company was welcommed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings preſence, all the nobilitie being preſent; and there after great reuerence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Goſpell, Exijt ſeminator ſeminare ſemen ſuum: and of that hee declared how Chriſt and his diſciples went foorth to ſowe, and how their ſeed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought foorth good fruite, which was the Chriſtian faith. And then he declared how contrary to that ſowing, Mahomet had ſowen ſeed, which brought foorth euill fruit. He alſo ſhewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increaſed in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had ſubdued euen to that day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then liuing had done; and in eſpeciall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the ſlaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he ſayd) of all the kings chriſtened. Hee ſet forth alſo what power the Turke had, what diuerſities of companies, what capitaines he had, ſo that he thought, that without a marueilous great number of people, hee could not be ouerthrowen. Wherefore he moſt humbly beſought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to aſſiſt the king his maſter in that godly warre and vertuous purpoſe.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore anſwered; that much hee lamented the loſſe that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterpriſed that acte: wherefore he with all his ſtudie would take paine, firſt, to ſet an vnitie and peace throughout all Chriſtendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Chriſtendome. After this done, the ambaſſadours were well cheriſhed, and diuers times reſorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and ſo the third day of May next following, they tooke their leaue & departed homeward.

He meaneth the Emperor & the French king.

The antiquitie of the trade with Engliſh ſhips into the *Leuant*.

IN the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. diuers tall ſhips of London, namely, The Chriſtopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Greſham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunſon, and the maſter one Iohn Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was maſter Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was maſter William Capling, with certaine other ſhips of Southampton and Briſtow, had an ordinarie and vſuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and ſomewhiles to Cyprus, as alſo to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kerſies of diuers colours, courſe Kerſies, white Weſterne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calueſkins which were well ſold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmeſies, Muſkadels and other wines, ſweete oyles, cotten wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and ſome other ſpices, &c. Beſides, the naturall inhabitants of the foreſayd places, they had, euen in thoſe dayes, traffique with Iewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne Engliſh ſhipping before mentioned, but ſundry ſtrangers alſo: as namely, Candiots, Raguſeans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliaſſes, Spaniſh and Portugale ſhips. All which particulars doe moſt euidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of maſter Iohn Greſham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt haue diligently peruſed and copied out. And here for authorities ſake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpoſe, a letter of king Henry the eight, vnto Don Iohn the third, king of Portugale.

A letter of the king of England *Henry* the eight, to *Iohn* king of *Portugale*, for a *Portingale* ſhip with the goods of *Iohn Greſham* and *Wil. Locke* with others, vnladen in *Portugale* from *Chio*.

SErenisſimo Principi, domino Ioanni Dei gratia Regi Portugallię, & Algarbiorum citra & vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquiſtæ, nauigationis, & commercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Perſiæ, atque Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico noſtro chariſſimo.

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, fidei defenſor, ac dominus Hiberniæ, Sereniſſimo Principi; domino Ioanni eadem gratia Regi Portugallię, & Algarbiorũ citra & vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineę, & conquiſtæ nauigationis, & cõmercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Perſiæ, atq; Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico noſtro chariſſimo, ſalutẽ. Tanto libentiùs, promptiúſq; iuſtas omnes cauſas veſtrę Serenitati commendandas ſuſcipimus, quanto apertiori indiès noſtrorũ, qui in eiuſdem veſtrę Serenitatis regno ac ditione negotiantur, ſubditorum teſtimonio cognoſcimus, ipſam ex optimi principis officio ita accuratè, exactéq; ius ſuum cuíq; præbere, vt ad eã nemo iuſtitiæ conſequendæ gratia fruſtrà vnquam confugiat. Cúm itaque dilectus ac fidelis ſubditus noſter Ioannes Greſham mercator Londonienſis nuper nobis humiliter expoſuerit, quod quidã Willielmus Heith ipſius Factor, & negotiorum geſtor nauim quandam Portugallenſem, cui nomen erat Sancto Antonio, præerátque Diego Peres Portugallenſis ſuperioribus menſibus in Candia conduxerit,

rit, cum nauiſq; præfecto conuenerit, vt in inſulam Chium ad quaſdam diuerſi generis merces onerandas primò nauigaret, in Candiámque mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia rediret, omnes quidem in hoc noſtrum regnum poſtmodùm aduecturus ad valorem circiter duodecim millium ducatorum, quemadmodum ex pactionis, conuentioníſque inſtrumento apertiùs conſtat, accidit, vt præfatus Diego veſtræ Serenitatis ſubditus, dictis ſuſceptis mercibus, & iam in itinere parùm fideliter, & longè præter initas conuentiones, grauiſſimo certe noſtrorum ſubditorum detrimento, vbi in Portugalliæ portum diuertiſſet, ſententia huc nauigandi mutata, in eodem portu commoretur, noſtrorúmque etiam ſubditorum merces detineat: quam iniuriam (quum ſubditis noſtris in veſtræ Serenitatis regno, & ab eius ſubdito illata ſit) ex æquitate, ac iuſtitia ab ipſa corrigi, emendaríque confidimus, noſtro quoque potiſſimùm intuitu, qui veſtræ Serenitatis ipſiúſque ſubditorum cauſas, mercéſque, ſi quando in hoc noſtrum regnum appulerint, ſemper commendatiſſimas habemus, id quod ſuperiori anno teſtati ſumus: proinde ipſam vehementer rogamus, vt Iohannem Ratliffe præſentium latorem, & dicti Iohannis Greſham nouum conſtitutum procuratorem, huius rei cauſa iſtuc venientem, velit in ſuis agendis, in dictíſque bonis recuperandis, impunéque aſportandis remittendíſque vectigalibus (quod nos in veſtros ſubditos fecimus) quum per nauis pręfectum fraude, ac dolo iſtuc merces fuerint aduectæ, niſi iſtic vendantur, ac toto denique ex æquitate conficiendo negotio, ſic commendatum ſuſcipere, ſicque ad ſuos, quos opus fore intellexerit magiſtratus miſſis literis rem omnem iuuare, & expedire, vt perſpiciamus ex hac noſtra commendatione fuiſſe noſtrorum ſubditorum iuri, & indemnitati quàm maximè conſultum. Quod nobis gratiſſimum eſt futurum, & in re conſimili, aut grauiori veſtra Serenitas nos ſibi gratificandi cupidiſſimos experietur, quę fœliciter valeat. Ex Regia noſtra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TO the high and mighty prince, Iohn by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarue on this ſide and beyond the ſea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conqueſt, nauigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Perſia, India, &c. our moſt deere and welbeloued brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland: to Iohn by the ſame grace, king of Portugale and Algarue, on this ſide and beyond the ſea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conqueſt, nauigation, and traffique of Aethiopia, Arabia, Perſia, India, &c. our moſt deare and welbeloued brother, ſendeth greeting. So much yͤ more willingly and readily we vndertake the recommending of all iuſt cauſes vnto your highneſſe, becauſe by the daily teſtimonie of our ſubiects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that according to the dutie of a moſt worthy prince, ſo carefully and exactly you miniſter iuſtice vnto euery man, that all men moſt willingly repaire vnto your highneſſe, with full truſt to obtaine the ſame. Whereas therefore our welbeloued and truſtie ſubiect Iohn Greſham merchant of London, of late in humble maner hath ſignified vnto vs, that one William Heith his Factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale ſhip called Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and couenaunted with the patrone of the ſayd ſhip, that he ſhould firſt ſaile to the Iſle of Sio, to take in merchandize of ſundry ſortes, & then eftſoones returne to Candie, to be fraighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of couenant & agreement more plainly appeareth: it ſo fel out, that yͤ aforeſaid Diego your highnes ſubiect hauing receiued the ſaid goods, very trecherouſly & much cōtrary to his couenant, to the exceeding great loſſe of our ſubiects, putting in by the way into an hauen of Portugale, & altering his purpoſe of cōming into England, he remaineth ſtill in that hauen, & likewiſe detaineth our ſubiects goods. Which iniury (ſeeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your Highnes will ſee reformed according to equity & right, the rather at our requeſt, which alwayes haue had a ſpeciall care of the cauſes & goods of your Highnes, & of your ſubiects whenſoeuer they come into our kingdome, whereof we made proofe the laſt yeere. Wherefore we inſtantly requeſt your Highnes, yͭ you would ſo receiue Iohn Ratcliffe the bearer of theſe preſent letters, & the new appointed agent of Iohn Greſham, which cūmeth into your dominions about this buſines, being thus cōmended vnto you in this buſines, & recouering & freely bringing home of the ſaid goods, & in remitting of the cuſtoms, vnleſſe they were ſold there (the like whereof we did towards your ſubiects) ſeeing by the fraud & deceit of the patron of the ſhip, the wares were brought thither, & finally in diſpatching yͤ whole matter, according to iuſtice, & ſo further the ſame by directing your highnes letters to your officers whō it may concerne, that we may perceiue, that our ſubiects right and liberty hath eſpecially beene maintained vpon this our commendation. Which we will take in moſt thankfull part, and your highnes ſhal find vs in the like or a greater matter moſt ready to gratifie you, whom we wiſh moſt heartily well to fare. From out Court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the ſhippes called the *Holy Croſſe*, and the *Mathew Gonſon*, to the Iles of *Candia* and *Chio*, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Maſter *Richard Hackluit*, by *Iohn Williamſon*, Cooper and citizen of *London*, who liued in the yere 1592, and went as cooper in the *Mathew Gonſon* the next voyage after.

The Holy Croſſe and the Mathew Gonſon depart for Turkie.

The ſhippes called the Holy Croſſe, and the Mathew Gonſon, made a voyage to the Ilandes of Candia and Chio in Turkie, about the yeere 1534. And in the Mathew went as Captaine M. Richard Gonſon, ſonne of old Maſter William Gonſon, paymaſter of the kings nauie. In this firſt voyage went William Holſtocke (who afterwards was Controuller of her Maieſties Nauie, lately deceaſed) as page to M. Richard Gonſon aforeſaid, which M. Gonſon died in Chio in this his firſt voyage. The ſhip called the Holy Croſſe was a ſhort ſhippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And hauing beene a full yeere at the ſea in performance of this voyage, with great danger ſhe returned home, where, vpon her arriuall at Blackwall, in the riuer of Thames, her wine and oyle caſke was found ſo weake, that they were not able to hoyſe them out of the ſhip, but were conſtrayned to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new veſſels, and ſo to vnlade the ſhippe. Their chiefe fraight, was very excellent Muſcatels and red Malmeſie, the like whereof were ſeeldome ſeene before in England. They brought home alſo good quantitie of ſweete oyles, cotton woolles, Turkie Carpets, Galles, Cynamon, and ſome other ſpices. The ſaide ſhippe called the Holy Croſſe was ſo ſhaken in this voyage, and ſo weakened, that ſhe was layd vp in the docke, and neuer made voyage after.

Another voyage to the Iles of *Candia* and *Chio* made by the ſhippe the *Mathew Gonſon*, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of *Iohn Williamſon*, then Cooper in the ſame ſhip, made to M. *Richard Hackluit* in the yeere 1592.

The Mathew Gonſon goeth into Turkie.

The good ſhippe called the Mathew Gonſon, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old M. William Gonſon, pay-maſter of the kings Nauie, made her voyage in the yere 1535. In this ſhip went as Captaine Richard Gray, who long after died in Ruſsia. Maſter William Holſtocke afterward Controuller of the Queenes Nauie went then as purſer in the ſame voyage. The Maſter was one Iohn Pichet, ſeruant to old M. William Gonſon, Iames Rumnie was Maſters mate. The maſter cooper was Iohn Williamſon citizen of London, liuing in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in Sant Dunſtons pariſh in the Eaſt. The M. Gunner was Iohn Godfrey of Briſtoll. In this ſhip were 6 gunners and 4 trumpetters, all which foure trumpetters at our returne homewards went on land at Meſsina in the Iland of Sicilia, as our ſhip road there at anker, & gat them into the Gallies that lay neere vnto vs, & in them went to Rome. The whole number of our companie in this ſhip were about 100. men, we were alſo furniſhed with a great bote, which was able to cary 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne homewards we towed all the way from Chio vntill we came through the ſtraight of Gibaltar into the maine Ocean. We had alſo a great long boat and a ſkiff. We were out vpon this voyage eleuen moneths, yet in all this time there died of ſickneſſe but one man, whoſe name was George Forreſt, being ſeruant to our Carpenter called Thomas Plummer.

In a great lygier booke of one William Eyms, ſeruant vnto Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, bearing date the 15 of Nouember 1533, and continued vntill the 4 of Iuly 1544. I find that he the ſaid William Eyms was factor in Chio, not only for his Maſter, but alſo for the duke of Norfolkes grace, & for many other worſhipful marchants of London, among whom I find the accompts of theſe eſpecially, to wit, of his ſaid Maſter, ſir William Bowyer, of William & Nicholas Wilford Marchant-taylors of London, of Thomas Curtis pewterer, of Iohn Starky Mercer, of William Oſtrige Marchant, & of Richard Field Draper. And further I find in the ſaid ligier booke, a note of the ſaid Eyms, of all ſuch goods as he left in the hands of Robert Bye in Chio, who became his Maſters factor in his roome, and another like note of particulers of goods that he left in the hands of Oliuer Leſſon, ſeruant to William and Nicholas Wilford. And for proofe of the continuance of this trade vntill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed vnto the former note of the goods left with Robert Bye in Chio, a letter being dated the 27 of Nouember 1552 in London.

The Epitaph of the valiant Eſquire M. *Peter Read* in the ſouth Ile of Saint *Peters* Church in the citie of *Norwich*, which was knighted by *Charles* the fift at the winning of *Tunis* in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

HEre vnder lyeth the corpes of Peter Reade Eſquire, who hath worthily ſerued, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but alſo the Emperour Charles the fift, both at his conqueſt of Barbarie, and at his ſiege at Tunis, as alſo in other places. Who had giuen him by the ſayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir *Thomas Chaloner* to *Alger* with *Charles* the fift 1541, drawen out of his booke *De Republica Anglorum inſtauranda.*

THomas Chalonerus patria Londinenſis, ſtudio Cantabrigenſis, educatione aulicus, religione pius, veréque Chriſtianus fuit. Itaque cum inuenilem ætatem, mentemq; ſuam humanioribus ſtudijs roboraſſet, Domino Henrico Kneuetto à potentiſſimo rege Henrico eius nominis octauo ad Carolum quintum imperatorem tranſmiſſo legato, vnà cum illo profectus eſt, tanquam familiaris amicus, vel eidem à conſilijs. Quo quidem tempore Carolo quinto nauali certamine à Genua & Corſica in Algyram in Africa contra Turcas claſſem ſoluente ac hoſtiliter proficiſcente, ornatiſſimo illo Kneuetto legato regis, Thoma Chalonero, Henrico Knolleo, & Henrico Iſamo, illuſtribus viris eundem in illa expeditione ſuapte ſponte ſequentibus, pariterque militantibus, mirifice vitam ſuam Chalonerus tutatus eſt. Nam triremi illa, in qua fuerat, vel ſcopulis alliſa, vel grauiſſimis procellis conquaſſata, naufragus cum ſe diù natatu defendiſſet, deficientibus viribus, brachijs manibuſque languidis ac quaſi eneruatis, prehenſa dentibus cum maxima difficultate rudenti, quæ ex altera triremi iam propinqua tum fuerat eiecta, non ſine dentium aliquorum iactura ac fractura ſeſe tandem recuperauit, ac domum integer relapſus eſt.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THomas Chaloner was by birth a Londiner, by ſtudie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a deuout and true Chriſtian. Therfore after he had confirmed his youth and minde in the ſtudies of good learning, when Sir Henry Kneuet was ſent ambaſſadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the fift, he went with him as his familiar friend, or as one of his Councell. At which time the ſaid Charles the 5. paſſing ouer from Genoa and Corſica to Alger in Africa in warlike ſort, with a mighty army by ſea, that honorable Kneuet the kings ambaſſadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Iſham, right worthy perſons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, & ſerued him in that warre, wherin Thomas Chaloner eſcaped moſt wonderfully with his life. For the gally wherein he was, being either daſhed againſt the rockes, or ſhaken with mighty ſtormes, and ſo caſt away, after he had ſaued himſelfe a long while by ſwimming, when his ſtrength failed him, his armes & hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was caſt out of the next gally, not without breaking and loſſe of certaine of his teeth, at length recouered himſelfe, and returned home into his countrey in ſafety.

The voyage of M. *Roger Bodenham* with the great Barke Aucher to *Candia* and *Chio*, in the yeere 1550.

IN the yeere 1550. the 13 of Nouember I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the ſaid ſhip at Graueſend, for my voiage to the Ilands of Candia and Chio in the Leuant. The maſter of my ſhip was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes vntill the 6. of January 1551. The 6 of Januarie, the M. came to Tilbery, and I had prouided a ſkilfull pylot to cary me ouer the lands end, whoſe name was M. Wood, and with all ſpeede I valed downe that night 10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Douer, and there came to an anker, and there remained vntill tueſday, meeting with the worthy knight ſir Anthony Aucher owner of the ſaide ſhip.

The Barke Aucher goeth for Leuant.

The 11 day we arriued in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we ſet forward on our voyage with a proſperous winde, and the 16 we had ſight of Cape Finiſter on the coaſt of Spaine.

The 30 we arriued at Cades, and there diſcharged certaine marchandiſe, and tooke others aboord.

Mallorca.

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, & paſſed the ſtraights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and ſtaied there fiue daies with contrary windes.

Meſſina.

The firſt of March, we had ſight of Sardenna, and the fift of the ſaid month wee arriued at Meſſina in Sicilia, and there diſcharged much goods, and remained there vntill good Fryday in Lent.

The chiefe marchant that laded the ſayd Barke Aucher was a marchant ſtranger called Anſelm Saluago, and becauſe the time was then very dangerous, and no going into Leuant, eſpecially to Chio, without a ſafe conduct from the Turke, the ſaid Anſelm promiſed the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we ſhould receiue the ſame at Meſſina. But I was poſted from thence to Candia, and there I was anſwered that I ſhould ſend to Chio, and there I ſhould haue my ſafe conduct. I was forced to ſend one, and hee had his anſwere that the Turke would giue none, willing me to looke what was beſt for me to doe, which was no ſmall trouble to me, conſidering I was bound to deliuer the goods that were in the ſhip at Chio, or ſend them at mine aduenture. The marchants without care of the loſſe of the ſhip would haue compelled me to goe, or ſend their goods at mine aduenture, the which I denied, and ſayd plainely I would not goe, becauſe the Turkes gallies were come forth to goe againſt Malta, but by the French kings means, he was perſwaded to leaue Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes veſſels called Skyraſas, which had brought wheat thither to ſell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning betimes, carying newes that I would not goe foorth: the ſame night I prepared beforehande what I thought good, without making any man priuie, vntill I ſawe time. Then I had no ſmall buſineſſe to cauſe my mariners to venture with the ſhip in ſuch a manifeſt danger. Neuertheleſſe I wan them to goe all with me, except three which I ſet on land, and with all diligence I was readie to ſet foorth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone ſhine night, & went out. Then my 3 marriners made ſuch requeſts vnto the reſt of my men to come aborde, as I was conſtrained to take them in. And ſo with good wind we put into the Archipelago, & being among the Ilands the winde ſcanted, & I was forced to anker at an Iland called Micone, where I taried 10 or 12 daies, hauing a greeke Pilot to carrie the ſhip to Chio. In this meane ſeaſon, there came many ſmall botes with myſſon ſayles to goe for Chio, with diuerſe goods to ſell, & the Pilot requeſted me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelded. After the ſayde dayes expired, I wayed & ſet ſaile for the Iland of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I caſt to ſeawards againe to come with the Iland in the morning betimes. The foreſaid ſmal veſſels which came in my company, departed from me to win the ſhore, to get in ẏ night, but vpon a ſudden they eſpied 3 foyſtes of Turkes comming vpon them to ſpoyle them. My Pilot, hauing a ſonne in one of thoſe ſmall veſſels, entreted me to caſt about towards them, which at his requeſt I did, and being ſome thing farre from them, I cauſed my Gunner to ſhoot a demycoluering at a foyſt that was readie to enter one of the botes. This was ſo happy a ſhott, that it made the Turke to fall a ſterne of the bote and to leaue him, by the which meanes hee eſcaped. Then they all came to me, and requeſted that they might hang at my ſterne vntill day light, by which time I came before the Mole of Chio, and ſent my bote on land to the marchants of that place to ſend for their goods out of hand, or elſe I would returne back with all to Candia, & they ſhould fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perſwaſion of my merchants Engliſh men, & thoſe of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a ſafe aſſurance for 20 dayes againſt the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the ſumme of 12000 ducats. So I made haſt & ſolde ſuch goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, & put all in order, with as much ſpeede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes nauie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So vpon the ſudden they called me of great friendſhip, & in ſecret told me, I had no way to ſaue my ſelfe but to be gone, for ſaid they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to help our ſelues, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, & leaueth what he liſt, but the chiefe of the Turkes ſet order ẏ none ſhal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was ſuch news to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, & was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe foorth. But the marchants Engliſh men and other regarding more their gaines then the ſhip, hindered me very much in my purpoſe of going foorth, and made the marriners to come to me to demaund their wages to be payed them out of hande, and to haue a time to employ the ſame there. But God prouided ſo for me,

The Turke prepareth an army to beſiege Malta.

The Barke Aucher at Micone.

The towne of Chio is bound in 12000 ducats for the ſafegard of the Barke Aucher.

me, that I paied them their money that night, and then charged them, that if they would not let the ſhip foorth, I would make them to anſwere the ſame in England, with danger of their heads. Many were married in England and had ſomewhat to looſe, thoſe did ſticke to me. I had twelue gunners: the Maſter gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners ſeruant had a parlament betweene themſelues, and he vpon the ſame came vp to me with his ſword drawen, ſwearing that hee had promiſed the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to liue and die in the ſayde ſhippe againſt all that ſhould offer any harme to the ſhippe, and that he would fight with the whole armie of the Turkes, and neuer yeelde: with this fellow I had much to doe, but at the laſt I made him confeſſe his fault and followe mine aduiſe. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Mole of Chio, into the ſea by warping foorth, with the helpe of Genoueſes botes, and a French bote that was in the Mole, and being out God ſent mee a ſpeciall gale of winde to goe my way. Then I cauſed a peece to be ſhotte off for ſome of my men that were yet in the towne, & with much a doe they came aboord, and then I ſet ſayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the ſayle I could, and about halfe an houre paſt two of the clocke there came ſeuen gallies into Chio to ſtay the ſhippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage becauſe ſhe was gone. Whereupon they put ſome of the beſt in priſon, and tooke all the men of the three ſhips which I left in the port, and put them into the Gallies. They would haue followed after mee, but that the townes men found meanes they did not. The next day came thither a hundred more of Gallies, and there taried for their whole companie, which being together were about two hundred & 50 ſayle, taking their voyage for to ſurpriſe the Iland of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the ſight of Candia, but I was two dayes after or euer I could get in, where I thought my ſelfe out of their daunger. There I continued vntill the Turkes armie was paſt, who came within the ſight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turks had come thither. There be in that Iland of Candia many baniſhed men, that liue continually in the mountaines, they came downe to ſerue, to the number of foure or fiue thouſand, they are good archers, euery one with his bowe and arrowes, a ſword and a dagger, with long haire, and bootes that reach vp to their grine, and a ſhirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, theſe were ſent away againe aſſoone as the armie was paſt. They would drinke wine out of all meaſure. Then the armie being paſt, I laded my ſhippe with wines and other things: and ſo after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Meſſina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Galliots of Turkes, laying aboord of certaine veſſels of Venice laden with Muſcatels: I reſcued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and ſhot: and within a few dayes after I came to Meſſina. I had in my ſhippe a Spaniſh pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my comming foorth: he went with me all this voyage into the Leuant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the ſhippe, he ſtoode me in good ſteede vntill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed no Pilot. And ſo from thence I came to London with the ſhippe and goods in ſafetie, God be prayſed. And all thoſe Mariners that were in my ſayd ſhippe, which were, beſides boyes, threeſcore and tenne, for the moſt part were within fiue or ſixe yeeres after, able to take charge, and did. Richard Chanceller, who firſt diſcouered Ruſſia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who afterward became the Queenes Maieſties chiefe ſhip-wright.

The companie doe murmure againſt their Captaine.

The Turkes Gallies come to ſeeke the Barke Aucher.

Fiue thouſand baniſhed men in Candia.

Maſter Richard Chancellour.
Maſter Mathew Baker.

The voyage of M. *Iohn Locke* to *Ieruſalem*.

In my voyage to Ieruſalem, I imbarked my ſelfe the 26 of March 1553 in the good ſhippe called the Mathew Gonſon, which was bound for Liuorno, or Legorne and Candia. It fell out that we touched in the beginning of Aprill next enſuing at Cades in Andalozia, where the Spaniardes, according to their accuſtomed maner with all ſhippes of extraordinarie goodnes and burden, picked a quarrell againſt the company, meaning to haue forfeited, or at the leaſt to haue arreſted the ſaid ſhippe. And they grew ſo malicious in their wrongfull purpoſe, that I being vtterly out of hope of any ſpeedie releaſe, to the ende that my intention ſhould not be ouerthrowen, was inforced to take this courſe following. Notwithſtanding this hard beginning, it fell out ſo luckily, that I found in the roade a great ſhippe called the Caualla of Venice, wherin after agreement made with the patron, I ſhipped my ſelfe the 24. of May in the ſaid yere 1553, and the 25 by reaſon of the winde blowing hard and contrary, we were not able to enter the ſtraits of Gibraltar, but were put to the coaſt of Barbarie, where we ankered in the maine ſea 2. leagues from ſhore, and continued ſo vntill two houres before ſunne ſet, and then we weighed againe, and turned our courſe towards the Straits, where we entered the 26 day aforeſayd, the winde being very calme, but the current of the ſtraites very fauourable. The ſame day the winde beganne to riſe ſomewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and ſo continued at Northweſt vntill we arriued at Legorne the third of Iune. And from thence riding ouer land vnto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Ieruſalem in the Pilgrimes ſhippe.

The ſhip Fila Cauena departeth for Ieruſalem.

Rouignio a port in Iſtria.

I Iohn Locke, accompanied with Maiſter Anthony Raſtwold, with diuers other, Hollanders, Zelanders, Almaines and French pilgrimes entered the good ſhippe called Fila Cauena of Venice, the 16 of Iuly 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and ſayled towardes the coaſt of Iſtria, to the port of Rouigno, and the ſaid day there came aboard of our ſhip the Perceuena of the ſhippe named Tamiſari, for to receiue the reſt of all the pilgrimes money, which was in all after the rate of 55. Crownes for euery man for that voyage, after the rate of fiue ſhillings ſtarling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice.

Sancta Euſemia.

The 19 day we tooke freſh victuals aboard, and with the bote that brought the freſh prouiſion we went on land to the Towne, and went to ſee the Church of Sancta Eufemia, where we ſawe the bodie of the ſayd Saint.

Monte de Ancona.

The 20 day wee departed from Rouignio, and about noone we had ſight of Monte de Ancona, and the hilles of Dalmatia, or elſe of Sclauonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles diſtant from ech other, and more.

Il pomo.

Sant Andrea.

Liſſa an Iland.

Lezina Iland.

The 21 we ſayled ſtill in ſight of Dalmatia, and a litle before noone, we had ſight of a rocke in the midſt of the ſea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in ſhape like a ſugarloafe. Alſo we ſawe another rocke about two miles compaſſe called Sant Andrea: on this rocke is onely one Monaſterie of Friers: we ſayled betweene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of vs, and we had alſo kenning of another Iland called Liſſa, all on the left hande, theſe three Ilands lie Eaſt and Weſt in the ſea, and at ſunne ſetting we had paſſed them. Il pomo is diſtant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Liſſa 10 miles, and Liſſa from another Iland called Lezina, which ſtandeth betweene the maine of Dalmatia and Liſſa, tenne miles. This Iland is inhabited, and hath great plentie of wine and frutes, and hereagainſt we were becalmed.

Catza.

Pelagoſa.

Auguſta.

Meleda.

Monte Sant Angelo.

The 22 we had ſight of another ſmall Iland called Catza, which is deſolate and on the left hand, and on the right hand, a very dangerous Iland called Pelagoſa, this is alſo deſolate, and lyeth in the midſt of the ſea betweene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and it hath a long ledge of rockes lying out ſixe miles in to the ſea, ſo that many ſhips by night are caſt away vpon them. There is betweene Catza and Pelagoſa 30 miles, and theſe two Ilands are diſtant from Venice 400 miles. There is alſo about twelue miles eaſtward, a great Iland called Auguſta, about 14 miles in length, ſomewhat hillie, but well inhabited, and fruitfull of vines, corne and other fruit, this alſo we left on the left hand: & we haue hitherto kept our courſe from Rouignio Eaſt ſoutheaſt. This Iland is vnder the Signiorie or gouernement of Raguſa, it is diſtant from Raguſa 50 miles, and there is by that Iland a greater, named Meleda, which is alſo vnder the gouernement of Raguſa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by Eaſt from Auguſta, and ouer againſt this Iland lyeth a hill called Monte S. Angelo, vpon the coaſt of Puglia in Italy, and we had ſight of both landes at one time.

Raguſa paieth 14000. Sechinos to the Turke yerely.

Il Cromo.

The 23 we ſayled all the day long by the bowline alongſt the coaſt of Raguſa, and towardes night we were within 7 or 8 miles of Raguſa, that we might ſee the white walles, but becauſe it was night, we caſt about to the ſea, minding at the ſecond watch, to beare in againe to Raguſa, for to know the newes of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew ſo hard and contrary, that we could not. This citie of Raguſa paieth tribute to the Turke yerely fourteene thouſand Sechinos, and euery Sechino is of venetian money eight liuers and two ſoldes, beſides other preſents which they giue to the Turkes Baſſas when they come thither. The Venetians haue a rocke or cragge within a mile of the ſaid towne, for the which the Raguſeos would giue them much money, but they doe keepe it more for the nameſake, then for profite. This rocke lieth on the Southſide of the towne, and is called Il cromo, there is nothing on it but onely a Monaſterie called Sant Ieronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cauſe they are in great ſubiection. This night wee were put backe by contratrie windes, and ankered at Melleda.

Zupanna.

Iſola de Mezo.

Sant Andrea.

The 24 being at an anker vnder Melleda, we would haue gone on land, but the winde came ſo faire that we preſently ſet ſayle and went our courſe, and left on the right hand of vs the forenamed Iland, and on the left hand betweene vs and the maine the Iland of Zupanna, and within a mile of that vnder the maine by Eaſt, another Iland called Iſola de Mezo. This Iland hath two Monaſteries in it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Alſo there is a third rocke with a Frierie called Sant Andrea: theſe Ilands are from the maine but two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or fiue miles ouer by geſſe, but very deepe, for we had at an anker fortie fathoms. The two Ilands of Zupanna and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie ſaue wine onely. This night toward ſunne ſet it waxed calme, and we ſayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were paſt Raguſa 14 miles, and there we mette with two Venetian ſhips, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would haue ſpoken with vs, for we were deſirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and to haue ſent ſome letters by them to Venice. About noone, we had ſcant ſight of Caſtel nouo, which Caſtell a fewe yeeres paſt the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which fight were ſlaine three hundred Spaniſh ſouldiers, beſides the reſt which were taken priſoners, and made gallieſlaues. This Caſtell is hard at the mouth of a channell called Boca de Cataro. The Venetians haue a hold within the channell called Cataro, this channell goeth vp to Budoa, and further vp into the countrey. About ſunneſet we were ouer againſt the hilles of Antiueri in Sclauonia, in the which hilles the Venetians haue a towne called Antiueri, and the Turkes haue another againſt it called Marcheuetti, the which two townes continually ſkirmiſh together with much ſlaughter. At the end of theſe hils endeth the Countrey of Sclauonia, and Albania beginneth. Theſe hilles are thirtie miles diſtant from Raguſa.

Caſtle nouo.

Boca de Cataro.

The towne Cataro.

Budoa.

Antiueri.

Marcheuetti.

The end of Sclauonia and the beginning of Albania.

The 27 we kept our courſe towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had ſight of both the maines, but we were neerer the coaſt of Puglia, for feare of Foyſtes. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania and Cape otranto in Puglia 60 miles. Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, ſo that it is ſeene the further. Thus ſayling our courſe along the coaſt of Puglia, we ſaw diuerſe white Towers, which ſerue for ſeamarkes. About three of the clocke in the after noone, we had ſight of a rocke called Il fano, 48 miles from Corfu, and by ſunne ſet we diſcouered Corfu. Thus we kept on our courſe with a proſperous winde, and made our way after twelue mile euery houre. Moſt part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fiſhes called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fiſh three quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Makarell, ſomewhat bigge and thick in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cauſe it is ſaid that the Turke will not ſuffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

Puglia.

Cape Chimera.

Cape Otranto.

Il fano.

Corfu.

Palomide.

The 29 in the morning we were in ſight of an Iland, which we left on our left hande called Cephalonia, it is vnder the Venetians and well inhabited, with a faire towne ſtrongly ſituated on a hill, of the which hill the Iland beareth her name, it hath alſo a very ſtrong fortreſſe or Caſtle, and plentie of corne and wine, their language is Greeke, it is diſtant from the maine of Morea, thirtie miles, it is in compaſſe 80 miles. One houre within night we ſayled by the towne ſtanding on the South cape of Cephalonia, whereby we might perceiue their lights. There come oftentimes into the creekes and riuers, the Turkes foyſtes and gallies where at their arriuall, the Countrey people doe ſignifie vnto their neighbours by ſo many lights, as there are foiſtes or gallies in the Iland, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Iland ouer. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde ſcanted, and wee minded to haue gone to Zante, but we could not for that night. This Iland of Zante is diſtant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is diſtant fortie miles. This night we went but little forward.

Cephalonia.

Morea.

Zante.

The 30 day we remained ſtill turning vp and downe becauſe the winde was contrary, and towards night the winde mended, ſo that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia, & Zante, the which chanell is about eight or tenne miles ouer, and theſe two beare Eaſt and by South, and Weſt and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land, where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

The 31 about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, I with fiue Hollanders went on land, and hoſted at the houſe of Pedro de Venetia. After breakfaſt we went to ſee the towne, and paſſing along we went into ſome of the Greeke churches, wherein we ſawe their Altares, Images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monaſterie of Friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, theſe are weſterne Chriſtians, for the Greekes haue nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery. In this Monaſterie we ſaw the tombe that M. T. Cicero, was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was founde about ſixe yeeres ſince, when the Monaſtery was built, there was in time paſt a ſtreete where the tombe ſtoode. At the finding of the tombe there was alſo found a yard vnder ground, a ſquare ſtone ſomewhat longer then broad, vpon which ſtone was found a writing of two ſeuerall handes writing, the one as it ſeemed, for himſelfe, and the other for his wife, and vnder the ſame ſtone was found a glaſſe ſomewhat proportioned like an

Iohn Locke, and fiue Hollanders goe on land.

Santa Maria de la Croce.

The tombe of M. T. Cicero.

vrinall, but that it was eight ſquare and very thicke, wherein were the aſhes of the head and right arme of Mar. T. Cicero, for as ſtories make mention he was beheaded as I remember at Capua, for inſurrection. And his wife hauing got his head and right arme, (which was brought to Rome to the Emperour) went from Rome, and came to Zante, and there buried his head and arme, and wrote vpon his tombe this ſtyle M. T. Cicero. *Haue. Then followeth in other letters, *Et tu Terentia Antonia*, which difference of letters declare that they were not written both at one time. The tombe is long and narrowe, and deepe, walled on euery ſide like a graue, in the botome whereof was found the ſayd ſtone with the writing on it, & the ſaid glaſſe of aſhes, and alſo another litle glaſſe of the ſame proportion, wherein, as they ſay, are the teares of his friendes, that in thoſe dayes they did vſe to gather and bury with them, as they did vſe in Italy and Spaine to teare their haire, to bury with their friendes. In the ſayde tombe were a fewe bones. After dinner we reſted vntill it drew towards euening by reaſon of the heat. And about foure of the clocke we walked to another Frierie a mile out of the towne called Sant Elia, theſe are white Friers, there were two, but one is dead, not ſixe dayes ſince. This Frierie hath a garden very pleaſant, and well furniſhed with Orenges, Lemons, pomegranates, and diuers other good fruites. The way to it is ſomewhat ragged, vp hill and downe, and very ſtonie, and in winter very durtie. It ſtandeth very pleaſantly in a clift betweene two hilles, with a good proſpect. From thence we aſcended the hill to the Caſtle, which is ſituated on the very toppe of a hill. This Caſtle is very ſtrong, in compaſſe a large mile and a halfe, which being victualed, (as it is neuer vnfurniſhed) and manned with men of truſt, it may defend it ſelfe againſt any Princes power. This Caſtle taketh the iuſt compaſſe of the hill, and no other hill neere it, it is ſo ſteepe downe, and ſo high and ragged, that it will tyre any man or euer he be halfe way vp. Very nature hath fortified the walles and bulwarkes: It is by nature foure ſquare, and it commandeth the towne and porte. The Venetians haue alwayes their Podeſta, or Gouernour, with his two Counſellours reſident therein. The towne is well inhabited, & hath great quantitie of houſholders. The Iland by report is threeſcore and tenne miles about, it is able to make twentie thouſand fighting men. They ſay they haue alwayes fiue or ſixe hundred horſemen readie at an houres warning. They ſay the Turke hath aſſayed it with 100. Gallies, but he could neuer bring his purpoſe to paſſe. It is ſtrange to mee how they ſhould maintaine ſo many men in this Iland, for their beſt ſuſtenance is wine, and the reſt but miſerable.

*Or, Aue.

The deſcriptiō of the tombe.

Sant Elia, but one Frier.

The deſcriptiō of the Caſtle of Zante.

The Turke hath attempted the Iland of Zante.

The firſt of Auguſt we were warned aboord by the patron, and towards euening we ſet ſayle, and had ſight of a Caſtle called Torneſte, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante, it did belong to the Venetians, but they haue now loſt it, it ſtandeth alſo on a hill on the ſea ſide in Morea. All that night we bare into the ſea, becauſe we had newes at Zante of twelue of the Turkes gallies, that came from Rhodes, which were about Modon, Coron, and Candia, for which cauſe we kept at the ſea.

The Caſtle of Torneſte.

Twelue turks gallies at Modon, and Coron, and Candia.

The ſecond of Auguſt we had no ſight of land, but kept our courſe, and about the third watch the winde ſcanted, ſo that we bare with the ſhore, and had ſight of Modon and Coron.

Modon.
Coron.

The third we had ſight of Cauo Mattapan, and all that day by reaſon of contrary windes, which blew ſomewhat hard, we lay a hull vntill morning.

Cauo Mattapan.

The fourth we were ſtill vnder the ſayd Cape, and ſo continued that day, and towardes night there grewe a contention in the ſhip amongſt the Hollanders, and it had like to haue bene a great inconuenience, for we had all our weapons, yea euen our kniues taken from vs that night.

The fift, we ſayled by the Bowline, and out of the toppe we had ſight of the Iland of Candia, and towardes noone we might ſee it plaine, and towards night the winde waxed calme.

Candia.

The ſixt toward the breake of day we ſaw two ſmall Ilands called Gozi, and towards noone we were betweene them: the one of theſe Ilands is fifteene miles about, and the other 10 miles. In thoſe Ilands are nouriſhed ſtore of cattell for butter and cheeſe. There are to the number of fiftie or ſixtie inhabitants, which are Greeks, and they liue chiefly on milke and cheeſe. The Iland of Candia is 700 miles about, it is in length, from Cape Spada, to Cape Salomon, 300 miles, it is as they ſay, able to make one hundred thouſand fighting men. We ſayled betweene the Gozi, and Candia, and they are diſtant from Candia 5 or 6 miles. The Candiots are ſtrong men, and very good archers, and ſhoot neere the marke. This Ilande is from Zante 300 miles.

Gozi.

Candia.

Cape Spada.
C. Salomon.

The ſeuenth we ſayled all along the ſayd Iland with little winde and vnſtable, and the eight day towards night we drew to the Eaſt end of the Iland.

The 9 and 10 we ſayled along with a proſperous winde and ſaw no land.

The 11 in the morning, we had ſight of the Iland of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the Cape called Ponta Malota, and about foure of the clocke we were as farre as Baffo, and about ſunne ſet we paſſed Cauo Bianco, and towards nine of the clocke at night we doubled

Ponta, Malota.
Baffo.
Cauo Bianco.

Cauo de le gatte, and ankered afore Limiſſo, but the wind blew ſo hard, that we coulde not come neere the towne, neither durſt any man goe on land. The towne is from Cauo de le gatte twelue miles diſtant.

Cauo de la gatte.

Limiſſo.

The 12. of Auguſt in the morning wee went on land to Limiſſo: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, ſaue onely in the mids of the towne there hath bene a fortreſſe, which is now decayed, and the wals part ouerthrowen, which a Turkiſh Rouer with certaine gallies did deſtroy about 10. or 12. yeeres paſt. This day walking to ſee the towne, we chanced to ſee in the market place, a great quantitie of a certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Caualette. It is as I can learne, both in ſhape and bigneſſe like a graſſehopper, for I can iudge but little difference. Of theſe many yeeres they haue had ſuch quantitie ẏ they deſtroy all their corne. They are ſo plagued with them, ẏ almoſt euery yeere they doe well nie looſe halfe their corne, whether it be the nature of the countrey, or the plague of God, that let them iudge that beſt can define. But that there may no default be laied to their negligence for the deſtruction of thẽ, they haue throughout the whole land a conſtituted order, that euery Farmor or huſbandman (which are euen as ſlaues bought and ſold to their lord) ſhall euery yeere pay according to his territorie, a meaſure full of the ſeede or egges of theſe forenamed Caualette, the which they are bound to bring to the market, and preſent to the officer appointed for the ſame, the which officer taketh of them very ſtraight meaſure, and writeth the names of the preſenters, and putteth the ſayd egges or ſeed, into a houſe appointed for the ſame, and hauing the houſe full, they beate them to pouder, and caſt them into the ſea, and by this policie they doe as much as in them lieth for the deſtruction of them. This vermine breedeth or ingendereth at the time of corne being ripe, and the corne beyng had away, in the clods of the ſame ground do the huſbandmen find ẏ neſtes, or, as I may rather terme them, caſes of the egges of the ſame vermine. Their neſts are much like to the keies of a haſelnut tree, when they be dried, and of the ſame length, but ſomewhat bigger, which caſe being broken you ſhall ſee the egges lie much like vnto antes egges, but ſomewhat leſſer. Thus much I haue written at this time, becauſe I had no more time of knowledge, but I truſt at my returne to note more of this iſland, with the commodities of the ſame at large.

Caualette, is a certaine vermine in the Iſland of Cyprus.

The 13. day we went in the morning to the Greekes church, to ſee the order of their ceremonies, & of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonious croſſings, it were to long. Wherefore leaſt I ſhould offend any man, I leaue it vnwritten: but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or ſeruice, not one did euer kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I euer ſee any grauen images, but painted or portrayed. Alſo they haue ſtore of lampes alight, almoſt for euery image one. Their women are alwayes ſeperated from the men, and generally they are in the lower ende of the Church. This night we went aboord the ſhip, although the wind were contrary, we did it becauſe the patrone ſhould not find any lacke of vs, as ſometimes he did: when as tarying vpon his owne buſineſſe, he would colour it with the delay of the pilgrimes.

The pilgrimes going to the Greeke churches.

The 14. day in the morning we ſet ſaile, and loſt ſight of the Iſland of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewiſe at Sea, and ſawe no land: and the 16. day towards night, we looked for land, but we ſawe none. But becauſe we ſuppoſed our ſelues to be neere our port, we tooke in all our ſailes except onely the foreſaile and the miſſen, and ſo we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we were by report of the Mariners, ſome ſixe miles from Iaffa, but it prooued contrary. But becauſe we would be ſure, wee came to an anker ſeuen miles from the ſhore, and ſent the ſkiffe with the Pilot and the maſter gunner, to learne the coaſt, but they returned, not hauing ſeen tree nor houſe, nor ſpoken with any man. But when they came to the ſea ſide againe, they went vp a little hill ſtanding hard by the brinke, whereon as they thought they ſawe the hill of Ieruſalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his iudgement) that wee were paſt our port. And ſo this place where we rode was, as the mariners ſayd, about 50. mile from Iaffa. This coaſt all alongſt is very lowe, plaine, white, ſandie, and deſert, for which cauſe it hath fewe markes or none, ſo that we rode here as it were in a gulfe betweene two Capes.

The 18. day we abode ſtill at anker, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary: and the 19. we ſet ſaile, but the currant hauing more force then the winde, we were driuen backe, inſomuch, that the ſhip being vnder ſaile, we caſt the ſounding lead, & (notwithſtanding the wind) it remained before the ſhippe, there wee had muddie ground at fifteene fadome. The ſame day about 4. of the clocke, wee ſet ſaile againe, and ſayled Weſt alongſt the coaſt with a freſh ſidewinde. It chanced by fortune that the ſhippes Cat lept into the Sea, which being downe, kept her ſelfe very valiauntly aboue water, notwithſtanding the great waues, ſtill ſwimming, the which the maſter knowing, he cauſed the Skiffe with halfe a doſen men to goe towards her and fetch her againe, when ſhe was almoſt halfe a mile from the ſhippe, and all this while the

A great currant.

A Cat fallen into the ſea and recouered.

ſhip

ſhippe lay on ſtaies. I hardly beleeue they would haue made ſuch haſte and meanes if one of the company had bene in the like perill. They made the more haſte becauſe it was the patrons cat. This I haue written onely to note the eſtimation that cats are in, among the Italians, for generally they eſteeme their cattes, as in England we eſteeme a good Spaniell. The ſame night about tenne of the clocke the winde calmed, and becauſe none of the ſhippe knewe where we were, we let fall an anker about 6 mile from the place we were at before, and there wee had muddie ground at twelue fathome.

They met with two Moores on land.

The 20 it was ſtill calme, and the current ſo ſtrong ſtill one way, that we were not able to ſtemme the ſtreame: moreouer we knew not where we were, whereupon doubting whither wee were paſt, or ſhort of our port, the Maſter, Pilot, and other Officers of the ſhippe entered into counſell what was beſt to doe, whereupon they agreed to ſende the bote on lande againe, to ſeeke ſome man to ſpeake with all, but they returned as wiſe as they went. Then we ſet ſayle againe and ſounded euery mile or halfe mile, and found ſtill one depth, ſo we not knowing where we were, came againe to an anker, ſeuen or eight miles by Weſt from the place we were at. Thus ſtill doubting where we were, the bote went on land againe, and brought newes that wee were ſhort 80 miles of the place, whereas we thought wee had beene ouerſhot by eaſt fiftie miles. Thus in theſe doubts we loſt foure dayes, and neuer a man in the ſhippe able to tell where we were, notwithſtanding there were diuerſe in the ſhippe that had beene there before. Then ſayd the Pylot, that at his comming to the ſhore, by chance he ſaw two wayfaring men, which were Moores, and he cryed to them in Turkiſh, inſomuch that the Moores, partly for feare, and partly for lacke of vnderſtanding, (ſeeing them to be Chriſtians) beganne to flie, yet in the end with much a doe, they ſtayed to ſpeake with them, which men when they came together, were not able to vnderſtand ech other, but our men made to them the ſigne of the Croſſe on the ſande, to giue them to vnderſtand that they were of the ſhippe that brought the pilgrims. Then the Moores knowing (as al the country elſe doth) that it was the vſe of Chriſtians to go to Ieruſalem, ſhewed them to be yet by weſt of Iaffa. Thus we remained all that night at anker, and the farther weſt that we ſayled, the leſſe water we had.

The two towers of Iaffa.

Scolio di Santo Petro.

The 21 we ſet ſayle againe, and kept our courſe Northeaſt, but becauſe we would not goe along the ſhore by night, wee came to an anker in foure and twentie fathome water. Then the next morning being the 22 we ſet ſayle againe, and kept our courſe as before, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone wee had ſight of the two towers of Iaffa, and about fiue of the clocke, wee were with a rocke, called in the Italian tongue, Scolio di Santo Petro, on the which rocke they ſay he fiſhed, when Chriſt bid him caſt his net on the right ſide, and caught ſo many fiſhes. This rocke is now almoſt worne away. It is from Iaffa two or three mile: here before the two towers we came to an anker. Then the pilgrimes after ſupper, in ſalutation of the holy lande, ſang to the prayſe of God, Te Deum laudamus, with Magnificat, and Benedictus, but in the ſhippe was a Frier of Santo Franciſco, who for anger becauſe he was not called and warned, would not ſing with vs, ſo that he ſtood ſo much vpon his dignitie, that he forgot his ſimplicitie, and neglected his deuotion to the holy land for that time, ſaying that firſt they ought to haue called him yer they did beginne, becauſe he was a Fryer, and had beene there, and knewe the orders.

A meſſenger departeth for Ieruſalem.

Mahomet is clothed in greene.

The 23 we ſent the bote on land with a meſſenger to the Padre Guardian of Ieruſalem. This day it was notified vnto mee by one of the ſhippe that had beene a ſlaue in Turkie, that no man might weare greene in this land, becauſe their prophet Mahomet went in greene. This came to my knowledge by reaſon of the Scriuanello, who had a greene cap, which was forbidden him to weare on the land.

The 24. 25. and 26 we taryed in the ſhippe ſtill looking for the comming of the Padre guardian, and the 26 at night we had a ſtorme which laſted all the next day.

The Guardian of Ieruſalem commeth to Iaffa, with the Cady and Subaſſi.

A cloud called of the Italians Cion moſt dangerous.

A coniuration.

The 27 in the morning, came the Cadi, yͤ Subaſſi, & the Meniwe, with the Padre guardian, but they could not come at vs by reaſon of the ſtormy weather: in the afternoone we aſſayed to ſend the bote on land, but the weather would not ſuffer vs. Then againe toward night the bote went a ſhore, but it returned not that night. The ſame day in the afternoone we ſawe in the element, a cloud with a long tayle, like vnto the tayle of a ſerpent, which cloud is called in Italian Cion, the tayle of this cloud did hang as it were into the ſea: and we did ſee the water vnder the ſayde cloude aſcend, as it were like a ſmoke or myſte, the which this Cion drew vp to it. The Marriners reported to vs that it had this propertie, that if it ſhould happen to haue lighted on any part of the ſhippe, that it would rent and wreth ſayles, maſt, ſhroudes and ſhippe and all in manner like a wyth: on the land, trees, houſes, or whatſoeuer elſe it lighteth on, it would rent and wreth. Theſe marriners did vſe a certaine coniuration to breake the ſayd tayle, or cut it in two, which as they ſay doth preuaile. They did take a blacke hafted knife, and with the edge of the ſame did croſſe the ſaid taile as if they would cut it in twain, ſaying theſe words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they ſtucke the knife on the ſhip ſide with the edge towards the ſaid cloude, and I ſaw it therewith vaniſh in leſſe then one quarter of an houre. But whether it was then conſumed, or whether by vertue of the Inchantment it did vaniſh I knowe it, but it was gone. Hereof let them iudge that know more then I. This afternoone we had no winde, but the Sea very ſtormy, inſomuch that neither cheſte, pot, nor any thing elſe could ſtand in the ſhippe, and wee were driuen to keepe our meate in one hand, and the pot in the other, and ſo ſit downe vpon the hatches to eate, for ſtand we could not, for that the Seas in the very port at an anker went ſo high as if wee had bene in the bay of Portugall with ſtormy weather. The reaſon is, as the Mariners ſaid to me, becauſe that there meete all the waues from all places of the Straights of Gibraltar, and there breake, and that in moſt calmes there go greateſt ſeas, whether the winde blow or not.

The 28. the weather growing ſomewhat calme, wee went on land and reſted our ſelues for that day, and the next day we ſet forward toward the city of Ieruſalem.

What I did, and what places of deuotion I viſited in Ieruſalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this my departure from Iaffa, vntill my returne to the ſaid port, may briefly be ſeene in my Teſtimoniall, vnder the hand & ſeale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace.

VNiuerſis & ſingulis pręſentes litteras inſpecturis ſalutem in Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto. Atteſtamur vobis ac alijs quibuſcunq;, qualiter honorabilis vir Iohannes Lok ciuis Londonienſis, filius honorabilis viri Guilhelmi Lok equitis aurati, ad ſacratiſſima terræ ſanctæ loca perſonaliter ſe contulit, ſanctiſſimum Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti ſepluchrum, e quo die tertia glorioſus à mortuis reſurrexit, ſacratiſſimum Caluariæ montem, in quo pro nobis omnibus cruci affixus mori dignatus eſt, Sion etiam montem vbi cœnam illam mirificam cum diſcipulis ſuis fecit, & vbi ſpiritus ſanctus in die ſancto Pentecoſtes in diſcipulos eoſdem in linguis igneis deſcendit, Oliuetiq; mõtem vbi mirabiliter coelos aſcendit, intemeratę virginis Marię Mauſoleum in Ioſaphat vallis medio ſitum, Bethaniam quoq;, Bethlehem ciuitatem Dauid in qua de puriſſima virgine Maria natus eſt, ibique inter animalia reclinatus, pluraq; loca alia tam in Hieruſalem ciuitate ſancta terre Iudęę, quàm extra, à modernis peregrinis viſitari ſolita, deuotiſſimè viſitauit, pariterq: adorauit. In quorum fidem, ego frater Anthonius de Bergamo ordinis fratrum minorũ regularis obſeruantię prouincię diui Anthonij Sacri conuentus montis Sion vicarius (licet indignus) necnon aliorum locorum terrę Sanctæ, apoſtolica authoritate comiſſarius & rector, has Sigillo maiori noſtri officij noſtraque ſubſcriptione muniri volui. Datum Hieroſolymis apud ſacratiſſimum domini coenaculum in ſępè memorato monte Sion, Anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo, quinquageſimo tertio, die vero ſexto menſis Septembris.

Frater Antonius qui ſupra.

The pilgrimes returne from Ieruſalem.

Mount Carmel.

THe 15. of September being come from our pilgrimage, we went aborde our ſhippe, and ſet ſaile, and kept our courſe Weſt toward the Iſland of Ciprus, but al that night it was calme, and the 16. the winde freſhed, and we paſſed by Mount Carmel.

The 17. the winde was very ſcant, yet we kept the ſea, and towards night wee had a guſte of raine whereby wee were conſtrained to ſtrike our ſailes, but it was not very ſtormie, nor laſted very long.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. we kept ſtill the ſea and ſaw no land becauſe we had very litle winde, and that not very fauourable.

The 22. at noone the Boatſwaine ſent ſome of the Mariners into the boat, (which we toed aſterne from Iaffa) for certaine neceſſaries belonging to the ſhip, wherein the Mariners found a certaine fiſh in proportion like a Dace, about 6. inches long (yet the Mariners ſaid they had ſeene the like a foote long and more) the which fiſh had on euery ſide a wing, and toward the taile two other leſſer as it were finnes, on either ſide one, but in proportion they were wings and of a good length. Theſe wings grow out betweene the gils and the carkaſſe of the ſame fiſh. They are called in the Italian tongue Peſce columbini, for in deede, the wings being ſpred it is like to a flying doue, they ſay it will flie farre, and very high. So it ſeemeth that being weary of her flight, ſhe fell into the boate, and not being able to riſe againe died there.

Peſce columbini.

The 23. 24. and 25. we ſailed our direct courſe with a ſmall gale of winde, and this day we had ſight of the Iſland of Cyprus. The firſt land that we diſcouered was a headland called Cauo de la Griega, and about midnight we ankered by North of the Cape. This cape is a high hil, long and ſquare, and on the Eaſt corner it hath a high cop, that appeareth vnto thoſe at the ſea, like a white cloud, for toward the ſea it is white, and it lieth into the ſea Southweſt. This coaſt of Cyprus is high declining toward the ſea, but it hath no cliffes.

Cauo de la Griega.

The

Salini.
Arnacho di Salini.
Caſalia.

The 26. we ſet ſaile againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence called Arnacho di Salini, this is but a village called in Italian, Caſalia. This is diſtant from Iaffa 250. Italian miles.

Sixe horſemen to watch the ſalt pit.

The 27. we reſted, and the 28. we hired horſes to ride from Arnacho to Salina, which is a good mile. The ſalt pit is very neere two miles in compaſſe, very plaine and leuell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water comming from the mountaines, which water is let in vntil the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the reſt is conueyed by a trench into the ſea. This water is let runne in about October, or ſooner or later, as the time of the yeere doth afforde. There they let it remaine vntill the ende of Iuly or the middeſt of Auguſt, out of which pits at that time, in ſtead of water that they let in they gather very faire white ſalt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heate of the ſunne. This the Venetians haue, and doe maintaine to the vſe of S. Marke, and the Venetian ſhips that come to this Iland are bound to caſt out their ballaſt, and to lade with ſalt for Venice. Alſo there may none in all the Iland buy ſalt but of theſe men, who maintaine theſe pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. horſemen to the end it be not ſtolne by night. Alſo vnder the Venetians dominions no towne may ſpende any ſalt, but they muſt buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any ſalt at one towne to carie to another, but euery one muſt buy his ſalt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy more ſalt then he ſpendeth in the city, for if he be knowen to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accuſed, hee looſeth an eare. The moſt part of all the ſalt they haue in Venice commeth from theſe Salines, and they haue it ſo plentifull, that they are not able, neuer a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in Iuly, Auguſt, and September, and not fully theſe three monethes. Yet notwithſtanding the abundance that the ſhippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hilles, ſome heapes able to lade nine or tenne ſhippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, ſome of three and ſome of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great ſumme of golde, and when the ſhips do lade, they neuer take it by meaſure, but when they come at Venice they meaſure it. This ſalt as it lyeth in the pit is like ſo much ice, and it is ſixe inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cauſe their ſlaues to cary it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famaguſta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24 Engliſh miles.

Famaguſta.

Mozenigo. Solde of Venice.

Caſtellani.

The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famaguſta, and after we were refreſhed we went to ſee the towne. This is a very faire ſtrong holde, and the ſtrongeſt and greateſt in the Iland. The walles are faire and new, and ſtrongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrions, reſponding one to another, theſe walles did the Venetians make. They haue alſo on the hauen ſide of it a Caſtle, and the hauen is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to ſay, one for the lande and another for the ſea, they haue in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 ſouldiers, and fortie and ſixe gunners, beſides Captaines, petie Captaines, Gouernour and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie ſouldiers, pikes and gunners with their harnes, watching thereat night and day. At the ſea gate fiue and twentie, vpon the walles euery night doe watch fifteene men in watch houſes, for euery watch houſe fiue men, and in the market place 30 ſouldiers continually. There may no ſoldier ſerue there aboue 5. yeres, neither will they without friendſhip ſuffer them to depart afore 5. yeres be expired, and there may ſerue of all nations except Greekes. They haue euery pay, which is 45. dayes, 15 Mozenigos, which is 15 ſhillings ſterling. Their horſemen haue onely ſixe ſoldes Venetian a day, and prouender for their horſes, but they haue alſo certaine lande therewith to plow and ſowe for the maintenance of their horſes, but truely I maruell how they liue being ſo hardly fed, for all the ſommer they feede onely vpon chopt ſtrawe and barley, for hey they haue none, and yet they be faire, fat and ſeruiceable. The Venetians ſend euery two yeeres new rulers, which they call Caſtellani. The towne hath allowed it alſo two gallies continually armed and furniſhed.

Saint Katherens Chappel in old Famaguſta.

Diuers coines vnder ground.

The 30 in the morning we ridde to a chappell, where they ſay Saint Katherin was borne. This Chappell is in olde Famaguſta, the which was deſtroyed by Engliſhmen, and is cleane ouerthrowne to the ground, to this day deſolate and not inhabited by any perſon, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and ſtrong buildings, and not onely there, but alſo in many places of the Iland. Moreouer when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde ſometimes olde antient coines, ſome of golde, ſome of ſiluer, and ſome of copper, yea and many tombes and vautes with ſepulchers in them. This olde Famaguſta is from the other, foure miles, and ſtandeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famaguſta againe to dinner, and toward euening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we ſawe the tombe of king Iaques, which was the laſt king of Cyprus, and was buried in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred ſeuentie & three, and had to wife one of the daughters of

Venice, of the houſe of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great reuenues in this Iſland, and by meanes of that mariage, the Venetians chalenge the kingdom of Cyprus.

Cornari, a familie of Venice maried to king Iaques.

The firſt of October in the morning, we went to ſee the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greekes Churches to ſee a pot or Iarre of ſtone, which is ſayd to bee one of the ſeuen Iarres of water, the which the Lord God at the mariage conuerted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enamelled, and fairely wrought vpon with drawen worke, and hath on either ſide of it, inſtead of handles, eares made in fourme as the Painters make angels wings, it was about an elle high, and ſmall at the bottome, with a long necke and correſpondent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelue gallons, and hath a tap-hole to drawe wine out thereat, the Iarre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not. The aire of Famaguſta is very vnwholeſome, as they ſay, by reaſon of certaine mariſh ground adioyning vnto it. They haue alſo a certaine yeerely ſickneſſe raigning in the ſame towne, aboue all the reſt of the Iſland: yet neuertheleſſe, they haue it in other townes, but not ſo much. It is a certaine redneſſe and paine of the eyes, the which if it bee not quickly holpen, it taketh away their ſight, ſo that yeerely almoſt in that towne, they haue about twentie that loſe their ſight, either of one eye or both, and it commeth for the moſt part in this moneth of October, and the laſt moneth: for I haue met diuers times three and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their liuing is better cheape in Famaguſta then in any other place of the Iſland, becauſe there may no kinde of prouiſion within their libertie bee ſolde out of the Citie.

No vitailes muſt be ſold out of the city of Famaguſta.

The ſecond of October we returned to Arnacho, where wee reſted vntill the ſixt day. This towne is a pretie Village, there are thereby toward the Sea ſide diuers monuments, that there hath bene great ouerthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no yere when they finde not, digging vnder ground, either coines, caues, and ſepulchres of antiquities, as we walking, did ſee many, ſo that in effect, all alongſt the Sea coaſt, throughout the whole Iſland, there is much ruine and ouerthrow of buildings: for as they ſay, it was diſinhabited ſixe and thirtie yeres before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And ſince that time it hath bene ruinated and ouerthrowen by Richard the firſt of that name, king of England, which he did in reuenge of his ſiſters rauiſhment comming to Ieruſalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famaguſta.

Great ruines in Cyprus.

Cyprus 36. yeres diſinhabited for lacke of water.

Cypr. ruinated by Rich. the 1.

The ſixt day we rid to Nicoſia, which is from Arnacho ſeuen Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian miles. This is the ancienteſt citie of the Iſland, and is walled about, but it is not ſtrong neither of walles nor ſituation: It is by report three Cyprus miles about, it is not throughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and alſo very many Date trees, and plentie of Pomegranates and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Iſland, and there hath euery Cauallier or Conte of the Iſland an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine rented by ſaint Marke, which is bound euery eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for euery tree a Bizantin, which is twelue ſoldes Venice, and ſixpence ſterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden thereto belonging, paieth euery yeere to ſaint Marke, fifteene hundred crownes. The ſtreetes of the citie are not paued, which maketh it with the quantitie of the gardens, to ſeeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be alſo Monaſteries both of Franks & Greekes. The Cathedrall church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of Iaſpis ſtone, all of one piece, made in forme of a cariage coffer, twelue ſpannes long, ſixe ſpannes broad, and ſeuen ſpannes high, which they ſay was found vnder ground. It is as faire a ſtone as euer I haue ſeene.

Nicoſia.

A fountaine that watereth al the gardens in the citie.

A Bizantin is 6. d. ſterling.

S. Sophia is a Cathedral church of Nicoſia.

The ſeuenth day we rid to a Greeke Frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleaſaunt place, and the Friers feaſted vs according to their abilitie. Theſe Friers are ſuch as haue bene Prieſts, and their wiues dying they muſt become Friers of this place, and neuer after eate fleſh, for if they do, they are depriued from ſaying maſſe: neither, after they haue taken vpon them this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a ſingle woman. Theſe Greekiſh Friers are very continent and chaſt, and ſurely I haue ſeldome ſeen (which I haue well noted) any of them fat.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and reſted there. The 9. after midnight my company rid to the hill called Monte de la Croce (but I not diſpoſed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Vpon the ſayd hill is a certaine croſſe, which is, they ſay, a holy Croſſe. This Croſſe in times paſt did by their report of the Iſland, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the croſſe and the chappell it hung in, were ouerthrowen, ſo that neuer ſince it would hang againe in the aire. But it is now couered with ſiluer, and hath 3. drops of our lordes blood

Monte de la Croce.

on it (as they ſay) and there is in the midſt of the great croſſe, a little croſſe made of the croſſe of Chriſt, but it is cloſed in the ſiluer, you muſt (if you will) beleeue it is ſo, for ſee it you cannot. This croſſe hangeth nowe by both endes in the wall, that you may ſwing it vp and downe, in token that it did once hang in the aire. This was told mee by my fellow pilgrimes, for I ſawe it not.

The 10. at night we went aboord by warning of the patron: and the 11. in the morning we ſet ſaile, and crept along the ſhore, but at night we ankered by reaſon of contrary windes.

Limiſſo.

The 12. we ſet ſaile toward Limiſſo, which is from Salines 50. miles, and there we went on land that night.

Carrobi.

Vulture.

The 13. and 14. we remained ſtill on land, and the 15. the patrone ſent for vs; but by reaſon that one of our company was not well, we went not preſently, but we were forced afterward to hire a boate, and to ouertake the ſhip tenne miles into the ſea. At this Limiſſo all the Venetian ſhips lade wine for their prouiſion, and ſome for to ſell, and alſo vineger. They lade alſo great ſtore of Carrobi: for all the countrey thereabout adioining, and all the mountaines are full of Carrobi trees, they lade alſo cotton wooll there. In the ſayd towne we did ſee a certaine foule of the land (whereof there are many in this Iſland) named in the Italian tongue Vulture. It is a fowle that is as big as a Swanne, and it liueth vpon carion. The ſkinne is full of ſoft doune, like to a fine furre, which they vſe to occupie when they haue euill ſtomacks, and it maketh good digeſtion. This bird (as they ſay) will eate as much at one meale as ſhall ſerue him fortie dayes after, and within the compaſſe of that time careth for no more meate. The countrey people, when they haue any dead beaſt, they cary it into the mountaines, or where they ſuppoſe the ſayd Vultures to haunt, they ſeeing the carion doe immediately greedily ſeaze vpon it, and doe ſo ingraft their talents, that they cannot ſpeedily riſe agayne, by reaſon whereof the people come and kill them: ſometimes they kill them with dogs, and ſomtimes with ſuch weapons as they haue. This foule is very great and hardy, much like an Eagle in the feathers of her wings and backe, but vnder her great feathers ſhe is onely doune, her necke alſo long and full of doune. She hath on the necke bone, betweene the necke and the ſhoulders, a heape of fethers like a Taſſell, her thighs vnto her knees are couered with doune, her legs ſtrong and great, and dareth with her talents aſſault a man. They haue alſo in this Iſland a certaine ſmall bird, much like vnto a Wagtaile in fethers and making, theſe are ſo extreme fat that you can perceiue nothing els in all their bodies: theſe birds are now in ſeaſon. They take great quantitie of them, and they vſe to pickle them with vineger and ſalt, and to put them in pots and ſend them to Venice and other places of Italy for preſents of great eſtimation. They ſay they ſend almoſt 1200. Iarres or pots to Venice, beſides thoſe which are conſumed in the Iſland, which are a great number. Theſe are ſo plentifull that when there is no ſhipping, you may buy them for 10. Carchies, which coine are 4. to a Venetian Soldo, which is peny farthing the dozen, and when there is ſtore of ſhipping, 2. pence the dozen, after that rate of their money. They of the limites of Famaguſta do keep the ſtatutes of yͤ Frenchmen which ſometimes did rule there. And the people of Nicoſia obſerue the order of the Genoueſes, who ſometimes alſo did rule them. All this day we lay in the ſea with little wind.

Great plenty of very fat birds.

The Famaguſtans obſerue the French ſtatutes.

The 16. we met a Venetian ſhip, and they willing to ſpeake with vs, and we with them, made towards each other, but by reaſon of the euil ſtirrage of the other ſhip, we had almoſt boorded each other to our great danger. Toward night we ankered vnder Cauo Bianco, but becauſe the winde grew faire, we ſet ſaile againe preſently.

Cauo Bianco.

The 17. 18. 19. and 20. we were at ſea with calme ſommer weather, and the 20. we had ſome raine, and ſaw another Cion in the element. This day alſo we ſawe, and ſpake with a Venetian ſhip called el Bonna, bound for Ciprus.

Another Cion.

A ſhip called el Bonna.

The 21. we ſailed with a reaſonable gale, and ſaw no land vntil the 4. of Nouember. This day we had raine, thunder, lightening, and much wind and ſtormie weather, but God be praiſed we eſcaped all dangers.

A great tempeſt.

The 4. of Nouember, we had firſt ſight of the Iſland of Candia, and we fell with the Iſlands called Gozi, by South of Candia. This day departed this preſent life, one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Pruſſia, who onely tooke his ſurfet of Cyprus wine. This night we determined to ride a trie, becauſe the wind was contrary, and the weather troubleſome.

Candia, Gozi.

Antonie Gelber departeth this life.

The 5. we had very rough ſtormie weather. This day was the ſayd Anthonie Gelber ſowed in a Chauina filled with ſtones and throwen into the ſea. By reaſon of the freſhnes of the wind we would haue made toward the ſhore, but the wind put vs to the ſea, where we endured a great ſtorme and a troubleſome night.

The 6. 7. and 8. we were continually at the ſea, & this day at noone the wind came faire, whereby we recouered the way which we had loſt, and ſailed out of ſight of Candia.

The 9. we ſailed all day with a proſperous wind after 14. mile an houre: and the 10. in the morning, wee had ſight of Cauo Matapan, and by noone of Cauo Gallo, in Morea, with which land we made by reaſon of contrary wind, likewiſe we had ſight of Modon, vnder the which place we ankered. This Modon is a ſtrong towne, and built in the ſea, and ioineth on the North ſide to the land. It hath a litle caſtle built into the ſea, with a peere for litle ſhips and galleis to harbour in. It hath on the South ſide of the chanell, the Iſland of Sapientia, with other litle Iſlands all diſinhabited. The chanell lieth Southweſt and Northeaſt betweene the Iſlands and Morea, which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as ſome ſay it was taken frō them by force of the Turke, and others ſay by compoſition: in like caſe Coron, and Napolis de Romania, which is alſo in Morea. This night the Flemmiſh pilgrimes being drunke would haue ſlaine the patrone becauſe he ankered here.

Cauo Matapan.
Cauo Gallo.
Modon.
Sapientia.
Coron.
Napolis de Romania.

The 11. day we ſet ſaile againe, and as we paſſed by Modon, we ſaluted them with ordinance, for they that paſſe by this place, muſt ſalute with ordinance, (if they haue) or els by ſtriking their top ſailes, for if they doe not, the towne will ſhoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke wee paſſed by the Iſland of Prodeno, which is but litle, and deſert, vnder the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had ſight of the Iſlands of Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundreth miles.

Prodeno.
Zante and Cephalonia.

The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at Weſt, we doubled betweene Caſtle Torneſte, and the Iſland of Zante. This caſtle is on the firme land vnder the Turke. This night we ankred afore the towne of Zante, where we that night went on land, and reſted there the 13. 14. and 15. at night we were warned aboord by the patrone. This night the ſhip tooke in vitailes and other neceſſaries.

Caſtle Torneſte vnder the Turke.

The 16. in the morning we ſet ſaile with a proſperous wind, and the 17. we had ſight of Cauo de ſanta Maria in Albania, on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we ankered before the caſtles of Corfu, and went on land and refreſhed our ſelues.

Cauo S. Maria on the coaſt of Albania.
Corfu Iſland.

The 18. by meanes of a friend we were licenced to enter the caſtle or fortreſſe of Corfu, which is not onely of ſituation the ſtrongeſt I haue ſeene, but alſo of edification. It hath for the Inner warde two ſtrong caſtles ſituated on the top of two high cragges of a rocke, a bowe ſhoot diſtant the one from the other: the rocke is vnaſſaultable, for the ſecond warde it hath ſtrong walles, with rampiers and trenches, made as well as any arte can deuiſe. For the third warde and vttermoſt, it hath very ſtrong walles with rampires of the rocke it ſelfe cut out by force, and trenched about with the Sea. The bulwarkes of the vttermoſt warde are not yet finiſhed, which are in number but two: there are continually in the caſtle ſeuen hundred ſouldiours. Alſo it hath continually foure wardes, to wit, for the land entrie one, for the ſea entrie another, and two other wardes. Artillerie and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath ſufficient, beſides the ſtore remaining in their ſtorehouſes. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for ſtrength it may be no leſſe. This Iſland is very fruitfull and plentifull of wine and corne very good, and oliues great ſtore. This Iſland is parted from Albania with a chanell, in ſome places eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is vnder the Turke, but in it are many Chriſtians. All the horſemen of Corfu are Albaneſes; the Iſland is not aboue 80. or 90. miles in compaſſe.

The deſcription of the force of Corfu.
The Iſland of Corfu is very plentifull.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day wee went aboord and ſet ſaile, the wind being very calme wee toed the ſhip all that day, and toward Sunne ſet, the caſtle ſent a Fragatta vnto vs, to giue vs warning of three Foiſtes comming after vs, for whoſe comming wee prepared and watched all night, but they came not.

The 23. day in the morning being calme, wee toed out of the Streight, vntill wee came to the olde towne, whereof there is nothing ſtanding but the walles. There is alſo a new Church of the Greekes called Santa Maria di Caſſopo, and the townes name is called Caſſopo. It is a good porte. About noone wee paſſed the Streight, and drew toward the ende of the Iſland, hauing almoſt no wind. This night after ſupper, by reaſon of a certaine Hollander that was drunke, there aroſe in the ſhip ſuch a troubleſome diſturbance, that all the ſhip was in an vprore with weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wiſedome and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great ſlaughter. But as God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put vnder hatches, and with the fall hurt his face very ſore. All this night the wind blew at Southeaſt, and ſent vs forward.

Caſſopo.
A dangerous tumult in the ſhip.

The 24. in the morning wee found our ſelues before an Iſland called Saſeno, which is in the entrie to Valona, and the wind proſperous.

Saſeno.
Valona.

The 25. day we were before the hils of Antiueri, and about ſunne ſet wee paſſed Raguſa,

and

Meleda.

and three houres within night we ankered within Meleda, hauing Sclauonia or Dalmatia on the right hand of vs, and the winde Southweſt.

Curzola a fruitfull Iland.

The 26 in the morning we ſet ſayle, and paſſed the channell betweene Sclauonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile ouer at the moſt. This Iland is vnder the Raguſes. At after noone with a hard gale at weſt and by north we entered the channell betweene the Iland Curzola and the hilles of Dalmatia, in the which channell be many rockes, and the channell not paſt 3 miles ouer, and we ankered before the towne of Curzola. This is a pretie towne walled about and built vpon the ſea ſide, hauing on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Iland is vnder the Venetians, there grow very good vines, alſo that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and huſbanded, eſpecially for wines. In the ſaid Iland we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, tenne gallies, and three foyſtes. All that night we remained there.

In the Iland of Leſina, are taken ſtore of Sardinas.

The 27 we ſet ſayle and paſſed along the Iland, and towards afternoone we paſſed in before the Iland of Auguſta, and about ſunne ſet before the towne of Leſina, whereas I am informed by the Italians, they take all the Sardinas that they ſpend in Italy. This day we had a proſperous winde at Southeaſt. The Iland of Leſina is vnder the Venetians, a very fruitfull Iland adioyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and paſſed along.

The gulfe of Quernero.
Rouignio.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were before the cape of Iſtria, and at ſunne ſet we were at anker afore Rouignio which is alſo in Iſtria and vnder the Venetians, where all ſhips Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their Pilots to goe for Venice. All the ſommer the Pilots lie at Rouignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rouignio 18 miles by Weſt.

Parenzo.

The 29 we ſet ſayle and went as farre as Parenzo, and ankered there that day, and went no further.

S. Nicolo an Iland.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sant Nicolo a litle Iland hard by vninhabited, but only it hath a Monaſtery, & is full of Oliue trees, after maſſe wee returned and went aboord. This day the patron hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to ſee the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handſome towne, vnder the Venetians. After ſupper wee imbarked our ſelues againe, and that night wee ſayled towardes Venice.

Caorle ſtanding at the entry of the marſhes of Venice.

The firſt of December we paſt a towne of the Venetians, ſtanding on the entery to the Palude or marſhes of Venice: which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driuen thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice, there we remayned that night.

Our arriuall at Venice.

The ſecond two houres before day, with the winde at Southeaſt, we ſayled towards Venice, where we arriued (God be prayſed) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept ſo long from landing, becauſe we durſt not land vntill we had preſented to the Prouidor de la Sanita, our letter of health.

The manner of the entring of *Soliman* the great Turke, with his armie into *Aleppo* in *Syria*, marching towards *Perſia* againſt the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Maſter *Anthony Ienkinſon*, preſent at that time.

There marched before the Grand Signior, otherwiſe called the Great Turke, 6000 Eſperes, otherwiſe called light horſemen very braue, clothed all in ſcarlet.

After, marched 10000 men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in yellow veluet, and hats of the ſame, of the Tartary faſhion, two foote long, with a great role of the ſame colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkiſh faſhion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkiſh Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimſon veluet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thouſand men of armes well armed with their morrions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a ſhort weapon by their ſides, called in their language, Simiterro.

After came 16000 Ianizaries, called the ſlaues of the Grand Signior, all a foote, euery one hauing his harquebuſh, who be his gard, all clothed in violet ſilke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a ſtrange forme, called Cuocullucia, faſhioned in this ſort: the entering in of the forehead is like a ſkull made of white veluet, & hath a traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a French hoode, of the ſame colour, and vpon the forepart of the ſaid ſkull, iuſt in the middes of his forehead there is ſtanding bolt vpright like a trunke of a foote long of ſiluer, garniſhed moſt richly with

Goldſmiths worke, and precious ſtones, and in the top of the ſaid trunke a great buſh of fethers, which waueth vp and downe moſt brauely when he marcheth.

After this, there cam 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carying harquebuſhes, and the other halfe Turkiſh bowes, with their truſſes of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and vpon their harneſſe coates of the Turkes faſhion, of Libard ſkinnes, and murrions vpon their heads, their ſpeares charged, and at the end of their ſtaffe hard by yͤ head of the ſpeare, a horſe taile died in a bloody colour, which is their enſigne: they be the chalengers for the Turkes owne perſon.

After them came ſeuen pages of honour in cloth of ſiluer, vpon ſeuen white horſes, which horſes were couered with cloth of ſiluer, all embrodered and garniſhed with precious ſtones, emerauds, diamonds, and rubies moſt richly.

After them alſo came ſixe more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turkes faſhion by his ſide.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himſelfe with great pompe & magnificence, vſing in his countenance and geſture a wonderfull maieſtie, hauing onely on each ſide of his perſon one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himſelfe was mounted vpon a goodly white horſe, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embrodered moſt richly with the moſt precious ſtones, and vpon his head a goodly white tucke, containing in length by eſtimation fifteene yards, which was of ſilke and linnen wouen together, reſembling ſomething Callicut cloth, but is much more fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Oſtrich feathers, and his horſe moſt richly apparelled in all points correſpondent to the ſame.

After him folowed ſixe goodly yong ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of ſiluer, which were of the faſhion of mens garments, embrodered very richly with pearle and precious ſtones, and had vpon their heads caps of Goldſmiths worke, hauing great flackets of haire, hanging out on each ſide, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the ſame colour, euery of them hauing two eunuches on each ſide, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike faſhion.

After marched yͤ great Baſha chiefe conductor of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimſon, and vpon the ſame another ſhort garment very rich, and about him fiftie Ianizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimſon veluet, being armed as the great Turks owne Ianizaries.

Then after enſued three other Baſhas, with ſlaues about them, being afoote, to the number of three thouſand men.

After came a companie of horſemen very braue, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thouſand.

All this aforeſayd army, moſt pompous to behold, which was in number foure ſcore and eight thouſand men, encamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Grand Signior himſelfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly caſtle, ſituated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a branch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The reſt of his armie paſſed ouer the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Camarie, which are foure dayes iourney from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the comming of the Grand Signior, with the reſt of his armie, intending to march into Perſia, to giue battel to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well thoſe that went by the mountaines, as alſo thoſe that came to Aleppo in company with him, with horſemen & footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which caried munition and vitailes for the ſaid army, were in number 200000.

A note of the preſents that were giuen at the ſame time in *Aleppo*, to the grand Signior, and the names of the preſenters.

FIrſt the Baſha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, preſented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. horſes.

The Baſha of Damaſco, preſented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie horſes, with diuers ſorts of comfits, in great quantitie.

The Baſha of Aman preſented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. horſes, and a cup of gold, with two thouſand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis preſented ſix camels, charged all with ſilkes, 20. horſes, and a little clocke of gold, garniſhed with precious ſtones, eſteemed worth two hundred duckets.

The Conſul of the company of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kiſſe the grand Signiors hand, and preſented him a great baſin of gold, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The ſafeconduct or priuiledge giuen by *Sultan Solyman* the great Turke, to maſter *Anthony Ienkinſon* at *Aleppo* in *Syria*, in the yeere 1553.

SVltan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Cadies, and other our Iuſticers, Officers, and ſubiects of Tripolis in Syria, Conſtantinople, Alexandria in Ægypt, and of all other townes and cities vnder our dominion and iuriſdiction: We will and commannd you, that when you ſhall ſee Anthony Ienkinſon, bearer of theſe preſent letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the ſayd letter for him, arriue in our ports and hauens, with his ſhip or ſhips, or other veſſels whatſoeuer, that you ſuffer him to lade or vnlade his merchandiſe whereſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good vnto him, traffiking for himſelfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindering or any way diſturbing of him, his ſhip, his people or merchandiſe, and without enforcing him to pay any other cuſtome or toll whatſoeuer, in any ſort, or to any perſons whatſoeuer they be, ſaue onely our ordinarie duties contained in our cuſtome houſes, which when he hath paied, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himſelfe as for his people, merchandiſe, ſhip or ſhips, and all other veſſels whatſoeuer: and in ſo doing that he may traffike, bargaine, ſell and buy, lade and vnlade, in all our foreſayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like ſort, and with the like liberties and priuiledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians vſe, and enioy, and more if it bee poſſible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, wee charge and commaund all Viceroyes, and Conſuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Conſuls reſident in our Countreys, in what port or prouince ſoeuer they be, not to conſtraine, or cauſe to conſtraine, by them, or the ſayd Miniſters and Officers whatſoeuer they be, the ſayd Anthony Ienkinſon, or his factor, or his ſeruaunts, or deputies, or his merchandiſe, to pay any kind of conſullage, or other right whatſoeuer, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to moleſt nor trouble him any maner of way, becauſe our will and pleaſure is, that he ſhall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie cuſtome. And in caſe any man hinder and impeach him, aboue, and beſides theſe our preſent letters, wee charge you moſt expreſly to defend and aſſiſt him agaynſt the ſayd Conſuls, and if they will not obey our preſent commandement, that you aduertiſe vs thereof, that we may take ſuch order for the ſame, that others may take example thereby. Moreouer, we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foiſtes or other Veſſels, that when they ſhall finde the ſayd Ienkinſon, or his factor, his ſhip or ſhips, with his ſeruaunts and merchandiſe, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they aſſiſt and defend him agaynſt all ſuch as ſeeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with vitailes, according to his want, and that whoſoeuer ſhall ſee theſe preſents, obey the ſame, as they will auoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomet, and in the yeere of Ieſus, 1553. ſigned with the ſcepter and ſignet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

A diſcourſe of the trade to *Chio*, in the yeere 1569. made by *Gaſpar Campion*, vnto maſter *Michael Locke*, and vnto maſter *William Winter*, as by his letters vnto them both ſhall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

1569. WOrſhipfull Sir, &c. As theſe dayes paſt I ſpake vnto you about the procurement of a ſafeconduct from the great Turke, for a trade to Chio: The way and maner how it may be obtained with great eaſe ſhall plainly appeare vnto you in the lines following. Sir, you ſhall vnderſtand that the Iſland of Chio in time paſt hath bene a Signiorie or lordſhip of it ſelfe, and did belong vnto the Genowaies. There were 24. of thẽ that gouerned the iſland which were called Maunceſes. But in continuaunce of time the Turke waxed ſo ſtrong and mightie, that they, conſidering they were not able to keepe it, vnleſſe they ſhould become his tributaries, becauſe the Iſland had no corne, nor any kind of vitailes to ſuſtaine themſelues, but onely that which muſt of neceſſitie come out of the Turkes dominions, and the ſayd iſland being incloſed with the Turks round about, and but 12. miles from the Turks Continent, therefore the ſaid Genowaies did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay him 14000. thouſand ducates yeerely. Alwayes prouided, that they ſhould keep their lawes both ſpirituall and temporall, as they did when the Iland was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priuiledge, which they inioyed for many yeeres, ſo that all ſtrangers, and alſo many Engliſh men did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in ſafety. In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a captaine to ſerue the Emperour with 30 or 40 gallies againſt the Turke. And ſince that time diuers other captaines belonging to Genoa haue bene in the ſeruice of king Philip againſt the Turke. Moreouer, whenſoeuer the Turke made out any army, he perceiued that no nation did him more hurt then thoſe Genouois, who were his tributaries. Likewiſe at the Turkes ſiege of Malta, before which place he lay a great while, with loſſe of his men, and alſo of his gallies, he found none ſo troubleſome vnto his force, as one Iuanette Doria a Genouois, and diuers others of the Iland of Chio, who were his tributaries. At which ſight, he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure againſt them of Chio, that he ſent certaine of his gallies to the Iland, for to ſeiſe vpon all the goods of the 24 Mauneſes, and to turne them with their wiues and children out of the Iland, but they would let none other depart, becauſe the Iland ſhould not be vnpeopled. So that now the Turke hath ſent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more eaſie for vs to obtaine our ſafeconduct then euer it was before. For if the towneſmen of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times paſt) they themſelues, and alſo the cuſtomer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his cuſtomes) would be the chiefeſt procurer of this our ſafeconduct for his owne gaine: which is no ſmall matter: for we can pay no leſſe then ten in the hundred throwout the Turks whole dominion. Inſomuch, that if one of our ſhippes ſhould go thither, it would be for the cuſtomers profit 4000 ducats at leaſt, whereas if we ſhould not trade thither, he ſhould loſe ſo much. Alſo the burgeſſes, and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the Communalty do get more by our countreymen then they do by any other nation whatſoeuer: for we do vſe to buy many of their ſilke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne, more then any other nation, ſo that we would not ſo gladly trade, but the people of the countrey would be twiſe ſo willing. Wherefore they themſelues would be a meanes vnto their gouernour, by their petition to bring this trade to paſſe: giuing him to vnderſtand that of all nations in the world we do him leaſt hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in conſuming thoſe commodities which his countrey people make. Furthermore, it were farre more requiſite that we ſhould cary our owne commodities, then to ſuffer a ſtranger to cary them thither, for that we can afoord them better cheape then a ſtranger can. I write not this by hearesay of other men, but of mine own experience, for I haue traded in the countrey aboue this 30 yeres, and haue bene maried in the towne of Chio full 24 yeres, ſo that you may aſſure yourſelfe that I will write nothing but truth. Now I will declare vnto you the wares and commodities that are in the countreyes neere about Chio. There are very good galles, the beſt ſort whereof are ſold in England fiue ſhillings deerer then any other countrey galles. There is alſo cotten wooll, tanned hides, hides in the haire, waxe, chamlets, mocayares, grogerams, ſilke of diuers countreyes, cordouan ſkinnes tanned white, to be made blacke, of them great quantity, and alſo courſe wooll to make beds. The naturall commodities growing in the Iland it ſelfe are ſilke rawe, and maſticke. Of theſe commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelue great ſhips of Genoa, beſides fiue or ſixe that do belong to the towne of Chio, which ſhips are fraughted for Genoa, Meſſina, and Ancona. And now that the Mauneſes and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are baniſhed, the trade is cleane loſt, by reaſon whereof merchandiſe muſt now of neceſſity be better cheape then they haue bene in times paſt. But yet when all thoſe ſhips did trade to the countrey, & alſo our ſhips, we neuer had leſſe then three kintals of galles for a carſie, and in England we ſold them for 35 and 36 ſhillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venetians, they ſell them vnto vs for three pound tenne ſhillings, and foure pound the hundred. Alſo we had three kintals of cotten wooll for a carſie, and ſolde the wooll in England for 50 ſhillings or 3 pound at the moſt, whereas now the Italians ſell the ſame to vs for 4 pound 10 ſhillings and 5 pound the hundred. In like maner chamlets, whereas we had three pieces, and of the beſt ſort two and a halfe for a carſie, and could not ſell them aboue 20 ſhillings and 22 ſhillings the piece, they ſell them for 30 and 35 ſhillings the piece. Alſo grogerams, where we had of the beſt, two pieces and a halfe for a carſie, they ſell them for foure ſhillings and foure ſhillings and ſixe pence the yard. Carpets the ſmaller ſort which ſerue for cupboords, we had three for a carſie: whereas we at the moſt could not ſell them but for 20 ſhillings the piece, they ſell them for 35 ſhillings the piece. And ſo all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they ſell them to vs for the third part more gaines then we our ſelues in thoſe dayes that we traded in thoſe parts. Likewiſe the barrels of oile that they bring from Candia, we neuer could ſell them aboue foure nobles the barrell, where they ſell them alwayes for 50 ſhillings & 3 pound the barrell. What great pity is this, that we ſhould loſe ſo good

The Prince Pedro Doria is captaine of 40 gallies vnder the Emperor.

Iuanette Doria.

The Mauneſes put out of the Iland of Chio by the Turke.

The cuſtome throwout all Turkie is ten in euery hundreth.

Engliſh men do buy more commodities of Chio then any other nation.

Great ſtore of ſundry commodities to be had in Chio.

a trade, and may haue it in our owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians. Moreouer, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their moſt trade is into Alexandria. And for to aſſure you that we had theſe commodities in barter of our carſies, looke into your fathers books, and the books of Sir Iohn Greſham, and his brethren, and you ſhall finde what I haue ſayd to be true.

Diuers places where we may haue ſweete oiles for our clothing farre cheaper then out of Spaine.

Alſo you know, that we are forced to ſeeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for theſe many yeeres they haue bene ſolde for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the foreſayd ſafeconduct from the Turke, there are diuers places in his dominions, where we may lade 500 tunnes, at 5 pound ſterling the tunne. The places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelue miles diſtant the one from the other, and do ſtand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly ſee by the Card. Alſo theſe are places where we may vtter our owne commodities, and not onely theſe two places, but many others, where we may haue oiles, and be better vſed then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and alſo are very euill intreated many wayes, as to you is not vnknowen. So that by theſe meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eaſed, and haue ſuch a trade as the like is not in Chriſtendome. Now, as for getting the ſafeconduct, if I were but able to ſpend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound to loſe it, if that I did not obtaine the foreſayd ſafeconduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that wee would trade thither againe, they at their owne coſt would procure to vs a ſafeconduct, without any peny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but beare my charges to ſolicit the cauſe, I will vndertake it my ſelfe. Wherefore I pray you ſpeake to M. Winter and the other marchants, that this matter may take effect. And let me haue your anſwere herein aſſoone as conueniently you may; for that the time of the yeere draweth nigh that this buſineſſe muſt be done. Thus I commit you to God, and reſt alwayes yours to command.

Yours as your ſeruant *Gaſpar Campion.*

To the worſhipfull M. *VVilliam VVinter.*

IT may pleaſe your worſhip to vnderſtand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and alſo for owners of ſhippes (as it was well knowen in thoſe dayes when the Matthew Gonſon, the Trinitie Fitzwilliams, and the Sauiour of Briſtow, with diuers other ſhips which traded thither yerely, and made their voyage in ten or twelue moneths, and the longeſt in a yeere) M. Francis Lambert, M. Iohn Brooke, and M. Drauer can truely informe you heereof at large. And by reaſon that wee haue not traded into thoſe parts theſe many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mighty, whereby our ſhips doe not trade as they were woont, I finde that the Venetians doe bring thoſe commodities hither, and doe ſell them for double the value that we our ſelues were accuſtomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the aboue named men, that there is none ſo fit to furniſh this voyage as your ſelfe: my requeſt is that there may be a ſhippe of conuenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will ſatiſfie you at large what is to be done therein. And becauſe the Turke, as I ſayd before, is waxen ſtrong, and hath put out the Chriſtian rulers, and placed his owne ſubiects, we may doubt whether we may ſo peacealy trade thither as we were woont: therefore I dare vndertake to obtaine a ſafeconduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M. Locke can ſatiſfie you at large. Moreouer, I can informe you more of the trade of that countrey, then any other, for that I haue bene in thoſe parts theſe thirty yeeres, and haue bene married in the very towne of Chio full foure and twenty yeres. Furthermore, when one of out ſhips commeth thither, they bring at the leaſt ſixe or eight thouſand carſies, ſo that the cuſtome thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities which the poore of that towne made in their houſes: ſo that one of our ſhippes brought the prince and countrey more gaines then ſixe ſhips of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cauſe why the Chriſtian rulers were diſplaced: for when they payd not their yerely tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ſhip that muſt go, ſhe muſt obſerue this order, ſhe muſt be a ſhip of countenance, and ſhe muſt not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but ſhe muſt lade in England, either goods of our owne, or els of ſtrangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be wel intreated, and from thence ſhe muſt make her money to buy wines, by exchange to Candia, for there both cuſtome & exchange are reaſonable: and not do as the Math. Gonſon & other ſhips did in time paſt, who made ſale of

Gaſpar Campion maried in Chio 24 yeeres.

their wares at Meſſina for the lading of their wines, and payed for turning their white money into golde after foure and fiue in the hundreth, and alſo did hazzard the loſſe of ſhippe and goods by carying away their money. Thus by the aforeſayd courſe we ſhall trade quietly, and not be ſubiect to theſe dangers. Alſo from Legorno to Caſtilla de la mar, which is but 16 miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia, you may lade hoopes, which will coſt carolins of Naples 27 and a halfe the thouſand, which is ducats two and a halfe of Spaine. And in Candia for euery thouſand of hoops you ſhall haue a but of Malmeſey cleare of all charges. Inſomuch that a ſhip of the burden of the Mathew Gonſon will cary foure hundreth thouſand hoops, ſo that one thouſand ducats will lade her, and this is an vſual trade to Candia, as M. Michael Locke can teſtifie. Furthermore, it is not vnknowen to you, that the oiles which we do ſpend in England for our cloth, are brought out of Spaine, and that very deare, and in England we cannot ſell them vnder 28 pound and 30 pound the tunne: I ſay we may haue good oile, and better cheape in diuers places within the ſtreights. Wherefore if you thinke good to take this voyage in hand, I will informe you more particularly when you pleaſe. In the meane time I reſt your worſhips to command.

Store of hoops laden at Caſtilla de la mare for Candia.

Yours at your pleaſure Iaſper Campion.

The true report of the ſiege and taking of *Famaguſta*, of the antique writers called *Tamaſſus*, a city in *Cyprus* 1571.

In the which the whole order of all the skirmiſhes, batteries,
mines, and aſſaults giuen to the ſayd fortreſſe, may plainly
appeare. Engliſhed out of Italian by
William Malim.

To the right honourable and his ſingular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of *Leiceſter*, Baron of *Denbigh*, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maieſties moſt honourable priuy Councell &c. *William Malim* wiſheth long health with increaſe of honour.

IT hath bene a naturall inſtinct (right honourable and mine eſpeciall good lord) ingraffed in noble perſonages hearts, much approued and confirmed alſo by cuſtome, for them to ſeeke from time to time, by ſome meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliuer ouer their name to their poſteritie: leaſt otherwiſe with their body, their fame alſo altogether might perchance be buried. Vpon the which conſideration we reade many notable and famous things to haue bene erected in time paſt of noble perſonages (hauing had wealth at will) in ſuch ſort, that not onely certaine ruines of the ſame ſumptuous works builded ſo many hundred yeres paſt, do ſtill remaine, but alſo the moſt part of thoſe princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the *Pyramides* made at *Memphis*, or neere the famous riuer of *Nilus*, by the great expenſes of the kings of *Egypt*: the tower called *Pharia*, made in the Iland of *Pharos* by king *Ptolomee*: the walles of *Babylon*, made or at the leaſt reedified by queene *Semiramis*: *Dianas* church at *Epheſus* builded by all the noble perſons of *Aſia*: *Manſolus* toome or ſepulchre, made by his wife queene of *Caria*: *Coloſſus Solis* placed at *Rhodes*, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of *Cares Lindius* ſcholar to *Lyſippus*: and the image of *Iupiter*, made of Yuory by the hands of the skilfull workman *Phydias*. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themſelues from obliuion deſerued both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanſhip of the ſame, to be accounted in thoſe dayes as the ſeuen woonders of the world. Since the which time, an eaſier, readier, and lighter way, being alſo of more continuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were firſt inuented by the Caldies and Egyptians, as we reade, and augmented ſince by others, to our great benefit, and now laſt of all (no long time paſt) the ſame to haue bene committed to Printers preſſes, to the greateſt perfection of the ſame: men being firſt inforced to write their actes and monuments in beaſts skinnes dried, in barkes of trees, or otherwiſe perchance as vnreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we ſee how eaſie a thing it is, and hath bene for noble perſons, to liue for euer by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of thoſe two woorthy and valiant captaines *Scipio* and *Hannibal* had bene long before this preſent quite forgotten, except *Titus Liuius*, or ſome ſuch learned Hiſtoriographer had written of them in time. And *Alexander Magnus* himſelfe that great conquerour had nothing beene ſpoken of, had not *Q. Curtius*, or ſome other like by his learned ſtile reuiued the remembrance of him, and called backe againe his doings to his poſteritie. For the which cauſe we ſee commonly in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble perſonages, as that rare paterne of learning *Ariſtotle* to haue bene greatly honoured of that former renowmed Monarch *Alexander:* who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, then to king *Philip* his father, becauſe the one had well framed his minde, the other onely his body. Many other like examples I could alledge at this preſent, if I knew not vnto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in hiſtories, and ſo familiarly acquainted with the matter it ſelfe, that is in ſtill entertaining learned men with all curteſie, I ſhould ſeeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhort you to doe the other, dayly being accuſtomed to performe the ſame. *Craſſus* ſayth in *Tullies* firſt booke, *De Oratore:* that a Lawyers houſe is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can iuſtly witneſſe, that for theſe fiue yeeres laſt paſt, ſince my returne from my trauell beyond the ſeas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your vndeſerued goodneſſe to my great comfort do dayly frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men comming from both the eyes of the realme, *Cambridge*, and *Oxford* (of the which Vniuerſity your lordſhip is Chanceller) to their great ſatisfaction of minde, and ready diſpatch of their ſutes. Eſpecially for Preachers and Miniſters of true religion: of the which you haue beene from time to time not onely a great fauourer, but an earneſt furtherer, and protectour: ſo that theſe two nurſeries of learning (in one of the which I haue before this ſpent part of my time, that I may ſpeake boldly what I thinke) ſhould wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themſelues, if by all meanes poſſible they ſhould not heerafter (as at this preſent to their ſmal powers many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and trauell in ſhewing of themſelues thankefull, to reuerence and honour your lordſhip, and honeſt their owne names: whoſe ſtudies certeinly would ſuddenly decay and fall flat, if they were not held vp by ſuch noble proppes, and had not ſome ſure ankerholds in their diſtreſſe to leane vnto. How ready dayly your trauell is, and hath long beene beſides to benefit all other perſons, in whom any ſparke of vertue or honeſty remaineth, I need not labour to expreſſe, the world knowing already the ſame. But whoſoeuer they be, that in all their life time haue an eſpeciall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be able, and hurt none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade a perfect and very godly life. Whereupon *Strabo* affirmeth this moſt truely to be ſpoken of them: *Mortales tum demum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint.* That is, Mortall men then ſpecially to follow the nature of God, when they are beneficiall and bountifull to others. Great commendation vndoubtedly it bringeth to any noble perſonage, that as the Moone, that light and brightneſſe which ſhe receiueth of the Sun, is wont preſently to ſpread abroad vpon the face of the earth, to the refreſhing and comforting of all inferiour and naturall things bearing life: ſo for him, to beſtow all that fauour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right honourable lord) of true vertue, which cauſeth men, as *Tully* writeth in his booke *De Amicitia*, to be loued & honored oft of thoſe perſons, which neuer ſaw them. Whereof I neuer had better proofe (I take God & mine one conſcience to witneſſe, the which I declared alſo to certaine of my friends aſſoone as I returned) then at my laſt being at *Conſtantinople*, in the yere of our Lord 1564, whereas I oft reſorting (as occaſion ſerued) to the right honorable Chriſtian ambaſſadors, while I made my abode there (namely vnto *Monſieur Antonio Petrimol*, lieger there for the French king, *Sig. M. Victor Bragadino*, for the ſegniory of *Venice*, *Sig. Lorenzo Giuſtiniano*, for the ſtate of *Scio*, or *Chios*, and *Sig. Albertacio delli Alberti*, for the duke of *Florence*) heard them often report and ſpeake very honorably of your lordſhip, partly for your other good inclinations of nature, but eſpecially for your liberality, & courteous intreating of diuers of their friends & countrymen, which vpon ſundry occaſions had bene here in this our realme. So that to conclude, all men iuſtly fauour your honourable dealings and deſerts: and I for my part haue reuerenced and honoured the ſame euermore both here at home, and elſwhere abroad, wiſhing often to haue had ſome iuſt occaſion to pay part of that in good will, which my ſlender abilitie will neuer ſuffer me fully to diſcharge. For vnto whom ſhould I ſooner preſent any thing any way, eſpecially concerning matters done abroad, then vnto your lordſhip, by whom I was much cheriſhed abroad in my trauell, and mainteined ſince my returne here at home? For the which cauſe I haue enterpriſed (hoping greatly of your lordſhips fauour herein) to clothe and ſet forth a few Italian newes in our Engliſh attire, being firſt mooued thereunto by the right worſhipfull M.

Maſter Malim at Conſtantinople 1564.

D. Wilſon Maſter of her Maieſties Requeſts, your honours aſſured truſty friend, a great & painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for diuers reſpects ought to reuerence: who remembring that I had bene at *Cyprus*, was willing that my pen ſhould trauell about the Chriſtian and Turkiſh affaires, which there lately haue happened: perſwading himſelfe, that ſomewhat thereby I might benefit this our natiue countrey. Againſt whoſe reaſonable motion I could not greatly wreſtle, hazzarding rather my ſlender skill in attempting and performing this his requeſted taske, then he through my refuſall ſhould ſeeme to want any iot of my good will. In offering vp the which newes, although I ſhall preſent no new thing to your honour, becauſe you are ſo well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know; yet I truſt your lordſhip will not miſlike, that the ſame which is both pleaſant to reade, and ſo neceſſary to be knowen for diuers of our captaines and other our countreymen, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now ſhew it ſelfe abroad, couered vnder the wing of your lordſhips protection. Certeinly it mooueth me much to remember the loſſe of thoſe three notable Ilands, to the great diſcomfort of all Chiſtendome, to thoſe helliſh Turkes, horſeleeches of Chriſtian blood: namely *Rhodes* beſieged on S. *Iohn Baptiſts* day, and taken on *Iohns* day the *Euangeliſt*, being the 27 of December 1522. *Scio* or *Chios* being loſt ſince my being there, taken of *Piali Baſha* with 80 gallies, the 17 of April 1566. And now laſt of all not only *Famaguſta* the chiefe holde & fortreſſe in *Cyprus* to haue bene loſt of the Venetians the 15 of Auguſt laſt paſt 1571 (the chiefe gouernors & captaines of thē being hewen in ſunder by the cōmandement of that tyrant *Muſtafa Baſha*) but all the whole Iland alſo to be conquered by thoſe cruell Turks, ancient profeſſed enemies to all Chriſtian religion. In the which euill ſucceſſe (comming to vs as I take it for our offences) as I lament the generall loſſe: ſo I am ſurely penſiue to vnderſtand by this too true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of *Venice, Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo*, and *Sig. M. Giouanni Antonio Querini*: of both the which I in my trauaile was very courteouſly vſed, the former of them being then (as now alſo he was in this ouerthrow) gouernour of *Baffo* in *Cyprus*, the other captaine of one of the caſtels at *Corcyra* in Greece, now called *Corfu*. But things paſt are paſt amendment, and they could neuer die more honourably, then in the defence of their countrey. Beſides that the late blowes, which the Turks haue receiued ſince this their fury, in token of Gods wrath againſt them, do much comfort euery Chriſtian heart. Moreouer, this vniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and forthwith looked for, by very many Chriſtian Princes (would God by all generally) againſt theſe barbarous Mahometiſts: whoſe cruelty and beaſtly behauiour I partly know, and am able to iudge of, hauing bene in Turky amongſt them more then eight moneths together. Whoſe vnfaithfulneſſe alſo and breach of promiſe, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of themſelues, and their fortreſſe, your honour may eaſily reade in this ſhort treatiſe and ſmall handfull of leaues, I hauing ſet downe alſo a ſhort deſcription of the Iland of *Cyprus*, for the better vnderſtanding of the whole matter. The which I not onely moſt humbly beſeech your honour now fauourably to accept as an earneſt peny of more to come, and of my preſent good will: but with your accuſtomed goodneſſe towards me, to defend the ſame againſt ſuch perſons, whoſe tongues too readily roule ſometime againſt other mens painfull trauels, perſwading themſelues to purchaſe the ſooner ſome credit of learning with the ruder ſort, by controlling and ouerdaintie ſifting of other mens laboured tasks. For I know in all ages to be found as well Baſilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd heerein, as I aſſuredly truſt of your honours fauourable acceptation of this my poore preſent, wiſhing long life with the increaſe of Gods holy ſpirit to your lordſhip and to all your moſt honourable familie (vnto whom I haue wholly dedicated my ſelfe by mine owne choiſe and election for euer) I, crauing pardon for my former boldneſſe, moſt humbly thus take my leaue. From *Lambhith* the 23 of March. *Ann.* 1572.

Rhodes loſt.

Scio loſt.

Cyprus loſt.

Your honours moſt humble and faithfull ſeruant
for euer, *William Malim.*

A briefe deſcription of the Iland of *Cyprus*: by the which not onely the Venetians title why they haue ſo long enioyed it, but alſo the Turks, whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.

THe Iland of *Cyprus* is inuironed with diuers ſeas: for Weſtward it is waſhed with the ſea called *Pamphilium*: Southward, with the ſea *Ægyptium*: on the Eaſt part, with the ſea *Syrium*: and Northward, with the ſea called *Cilicium*. The which Iland in time paſt had diuers names; called once *Acamantis*, as *Sabellicus* witneſſeth,

ſeth. *Philonides* maketh mention, that it was called ſometime *Ceraſis. Xenogoras* writeth, that is was named *Aſpelia, Amathuſa,* & *Macaria.* There were in times paſt fifteene cities or famous townes in it, but now very few, amongſt the which *Famaguſta* is the chiefeſt & ſtrongeſt, ſituated by the ſea ſide. There is alſo *Nicoſia,* which was woont, by the traffike of Marchants, to be very wealthy: beſides the city of *Baffo, Arnica, Saline, Limiſſo, Melipotamo,* & *Epiſcopia. Timoſthenes* affirmeth, that this Iland is in compaſſe 429 miles: and *Arthemidorus* writeth the length of the ſame to be 162 miles, meaſuring of it from the Eaſt to the Weſt, betwixt two promontories named *Dinaretta* and *Acamanta.* This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of diuers precious ſtones, pleaſant, profitable, and neceſſary for mans vſe, and much frequented of Marchants of *Syria,* vnto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as *Plinie* writeth, ioyned ſometime with *Syria,* as *Sicilia* hath beene alſo with *Italy.* It was a long time ſubiect vnto the Romans, after to the Perſians, and to the Soldan of *Ægypt.* The ſelfeſame Iland was ſometime alſo Engliſh, being conquered by king *Richard* the firſt, in his voyage to *Hieruſalem* in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as *Polydore* writeth in his fourteenth booke of our Engliſh hiſtorie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arriuall there, inuaded and conquered the ſame ſoone after by force: and hauing left behinde him ſufficient garriſons to keepe the ſame, departed from thence to *Ptolemayda:* who afterward exchanged the ſame with *Guy* of *Luſignan,* that was the laſt chriſtened king of *Hieruſalem,* for the ſame kingdome. For the which cauſe the kings of *England* were long time after called kings of *Hieruſalem.* And laſt of all, the Venetians haue enioyed it of late a long time, in this order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1470, *Iohn* king of the ſayd Iland, ſonne to *Ianus* of *Luſignan,* had by *Helen* his wife, which was of the Emperiall houſe of *Paleologus,* one daughter only called *Charlotta,* and a baſtard called *Iames:* the which *Iames* was afterward conſecrated Biſhop of *Nicoſia.* This *Charlotta* was married firſt to the king of *Portingall,* of whom he had no iſſue, ſo that he being dead, *Lewes* Duke of *Sauoy* (to whom ſhee was the ſecond time married) ſonne to *Lewes* the ſecond of that name (vnto whom the ſaid Iland by the right of this his wife *Charlotta* did appertaine) had the poſſeſſion of the ſame. *Iames* the baſtard aſſoone as his father was dead, of a Biſhop became a ſouldiour, and with an army wanne the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of *Sauoy* hearing theſe newes, with a number of well appointed ſouldiers, arriued ſhortly after in *Cyprus,* and recouering againe the Iland, compelled the baſtard to flie foorthwith ouer to the Soldan of *Ægypt.* Who making himſelfe his ſubiect, in time ſo wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in perſon at his requeſt paſſed ouer into *Cyprus,* beſieged Duke *Lewes* in the caſtle of *Nicoſia,* and at length compelled him to depart, leauing his kingdome. So that this Biſhop became againe King of this Iland: who ſhortly after cleauing to the Venetians hauing made a league of friendſhip with them, married by their conſent one *Catherina* the daughter of *Marco Cornaro, which Catherin* the Senate of *Venice* adopted vnto them ſoone after as their daughter. This Biſhop not long after ſickened, and died, leauing this his wife with child, who liued not long after his fathers death. By the which meanes the Venetians making themſelues the next heires to *Catherina* by the law of adoption, tooke vnto them the poſſeſſion of this kingdome, and haue kept and enioyed the ſame almoſt this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke called *Sultan Selim* in the right of the Soldan of *Ægypt,* whom his grandfather (called alſo *Sultan Selim*) conquered, pretendeth a right title vnto it, and now, as you may vnderſtand by reading of this ſhort Treatiſe, hath by conqueſt obtained the ſame. Whom I pray the euerliuing God, if it be his holy will, ſhortly to root out from thence.

To the Reader.

I Am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that, which ſhould pleaſe and ſatisfie all perſons, we being commonly of ſo diuers opinions and contrary iudgements: againe *Tully* affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in his owne kinde may be in all reſpects perfect. Wherefore I truſt by your owne iudgement I ought of reaſon to be the ſooner pardoned (my tranſlation being preciſely tied to mine authours meaning) if any thing heerein beſides be thought to be wanting: I haue learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the ſelfeſame matter out of the Italian language into our countrey ſpeech. But who ſo doeth what he poſſibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the requeſt of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne vnto my ſelfe) haue accompliſhed that in the ende, which I promiſed and was required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue, or may the better iudge, if it pleaſe them to trie the ſame, caſting aſide this exampler. I ſpeake it not arrogantly, I take God to witneſſe: but mens painefull trauels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor ſurely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or diſcreet. By whoſe gentle acceptation if theſe my preſent doings be now ſupported, I will perſwade my ſelfe that I haue reaped ſufficient fruit of my trauell. Vnto whome with all my heart I wiſh proſperous ſucceſſe in all their affaires.

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

In Turchas precatio.

Summe Deus, ſuccurre tuis, miſereſce tuorum,
Et ſubeat gentis te noua cura tua.
Quem das tantorum finem, Rex magne, laborum?
In nos vibrabit tela quoúſque Sathan?
Antè Rhodum, mox inde Chium, nunc denique Cyprum,
Turcharum cepit ſanguinolenta manus.
Muſtafa fœdifragus partes graſſatur in omnes,
Et Veneta Cypriam ſtrage cruentat humum.
Nec finem imponit ſceleri, mollitue furorem,
Nec niſi potato ſanguine paſtus abit.
Qualis, qua nunquam niſi plena tuménſque cruore
Sanguiſuga obſeſſam mittit hirudo cutem.
Torturam ſequitur tortura, cruorque cruorem,
Et cædem admiſſam cædis alius amor.
Sæuit inops animi, nec vel ſe temperat ipſe,
Vel manus indomitum noſtra domare poteſt.
At tu, magne Pater, tumidum diſperde Tyrannum,
Nec ſine mactari ſemper ouile tuum.
Exulet hoc monſtrum, ne ſanguine terra redundet.
Excutiántque nouum Cypria regna iugum.
Et quod Chriſticolæ fœdus pepigere Monarchæ,
Id fauſtum nobis omnibus eſſe velis.
Tu pugna illorum pugnas, & bella ſecundes,
Captiuóſque tibi ſubde per arma Scythas.
Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
Vnus ſic Chriſtus fiet, & vna fides.

Gulielmus Malim.

The true report of all the ſucceſſe of *Famaguſta*, made by the Earle *Neſtor Martiningo*, vnto the renowmed Prince the Duke of *Venice*.

The ſixteenth day of February, * 1571, the fleet which had brought the ayde vnto Famaguſta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thouſand footmen, eight hundred of them choſen ſouldiers, and three thouſand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the reſt two hundred in number were ſouldiers of Albania. After the arriuall of the which ſuccour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all hands, then it did before, the whole gariſon, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the Gouernours and Captaines not withdrawing themſelues from any kinde of labour, for the better incouragement and good example of others, both night and day ſearching the watch, to the intent with more carefull heed taking they might beware of their enemies, againſt whom they made no ſally out of the City to ſkirmiſh but very ſeldome, eſpecially to vnderſtand when they might learne the intent of the enemies. Whileſt we made this diligent prouiſion within the Citie, the Turks without made no leſſe preparation of all things neceſſary, fit to batter the fortreſſe withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all ſpeed by the Sea, many woollpacks, a great quantitie of wood and timber, diuers pieces of artillery, engins, and other things expedient for their purpoſe.

*In Italy and other places the date of the yere of yͤ Lord is alwayes changed the firſt of Ianuary, or on New yeres day, and from that day reckoned vpon: although wee heere in England, eſpecially the temporall lawyers for certaine cauſes are not woont to alter the ſame vntill the Annunciation of our Ladie.

At the beginning of April Halli Baſha landed there with fourſcore gallies or thereabout in his company, who brought thither that, which of our enemies was deſired, who ſoone after departing from thence, and leauing behinde him thirty gallies, which continually tranſported ſouldiours, munition, freſh victuals, and other neceſſaries, beſides a great number of * Caramuſalins, or Brigandines, great Hulkes called * Maones, and large broad veſſels termed of them * Palandrie, which continually paſſed to and fro betweene Cyprus and Syria, and other places thereabout, which they did with great ſpeed, ſtanding in feare of the Chriſtan army. And about the middeſt of the ſame moneth the Turkes cauſed to be brought out of the Citie of Nicoſia, which they had woone a little before, fifteene pieces of artillery, and raiſing their army from whence they were before, making ditches and trenches neceſſary, incamped themſelues in gardens, and toward the Weſt part of Famaguſta neere a place called Precipola.

* Caramuſalini be veſſels like vnto ỹ French Gabards, ſailing dayly vpon the riuer of Bordeaux, which saile wͭ a miſen or triangle ſaile.

* Maone be veſſels like vnto ỹ great hulks, which come hither frō Denmarke, ſome of the which cary 7 or 8 hundred tunnes a piece, flat and broad, which ſaile ſome of them with ſeuen miſens a piece.

* Palandric be great flat veſſels made like Feriboats to tranſport horſe.

Nicoſia, otherwiſe called Licoſia.

The fiue and twentieth day of the ſame moneth they raiſed vp mounts to plant their artillery vpon, and cauſed trenches to be made for harquebuzers, one very nigh another, approching ſtill very neere the Citie, in ſuch order, as was almoſt impoſſible to ſtay the ſame, fortie thouſand of their Pioners continually labouring there the moſt part of all the night. The intent of the enemie being then knowen, and in what part of the Citie he minded moſt to plant his battery, we tooke diligent heed on the other part, to repaire and fortifie all places neceſſary within. For the which cauſe wee placed a great watch in that way, which was couered with a counterſcharfe, and in the ſallies of their priuy Poſternes, for the defence of the ſaid counterſcharfe, there were new flanckers made, alſo Trauerſes called Butteriſſes made vpon the Cortaine, with one trench of Turues two foot high and broad, the which was made on that ſide of the wall of the Citie, which was already battered with the ſhot of the Turkes, with certaine loope holes for our Harquebuzers, by the which they defended the counterſcharſe. Two noble perſonages Bragadino and Baglione perſonally tooke this charge on them, by the which meanes the Chriſtian affaires paſſed in very good order. All the bread for our Souldiers was made in one ſtore-houſe, of the which the noble gentleman Lorenzo Tiepolo captaine of * Baffo had charge, who refuſed no paine, where he thought his trauell might preuaile. In the caſtle was placed that famous gentleman Andrea Bragadino, who with a diligent gard had charge on that part of the caſtle principally, next vnto the ſea ſide, trimming and digging out new flanckers for the better defence of the * Arſenall.

Sig. Bragadino was Proueditore, that is, Gouernour, and Sig. Baglione Generall of the Chriſtian armie.

* Baffo of the ancient writers named Paphos, in the which Citie there was a ſumptuous Church dedicated to Venus.

* Arſenall in Conſtantinople and Venice is the place for munition and artillery to lie in.

A valiant knight named Foito was appointed Maſter of the Ordinance, who was ſlain within few dayes after in a ſkirmiſh, whoſe garriſon the noble Bragadino Proueditore before named preſently deliuered ouer to me. Three other captaines were appointed ouer the wilde-fire with twentie footmen for euery one of them, choſen out of the armie, to vſe and execute the ſame as occaſion ſhould ſerue. The beſt pieces of Ordinance were brought foorth vnto that ſide of the Towne, where the battery was looked for to be made: and they made priuy fences to couer the better their cannon ſhot withall. There was no want in the Chriſtians to annoy their enemies in iſſuing often out of euery ſide againſt them, aſwell to hinder their determinations, as to hurt them otherwiſe at diuers times. They alſo rendered to vs the like. For three hundred of the inhabitants of Famaguſta one time iſſuing out of the citie, armed onely with their ſwords and targets, with ſo many Italian Harquebuzers alſo in their company, receiued great dammage, becauſe the trenches of the enemies were made about ſo thicke, although at the ſame preſent wee compelled them to flie, and ſlew alſo many of them: yet they increaſed to ſuch number, that they killed preſently thirty, and hurt there threeſcore of our company. For the which cauſe order was taken, that our men ſhould no more come forth of their holde, committing themſelues to manifeſt perill to bid their enemies the baſe.

The Turkes in proceſſe of time by little and little with their trenches, came at length to the toppe of the counterſcharfe, and hauing furniſhed their forts the nineteenth day of May, began their battery with ten forts, hauing threeſcore and foureteene pieces of great artillary within their cuſtody, amongſt the which there were foure Baſiliſkes (for ſo they terme them) of an immeaſurable greatneſſe, and began to batter from the gate Limiſſo vnto the Arſenall, and layed fiue batteries againſt the towne, the one againſt the great high Turret of the Arſenall, which was battered with fiue pieces of Ordinance mounted vpon that fort of the rocke, the other againſt the Cortaine it ſelfe of the Arſenall, battered by one fort with eleuen pieces: another againſt the Keepe of Andruzzi with two commanders, or caualiers, which were aboue with one fort of eleuen other pieces: another battery againſt the Turret of S. Nappa, the which was battered with foure Baſiliſks. The gate of Limiſſo, which had one high commander or caualier alone, and a Brey and Cortaine without was battered by the forts with three and thirty pieces of arttillery, whereas Muſtafa himſelfe Generall of the Turkes army tooke the charge in perſon. At the firſt they ſeemed not to care much to ſpoile the walles, but ſhot ſtill into the city, and againſt our Ordinance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, aſwell our ſouldiours, as the Grecians, aſſoone as the battery began, withdrawing themſelues, came and dwelt by the walles of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the ſiege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefore they being preſent at all that was done, both encouraged, and puniſhed the ſouldiers according to their deſerts. The right worſhipfull Luigi Martiningo was appointed chiefe ouer the Ordinance, who anſwering all mens expectation of him, with great courage diuided the charge thereof vnto ſixe other inferiour captaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the prouiſion of things neceſſary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to euery gate of the Citie for to attend vpon the ſeruice of the artillery. The valiant captaine Franceſco Bagone warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arſenall. Captaine Pietro Conte attended vpon the Cortaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. I for my part attended vpon the Commander of Campo Santo, and vpon the Commander of Andruzzi, and of the Cortaine, vnto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martiningo attended vpon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Cortaine, vnto the gate of Limiſſo. Horatio Captaine of Veletri attended vpon the Brey and Cortaine, toward the Bulwarke. Vpon the high Commander of Limiſſo, which was more troubled then all the reſt, attended the Captaine Roberto Maluezzi. At the ſame time, when the battery began (by the commiſſion of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and giuen to all the ſouldiers, aſwell Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners: namely Wine, Pottage, Cheeſe, and Bakon; all the which things were brought to the walles as need did require in very good order, ſo that no ſouldier there ſpent any more in bread then two ſouſes a day. They were payed at the end of euery thirty dayes with the great trauell of that right worſhipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giouanni Antonio Querini, who beſides this his ordinary charge was found preſent in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great incouragement of our ſouldiours. And wee made a counterbattery againſt our enemies for ten dayes ſpace, with ſo great rage, that we choked and deſtroyed fifteene of their beſt pieces, alſo we killed and diſpatched of them about thirty thouſand at that ſeaſon, ſo that they were diſappointed at that time of their battery in that place, and were greatly diſmayed. But we foreſeeing that we had no great ſtore of powder left, there was made a reſtraint, and ſuch order taken, that thirty piecies ſhould not ſhoot off but thirty ſhot a piece euery day, and that in the preſence of the Captaines, who were ſtill preſent, becauſe the Souldiers and Gunners ſhould not ſhoot off in vaine.

Two Venetian ſouſes or Soldi amount but to one peny Engliſh.

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards vs from Candia a Fregat or Pinnace, the which giuing vs great hope and lightening of ayde, encreaſed maruellouſly euery mans courage. The Turks with great trauell and ſlaughter of both ſides, had woonne at the laſt the counterſcharfe from vs, with great reſiſtance and mortalitie on both parts. Whereupon they began on the other ſide of the fift battery to fill vp the ditch, with the earth that they threw downe, which was taken neere the wall of the counterſcharfe. But all that earth and falling downe of the wall made by the ſhot of their artillery, was caried away of vs within the city, all our company labouring continually aſwell by night as day, vntill our enemies had made certaine loopeholes in the wall, thorow the which they flancking and ſcouring all the ditch with their harquebuſſie, ſtopped our former courſe of carying, or going that way any more, without certaine and expreſſe danger. But M. Giouanni Marmori, a fortifier, had deuiſed a certaine kinde of ioyned boords, the which being caried of the ſouldiers, defended them from the ſhot of the Harquebuzers, ſo that ſome other quantity of earth, but no great ſtore, was caried alſo away: in the which place this foreſayd fortifier was ſlaine, who had done eſpeciall good ſeruice in all our neceſſary affaires. And our enemies hauing caſt ſo much earth into the ditch, as filled it vp againe, and made it a firme way to the wall of the counterſcharfe, and caſting before them the earth by little and little, they made one trauerſe euen vnto the wall on two ſides in all their batteries, the which they made thicke and ſtrong with woolpacks, and other fagots, to aſſure themſelues the better of our flanckers.

When they had once poſſeſſed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of vs but by chance, they began foorthwith to caſt and digge out vndermines to vndermine the Brey, the Turret of Santa Nappa, the Commander of Andruzzi, the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Cortaine, and the Turrion of the Arſenall: ſo that being able no longer to ſerue our turne and inioy thoſe fewe flanckers, we threw downe wilde-fire into our enemies campe, the which annoyed them very ſore, becauſe it fired their woolpacks, & alſo their fagots. And for the better encouragement of the ſouldiers, the right honorable Bragadino gaue to euery ſouldier one duckat, ẏ which could gaine or recouer any of the former woolpackes, making countermines in all places. To the which charge Maggio the fortifier knight was appointed, who in all our buſineſſe ſerued with ſuch diligence and courage, as he was able, or was requiſite. But the countermines met not, ſauing thoſe of the Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, becauſe they were open, and our men ſallied out often both by day and night into the ditch to perceiue better the way of the mines, and to fire the fagots and wooll. Nor we ceaſſed at any time through the vnſpeakable trauell of the Lord Baglione (who had the ouerſight of all theſe matters) to trouble our enemies intents, by all maner of wit and policie, diuiding the companies for the batteries, ioyning and planting in all places a garriſon of the * Albanois ſouldiours, who aſwell on foot as on horſebacke, ſhewed alwayes notable courage and manhood.

* Albanois ſouldiers, ſouldiers of Albania, otherwiſe called Epirus, who cōmonly ſerue the Venetians both on horſebacke and foot, very ſkilfull & painfull.

The firſt aſſault.

The one and twentieth day of Iune they put fire to the mine of the Turret of the Arſenall, whereas Giambelat Bey tooke charge, who with great ruine rent in ſunder a moſt great and thicke wall, and ſo opened the ſame, that he threw downe more then halfe thereof, breaking alſo one part of the vaimure, made before to vpholde the aſſault. And ſuddenly a great number of the Turkes ſkipping vpon the ruines thereof, diſplayed their Enſignes, euen to the toppe of the ſame. Captaine Pietro Conte with his company was in that ward, the which was much ſhaken and terrified by that ſudden ruine. I with my company came firſt thither, ſo that they ſhortly tooke the repulſe, and although they refreſhed themſelues with new ſupplies fiue or ſixe times, yet they failed of their purpoſe. There fought perſonally the Lord Baglione: Bragadino and Querini being armed ſtood not farre off to refreſh and comfort our Souldiours, and the Captaine of the Caſtell with the Ordinance, that was planted vpon the Butteries, deſtroyed many of our enemies, when they gaue yͤ aſſault, the which endured fiue houres together: ſo that of Turkes were ſlaine very many, and of our ſide betweene them that were ſlaine and hurt one hundred: moſt part of the which number were caſt away by a miſchance of our wilde-fire, the which being vnaduiſedly and negligently handled, burnt vp many of our owne company. There died at that preſent the Earle Gio. Franceſco Goro, the Captaine Barnardino Agubio: and by the throwing of ſtones Hercole Malateſta, Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standerdbearers, were very ſore hurt.

Of this noble & painfull Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwardes hewen in ſunder by the cōmandement of Muſtafa) I was entertained very courteouſly in my trauell at Corcyra, now called Corfu, he being then there Mag. Caſtellano or Captaine of one of the caſtles.

The night following arriued in Cyprus a Pinnaſſe from Candia, which bringing newes of moſt certaine ayde, greatly increaſed both the mirth and courage of vs all, ſo that we made ſoone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco Criuellatore, and Maggio the knight, certaine retreats flancked to all the places beaten downe, and whereas they ſuſpected that the enemy had digged vp any mines, with Hogſheads, Cheſts, Tikes, and Sacks ſtuffed full of moiſt earth (the Grecians with all ſpeed hauing already brought almoſt all that which they had) becauſe they hauing diſpatched their Canueis about neceſſary vſes, they brought their hangings, cortaines, carpets, euen to their very ſheets, to make and ſtuffe vp their foreſayd ſacks, a very good and ready way to make vp againe their vaimures, the which were throwen downe with the fury of the artillery, which neuer ſtinted, ſo that we made vp againe ſtill that in the night, the which was throwen downe and broken in the day, ſleeping very ſeldome: all the ſouldiers ſtanding alwayes vpon the walles, viſited continually of the Gouernors of the Citie, which ſlept at no time, but in the extreame heat of the day, hauing no other time to take their reſt, becauſe the enemie was at hand, giuing vs continually alarmes, not ſuffering vs long to breath.

In extremities mē haue no regard to ſpare trifles.

Prouident & carefull gouernours or magiſtrates ſeldome ſleepe all the night at any time, much leſſe in dangerous ſeaſons.

The ſecond aſſault.

The nine and twentieth day of the ſame moneth they ſet the mine made towards the Brey on fire, the which mine was digged in ſtone, which brake and cleft all things in pieces, and cauſed great ruine, making an eaſie way for the enemy to aſſault vs, who with an outragious fury came to the toppe, whereas Muſtafa their Generall was altogether preſent, which aſſault was receiued, and ſtayed at the beginning of the Earle Hercole Martiningo with his garriſon, and ſo were repulſed by our company, who fought without any aduantage of couert, the vaimure being throwen downe by the mine. There were ſlaine of our company Captaine Meani the Sergeant Maior of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Eraſmo da Fermo: and Captaine Soldatello, Antonio d'Aſcoli, Captaine Gio. d'Iſtria, Standerd bearers, with many other officers, were ſore wounded, there died alſo 30 other of our common ſouldiers. At the Arſenall they were beaten backe with greater dammage of our enemies, and ſmall hurt to vs.

A ſmall thing at the beginning, or in due time done, helpeth much.

Fiue onely of our part being ſlaine there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano alſo was killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebuſh ſhot. The which aſſault continued ſixe houres, the Biſhop of Limiſſo ſtanding vp there, incouraging the Souldiours. Where alſo were found preſent ſtout women, who came thither with weapons, ſtones, and water, to helpe the Souldiours. Our enemies vnderſtanding how great hinderance they had receiued at theſe two aſſaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with greater fury then euer they had before accuſtomed to lay battery to all places, and into our retreats, ſo that they labouring more ſpeedily then euer they did, made ſeuen other forts more, vnder the caſtle, and taking away the artillery from them which were farther off, planting of it ſomewhat neerer, to the number of foureſcore, they battered the holde with ſo great rage, that on the eighth day of Iuly, with the ſame night alſo were numbred fiue thouſand Canon ſhot, and after that ſort they ouerthrew to the ground the vaimures, that ſcarſely with great trauell and paine we could repaire them againe, becauſe our men that laboured about them were continually ſlaine by their Ordinance, and by reaſon of the endleſſe tempeſt of the ſhot of their Harquebuzers. And our men beganne to decreaſe. For the Turkes cauſed vs to retire from our Breyes, by the violence of their artillery and mining, in ſuch ſort, that there being no more ſtanding left for our Souldiours, becauſe we making our vaimures more thicke, our ſtanding began to waxe narrower, the which preſently we of neceſſitie enlarged with boords as a ſcaffolde to the vaimure, whereby we might haue more elbow roome to fight. Captaine Maggio alſo made one mine vnder the ſayd Brey, to the intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the ſame might be left to our enemies to their great hinderance.

That certaine women inhabating this Iland be viragos, or mākind, I ſaw ſufficient triall at my laſt being there, in a city called Saline.

It is accoūted a good warlike ſhift, to leaue that to our enemies with hinderance, which we can not any longer keepe, and vſe to our owne commodity.

The third aſſault.

TO the ſayd Brey the ninth day of Iuly they gaue the third aſſault, to the Turrion of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the Cortaine, to the Keepe of the Arſenall: the which aſſault hauing continued more then ſixe houres, they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Brey to their great loſſe, and ours alſo: becauſe we being aſſaulted, our company being not able to mannage their Pikes in good order, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the ſtanding where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the L. Baglione had preſcribed vnto them, and could not, caſt themſelues at the laſt into a confuſe order, and retired, they being mingled amongſt the Turkes: ſo that fire being giuen to our mine, the ſame (with a terrible ſight to beholde) ſlew preſently of our enemies more then one thouſand, and aboue one hundred of vs. There was ſlaine Roberto Maluezzi, and Captaine Marchetto de Fermo was grieuouſly wounded. At the aſſault of the Arſenall was ſlaine Captaine Dauid Noce maſter of the Campe, & I my ſelfe was hurt by the racing of a Cannon ſhot. This aſſault continued fiue houres, and the Citizens of Famaguſta ſhewed great courage in euery place, with their women alſo, and yoong ſtriplings. The Brey was ſo defaced by reaſon of this mine ſet on fire, that no body any more attempted to recouer the ſame: becauſe there was no apt place remaining to ſtay vpon. The left flancker onely remained ſtill, whereas another mine was made. The gate of Limiſſo was ouer againſt this foreſayd Brey, and ſomewhat lower, which was alwayes open, hauing made to the ſame a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the which Percollois by the cutting of a ſmall cord, was a preſent defence to the gate, and our Souldiours gaue their attendance by that gate to bring in the battered earth, which fell in the ditches from the rampaire: and when they ſaw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne to entrench aboue the Brey, and by the flanckers aboue they ſuffered no perſon to paſſe out of the gate, the which thing brought great ſuſpition vnto our enemies, becauſe they were often times aſſailed of our company.

The fourth aſſault.

WHerefore they came the foureteenth day of Iuly to aſſault the gate of Limiſſo, and laying their battery to all other places, they came and planted their Enſignes euen before the gate, whereas the L. Baglione, and Sig. Luigi were in readineſſe, who had taken vpon them to defend that gate of the Citie. Who aſſoone as they had encouraged their Souldiours, ſallying ſwiftly foorth, killed, and put to flight the greater part of them, and at the laſt giuing fire to the mine of the flancker ſlew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baglione at the ſame time woon an Enſigne of our enemies, wraſting it violently out of one of the Enſigne bearers hands. The day following they gaue fire to the mine of the Cortaine, the which thing not falling

The forwardnes of the captaine at dangerous times not only much comforteth the common ſouldier, but alſo increaſeth greatly his credit & commendation with all men.

out greatly to their purpoſe, they followed not their prepared aſſault. Wherefore they beganne to fortifie, and aduance higher their trauerſes in the ditches, for their better aſſurance againſt they ſhould giue the aſſault: and they had emptied and carried away all the earth neere vnto the counterſkarfe, where they lodged in their pauillions, ſo that we could not deſcrie them. They ſhot ſeuen pieces of artillery vpon the wall of the counterſcharfe ſo couertly, that they were not ſeene: two from the Brey of the Turrion of Santa Nappa, one from Andruzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Cortaine. And they came with certaine boordes couered with rawe and greene hides, vnder which they brought their men to digge in the baimures, we being nothing behinde or forgetfull to caſt wilde-fire amongſt them, and ſometime to iſſue foorth of our ſallies called Poſternes, to offend their Pioners, although to our great hinderance. And we ſtill repaired the baimures by all meanes poſſible, with Buffe ſkinnes, being moiſt and wet, throwing in alſo earth, ſhreads, and cotton with water, being well bound together with cordes: all the women of Famaguſta gathering themſelues together into companies in euery ſtreet (being guided of one of their Monkes called Caloiero) reſorted dayly to a certaine place appointed, to labour, gathering and prouiding for the ſouldiers, ſtones and water, the which was kept for all aſſaults in halfe buts to quench the fire, which the Turks threw amongſt them.

Teglia in Latine called Teda is a certaine wood which burneth eaſily, and ſauoreth vnpleaſantly, of the which there is great ſtore in Sicilia: ſometime it is vſed for a torch.

Hauing had no great ſucceſſe in taking of the gate, they found out a newe way, neuer heard of before, in gathering together a great quantitie of certaine wood called Teglia, which eaſily burned, and ſmelt very euill, the which they throwing before the former gate of the Citie, and fagots faſtened to the ſame, with certaine beames beſmeered with Pitch, kindled ſuddenly ſo great a fire, as was not poſſible for vs to quench the ſame, although we threw vpon it whole Buts of water, which were throwen downe from an high Commander, which Buts preſently brake in ſunder.

No neceſſarie thing to bee done was left vnattempted on either part.

Mans courage oft abateth, but hope ſeldome forſaketh.

Saguntina fames.

This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were inforced by reaſon of the extreame heat and ſtinch, to withdraw our ſelues further inward, and they deſcending towardes their lower flanckers, beganne other mines, ſo that the gate was ſhut vp, becauſe it could be no longer kept open, and ſuddenly (a thing maruellous to be ſpoken) the ſtanding of the Brey being repaired, and made vp againe, they planted one piece ouer againſt the gate, the which of vs with ſtones, earth and other things, was ſuddenly buried vp. By this time we were driuen to an exigent, all our prouiſion within the Citie ſtooping very lowe, ſauing onely hope, the noble courage of the Gouernours and Captaines, and the ſtout readineſſe of the Souldiours: our wine, and fleſh as well powdered as vnpowdered was ſpent, nor there was any Cheeſe to be gotten, but vpon an vnreaſonable price, our company hauing eaten vp their Horſes, Aſſes, and Cats, for lacke of other victualls: there was nothing left to be eaten, but a ſmall quantitie of Bread, and Beanes, and we dranke water and Vineger together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceiued that our enemies had digged and caſt vp three mines in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then euer they did before, bringing into the ditch, ouer againſt the battery of the Cortaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and already they came to the wall aboue the Counterſcharfe ouer againſt the Turrion of the Arſenall, and had made one Commander complete, fenced with ſhares, like vnto plough ſhares, in proportion and height correſpondent to ours.

In Iuly the heat is ſo extreme in this Iland, that the inhabitants thereof are not woont to trauell, but by night onely.

A letter or ſupplication exhibited by the Cypriottes vnto Sig. Bragadino.

The anſwere of the former letter.

Within the Citie were remaining but fiue hundreth Italian Souldiours, who were not hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and paines in fighting in thoſe feruent and burning heates, which are in thoſe parts. And the greater and better part alſo of the Grecians were by this time ſlaine, whenas the chiefe of thoſe Citizens remaining did fully reſolue themſelues (the which was about the twentieth day of Iuly) to preſent a ſupplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proueditore, deſiring and beſeeching him, that ſeeing their Citie and Fortreſſe was thus battered and brought to extremitie, without ſufficient ayde to defend the ſame, without ſubſtance or ſuſtenance, hauing no hope of ſuccour, or any newe ſupply, they hauing ſpent and conſumed not onely their goods, but alſo their liues for the defence of them, and in teſtifying of their dutifull ſeruice towardes the noble and royall ſtate of the Segniorie of Venice, that it might nowe pleaſe him, and the reſt of the honourable Gouernours, that were preſent, and put in truſt, hauing a carefull eye vnto ſome honourable conditions, to haue now at the laſt a reſpect to the credit and honour of their long trauelled wiues, and the ſafegard of their poore children, which otherwiſe were ſhortly very like to be a pray to their bloudthirſting and rauening enemies. To the which letter or ſupplication ſpeedy anſwere was made by the forenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they ſhould by no meanes abate their courage, and that ſhortly he looked for ſuccour from the Segniorie, diminiſhing as much as hee might, the feare which they had conceiued in their hearts, diſpatching and ſending away ſuddenly from Cyprus into Candia, a Pinneſſe to certifie the duke and gouernours there, in what extremitie they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their mines, and ſet them on fire, the 29. of Iuly: in the which ſpace our men, according as they were woont to doe, renued and made vp againe the vaimures ruined before by the Ordinance, and hauing no other ſtuffe left to aduaunce them with, made ſackes of Kerſie, vnto the which the noble Tiepolo diligently looked. The three mines of the Commander did great damage to vs, hauing throwen downe the greater part of the earth, whereas the gouernour Randacchi was ſlaine. The mine of the Arſenall ouerthrew all the reſt of the Turrion, hauing ſmoldered and choked one whole garriſon of our ſouldiers, the two flanckers onely ſtill remaining.

It ſtandeth with reaſon, in hope of ſauing the greater, to let the leſſer go.

The fift Aſſault.

The enemies trauelled much to become maſters of thoſe foreſayd flankers, and to ſally foorth by the other batteries, and this aſſault laſted from three of the clocke in the after noone vntil night, where, and at what time were ſlaine very many of our enemies. In this aſſault Sig. Giacomo Strambali, amongſt the reſt, ſhewed much worthineſſe, as hee had done before in other conflictes.

The ſixt and laſt aſſault.

The next morning following, at the breake of the day, they aſſailed all places, the which aſſault continued more then ſixe houres, with very little hurt on our ſide, becauſe our enemies fought more coldly then they were wont to doe, annoying of vs continually on the Sea ſide with their Gallies, ſhooting in all their aſſaults and batteries continually Cannon ſhot in all parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and repulſed this aſſault, and perceiued things brought to a narrower ſtraite then they were wont to be at, wee hauing left in all the whole Citie but ſeuen barrels of pouder, the gouernours of the Citie fully determined to yeelde vp themſelues and the Citie, with honourable conditions. Wherefore the firſt of Auguſt in the after noone, they tooke a truce, one being come for that purpoſe from Muſtafa the Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to giue two hoſtages a piece, vntill ſuch time as both armies were agreed. For our hoſtages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were ſent foorth the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Colſi a Citizen of Famaguſta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of Muſtafa, and the Aga of the Giannizzers, the which were met, euen vnto the gate of the Citie, of Signiour Baglione with two hundreth harquebuſers: ours alſo were met in like maner with great pompe with horſemen and harquebuſers, with the ſonne alſo of Muſtafa in perſon, who made very much of them.

Neceſſitie oft times preſſeth vs in the end to that, which our will continually ſpurneth againſt.

Giannezeri be the gard of the great Turke, ſo that Aga de Giannizeri is the captaine of the Turkes gard.

The Lord Baglione imparld with theſe hoſtages, which were then come for that purpoſe of the articles of peace, requiring by them of their Generall, their liues, armour, and goods, fiue peeces of Ordinance, three of the beſt horſes, and ſafe paſſage from thence vnto Candia accompanied with their Gallies, and laſt of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Iſland, might dwell there ſtill quietly, and enioy peaceably their owne goods and poſſeſſions, liuing ſtill Chriſtians hereafter, as they had done before. All the which requeſts and articles were agreed vpon, granted, and ſubſcribed vnto by the hand of Muſtafa. Foorthwith were ſent Gallies, and other veſſels into the hauen, ſo that our ſouldiers immediatly began to imbarke themſelues, of the which the greater part were already gone aboorde, the Nobilitie and our chiefe Captaines alſo being likewiſe very deſirous to depart.

Iuſt Turkiſh dealing, to ſpeake and not to meane: ſo daintly to promiſe, and neuer to perform the ſame.

The 15. of Auguſt in the morning, the worthy Bragadino ſent me with a letter vnto Muſtafa, by the which hee ſignified, that the ſame night hee would come vnto him to deliuer vp the keyes of the Citie, and that he would leaue in the holde the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, praying him therefore, that whileſt hee ſhould haue iuſt cauſe thus to bee abroad, that there might be no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce taking vntill that time, practiſed with vs all familiarly, and without any ſuſpition of ſiniſter or double dealing, they hauing ſhewed vs much courteſie both in word and deede. Muſtafa himſelfe by worde of mouth preſently anſwered me to this letter, in this ſort, that I ſhould returne, and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had ſent mee, that he ſhould come ouer to him at his owne pleaſure, for hee was very deſirous both to ſee and know him, for his great worthineſſe and proweſſe, that hee had tried to be in him, and in the other of his Captaines and Souldiers, of whoſe manhood and courage he would honourably report, where ſoeuer he came, as occaſion ſhould ſerue thereunto: and to conclude, that hee ſhould nothing doubt of any thing: becauſe in no maner of condition hee would ſuffer any violence to be done to thoſe, which remained behind within the Citie. So I ſpeedily returning, made true report of the ſame: and towards night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied with the L. Baglione, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right worſhipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worſhipfull Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haſte, with the captaine Carlo Ragonaſco, with captaine Franceſco Straco, with captaine Hector of Breſcia, with captaine Girolomo di Sacile, and with other gentlemen and fiftie ſouldiours, the Gouernours and Noble men with their ſwordes, and the ſouldiours with their harquebuzes came foorth of their hold, and went vnto the pauillion of Muſtafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were curteouſly receiued, and cauſed to ſit downe by him, he reaſoning and diſcourſing with them of diuers things, a certaine time, and drawing them from one matter to another, at the laſt vpon a ſudden picked a quarell vnto them, eſpecially burdening that noble Bragadino with an vntrueth, laying to his charge ÿ he had cauſed certaine of his ſlaues in the time that the truce continued betweene thẽ, to be put to death. The which thing was moſt falſe. So that hee being angry therewith, ſuddenly ſtept foorth, and commaunded them to bee bound. Thus they being vnarmed (not ſuffered at that time to enter into his pauillion, with their former weapons) and bound, were led one by one into the market place, before his pauillion, being preſently cut and hewen in ſunder in his preſence, and laſt of all from that woorthy and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the reſt, and being commaunded twiſe or thriſe to ſtretch foorth his necke, as though hee ſhould haue bene beheaded, the which moſt boldly hee did without any ſparke of feare) his eares were cut off, and cauſing him to bee ſtretched out moſt vilely vpon the ground, Muſtafa talked with him, and blaſphemed the holy name of our Sauiour, demaunding him, where is now thy Chriſt, that hee helpeth thee not? To all the which no anſwere at all was giuen of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercole Martinengo, which was ſent for one of the hoſtages, who was alſo bound, was hidden by one of Muſtafas eunuches vntill ſuch time as his furie was paſt, afterward his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches ſlaue. Three Grecians which were vnder his pauillion were left vntouched. All the ſouldiers which were found in the campe, and all ſortes of Chriſtians to the number of three hundred, were ſuddenly ſlaine, they nothing miſtruſting any ſuch treaſon, or tirannie. The Chriſtian ſouldiers which were embarked a litle before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made ſlaues, all things being taken from them, and ſtripped into their ſhirtes.

The propertie of true fortitude is, not to be broken with ſudden terrors.

Muſtafa, coſin germaine to ÿ thiefe, which hong on the left ſide of our Sauiour at his Paſſion.

The ſecond day after this murther was committed, which was the 17. of Auguſt, Muſtafa entred the firſt time into the Citie, and cauſed the valiant and wiſe gouernour Tiepolo to bee hanged, who remained behind, waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that preſent, when other of my countreymen were thus miſerably ſlaine and made ſlaues, hid my ſelfe in certaine of the Grecians houſes the ſpace of fiue dayes, and they not being able to keepe mee in couert any longer for feare of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed agaynſt ſuch tranſgreſſors and concealers, I offred, and gaue my ſelfe ſlaue to one Sangiaccho del Bir, promiſing him fiue hundred * Zechins for my ranſome, with whom I remained in the Campe. The Friday folowing (being the Turkes ſabboth day) this woorthy and pacient gentleman Bragadino was led ſtill in the preſence of that vnfaithfull tirant Muſtafa, to the batteries made vnto the Citie, whereas he being compelled to cary two baskets of earth, the one vpon his backe, the other in his hand ſlaue-like, to euery ſundry battrie, being enforced alſo to kiſſe the ground as oft as he paſſed by him, was afterward brought vnto the ſea ſide, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and ſtay vpon, was winched vp in that chaire, and faſtened vnto the maineyard of a galley, and hoiſted vp with a crane, to ſhew him to all the Chriſtian ſouldiours and ſlaues (which were in the hauen already ſhipped) hee being afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormenters tooke of his clothes from him, and tacked him vnto the pillorie, whereas he was moſt cruelly flaied quicke; with ſo great conſtancie and faith on his part, that he neuer loſt or abated any iot of his ſtedfaſt courage, being ſo farre from any fainting, that hee at that preſent with moſt ſtout heart reproched them, and ſpake much ſhame of his moſt traiterous dealing in breaking of his faithfull promiſe. At the laſt without any kind of alteration of his conſtancie, he recommending his ſoule vnto almightie God, gaue vp the ghoſt. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his ſkin being taken and filled with ſtrawe, was commaunded foorthwith to be hanged vpon the bowſprit of a * Foiſt, and to be caried alongſt the coaſt of Syria by the ſea ſide, that all the port townes might ſee, and vnderſtand who he was.

*Zechini, be certaine pieces of fine gold coined in Venice, euery one of the which is in value ſixe ſhillings eight pence of our mony, & ſomewhat better: & equal altogether to a Turkiſh Byraltom.

His death anſwerable to his former life

*A Foiſt is as it were a Brigandine, being ſomewhat larger then halfe a galley, much vſed of the Turkiſh Curſaros, or as we call them Pirates or Rouers.

This is now ſo much as I am able to declare to your highneſſe by that I ſawe my ſelfe, and can remember whileſt that I was in the Fortreſſe: that alſo which by true relation of others I could vnderſtand, and ſawe alſo my ſelfe in the campe, whileſt I was ſlaue, I will likewiſe briefly vtter vnto you. The enemies armie was in number two hundred thouſand perſons of all ſorts and qualities. Of ſouldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thouſand, beſides the which number, there were 14. thouſand of Giannizzers taken out from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Natolia, and part of them alſo which came from the * gate of the great Turke. The venturers with the ſword were 60. thouſand in number. The reaſon, why there were ſo many of this ſort, was becauſe Muſtafa had diſperſed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that Famaguſta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicoſia was: ſo for that cauſe, and by the commodious and eaſie paſſage from Syria ouer into Cyprus, theſe venturers were eaſily induced to come thither. In 75. dayes (all the which time the batterie ſtill continued) 140. thouſand iron pellets were ſhot of, numbred, and ſeene. The chiefe perſonages which were in their armie neere vnto Muſtafa, were theſe following: the Baſſa of Aleppo, the Baſſa of Natolia, Muſafer Baſſa of Nicoſia, the Baſſa of Caramania, the Aga of the Giannizzers, Giambelat *Bey, the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the *Begliarbei of Greece, the Baſſa of Sciuaſſi and of Maraſco, Ferca Framburaro, the *Sangiaccho of Antipo, Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Muſtafa Bey generall of the Venturers, Fergat gouernour of Malathia, the Framburaro of Diuerie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of leſſer credite, with the number of fourescore thouſand perſons beſides, as by the muſter made by his Commiſſion might well appeare.

*The gate of the great Turke, is as much to ſay, as Conſtantinople: the which they call in the Turkiſh language Stanboll.

Gli Venturieri da ſpada, are a kind of venturing ſouldiers, who commonly are wont to folow the army in hope of the ſpoile.

Aleppo, a famous citie neere vnto Antiochia, otherwiſe called in Greeke, ἡλιόπολις, the city of the Sunne.

*Bey in ỳ Turkiſh language, ſignifieth knight with vs.

*Begliarbei ſignifieth lord Admirall.

*Sangiaccho, is that perſon w^t the Turkes, that gouerneth a prouince or countrey.

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left gouernour at Famaguſta, and the report was that there ſhould bee left in all the Iſland of Cyprus, twentie thouſand perſons, with two thouſand horſes, many of the which I ſaw, being very leane and euill appoynted for ſeruice. It ſeemeth alſo a thing not impertinent to the matter, to ſignifie to you, how I, by the eſpeciall grace of God, was deliuered out of their cruel hands, I hauing paied within two & fortie dayes (all the which time I was ſlaue) fiue hundred Zechins for my ranſome to him, whoſe priſoner I was, by the meanes of the Conſul for the French merchants, a ligier then at Tripolis, who a litle before came from Tripolis in Syria vnto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paied this ſumme of money to him, hee would not ſo ſet me at libertie, but fed mee vp ſtill with faire wordes, and promiſed mee that hee would firſt bring mee vnto his gouernement, which abutted vpon a piece of the famous riuer of Euphrates, and afterward diſmiſſe me. The which malice and falſehood of his I perceiuing, determined with my ſelfe to giue him the ſlip, and to flie: ſo I waiting my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a ſmall Fiſher boate, of the which a poore Grecian was Owner and maſter, with whom in one night with two onely oares and a ſmall ſaile made of two ſhirts, I paſſed ouer from Cyprus vnto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas I remained in couert in the houſe of certaine Chriſtians, vntill the fiue and twentie of September, at what time I departed from thence in a little French ſhippe called Santa Vittor, which came into theſe partes, and as wee rode, wee touched at a part of Cyprus Weſtward, called Capo delle Gatte, where as I came on land, and talking with certaine of the inhabitants of the Villages, who were then by chaunce a Hauking, demaunded of them, how they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what ſort the Iſland was tilled: to the which they anſwered, that they could not poſſiblie bee in worſe pickle then they were at that preſent, not enioying that quietly which was their owne, being made villaines and ſlaues, and almoſt alwayes carying away the Baſtonados, ſo that now (they ſayd) they knew by triall too perfectly the pleaſant and peaceable gouernment of the Chriſtians, wiſhing and praying God that they might ſhortly returne. And concerning the tillage of the Iſland they made anſwere moreouer, that no part of it was plowed or laboured, ſauing onely that mountaine which was towards the Weſt, and that becauſe they were litle troubled with the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the plaine and Eaſt part of the Iſland, there was ſmall ſeede ſowen therein, but became in a maner deſert, there being left but few inhabitants, and leſſe ſtore of cattell there. Afterward wee departing from thence arriued in * Candia, I for my part being clothed in ſackecloth, whereas ſoone after by the great curteſie of the right honourable Signior Latino Orſino, I was new apparelled accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my neceſſitie relieued. From whence I ſhortly after ſayling in a Cypriottes ſhip (thankes be to almightie God) arriued in this Citie in health, and am ſafely come home now at the honorable feete of your highneſſe.

God ſuffereth much to be done to his ſeruants, but neuer forſaketh them.

Neceſſitie oft times ſharpeneth mens wits, & cauſeth boldnes.

The nature of euery commoditie is ſooner vnderſtood by lacking, then by continuall enioying of the ſame.

*Candia, of the old writers called Creta in latin, Ἑκατόμπολις in Greek, becauſe it had once a 100. Cities in it, now there remaining but onely 4. thus commonly named, Candia, la Cania, Retima, and Scythia.

The Captains of the Chriſtians ſlaine in Famaguſta.

The lord Eſtor Baglione.
The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
The lord Federico Baglione.
The knight of Aſta Uicegouernor.
The capitaine Dauid Noce Maſter of the Campe.
The capitaine Meani of Perugia Serieant Maior.
The earle Sigiſmond of Caſoldo.
The earle Franceſco of Lobi of Cremona.
The captaine Franceſco Troncauilla.
The captaine Hannibal Adamo of Fermo.
The captaine Scipio of the citie of Caſtello.
The captaine Charles Ragonaſco of Cremona.
The captaine Franceſco Siraco.
The captaine Roberto Maluezzo.
The captaine Cæſar of Aduerſa.
The captaine Bernardin of Agubio.
The captaine Franceſco Bugon of Verona.
The captaine Iames of Fabiano,
The captaine Sebaſtian del Sole of Florence.
The captaine Hector of Breſcia, the ſucceſſour to the captaine Cæſar of Aduerſa.
The captaine Flaminio of Florence, ſucceſſor vnto Sebaſtian del Sole.
The captaine Eraſmus of Fermo, ſucceſſor to the captaine of Cernole.
The captaine Bartholomew of Cernole.
The captaine Iohn Battiſta of Riuarole.
The captaine Iohn Franceſco of Venice.

The names of Chriſtians made ſlaues.

The Earle Herocles Martinengo, with Iulius Cæſar Ghelſo a Souldiour of Breſſa.
The earle Neſtor Martinengo, which fled.
The captaine Marco Criuellatore.
The lord Herocles Malateſta.
The captaine Peter Conte of Montalberto.
The captaine Horatio of Veletri.
The captaine Aluigi Pezano.
The Conte Iames of Corbara.
The captaine Iohn of Iſtria.
The captaine Soldatelli of Agubio.
The captaine Iohn of Aſcoli.
The captaine Antonie of the ſame towne.
The captaine Sebaſtian of the ſame towne.
The captaine Salgano of the citie of Caſtello.
The captaine Marcheſo of Fermo.
The captaine Iohn Antonio of Piacenza.
The captaine Carletto Naldo.
The captaine Lorenzo Fornaretti.
The captaine Barnardo of Breſcia.
The captaine Barnardino Coco.
The captaine Simon Bagneſe, ſucceſſour to the captaine Dauid Noce.
The captaine Tiberio Ceruto, ſucceſſor vnto Conte Sigiſmond.
The captaine Ioſeph of Lanciano, ſucceſſour vnto captaine Franceſco Troncauilla.
The captaine Morgante, ſucceſſor to captain Hannibal.
The Lieutenant, ſucceſſour vnto the captaine Scipio.
The Standerdbearer, ſucceſſour to captaine Roberto.
The captaine Ottauio of Rimini, ſucceſſour to the captaine Franceſco Bugon.
The captaine Mario de Fabiano, ſucceſſour to captaine Iacomo.
The captaine Franceſco of Venice, ſucceſſour vnto captaine Antonio.
The captaine Matteo of Capua.
The captaine Iohn Maria of Verona.
The captaine Mancino.

The Fortifiers.

Iohn Marmori, ſlaine.
The knight Maggio, ſlaue.

Turkiſh Captaines at *Famaguſta*.

MVſtafa Generall.
The Baſſa of Aleppo.
The Baſſa of Natolia, ſlaine.
Muſafer Baſſa of Nicoſia.
The Baſſa of Caramania.
The Aga of the Giannizers.
Giambelat Bey.
The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, ſlaine.

The Begliarbei of Greece.
The Baſſa of Sciuaſſi and Maraſco.
Ferca Framburaro.
The Sangiaccho of Antipo, ſlaine.
Soliman Bey, ſlaine.
Three Sangiacchos of Arabia, ſlaine.
Muſtafa Bey, Generall of the Venturers, ſlain.
Fergat, ruler of Malathia, ſlaine.
The Framburaro of Diuerie, ſlaine.

The woorthy enterpriſe of *Iohn Foxe* an Engliſh man in deliuering 266. Chriſtians out of the captiuitie of the Turkes at *Alexandria*, the 3. of Ianuarie 1577.

AMong our merchants here in England it is a common voiage to traffike into Spaine: whereunto a ſhip, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with 38. men, and well fenſed with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withall, and hauing wind & tide, ſet from Portſmouth, 1563. and bended her iourney toward Siuill a citie in Spaine, intending there to traffique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceiued thẽſelues to be beſet round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in ſuch wiſe, that there was no way for thẽ to flie or eſcape away, but that either they muſt yeeld or els be ſunke. Which the owner perceiuing, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to ſhew their manhood, ſhewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requeſting them alſo not to faint in ſeeing ſuch a heape of their enemies ready to deuour them; putting them in mind alſo, that if it were Gods pleaſure to giue them into their enemies hands, it was not they ẏ ought to ſhew one diſpleaſant looke or countenance thereagainſt; but to take it patiently, & not to preſcribe a day and time for their deliuerance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themſelues vnder his mercy. And againe, if it were his mind and good will to ſhew his mighty power by thẽ, if their enemies were ten times ſo many, they were not able to ſtand in their hands; putting them likewiſe in mind of the old and ancient woorthineſſe of their countreymen, who in the hardeſt extremities haue alwayes moſt preuailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene almoſt impoſſible. Such (quoth he) hath bene the valiantneſſe of our countreymen, and ſuch hath bene the mightie power of our God.

John Foxe taken 1563.

With other like incouragements, exhorting them to behaue themſelues manfully, they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly vnto God: who being all riſen vp againe perceiued their enemies by their ſignes and defiances bent to the ſpoyle, whoſe mercy was nothing els but crueltie, whereupon euery man tooke him to his weapon.

Then ſtood vp one Groue the maſter, being a comely man, with his ſword and target, holding them vp in defiance agaynſt his enemies. So likewiſe ſtood vp the Owner, the Maſters mate, Boateſwaine, Purſer, and euery man well appointed. Nowe likewiſe ſounded vp the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would haue encouraged any man, had he neuer ſo litle heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge Iohn Foxe the gunner in the diſpoſing of his pieces in order to the beſt effect, and ſending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewiſe beſtowed their pieces thriſe as faſt toward the Chriſtians. But ſhortly they drew neere, ſo that the bowmen fel to their charge in ſending forth their arrowes ſo thicke amongſt the Gallies, & alſo in doubling their ſhot ſo ſore vpon the gallies, that there were twiſe ſo many of the Turkes ſlaine, as the number of the Chriſtians were in all. But the Turks diſcharged twiſe as faſt againſt the Chriſtians, & ſo long, that the ſhip was very ſore ſtricken & bruiſed vnder water. Which the Turkes perceiuing, made the more haſte to come aboord the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the loſſe of their liues. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found ſo hote a ſkirmiſh, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feaſt. For the Engliſhmen ſhewed themſelues men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bils and halbardes: where the owner, maſter, boateſwaine, and their company ſtoode to it ſo luſtily, that the Turkes were halfe diſmaied. But chiefly the boateſwaine ſhewed himſelf valiant aboue the reſt: for he fared amongſt the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durſt ſtand in his face, till at the laſt there came a ſhot from the Turkes, which brake his whiſtle aſunder, and ſmote him on the breſt, ſo that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewiſe to winne praiſe by death, rather then to liue captiues in miſery and ſhame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to haue done, as it appeared by their ſkirmiſh: but the preaſe and ſtore of the Turkes was ſo great, that they were not able long to endure, but were ſo ouerpreſſed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reaſon whereof, they muſt needs

The valour & death of their Boatſwaine.

be taken, which none of them intended to haue bene, but rather to haue died: except onely the maſters mate, who ſhrunke from the ſkirmiſh, like a notable coward, eſteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the preſent example of his fellowes, nor hauing reſpect to the miſeries, whereunto he ſhould be put. But in fine, ſo it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cauſe to reioyce, or triumph. Then would it haue grieued any hard heart to ſee theſe Infidels ſo violently intreating the Chriſtians, not hauing any reſpect of their manhood which they had taſted of, nor yet reſpecting their owne ſtate, how they might haue met with ſuch a bootie, as might haue giuen them the ouerthrow: but no remorſe hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tirannous dealing, but that the Chriſtians muſt needs to the gallies, to ſerue in new offices: and they were no ſooner in them, but their garments were pulled ouer their eares, and torne from their backes, and they ſet to the oares.

I will make no mention of their miſeries, being now vnder their enemies raging ſtripes. I thinke there is no man wil iudge their fare good, or their bodies vnloden of ſtripes, and not peſtered with too much heate, and alſo with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpoſe, which is, to ſhew the ende of thoſe, being in meere miſerie, which continually doe call on God with a ſtedfaſt hope that he will deliuer them, and with a ſure faith that he can doe it.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a hauen towne, and vnder the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very fenſible with ſtrong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe cuſtomably bring their gallies on ſhoare euery yeere, in the winter ſeaſon, and there doe trimme them, and lay them vp againſt the ſpring time. In which road there is a priſon, wherein the captiues & ſuch priſoners as ſerue in the gallies, are put for all that time, vntill the ſeas be calme and paſſable for the gallies, euery priſoner being moſt grieuouſly laden with irons on their legges, to their great paine, and ſore diſabling of them to any labour taking. Into which priſon were theſe Chriſtians put, and faſt warded all the Winter ſeaſon. But ere it was long, the Maſter and the Owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the reſt abiding ſtill by the miſerie, while that they were all (through reaſon of their ill vſage and worſe fare, miſerably ſtarued) ſauing one Iohn Fox, who (as ſome men can abide harder and more miſerie, then other ſome can, ſo can ſome likewiſe make more ſhift, and worke more deuiſes to helpe their ſtate and liuing, then other ſome can doe) being ſomewhat ſkilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reaſon thereof made great ſhift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Inſomuch, til at the laſt, God ſent him fauour in the ſight of the keeper of the priſon, ſo that he had leaue to goe in and out to the road, at his pleaſure, paying a certaine ſtipend vnto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg: which libertie likewiſe, ſixe more had vpon like ſufferance: who by reaſon of their long impriſonment, not being feared or ſuſpected to ſtart aſide, or that they would worke the Turkes any miſchiefe, had libertie to go in and out at the ſayd road, in ſuch maner, as this Iohn Fox did, with irons on their legs, and to returne againe at night.

The Engliſhmen caried priſoners vnto an Hauen nere Alexandria.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the Winter ſeaſon, the gallies happily comming to their accuſtomed harborow, and being diſcharged of all their maſtes, ſailes, and other ſuch furnitures, as vnto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Maſters and mariners of them being then neſted in their owne homes: there remained in the priſon of the ſaid road two hundred threeſcore and eight Chriſtian priſoners, who had bene taken by the Turks force, and were of ſixteen ſundry nations. Among which there were three Engliſhmen, whereof one was named Iohn Foxe of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portſmouth, in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Eſſex. Which Iohn Fox hauing bene thirteene or foureteene yeres vnder their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his eſcape, weighed with himſelfe by what meanes it might be brought to paſſe: and continually pondering with himſelf thereof, tooke a good heart vnto him, in hope that God would not be not alwayes ſcourging his children, and neuer ceaſſed to pray him to further his pretended enterpriſe, if that it ſhould redound to his glory.

Not farre from the road, and ſomewhat from thence, at one ſide of the Citie, there was a certaine victualling houſe, which one Peter Vnticaro had hired, paying alſo a certaine fee vnto the keeper of the road. This Peter Vnticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Chriſtian, and had bene priſoner about thirtie yeeres, and neuer practiſed any meanes to eſcape, but kept himſelfe quiet without touch or ſuſpect of any conſpiracie: vntill that nowe this Iohn Foxe vſing much thither, they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the reſtraint of their libertie and impriſonment. So that this Iohn Fox at length opening vnto this Vnticaro the deuiſe which he would faine put in practiſe, made priuie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter at ſuch times as they could compaſſe to meete together: inſomuch, that at ſeuen weekes ende they had ſufficiently concluded how the matter ſhould be, if it pleaſed God to farther them thereto: who making fiue more priuie to this their deuiſe, whom they thought they might ſafely truſt, determined in three nights after to accompliſh their deliberate purpoſe. Whereupon the ſame Iohn Fox, and Peter Vnticaro, and the other ſixe appointed to meete all together in the priſon the next day, being the laſt day of December: where this Iohn Fox certified the reſt of the priſoners, what their intent and deuiſe was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpoſe to paſſe: who thereunto perſwaded them without much a doe to further their deuiſe. Which the ſame Iohn Fox ſeeing, deliuered vnto them a ſort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpoſe, by the meanes of Peter Vnticaro, charging them that euery man ſhould be readie diſcharged of his yrons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

The laſt of December.

On the next day at night, this ſaid Iohn Fox, and his ſixe other companions, being all come to the houſe of Peter Vnticaro, paſſing the time away in mirth for feare of ſuſpect, till the night came on, ſo that it was time for them to put in practiſe their deuiſe, ſent Peter Vnticaro to the maſter of the roade, in the name of one of the Maſters of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whoſe requeſt he alſo would come at the firſt: who deſired him to take the paines to meete him there, promiſing him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, ſaying, that he would not ſtay long, but would come againe with all ſpeede.

Januarie.

In the meane ſeaſon, the other ſeuen had prouided them of ſuch weapons, as they could get in that houſe: and Iohn Fox tooke him to an olde ruſtie ſword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to ſerue his turne, in bending the hand ende of the ſword, in ſteed of a pomell, and the other had got ſuch ſpits and glaiues as they found in the houſe.

The keeper now being come vnto the houſe, and perceiuing no light, nor hearing any noyſe, ſtraightway ſuſpected the matter: and returning backward, Iohn Fox ſtanding behind the corner of the houſe, ſtepped foorth vnto him: who perceiuing it to be Iohn Fox, ſaide, O Fox, what haue I deſerued of thee, that thou ſhouldeſt ſeeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) haſt bene a bloodſucker of many a Chriſtians blood, and now thou ſhalt know what thou haſt deſerued at my handes: wherewith he lift vp his bright ſhining ſword of tenne yeeres ruſt, and ſtroke him ſo maine a blowe, as therewithall his head claue a ſunder, ſo that he fell ſtarke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Vnticaro went in, and certified the reſt how the caſe ſtood with the keeper: who came preſently foorth, and ſome with their ſpits ranne him through, and the other with their glaiues hewed him in ſunder, cut off his head, and mangled him ſo, that no man ſhould diſcerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered ſoftly, where were ſix warders, whom one of them aſked, ſaying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friendes. Which when they were all within, proued contrary: for, quoth Fox, my maſters, here is not to euery man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who ſo behaued themſelues in deede, that they had diſpatched theſe ſixe quickly. Then Iohn Fox intending not to be barred of his enterpriſe, and minding to worke ſurely in that which he went about, barred the gate ſurely, and planted a Canon againſt it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keyes of the fortreſſe & priſon by his bed ſide, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a cheſt, wherein was a rich treaſure, and all in duckats, which this Peter Vnticaro, & two more, opening, ſtuffed themſelues ſo full as they could, betweene their ſhirts and their ſkinne: which Iohn Fox would not once touch, and ſayde, that it was his and their libertie which he ſought for, to the honour of his God, & not to make a marte of the wicked treaſure of the Infidels. Yet did theſe words ſinke nothing into their ſtomakes, they did it for a good intent: ſo did Saul ſaue the fatteſt Oxen, to offer vnto the Lord, and they to ſerue their owne turne. But neither did Saul ſcape the wrath of God therefore, neither had theſe that thing which they deſired ſo, and did thirſt after. Such is Gods iuſtice. He that they put their truſt in, to deliuer them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, he (I ſay) could ſupply their want of neceſſaries.

Nowe theſe eight being armed with ſuch weapons as they thought well of, thinking themſelues ſufficient champions to encounter a ſtronger enemie, and comming vnto the priſon, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called forth all the priſoners, whom he ſet, ſome to ramming vp the gate, ſome to the dreſſing vp of a certaine gallie, which was the beſt in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto ſome caried maſtes, ſailes, oares, and other ſuch furniture as doth belong vnto a gallie.

At the priſon were certaine warders, whom Iohn Fox and his companie ſlewe: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceiued them, and got them to the toppe of the priſon: vnto whom Iohn Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they found a hot ſkirmiſh. For ſome of them were there ſlaine, ſome wounded, and ſome but ſcarred, and not hurt. As Iohn Fox was thriſe ſhot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Vnticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were ſlaine, as not able to weild themſelues, being ſo peſtered with the weight and vneaſie carying of the wicked and prophane treaſure: and alſo diuerſe Chriſtians were aſwell hurt about that ſkirmiſh, as Turkes ſlaine.

Amongſt the Turkes was one thruſt thorowe, who (let vs not ſay that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the priſon wall, and made ſuch a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there ſcattering ſtoode a houſe or two) came and dawed him, ſo that they vnderſtood the caſe, how that the priſoners were paying their ranſomes: wherewith they raiſed both Alexandria which lay on the weſt ſide of the roade, and a Caſtle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and alſo an other Fortreſſe which lay on the Northſide of the roade: ſo that nowe they had no way to eſcape, but one, which by mans reaſon (the two holdes lying ſo vpon the mouth of the roade) might ſeeme impoſſible to be a way for them. So was the red ſea impoſſible for the Iſraelites to paſſe through, the hils and rockes lay ſo on the one ſide, and their enemies compaſſed them on the other. So was it impoſſible, that the wals of Iericho ſhould fall downe, being neither vndermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wiſedome, pollicie, or helpe ſet or put thereunto. Such impoſſibilities can our God make poſſible. He that helde the Lyons iawes from renting Daniel aſunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold the roring canons of this helliſh force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Ouen, from the three children, that praiſed his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blaſtes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with luſtie ſouldiers, laborers, and mariners, who are faine to ſtand to their tackling, in ſetting to euery man his hand, ſome to the carying in of victuals, ſome munitions, ſome oares, and ſome one thing, ſome another, but moſt are keeping their enemie from the wall of the road. But to be ſhort, there was no time miſpent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill beſtowed, or in vaine. So that in ſhort time, this gally was ready trimmed vp. Whereinto euery man leaped in all haſte, hoyſſing vp the ſayles luſtily, yeelding themſelues to his mercie and grace, in whoſe hands are both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the ſafetie of the roade: now haue the two Caſtles full power vpon the gally, now is there no remedy but to ſinke: how can it be auoided? The canons let flie from both ſides, and the gally is euen in the middeſt, and betweene them both. What man can deuiſe to ſaue it? there is no man, but would thinke it muſt needes be ſunke.

There was not one of them that feared the ſhotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once ſcarred or touched, with fiue & forty ſhot, which came from the Caſtles. Here did God hold foorth his buckler, he ſhieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the vttermoſt. Now commeth his ſpeciall helpe: yea, euen when man thinks them paſt all helpe, then commeth he himſelfe downe from heauen with his mightie power, then is his preſent remedie moſt readie preſt. For they ſaile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a ſhot, and are quickly out of the Turkiſh canons reach. Then might they ſee them comming downe by heapes to the water ſide, in companies like vnto ſwarmes of bees, making ſhew to come after them with gallies, in buſtling themſelues to dreſſe vp the gallies, which would be a ſwift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, maſtes, ſailes, gables, nor any thing elſe ready in any gally. But yet they are carying them into them, ſome into one gally, and ſome into another, ſo that, being ſuch a confuſion amongſt them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impoſſible to ouertake them: beſide that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was ſo rough, and there was ſuch an amaſednes amongſt them. And verely I thinke their God was amaſed thereat: it could not be but he muſt bluſh for ſhame, he can ſpeake neuer a word for dulnes, much leſſe can he helpe them in ſuch an extremitie. Well, howſoeuer it is, he is very much to blame, to ſuffer them to receiue ſuch a gibe. But howſoeuer their God behaued himſelfe, our God ſhewed himſelfe a God indeede, and that he was the onely liuing God: for the ſeas were ſwift vnder his faithfull, which made the enemies agaſt to behold them, a ſkilfuller Pilot leades them, and their mariners beſtirre them luſtily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pilot, nor any ſkilfull Maſter, that was in a readineſſe at this pinch.

When the Chriſtians were ſafe out of the enemies coaſt, Iohn Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull vnto almighty God for their deliuerie, and moſt humbly to fall downe vpon their knees, beſeeching him to aide them vnto their friends land, and not to bring them into another daunger, ſith hee had moſt mightily deliuered them from ſo great a thraldome and bondage.

Thus when euery man had made his petition, they fell ſtraight way to their labour with the oares, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour ſtriuing to come to ſome Chriſtian land, as neere as they could geſſe by the ſtarres. But the windes were ſo diuers, one while driuing them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a newe maze, thinking that God had forſaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And foraſmuch as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might haue beene a cauſe to them (if they had beene the Iſraelites) to haue murmured againſt their God: but they knew how that their God, who had deliuered them out of Ægypt, was ſuch a louing and mercifull God, as that hee would not ſuffer them to be confounded, in whom he had wrought ſo great a wonder: but what calamitie ſoeuer they ſuſtained, they knew it was but for their further triall, and alſo (in putting them in mind of their farther miſerie) to cauſe them not to triumph and glory in themſelues therefore. Hauing (I ſay) no victuals in the gally, it might ſeeme that one miſerie continually fel vpon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be ſo great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the ſea, there died eight perſons, to the aſtoniſhment of all the reſt.

Extremity of famine.

So it fell out, that vpon the 29 day, after they ſet from Alexandria, they fell on the Iſle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who cauſed them to ſtay there, while they were well refreſhed and eaſed. They kept there the ſworde, wherewith Iohn Fox had killed the keeper, eſteeming it as a moſt precious iewell, and hung it vp for a monument.

Iohn Fox his ſword kept as a monument in Gallipoli.

When they thought good, hauing leaue to depart from thence, they ſayled along the coaſt, till they arriued at Tarento, where they ſolde their gallie, and deuided it, euery man hauing a part thereof. The Turkes receiuing ſo ſhamefull a foile at their hand, purſued the Chriſtians, and ſcoured the ſeas, where they could imagine that they had bent their courſe. And the Chriſtians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and ſeuen gallies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by thoſe who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing leaſt they ſhould haue bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed a ſunder, euery man taking him to his next way home. From whence Iohn Fox tooke his iourney vnto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Engliſhman, who preſented his worthy deede vnto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gaue him his letters vnto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his moſt worthy enterpriſe gaue him in fee twentie pence a day. From whence, being deſirous to come into his owne countrie, he came thither at ſuch time as he conueniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. Who being come into England, went vnto the Court, and ſhewed all his trauell vnto the Councell: who conſidering of the ſtate of this man, in that hee had ſpent and loſt a great part of his youth in thraldome and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Chriſtians.

The copie of the certificate for *Iohn Fox*, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of *Gallipoli*, where they firſt landed.

VVE the Prior, and Fathers of the Couent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe teſtifie, that vpon the 29 of Ianuary laſt paſt, 1577, there came in to the ſaid citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Chriſtians, whereof was principal Maſter Iohn Fox, an Engliſhman, a gunner, and one of the chiefeſt that did accompliſh that great worke, whereby ſo many Chriſtians haue recouered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, vpon our earneſt requeſt to the ſame Iohn Fox, he hath left here an olde ſworde, wherewith he ſlewe the keeper of the priſon: which ſword we doe as a monument and memoriall of ſo worthy a deede, hang vp in the chiefe place of our Couent houſe. And for becauſe all things aforeſaid, are ſuch as we will teſtifie to be true, as they are orderly paſſed, and haue therefore good credite, that ſo much as is aboue expreſſed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforeſaide, haue ratified and ſubſcribed theſe preſents. Geuen in Gallipoly, the third of Februarie 1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the ſame place, confirme the premiſſes, as they are aboue written.
I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.
I Frier Anthony Celleler of Gallipoly, confirme as aforeſaid.
I Frier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as aboue ſaid.
I Frier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

The Biſhop of *Rome* his letters in the behalfe of *Iohn Fox.*

BE it knowen vnto all men, to whom this writing ſhall come, that the bringer hereof Iohn Fox Engliſhman, a Gunner, after he had ſerued captiue in the Turkes gallies, by the ſpace of foureteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good oportunitie, the third of Ianuarie laſt paſt, ſlew the keeper of the priſon, (whom he firſt ſtroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the aſsiſtance of his fellow priſoners: and with 266. Chriſtians (of whoſe libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arriued firſt at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwardes at Tarento in Apulia: the written teſtimony and credite of which things, as alſo of others, the ſame Iohn Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Vpon Eaſter eue he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his iourney to the Spaniſh Court, hoping there to obtaine ſome reliefe toward his liuing: wherefore the poore diſtreſſed man humbly beſeecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Chriſt, deſire you, that taking compaſsion of his former captiuitie, and preſent penurie, you doe not onely ſuffer him freely to paſſe throughout all your cities and townes, but alſo ſuccour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof you ſhall hereafter moſt aſſuredly receiue, which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pitie wee commende vnto you. At Rome, the 20 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Grolos Engliſhman Biſhop of Aſtraphen.
Richard Silleum Prior Angliæ.
Andreas Ludouicus Regiſter to our Soueraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credit of the premiſes, haue ſet my ſeale to theſe preſents. At Rome, the day and yeere aboue written.
Mauricius Clement the gouernour and keeper of the Engliſh Hoſpitall in the citie.

The King of *Spaine* his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing of *Iohn Fox* in the office of a Gunner.

TO the illuſtrious Prince, Veſpaſian Gonſaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia. Hauing conſideration, that Iohn Fox Engliſhman hath ſerued vs, and was one of the moſt principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they haue brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Chriſtian captiues: we licence him to practiſe, and giue him the office of a Gunner, and haue ordained, that he goe to our ſaid Realme, there to ſerue in the ſaid office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made. And we doe commaund, that you cauſe to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he ſhall ſerue in the ſaide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwiſe prouide for him, the ſaide eight duckats monethly of the money which is already of our prouiſion, preſent and to come, and to haue regarde of thoſe which come with him. From Eſcuriall the tenth of Auguſt, 1577.

I the King.

Iuan del Gado.

And vnder that a confirmation of the Councell.

The renuing and increaſing of an ancient and commodious trade vnto diuerſe places in the Leuant ſeas, and to the chiefeſt partes of all the great Turks dominions, by the meanes of the Right worſh. citizens Sir *Edward Osburne* Alderman, and M. *Richard Staper* marchant of *London.*

This trade into the Leuant (as is before mentioned, page *96* of this preſent volume, whereunto I referre the Reader) was very vſuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and afterward alſo, though not ſo commonly, vntill the yeere 1550, when as the barke Aucher vnder the conduct of M. Roger Bodenham made a proſperous voyage vnto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Leuant. Since which time the foreſaid trade (notwithſtanding the Grand Signiors ample priuilege granted to M. Anthony Ienkenſon 1553, and the ſtrong and weighty reaſons of Gaſpar Campion for that purpoſe) was vtterly diſcontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had neuer bene, for the ſpace of 20 yeares and more. Howbeit the diſcreete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper ſeriouſly conſidering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renuing of the foreſaid diſcontinued trade, to the inlarging of her Maieſties cuſtomes, the furthering of nauigation, the venting of diuerſe generall commodities of this Realme, and the inriching of the citie of London, determined to vſe ſome effectuall meanes for the reeſtabliſhing and augmenting thereof.

The voyage of Iohn Wight and Ioſeph Clements to Conſtantinople.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foreſaid R. W. marchants at their charges and expenſes ſent Iohn Wight and Ioſeph Clements by the way of Poland to Conſtantinople, where the ſaid Ioſeph remained 18 monethes to procure a ſafe conduct from the grand Signior, for M. William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to haue free acceſſe into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the ſame.

The firſt voyage of M. William Harborne to Conſtantinople.

Which buſineſſe after two yeres chargeable trauell and ſuit being accompliſhed, the ſayd M. Harborne the firſt of Iuly 1578 departed from London by the ſea to Hamburgh, and thence accompanied with Ioſeph Clements his guide and a ſeruant, he trauailed to Leopolis in Poland, and then apparelling himſelfe, his guide, and his ſeruant after the Turkiſh faſhion (hauing firſt obteyned the king of Poland his ſafe conduct to paſſe at Camienijecz the frontier towne of his dominions next vnto Turky) by good meanes he obteined fauour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambaſſadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Conſtantinople, to bee receiued into his companie and carouan. And ſo the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the ſaid Acmet from Leopolis in Poland, and trauelling through Moldauia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiauodes with certaine courteſies, he arriued at Conſtantinople the 28 of October next inſuing. Where he behaued himſelfe ſo wiſely and diſcreetely, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priuiledge for himſelfe, and the two worſhipfull perſons aforeſaid, but alſo procured his honourable and friendly letters vnto her Maieſtie in maner following.

The letters ſent from the Imperiall Muſulmanlike highneſſe of *Zuldan Murad Can*, to the ſacred regall Maieſtie of *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteyning the grant of the firſt priuileges.

IN greatnes and glory moſt renowmed Elizabeth, moſt ſacred Queene, and noble prince of the moſt mightie worſhippers of Ieſus, moſt wiſe gouernor of the cauſes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of moſt pleaſant raine, and ſweeteſt fountaine of nobleneſſe and vertue, ladie & heire of the perpetuall happineſſe & glory of the noble Realme of England (whom all ſorts ſeeke vnto and ſubmit themſelues) we wiſh moſt proſperous ſucceſſe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer vnto you ſuch pleaſures and curteſies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as beſt beſeemeth vs) our former ſalutations.

In moſt friendly maner we giue you to vnderſtand, that a certaine man hath come vnto vs in the name of your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie, commending vnto vs from you all kindneſſe, curteſie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highneſſe would vouchſafe to giue leaue and libertie to him and vnto ‖ two other merchants of your kingdome, to reſort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be ſuffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like ſort to make their returne.

‖ These two were Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper.

Our ſtately Court and Countrey hath beene euer open for the acceſſe both of our enemies and friends. But becauſe we are informed that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſty doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kind of louing affection towards vs, ſo much the rather ſhall the ſame our Countrey be alwayes open to ſuch of your ſubiects, as by way of merchandize ſhall trade hither: and we will neuer faile to aide & ſuccor any of them that are or ſhal be willing to eſteeme of our friendſhip, fauour, & aſſiſtance: but will reckon it ſome part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highneſſe is giuen to vnderſtand that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie doth excell in bountie & curteſie, we therfore haue ſent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and trauellers by ſea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie ſeafaring men, all condemned perſons, and officers of Ports and cuſtomes, ſtraightly charging and commanding them, that ſuch foreſaid perſons as ſhall reſort hither by ſea from the

Realme of England, either with great or ſmall veſſels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man ſhall dare to moleſt or trouble them. And if in like ſort they ſhall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horſebacke, no man ſhall at any time withſtand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the ‖ king of Germany, with diuers other our neighbours about vs, haue libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like ſort the marchants of your moſt excellent Regall Maieſties kingdome ſhall haue ſafe conduct and leaue to repayre hither to our Imperiall dominions, and ſo to returne againe into their own Country: ſtraightly charging that they be ſuffered to vſe and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Chriſtians doe, without let or diſturbance of any.

‖He calleth the Germaine emperor but king of Germanie.

Therefore when theſe our Imperiall letters ſhall be brought to your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie, it ſhall be meet, according to our beneuolence, humanity, and familiarity towards your moſt excellent Maieſty, that you likewiſe bethinke your ſelfe of your like beneuolence, humanitie and friendſhippe towards vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to nouriſh by all good meanes this kindneſſe and friendſhip: and that like libertie may be granted by your Highneſſe to our ſubiects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by ſea with their ſhips, or by land with their wagons or horſes, and to returne home againe: and that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendſhip towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the dore thereof vnto vs.

The Turke demandeth like priuileges for his ſubiects in the Queenes dominions.

Giuen at our citie of Conſtantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our moſt holy Prophet Mahomet ‖ 987.

‖With vs the yeere 1579.

The anſwere of her Maieſtie to the aforeſaid Letters of the Great Turke, ſent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of *London* by Maſter *Richard Stanley.*

ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & vnici cœli terræq́; Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Chriſtianæ contra omnes omnium inter Chriſtianos degentium, & Chriſti nomen falſò profitentium Idololatrias inuictiſſima & potentiſſima Defenſatrix, auguſtiſſimo, inuictiſſimoque principi Sultan Murad Can, Turcici regni dominatori potentiſſimo, Imperijq́; orientis Monarchæ ſupra omnes ſoli & ſupremo, ſalutē, & multos cum rerum optimarū affluentia fœlices, & fortunatos annos. Auguſtiſſime & inuictiſsime Cæſar, accepimus inuictiſsimæ Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudinis literas, die decimoquinto Martij currentis anni ad nos ſcriptas Conſtantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quàmq́; clementer, literæ ſupplices quæ Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudini a quodam ſubdito noſtro Guilielmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celſitudinis veſtræ ciuitate Conſtantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ profectionis pro ſe & ſocijs eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus ſubditis noſtris cum mercibus ſuis ad terras ditioneſq́; Imperio veſtro ſubiectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indeq́; reuerſionis venię poteſtatiſq́; humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab inuictiſſima veſtra Cæſarea celſitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neq; id ſolùm, ſed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignaq́; auguſtiſsma Cæſarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis ſupplicibus poſitum, ei ſocijsq́; ſuis donatum & conceſſum fuit, pro ea, vti videtur, ſolùm opinione, quam de nobis, & noſtra amicitia veſtra celſitudo concepit. Quod ſingulare beneficium in dictos ſubditos noſtros collatum tam gratè tamq́; beneuolè accepimus (maximas celſitudini veſtræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum noſtrarum ratione, proq́; ea quam nobis inſeuit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cuius auſpicijs regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotiſsimas nos eſſe voluit, & abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima ſuſpitione, docuitq́; nullorum vnquam vt principum, vllis in nos meritis nos ſineremus vinci, aut ſuperari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium depoſuiſſe, ſe veſtra Celſitudo exiſtimet. Proptereaq́; animum noſtrum inpræſentiarum veſtræ celſitudini emetimur, benè ſentiendo & prædicando, quantopere nos obſtrictas beneficij huius in ſubditos noſtros collati putemus memoriâ ſempiternâ: longè vberiorem, & ampliorem gratitudinis erga veſtram celſitudinem noſtræ teſtificationem daturæ, cum tempora incident vt poſsimus, & à nobis deſiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ noſtris paucis ſubditis, eaq́; ſuis ipſorum precibus, ſine vlla interceſsione noſtra conceſſa donatio eſt, in æquè libera poteſtate ſita eſt ad omnes terras ditioneſq́; Imperio veſtro ſubiectas, cum mercibus ſuis tam per mare quàm per terras eundi & redeundi, atq; inuictiſsimę Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atq; adeo regis Romanorum ſubditis largita vnquam aut donata

nata fuit, celſitudinem veſtram rogamus ne tam ſingularis beneficentiæ laus in tam anguſtis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, ſed ad vniuerſos ſubditos noſtros diffuſa, propagatáque, celſitudinis veſtræ beneficium eò reddat auguſtius, quò eiuſdem donatio latiùs patebit, & ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam ſingularis in nos beneficij meritum, eò erit celſitudini veſtræ minùs pœnitendum, quò ſunt merces illæ, quibus regna noſtra abundant, & aliorum principũ ditiones egent, tam humanis vſibus commodæ támq; neceſſariȩ, nulla gens vt ſit, quæ eis carere queat, proptereaq; longiſſimis, difficillimiſq; itineribus conquiſitis non vehementer gaudeat. Cariùs autem diſtrahunt alijs, quo ex labore ſuo quiſq; victum & quæſtum quæritat, adeo vt in earum acquiſitione vtilitas, in emptione autem ab alijs onus ſit. Vtilitas celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditis augebitur liberá hac paucorum noſtrorum hominum ad terras veſtras profectione: onus minuetur, profectionis quorumcúnque ſubditorum noſtrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditos proficiſcetur, par, ȩquáque mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint ad regna dominiáq; noſtra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celſitudini veſtræ pollicemur tam amplam latéque patentem fore, quàm eſt vlla â confœderatorum veſtrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditis vllo vnquam tempore conceſſa & donata. Qua in re ſi honeſtæ petitioni noſtræ inuictiſſima Cæſarea veſtra celſitudo dignabitur auſcultare, faciétque vt acceptis noſtris literis intelligamus gratum nè habitura ſit quod âb ea contendimus & rogamus, ea propoſita præſtitáque ſecuritate, quæ ſubditos noſtros quoſcúnque ad dominia ſua, terra, maríque proficiſcentes, indéq; reuertentes tutos & ſecuros reddat ab omni quorumcúnque ſubditorum ſuorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt quæ Deus opt. max. in regna dominiáq; noſtra contulit commoda (quæ tam ſingularia ſunt, omnium vt principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, ſummȩq; neceſſitudinis coniunctionem nobiſcum contrahendam, ſtabiliendámque quo liberius tantis ſummi Dei beneficijs fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) noſtri ſubditi ad regna dominiáque Celſitudinis veſtræ aduehant tam affluenter támque cumulate, vt vtríque incommodo prædicto neceſſitatis & oneris pleniſſimè ſuccurratur. Facit præthereà ſingularis iſta Celſitudinis veſtrȩ in nos Gentémque noſtram ſummæ beneuolentiæ ſignificatio ac fides, vt eandem, in cauſam quorundam ſubditorum noſtrorum, qui captiui triremibus veſtris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemúſque, vt quoniam nullo in celſitudinem veſtram peccato ſuo, ſiuè arma in eam ferendo, ſiuè iniquiùs præter fas & ius gentium ſe gerendo in ſuos ſubditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, ſoluti vinculis, & libertate donati, nobis pro ſua fide & obſequio inſeruientes, cauſam vberiorem præbeant veſtræ Celſitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: & Deum illum, qui ſolus, & ſupra omnia & omnes eſt acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, ſuíque honoris contra Gentium & aliorum falſos Deos Zelotes, prȩcabimur, vt veſtram inuictiſſimam Cæſaream Celſitudinem omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quȩ ſola & ſummè iure merito habentur deſideratiſſima.

Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenouici, prope ciuitattem noſtram Londinum, quintodecimo Menſis Octobris, Anno Ieſu Chriſti Saluatoris noſtri 1579, Regni verò noſtri viceſimo primo.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth by the grace of the moſt mightie God, and onely Creatour of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the moſt inuincible and moſt mighty defender of the Chriſtian faith againſt all kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Chriſtians, and falſly profeſſe the Name of Chriſt, vnto the moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible prince, Zuldan Murad Can, the moſt mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, ſole and aboue all, and moſt ſoueraigne Monarch of the Eaſt Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the beſt things.

Moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible Emperour, wee haue receiued the letters of your mightie highneſſe written to vs from Cõſtantinople the fifteenth day of March this preſent yere, whereby we vnderſtand how gratiouſly, and how fauorably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a ſubiect of ours, reſident in the Imperial citie of your highnes preſented vnto your Maieſtie for the obteining of acceſſe for him and two other Marchants more of his company our ſubiects alſo, to come with marchandizes both by ſea and land, to the countreis and territories ſubiect to your gouernment, and from thence againe to returne home with good leaue and libertie, were accepted of your moſt inuincible Imperiall highneſſe, and not that onely, but with an extraordinarie ſpeed and worthy your Imperiall grace, that which was craued by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it ſeemeth) of that opinion which your highneſſe conceiued of vs and our amitie: which ſingular benefit done to our aforeſaid ſubiects, wee take ſo thankefully, and in ſo good part (yeelding for the ſame our greateſt thanks to your highneſſe) that

we will neuer giue occaſion to your ſaid highneſſe (according as time, and the reſpect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke ſo great a pleaſure beſtowed vpon an vngratefull Prince. For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whoſe grace we reigne, hath planted in vs this goodneſſe of nature, that wee deteſt and abhorre the leaſt ſuſpition of ingratitude, and hath taught vs not to ſuffer our ſelues to bee ouermatched with the good demerits of other Princes. And therefore at this time wee doe extende our good minde vnto your highneſſe, by well conceiuing, and publiſhing alſo abroad, how much we repute our ſelfe bound in an euerlaſting remembrance for this good pleaſure to our Subiects, meaning to yeelde a much more large and plentifull teſtification of our thankefulneſſe, when time conuenient ſhall fall out, and the ſame ſhall bee looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was giuen to a fewe of our Subiects, and at their onely requeſt without any interceſſion of ours, ſtandeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms ſubiect to your Maieſtie, both by land & ſea with marchandizes, as euer was granted to any of your Imperiall highneſſe confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as alſo to the ſubiects of the king of the Romanes, wee deſire of your highneſſe that the commendation of ſuch ſingular courteſie may not bee ſo narrowly reſtrained to two or three men onely, but may be inlarged to all our ſubiects in generall, that thereby your highneſſe goodneſſe may appeare the more notable, by reaſon of the graunting of the ſame to a greater number of perſons. The beſtowing of which ſo ſingular a benefit your highneſſe ſhall ſo much the leſſe repent you of, by howe much the more fit and neceſſary for the vſe of man thoſe commodities are, where with our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, ſo ẏ there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult trauels: and when they haue them, they ſell them much deerer to others, becauſe euery man ſeeketh to make profite by his labour: ſo that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is loſſe. But this profite will be increaſed to the ſubiects of your highneſſe by this free acceſſe of a few of our ſubiects to your dominions, as alſo the loſſe and burden wilbe eaſed, by the permiſſion of generall acceſſe to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the ſubiects of your highneſſe with vs for the vſe of traffique, when they wil, and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from vs and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promiſe to your highneſſe ſhalbe as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your ſubiects by the aforeſaide princes your confederats, as namely the king of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter, if your moſt inuincible Imperiall highneſſe ſhall vouchſafe to incline to our reaſonable requeſt, and ſhall giue order vpon theſe our letters, that wee may haue knowledge how the ſame is accepted of you, and whether it wilbe granted, with ſufficient ſecuritie for our ſubiects to go, and returne ſafe and ſecure from all violences and iniuries of your people, we on the other ſide wil giue order, that thoſe commodities which Almighty God hath beſtowed vpon our kingdomes (which are in deed ſo excellent, that by reaſon of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to enioy theſe ſo great bleſſings of God, which we haue, and they can in no caſe want) our ſubiects ſhall bring them ſo abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highneſſe, that both the former incomueniences of neceſſitie, and loſſe, ſhall moſt ſufficiently be taken away.

Moreouer the ſignification and aſſurance of your highneſſe great affection to vs and our nation, doeth cauſe vs alſo to intreat and vſe mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our ſubiects, who are deteined as ſlaues and captiues in your Gallies, for whom we craue, that foraſmuch as they are fallen into that miſery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes againſt your highneſſe, or in behauing of themſelues contrary to honeſtie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and reſtored to libertie, for their ſeruice towardes vs, according to their duetie: which thing ſhall yeeld much more abundant cauſe to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beſeeching that God (who onely is aboue all things, and all men, and is a moſt ſeuere reuenger of all idolatrie, and is ielous of his honour againſt the falſe gods of the nations) to adorne your moſt inuincible Imperiall highneſſe with all the bleſſings of thoſe gifts, which onely and deſeruedly are accounted moſt worthy of aſking.

Giuen at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our Citie of London, the fiue and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour one thouſand, fiue hundreth, ſeuentie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

The charter of the priuileges granted to the Engliſh, & the league of the great *Turke* with the Queenes Maieſtie in reſpect of traffique, dated in Iune 1580.

Immenſa & maxima ex poteſtate potentiſſimi, terribilibúſque verbis & nunquam finienda innumerabiliue clementia & ineffabili auxilio ſanctiſſimi & pura mente colendiſſimi tremendiſſimiq; vniuerſitatum creatoris, princeps temporum pręſentium, vnicus modernæ ętatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus ſceptra diuidere potens, clementiæ, gratiæq́; diuinæ vmbra, regnorum prouinciarumue, & vrbium ciuitatumue diſtributor permultarum: Nos ſacratiſſimus Cæſar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id eſt domus diuinæ, Medinæ, glorioſiſſimæ & beatiſſimæ Ieruſalem, Aegypti fertiliſſimæ, Iemen & Zouan, Eden & Canan, Sami paciferæ & Hebes, Iabza & Pazra, Zeruzub & Halepiæ, Caramariæ & Diabekiruan & Dulkadiriæ, Babyloniæ, & totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzorum & Georgianorum, Cypri diuitis, & regnorum Aſiæ, Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi & nigri, Græciæ & Meſopotamiæ, Africæ & Goletæ, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, ſelectiſſimęq; Europæ, Budæ, & Temeſwar, & regnorum tranſalpinorum, & his ſimilium permultorum princeps Cæſarué ſacerrimus, potentiſſimus Murad Can, filius principis Zelim Can, qui fuit Zoleiman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can, qui fuit Paiezid Can, qui fuit Mehemed Can, &c.

Nos princeps potentiſſimus Murad Can hoc in ſignum noſtræ Cæſareæ amicitiæ ſignificamus manifeſtamus, quòd in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Chriſtianitate honoratiſſima Regina (cuius mercatorum exitus ſit fœliciſſimus) ad noſtram excelſam, & iuſtitiæ plenam, fulgidiſſimámue portam, quæ omnibus principibus mundi eſt refugium & requies, per egregium Gulielmum Harebornum literas miſit ſuas, quibus ſua maieſtas ſignificauit, quod tempore præterito quidam ſubditi ſui veniſſent ad noſtram portam excelſam, & ſuam obedientiam erga eam demonſtrauiſſent, & ob eam cauſam illis quoque ad noſtras ditiones mercandi gratia venire & redire poſcerent, venia & poteſtas fuiſſet data: & quòd in locis & hoſpitijs eorum per mare & terram nemo auderet impedire & illis damnum facere, mandatum Cęſareum fuiſſet datum: & quòd hanc noſtram gratiam, quam paucis hominibus ſuæ maieſtatis demonſtrauiſſemus, vniuerſis ſuis ſubditis concederemus, petebat. Quare, quemadmodum cum sereniſsimis beneuolentiam & obedientiam, ſeruitiáue ſua demonſtrantibus erga noſtram portam excelſam regibus & principibus confœderatis (vt ſunt rex Gallorum, Veneti, & rex Polonorum, & cæteri) pacem & fœdus ſanctiſsimum pepigimus: ſic etiam cum præfata Regina amicitiam cuſtodiendam, pacem & fœdus coniunximus. Illius igitur homines, & vniuerſi mercatores, ſine aliquo impedimento cum ſuis mercibus & oneribus cunctis ad noſtras ditiones Cæſareas pacificè & ſecurè veniant, & ſuam exerceant mercaturam, maneant in ſuis ſtatibus, & ſecundum ſuos mores negocientur. Et adhæc, ſua maieſtas ſignificabat ex hominibus ſuis aliquos iamdudum captos fuiſſe, & in captiuitate detineri, & quòd hi dimitterentur petebat, & quòd ſicut alijs principibus nobiſcum confœderatis priuilegia & mandata Cæſarea ſuper fœdus ſanctiſsimum dediſſemus, ſic præfatæ quoque Reginæ priuilegium & mandata Cæſarea vt daremus, noſtræ Cæſareæ celſitudini placeret. Quare ſecundùm noſtram beneuolentiam & gratiam innatam, optata ſuę maieſtatis apud nos grata fuere: Et hoc noſtrum priuilegium iuſtitijs plenum dedimus maieſtati ſuæ: Et Beglerbegis, Zanziacbegis famulis noſtris, & Kazijs, id eſt, iudicibus, & omnibus teloniatoribus omnium locorum, portuum, & vadorum firmiter mandamus, vt donec ex parte pręfatæ reginæ fœdus, & pax, & eorum conditiones articulíque (vt conuenit) cuſtodiuntur & ſeruantur, noſtræ quóque Cæſareæ celſitudinis mandata ſunt:

Fœdus Turcici Imperatoris cum Regina initum.

Articuli huius priuilegij.

1 Vt præfatæ Reginę homines, & ſubditi eius quibuſuis rebus & mercibus, oneribus & ſupellectilibus per mare in magnis & paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & pecoribus, ſecurè & pacificè ad noſtras ditiones Cæſareas veniant, & nemo illis noceat, ſed ſecurè & ſine aliquo impedimento negocientur, & in ſuis ſtatibus & conditionibus permaneant.

2 Item, ſi præfati homines & mercatores in ſuis rectis vijs & negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur, ſine aliqua tergiuerſatione dimittantur, liberentúrque.

3 Item ſi naues eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore, & ſine impedimento veniant, & diſcedant in ſua loca.

4 Item, ſi in tempeſtatibus maris naues eorum eſſent in periculo & auxilio opus eſſet illis, naues noſtræ Cæſareæ celſitudinis, earúmque homines, & aliorum naues hominéſque ſtatim auxilium & opem ferant illis, mandamus.

5 Item, ſi edulia ſuis pecunijs emere voluerint, nemo reſiſtat illis, ſed ſine impedimento edúlia emant.

6 Item, ſi infortunium maris naues eorum in terram proiecerit, Begi & iudices, & cęteri noſtri ſubditi ſint auxilio illis, merces & res eorum quę remanſerint iterum reddantur illis, & nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, ſi pręfatæ reginæ homines, eorum interpretes, & mercatores, ſiue per terram, ſiue per mare mercandi gratiâ ad noſtras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & nauium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in perſonis, & rebus eorum, pecoribúſque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, ſi aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ęre alieno eſſet obſtrictus, inueniríque non poſſit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus niſi eſſet fideiuſſor capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, ſi Anglus teſtamentum fecerit, & ſua bona cuicúnque legauerit, illi dentur bona illius, & ſi ſine teſtamento moreretur, conſul eorum cuicúnque ſociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, ſi Angli, & ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores & interpretes, in vendendis & emendis mercibus fideiuſſionibus & rebus aliquid negocij habuerint, ad iudicem veniant, & in librum inſcribi faciant negotium, & ſi voluerint, literas quóque accepiant à iudice, propterea quòd ſi aliquid inciderit, videant librum & literas, & ſecundùm tenorem eorum perficiantur negocia eorum ſuſpecta: ſi autem néque in librum inſcriberentur, néque literas haberent, iudex falſa teſtimonia non admittat, ſed ſecundùm iuſtitiam legem adminiſtrans non ſinat illos impediri.

11 Item, ſi aliquis diceret, quod iſti Chriſtiani noſtræ fidei Muzulmanicæ maledixerint, & eam vituperijs affecerint, in hoc negotio etiam & alijs, teſtes falſi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, ſi aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patraret, & fugiens non poſſit inueniri, nullus niſi eſſet fideiuſſor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, ſi aliquod mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, & conſul eorũ peteret illud, examinetur diligenter mancipium, & ſi inuentum fuerit Anglicum, accipiatur, & reddatur Anglis.

14 Item, ſi aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ, ſiue ſit vxoratus, ſiue ſit ſine vxore, non ſoluat cenſum.

15 Item ſi in Alexandria, in Damaſco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portubus & in alijs omnibus locis, vbicúnq; voluerint facere Conſules, faciant: Et iterum ſi voluerint eos mutare, & in loco priorũ conſulum alios locare, liberè faciant, & nemo illis reſiſtat.

16 Item, ſi illorum interpres in arduis negotijs occupatus abeſſet, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, & interim nemo illos impediat.

17 Item, ſi Angli inter ſe aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad ſuos conſules ire, nemo reſiſtat illis, ſed liberè veniant ad Conſules ſuos, vt ſecundùm mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, ſi poſt tempus aut datum huius priuilegij, piratæ, aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis cęperint, & trans mare vel cis mare venderint, ſecundùm iuſtitiam examinetur: & ſi Anglus inuentus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam aſſumpſerit, liberè dimittatur: ſi autem adhuc eſſet Chriſtianus, Anglis reddatur, & emptores ſuam pecuniam ab illo petant, à quo emerant.

19 Item, ſi noſtræ Cæſareæ Celſitudinis naues armatæ exiuerint ad mare, & ibi inuenerint naues Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediat illas, imò amicè tractentur, & nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis, Venetis, & cæteris nobiſcum confœderatis regibus, & principibus priuilegium, & articulos priuilegijs dedimus, & conceſſimus, ſimili modo his quóque Anglis priuilegium & articulos priuilegijs dedimus & conceſſimus, & contra legem diuinam, & hoc priuilegium, nemo vnquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, ſi naues magnæ, & paruæ in itinere & loco vbi ſtant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, ſed potiùs auxilio ſint illis.

21 Item, ſi latrones & fures vi raperent naues illorum, nauiúmque merces, magna diligentia quærantur latrones & fures, & ſeueriſſimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegij, & Zanziacbegi, Capitanei noſtri, Mancipia, & per mare nauigantes ſerui Capitaneorum, & Iudices, & Teloniatores, & Gubernatores nauium Reiz dicti, & liberi Reiz, omnes iſti præfati, ſecundùm tenorem huius priuilegij, tenorémue articulorum eius, omnia facere teneantur, & debeant. Et donec hoc in priuilegio deſcriptum fœdus, & pax illius Maieſtatis ex parte ſanctè ſeruabitur, & cuſtodietur, ex parte etiam noſtra Cæſarea cuſtodiri, & obſeruari mandamus.

Datum conſtantinopoli, anno noſtri prophetæ Sanctiſſimi 988, in principio menſis Iunij, anno autem Ieſu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or priuilege of the moſt mightie and *Muſumanlike* Emperour *Zuldan Murad Can*, granted at the requeſt of *Elizabeth* by the grace of the moſt mightie God, and only Creator of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the ſaid Princes and their ſubiects.

WE moſt ſacred Muſulmanlike Emperour, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the euerlaſting and wonderfull clemencie, & by the vnſpeakable helpe of the moſt mighty & moſt holy God, creator of all things, to be worſhipped and feared with all pureneſſe of minde, and reuerence of ſpeech, The prince of theſe preſent times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to giue ſcepters to the potentates of the whole world, the ſhadow of the diuine mercy and grace, the diſtributer of many kingdoms, prouinces, townes and cities, Prince, and moſt ſacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to ſay, of Gods houſe, of Medina, of the moſt glorious and bleſſed Ieruſalem, of the moſt fertile Egypt, Iemen and Iouan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Iabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekiruan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdomes of Aſia, of Ozakior, of the tracts of the white and blacke Sea, of Grecia and Meſopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the Weſt, of the moſt choiſe and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeſwar, and of the kingdomes beyond the Alpes, and many others ſuch like, moſt mightie Murad Can, the ſonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the ſonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the ſonne of Zelim Can, which was the ſonne of Paiizid Can, which was the ſonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

We moſt mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendſhip, doe ſignifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the moſt honourable Queene of Chriſtendom (to whoſe marchants we wiſh happy ſucceſſe) ſent her letters by her worthy ſeruant William Hareborne vnto our ſtately and moſt magnificent Porch repleniſhed with iuſtice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the princes of the world, by which letters her Maieſtie ſignified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her ſubiects had repaired to our ſaide ſtately Porche, and had ſhewed their obedience to the ſame, and for that cauſe had deſired that leaue and libertie might alſo be granted vnto them, to come and goe for traffiques ſake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commandement might be giuen, that no man ſhould preſume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or paſſages by ſea or land, and whereas ſhee requeſted that we would graunt to all her ſubiects in generall, this our fauour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee haue entred into amitie, and moſt holy league with the moſt excellent kings and princes our confederats, ſhewing their deuotion, and obedience or ſeruices towards our ſtately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) ſo alſo we haue contracted an inuiolable amitie, peace and league with the aforeſaid Queene. Therefore wee giue licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and ſafely to come vnto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandiſe and goods without any impeachment, to exerciſe their traffique, to vſe their owne cuſtomes, and to buy and ſell according to the faſhions of their owne countrey.

And further her Maieſtie ſignified vnto vs, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken priſoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and required that they might bee ſet at libertie, and that as we had graunted vnto other Princes our confederats, priuiledges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our moſt inuiolable league with them, ſo it would pleaſe our Imperial Maieſty to graunt and confirme the like priuiledges, and princely decrees to the aforeſaid Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed diſpoſition, the requeſts of her Maieſtie were accepted of vs, and we haue granted vnto her Maieſtie this priuilege of ours agreeable to reaſon & equitie. And we ſtraightly command all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our ſeruants, and our Reyz, that is to ſay, our Iudges, and all our cuſtomers in all places, hauens and paſſages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obſerued on the behalfe of the aforeſaid Queene, 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleaſure is, that the people and ſubiects of the ſame Queene, may ſafely and ſecurely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandiſe, and ladings, and other commodities by ſea, in great and ſmal veſſels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man ſhall hurt them, but they may buy and ſell without any hinderance, and obſerue the cuſtomes and orders of their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforeſaid people and marchants ſhalbe at any time in the courſe of their iourneis and dealings by any meanes taken, they ſhall be deliuered and inlarged, without any excuſe or cauillation.

3 Item, if their ſhips purpoſe to ariue in any of our ports and hauens, it ſhalbe lawfull for them ſo to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it ſhall happen that any of their ſhips in tempeſtuous weather ſhall bee in danger of loſſe and periſhing, and thereupon ſhall ſtand in need of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ſhips be ready to helpe and ſuccour them.

5 Item, if they ſhalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no perſon ſhall withſtande them, but they ſhall buy the ſame without any diſturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any caſualtie their ſhippes ſhall bee driuen on ſhoare in perill of ſhipwracke, our Begs and Iudges, and other our Subiects ſhall ſuccour them, and ſuch wares, and goods of theirs as ſhall bee recouered from the loſſe, ſhall bee reſtored to them, and no man ſhall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforeſayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, ſhall for trafique ſake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and cuſtome, they ſhall haue quiet paſſage, and none of our Captaines or gouernours of the Sea, and ſhippes, nor any kinde of perſons, ſhall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way moleſt them.

8 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall grow in debt, and ſo owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth abſent himſelfe that he can not be found, let no man be arreſted or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be the ſurety.

9 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall make his will and teſtament, to whom ſoeuer by the ſame hee ſhall giue his goods, the partie ſhall haue them accordingly, and if hee die inteſtate, hee to whom the Conſull or gouernour of the ſocietie ſhall ſay the goods of the dead are to bee giuen, hee ſhall haue the ſame.

10 Item, if the Engliſhmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iuriſdiction of England ſhall happen in the buying and ſelling of wares, by promiſes or otherwiſe to come in controuerſie, let them go to the Iudge, and cauſe the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them alſo take letters of the Iudge teſtifying the ſame, that men may ſee the booke and letters, whatſoeuer thing ſhall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controuerſie and in doubt may be ended: but if ſuch things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the perſons haue taken letters of the Iudge, yet he ſhall admit no falſe witneſſe, but ſhall execute the Law according to iuſtice, and ſhall not ſuffer them to be abuſed.

11 Item, if any man ſhall ſay, that theſe being Chriſtians haue ſpoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and haue ſlandered the ſame, in this matter as in all others, let no falſe witneſſes in any caſe be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them ſhall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arreſted, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his ſuretie.

13 Item, if any ſlaue ſhall be found to be an Engliſhman, and their Conſull or gouernour ſhall ſue for his libertie, let the ſame ſlaue be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be Engliſh, let him be diſcharged and reſtored to the Engliſhmen.

14 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall come hither either to dwel or trafique, whether hee be married or vnmarried, he ſhall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damaſco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis in yͤ weſt, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpoſe to chooſe to themſelues Conſuls or gouernours, let them doe ſo, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Conſuls place others, let them do ſo alſo, and no man ſhall reſtraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter ſhalbe at any time abſent, being occupied in other ſerious matters, let the thing then in queſtion bee ſtayed and differred till his comming, and in the meane time no man ſhall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuerſie ſhall ariſe among the Engliſhmen, and thereupon they ſhall appeale to their Conſuls or gouernours, let no man moleſt them, but let them freely doe ſo, that the controuerſie begunne may be finiſhed according to their owne cuſtomes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this priuilege, any pirats or other free gouernours of ſhips trading the Sea ſhall take any Engliſhman, and ſhall make ſale of him, either beyonde the Sea, or on this ſide of the Sea, the matter ſhalbe examined according to iuſtice, and if the partie ſhalbe found to be Engliſh, and ſhall receiue the holy religion, then let him freely be diſcharged, but if he wil ſtill remaine a Chriſtian, let him then be reſtored to the Engliſhmen, and the buyers

ſhall demaund their money againe of them who ſolde the man.

19 Item, if the ſhips of warre of our Imperiall highneſſe ſhal at any time goe forth to Sea, and ſhall finde any Engliſh ſhips laden with marchandiſe, no man ſhall hinder them, but rather ſhall vſe them friendly, and doe them no wrong, euen as wee haue giuen and granted articles, and priuileges to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederats, ſo alſo wee haue giuen the like to the Engliſh: and contrary to this our diuine lawe and priuilege, let no man preſume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or ſmall ſhips ſhall in the courſe of their voyage, or in any place to which they come, bee ſtayed or arreſted, let no man continue the ſame arreſt, but rather helpe and aſſiſt them.

21 Item, if any theeues and robbers ſhall by force take away any of their ſhips, and marchandiſe, let the ſame theeues and robbers be ſought, and ſearched for with all diligence, and let them be puniſhed moſt ſeuerely.

22 Laſt of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our ſlaues and ſeruants of Captaines vſing the ſea, and our Iudges, cuſtomers and gouernours of ſhips called Reiz, and free Reiz, all theſe, according to the tenor of this priuilege and articles, ſhalbe bound to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part ſhall duely keepe and obſerue this league and holy peace, expreſſed in this priuilege, we alſo for our Imperial part, do charge and commaund the ſame ſo long to be ſtraightly kept and obſerued.

Giuen at Conſtantinople, in the 988. yeere of our moſt holy prophet, in the beginning of the moneth of Iune, And in the yeere of IESVS 1580.

Her Maieſties letter to the *Turke* or *Grand Signior* 1581. promiſing redreſſe of the diſorders of *Peter Baker* of *Ratcliffe*, committed in the *Leuant*.

ELizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland moſt ſacred Queene, and of the moſt Chriſtian faith, againſt all the prophaners of his moſt holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the moſt renowned and Emperious Cæſar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the Eaſt Monarchie chiefe aboue all others whoſoeuer, moſt fortunate peeres with the ſucceſſe of al true happineſſe. As with very great deſire we wiſh and embrace the loue and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the ſame by al good dueties and meanes we ſeeke to be confirmed: ſo to vs there may bee nothing more grieuous and diſliking, then that any thing ſhould happen through the default of our Subiects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into ſuſpition: Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like miſaduenture be abuſed, where the doings of the Subiects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But ſuch matters of importance and ſo well approued we may not omit: ſuch is to vs the ſacred eſtimation of our honour, and of our Chriſtian profeſſion, as we would the ſame ſhould appeare aſwell in the concluding of our promiſes and agreements, as in the faithfull performing of the ſame.

The matter which by theſe our letters wee ſpecially beholde, is a moſt iniurious and grieuous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderſtanding, that ſhould be done vnto certaine of your ſubiects by certaine of our Subiects, as yet not apprehended: but with all ſeueritie vpon their apprehenſion they are to be awarded for the ſame. And as the deede in it ſelfe is moſt wicked, ſo is it much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the eſtimation of our word faithfully giuen vnto your Imperiall dignitie. In which ſo great a diſorder if wee ſhould not manifeſt our hatred towardes ſo wicked and euil diſpoſed perſons, we might not onely moſt iuſtly be reproued in the iudgement of all ſuch as truely fauour Iuſtice, but alſo of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no leſſe be condemned. That therefore conſidered, which of our parts is ordained in this cauſe which may be to the good liking of your highneſſe, we are moſt eſpecially to requeſt of your Imperiall Maieſtie, that through the default and diſorder of a ſort of euill and wicked diſpoſed perſons, you wil not withdraw your gratious fauour from vs, neither to hinder the trafique of our Subiects, which by vertue of your highneſſe ſufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions & countreys, or that either in their perſons or goods they be preiudiced in their traueyling by land or by water, promiſing vnto your greatneſſe moſt faithfully, that the goods whereof your ſubiects by great wrong and violence haue bene ſpoyled, ſhall wholy againe be reſtored, if either by the liues or poſſeſſions of the robbers it may any way be brought to paſſe: And

This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaine Grecians in the Leuant.

that hereafter (as now being taught by this euill example) wee will haue ſpeciall care that none vnder the title of our authoritie ſhall be ſuffered to commit any the like wrongs or iniuries.

Neither they which haue committed theſe euil parts had any power vnder your highneſſe ſafeconduct graunted vnto our ſubiects, but from ſome other ſafeconduct, whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any perſon within the gouernment of Marſeils: but vnder the colour thereof they haue done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth vtterly abhorre. Notwithſtanding howſoeuer it be, wee will ſurely meaſure their euill proceedings with moſt ſharpe and iuſt correction, and that it ſhall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as alſo it ſhalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this vnfortunate hap had neuer chanced, and that the ſinguler affection of our Subiects towardes your Imperiall Maieſtie vowed, and dayly more and more deſired, might be conſerued and defended, we thereunto do make our humble ſuite vnto your greatneſſe: And for ſo great goodneſſe towardes vs and our people granted, doe moſt humbly pray vnto the Almightie creatour of heauen and earth, euer to maintaine and keepe your moſt renowmed Maieſtie in all happineſſe and proſperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of Iune, Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or priuileges graunted by her Maieſtie to *Sir Edward Osborne*, Maſter *Richard Staper*, and certaine other Marchants of *London* for their trade into the dominions of the great *Turke*, in the yeere 1581.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, miniſters, and Subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as elſe where vnder our obeyſance, iuriſdiction, or otherwiſe, vnto whom theſe our letters ſhall be ſeene, ſhewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our ſayde City Marchant, haue by great aduenture and induſtrie, with their great coſtes and charges, by the ſpace of ſundry late yeeres, trauailed, and cauſed trauaile to bee taken, as well by ſecret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and paſſages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and ſet open a trade of Marchandize and trafique into the Lands, Iſlands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man nowe liuing knowen to be commonly vſed and frequented by way of marchandiſe, by any the Marchants or any Subiects of vs, or our progenitours; and alſo haue by their like good meanes and induſtrie, and great charges procured of the ſayde Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, ſafetie, and freedome, for trade and trafique of Marchandiſe to bee vſed, and continued by our Subiects within his ſayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of Chriſtendome, and reliefe of many Chriſtians that bee or may happen to bee in thraldome or neceſſitie vnder the ſayde Grand Signior, his vaſſals or Subiects, and alſo good and profitable vent and vtterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and ſundry other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increaſe of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our Subiects in their good enterpriſes for the aduauncement of the Common weale, haue of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, doe giue and graunt vnto our ſayd truſtie, and welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London Eſquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and adminiſtrators, and to the executours and adminiſtratours of them, and of euery of them, that they, and euery of them, and ſuch other perſon and perſons Engliſhmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelue, as they the ſayde Edward, and Richard ſhall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, aduenturers, or doers with them the ſayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their ſocietie by themſelues, their ſeruants, Factours or deputies, and to ſuch others as ſhall bee nominated according to the tenour of theſe our letters Patents, ſhall and may during the terme of ſeuen yeeres from the date of theſe Patents, freely trade, trafique, and vſe feates of Marchandiſe into, and from the dominions of the ſayde Grand Signior, and euery of them, in ſuch order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purpoſes as ſhalbe betweene them limitted and agreed, and not otherwiſe, without any moleſtation, impeachment, or diſturbance, any Lawe, ſtatute, vſage, diuerſitie of religion or faith, or other cauſe or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And that it ſhalbe lawful to the ſaid Edward and Richard their executors and adminiſtrators, (during the ſaid terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and aduenturers with them the ſayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, ſuch perſons not exceeding the number of twelue (as afore is ſaid) to trafique and vſe the ſaid trade & feate of marchandiſe according to our ſaide graunt. And that all and euery ſuch perſon and perſons, as ſhall hereafter fortune to bee appointed or admitted as parteners in the ſaid trade or trafique according to theſe our letters patents, ſhall and may from the time of ſuch appointment or admittance, haue and enioy the freedome and libertie of the ſaid trade and trafique, during the reſidue of the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeeres, according to ſuch limitation and agreement as is aforeſaide, and that it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and adminiſtratours, ſeruants, factours and deputies, and all ſuch as ſhall be ſo appointed, nominated or admitted, to bee parteners or aduenturers in the ſaide trade, or ſo many of them as can and will, to aſſemble themſelues for or about any the matters, cauſes, affaires or buſineſſe of the ſaide trade in any place or places for the ſame conuenient, from time to time during the ſaid terme of 7. yeres, within our dominions or elſewhere, and to make, ordeine, and conſtitute reaſonable lawes and ordinances, for the good gouernment of the ſaid Company, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the ſaid trade and trafique, not being contrary or repugnant to the lawes, eſtatutes or cuſtomes of our Realme, and the ſame lawes or ordinances ſo made to put in vſe, and execute accordingly, and at their pleaſures to reuoke the ſame lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occaſion ſhall require.

And in conſideration that the ſaid Edward Osborne hath bene the principall ſetter foorth and doer in the opening, & putting in vre of the ſaid trade, we do therfore eſpecially ordeine, conſtitute, and prouide by theſe patents, that the ſaide Edward Osborne ſhall be gouernour of all ſuch as by vertue of theſe our letters patents, ſhall be parteners, aduenturers, or trafiquers in the ſaid trade, during the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeeres, if hee ſo long liue: And that if the ſaid Edward ſhall happen to deceaſe during the ſaide terme, the ſaide Richard Staper then liuing, then the ſayd Richard Staper ſhall likewiſe be gouernour during the reſidue of the ſaid terme (if he ſo long liue) and that if the ſaid Edward and Richard ſhall both happen to deceaſe during the ſaid terme, then the parteners or aduenturers for the time being, or the greateſt part of them, ſhall from time to time as neceſſitie ſhall require, chooſe and elect a gouernour of the ſaid Company.

Prouided alwayes, that if there ſhall happen any great or vrgent occaſion to remooue or diſplace any perſon that ſhall be gouernour of the ſaide fellowſhip, that then it ſhall, and may be lawfull for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, to remooue, and diſplace euery ſuch gouernour, and to place another of the ſaid fellowſhip in the ſame office, during ſuch time as ſuch perſon ſhould haue enioyed the ſame, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cauſe to the contrary.

And we further for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, do graunt to the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and adminiſtrators, that nothing ſhall bee done to be of force or validitie touching the ſayde trade or trafique, or the exerciſe thereof, without or againſt the conſent of the ſaid Edward, during ſuch time as hee ſhall bee Gouernour as afore is ſaide. And after that time without the conſent of the Gouernour for the time being, and the more part of the ſaid Company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, haue graunted, and by theſe patents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe graunt to the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, that they, the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and Willam, their executors and adminiſtrators, and the ſaid perſon and perſons, by them the ſaid Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is ſaid, together, with ſuch two other perſons, as wee our heires or ſucceſſors from time to time during the ſayd terme ſhall nominate, ſhall haue the whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire onely libertie, vſe and priuilege of trading, and trafiquing, and vſing feate of marchandiſe, into, and from the ſaid dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior, and euery of them. And when there ſhall be no ſuch perſons ſo nominated or appointed by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, that then the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and adminiſtrators, and ſuch perſons by them ſo to be appointed, ſhall haue the ſaide whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, vſe, and priuilege of trading and trafiquing aforeſaid. And that they the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors & adminiſtrators, and alſo al ſuch as ſhal ſo be nominated or appointed to be partners or aduenturers in the ſaid trade, according to ſuch agreement as is aboueſaid, and euery of them, their ſeruants, factors and deputies, ſhal haue ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from all and euery the ſaide dominions of the ſaide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occaſion of the ſaid trade, they ſhall happen to arriue or come, whether they be Chriſtians, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, and from all Seas, riuers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coaſtes and places with their ſhips, barks, pinneſſes and other veſſels, and with ſuch mariners and men, as they will lead with them or ſend for the ſaid trade, as they ſhall thinke good at their owne proper coſt and expenſes, any law, ſtatute, vſage, or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary notwithſtanding. And that it ſhalbe lawful for the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and to the perſons aforeſaid, and to and for the mariners and ſeamen to bee vſed and employed in the ſaid trade and voyage to ſet and place in the tops of their ſhips and others veſſels the armes of England with the red croſſe ouer the ſame, as heretofore they haue vſed the red croſſe, any matter or thing to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And we of our further royal fauor, and of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt to the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and adminiſtrators by theſe preſents, that the ſaid lands, territories, and dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior, or any of them, ſhall not be viſited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandiſe by any other our ſubiects during the ſaid terme, contrary to the true meaning of theſe patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogatiue royall (which wee will not haue argued or brought in queſtion) we ſtraightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, all our ſubiects (of what degree or qualitie ſoeuer they be) that none of them directly, or indirectly, do viſite, haunt, frequent or trade, trafique, or aduenture by way of marchandiſe into, or from any of the Dominions of the ſayde Grand Signior, or other places aboueſayde by water or by lande (other then the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours or adminiſtrators, or ſuch as ſhalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforeſaide) without expreſſe licence, agreement, and conſent of the ſaid Gouernour, and company or the more part of them, whereof the ſaid Gouernour alwayes to be one, vpon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeitnre and loſſe, as well of the ſhip and ſhippes, with the furniture thereof, as alſo of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatſoeuer they be of thoſe our Subiects which ſhall attempt, or preſume to ſaile, trafique, or aduenture, to or from any the dominions, or places aboueſaid, contrary to the prohibition aforeſaid: the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of vs, our heires & ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to the vſe of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the ſaid companie, and further to ſuffer impriſonment during our pleaſure, and ſuch other puniſhment as to vs, for ſo high contempt, ſhal ſeeme meete and conuenient.

And further of our grace ſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condeſcended and graunted, and by theſe patents for vs our heires and ſucceſſors, doe condeſcend and grant to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executors and adminiſtrators, that we our heires & ſucceſſors during the ſaid terme, will not grant liberty, licence or power to any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, contrary to the tenor of theſe our letters patents, to ſaile, paſſe, trade, or trafique into or from the ſaid dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior or any of them, without the cōſent of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and ſuch as ſhalbe named or appointed as afore is ſaid, or the moſt of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the ſaid terme, yͤ ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the furuiuors of them, ſhal admit or nominate any of our ſubiects to be partners & aduenturers in the ſaid trade to the number of 12. or vnder as afore is ſaid, that then we our heires and ſucceſſors at the inſtance and petition of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the ſuruiuors of them in our Chauncerie to be made, and vpon the ſight of theſe preſents, will grant and make to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the ſuruiuors of them, and to ſuch perſons as ſo ſhall be nominated or appointed by their ſpeciall names, ſurnames, & additions as is aforeſaid, new letters patents vnder the great ſeale of England in due forme of law with like agreement, clauſes, prohibitions, prouiſoes and articles (mutatis mutandis) as in theſe our letters patents are conteined, for, and during the reſidue of the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeres then remaining vnexpired. And that the ſight of theſe preſents ſhalbe ſufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellour, or Lord keeper of the great ſeale for the time being, for the making, ſealing and paſſing of ſuch new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the ſame to be required, had, or obtained.

And the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and ſuch others as ſhalbe ſo nominated and appointed, as is aforeſaid, to be of their trade or companie, ſhall yeerely during 6. of the laſt yeres of the ſaid 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforeſaid, ſo much goods and marchandizes, as the cuſtome, and ſubſidie inwards and outwards, ſhall amount in the whole to the ſumme of 500. li. yeerely. So that the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the ſaid perſons ſo to be nominated as is aforeſaid, or any of them, or their ſhip or ſhippes be not barred, ſtayed, reſtrained or let by any reaſonable occaſion from the ſayde trade or trafique, and ſo that the ſaid ſhip or ſhips do not periſh by any miſfortune, or bee ſpoyled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and ſuch others as ſhall be appointed as aforeſaide to be of their ſaide trade or Company, ſhall giue notice vnto the Lord Admirall of England, or to ſome of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of ſuch ſhip or ſhippes as they ſhall ſet foorth in the ſame voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the ſame ſhip or ſhippes, by the ſpace of fifteene dayes before the ſetting or going foorth of the ſame ſhip or ſhippes. And alſo the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and ſuch other as ſhall be by them the ſaide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the ſaid trade, ſhall and will at the ſetting foorth of their ſhip, or ſhippes, for the ſame voyage, permit and ſuffer the Maſter of the Ordinance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, or ſome others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantitie of ſuch Ordinance, powder, and munition, as ſhall be caried in the ſaid ſhip, or ſhippes, and ſhall alſo at the returne of the ſame ſhip, or ſhippes, ſuffer a view to be taken, and vpon requeſt made, make an accompt to the ſaide officers of our Ordinance, of the expenſes, and waſtes of the ſaid Ordinance, powder, and munition, ſo to bee caried in the ſame ſhip, or ſhippes.

Prouided alwayes, that if any of the ſaid trade or Company, or their ſeruants, factors, or ſailers, in any ſhip by them laden, ſhall commit any piracie or outrage vpon the ſeas, and that, if the ſaid Company or ſocietie ſhall not, or do not, within reaſonable time, after complaint made, or notice giuen to the ſaid Company, or to any of them, either ſatiſfie or recompenſe the parties that ſo ſhall fortune to be robbed, or ſpoiled by any of the ſaid Company, or ſailers, in the ſaid ſhips, or els ſhall not do their endeuour to the vttermoſt of their reaſonable power, to haue the parties ſo offending puniſhed for the ſame their offenſes, that then, and from thenceforth, theſe preſent letters patents ſhall be vtterly voyd, ceaſe, and determine.

Prouided likewiſe, that if it ſhall hereafter appeare vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, ſhall not be profitable to vs, our heires, our ſucceſſors, or to this our Realme, that then, and fromthenceforth, vpon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be giuen vnto the ſaid Company, or to the Gouernour thereof, by vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, this preſent grant ſhall ceaſe, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, conſtructions, and purpoſes.

Prouided alſo, that we, our heires and ſucceſſors, from time to time, during the ſaid 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authoriſe two perſons, being fit men, to be of the ſaide company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the ſaid trade, for ſuch ſtocke and ſumme of money, as they ſhall put in, ſo that the ſaid perſons to bee nominated, or authoriſed, ſhall be contributorie to all charges of the ſaid trade & aduenture indifferently, according to their ſtockes: and as other aduenturers of the ſaid trade ſhall doe for their ſtockes, and ſo that likewiſe they doe obſerue the orders of the ſaid Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that ſuch perſons ſo to be appointed by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, ſhall, and may, with the ſaide Company, and fellowſhip, vſe the trade and feate of marchandiſe aforeſaide, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of theſe our letters patents, any thing in theſe our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And further of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condeſcended and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe condeſcend, and grant to the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and adminiſtrators, that if at the ende of the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeeres, it ſhall ſeeme meete, and conuenient vnto the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the ſuruiuer of them, that this preſent grant ſhall be continued: and if that alſo it ſhall appeare vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, that the continuance thereof ſhall not be preiudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or ſucceſſors, at the inſtance and petition of the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the ſuruiuer of them, to be made to vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, wil grant and make to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the ſuruiuer of them, and to ſuch other perſons, as ſo ſhal be by the ſaid Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, vnder the great ſeale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like couenants, grants, clauſes, and articles, as in theſe preſents are contained, or with addition of other neceſſary articles, or change of theſe in ſome part, for and during the full terme of ſeuen yeeres then next following. Willing, and ſtraightly commanding, and charging all and ſinguler our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Iuſtices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Eſcheaters, Conſtables, Bailiffes, and all and ſinguler our other officers, miniſters, liege men, and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping, and aſſiſting vnto the ſaid Gouernour, and company, and their ſucceſſors, and to their Deputies, officers, ſeruants, aſſignes, and miniſters, and euery of them, in executing, and enioying the premiſſes, as well on land as on ſea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, ſhall be thereunto required, any ſtatute, act, ordinance, prouiſo, proclamation, or reſtraint heretofore had, made, ſet forth, ordained, or prouided, or any other matter, cauſe or thing to the contrary, in any wiſe not withſtanding.

In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, witneſſe our ſelfe, at Weſtminſter, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our raigne.

The firſt voyage or iourney, made by Maſter *Laurence Alderſey*, Marchant of *London*, to the Cities of *Ieruſalem*, and *Tripolis, &c.* In the yeere 1581. Penned and ſet downe by himſelfe.

I Departed from London the firſt day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1581, paſſing through the Nether-land and vp the riuer Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And vpon Thurſday, the thirde day of May, I came to Auguſta, where I deliuered the letter I had to Maſter Ieniſe, and Maſter Caſtler, whom I found very willing to pleaſure me, in any thing that I could or would reaſonably demaund. He firſt furniſhed me with a horſe to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to ſhew me the Citie, for that I had a day to tary there, for him that was to be my guide. He ſhewed me firſt the State-houſe, which is very faire, and beautifull: then he brought mee to the fineſt garden, and orchard, that euer I ſawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wier both aboue and beneath, with fine little branches of trees, for them to ſit in, which was full of thoſe Canarie birdes. There was ſuch an other for Turtle dooues: alſo there were two pigeon houſes ioyning to them, hauing in them ſtore of Turtle dooues, and pigeons. In the ſame garden alſo were ſixe or ſeuen fiſhponds, all railed about, and full of very good fiſh. Alſo, ſeuen or eight fine fountaines, or water ſprings, of diuers faſhions: as for fruite, there wanted none of all ſorts, as Orenges, figges, raiſons, wallnuts, grapes, beſides apples, peares, fillbirds, ſmall nuts, and ſuch other fruite, as wee haue in England.

The deſcription of Auguſta in Germanie.

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the ſame Citie, that by a ſleight and deuiſe hath the water brought vp as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the ſtrange deuiſes of all, it paſſeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hooſe, where are buts for the long bowe, the croſſe bowe, the ſtone bowe, the long peece, and for diuers other exerciſes more.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, vpon one ſide of the towne, ſo full of fiſh, as euer I ſawe any pond in my life, and it is reſerued onely for the States of the Citie. And vpon the other ſide of the Citie is alſo a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaſeth the States to hunt for their pleaſure, thither they reſort, and haue their courſes with grayhounds, which art kept for that purpoſe.

Venice.

The fift of May, I departed from Auguſta towards Venice, and came thither vpon Whitſunday, the thirteenth of the ſame moneth. It is needleſſe to ſpeake of the height of the mountaines that I paſſed ouer, and of the danger thereof, it is ſo wel knowen already to the world: the heigth of them is marueilous, and I was the ſpace of ſixe dayes in paſſing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which laſted fourteteene dayes, wherein I ſawe very many, and faire ſhewes of wares. I came thither too ſhort for the firſt paſſage, which went away from Venice about the ſeuenth or eight of May, and with them about three ſcore pilgrims, which ſhippe was caſt away at a towne called Eſtria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, ſauing thirtie, or thereabout, loſt.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Chriſti day, which was a day amongſt them of proceſſion, in which was ſhewed the plate and treaſure of Venice, which is eſteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I do not accompt it woorth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more then I ſawe. To ſpeake of the ſumptuouſneſſe of the Copes, and Veſtments of the Church, I leaue, but the trueth is, they bee very ſumptuous, many of them ſet all ouer with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Ieſuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

The number of Iewes in Venice.

The number of Iewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and haue alſo a place, to which they reſort to pray, which is called the Iewes Sinagogue. They all, and their offſpring vſe to weare red caps, (for ſo they are commaunded) becauſe they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my further knowledge of theſe people, I went into their Sinagogue vpon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their ſeruice or prayers, very deuoute: they receiue the fiue bookes of Moſes, and honour them by carying them about their Church, as the Papiſts doe their croſſe.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people ſit round about it, and in the midſt, there is a place for him that readeth to the reſt: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne ouer their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Pſalmes they ſing as wee doe, hauing no image, nor vſing any maner of idolatrie: their error is, that they beleeue not in Chriſt, nor yet receiue the New Teſtament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to bee commended, wherein is good order for all things: and alſo it is very ſtrong and populous: it ſtandeth vpon the maine Sea, and hath many Iſlands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seigniory: there is one choſen that euer beareth the name of a duke, but in trueth hee is but ſeruant to the Seigniorie, for of himſelfe hee can doe litle: it is no otherwiſe with him, then with a Prieſt that is at Maſſe vpō a feſtiual day, which putting on his golden garment, ſeemeth to be a great man, but if any man come vnto him, and craue ſome friendſhip at his handes, hee will ſay, you muſt goe to the Maſters of the Pariſh, for I can not pleaſure you, otherwiſe then by preferring of your ſuite: and ſo it is with the duke of Venice, if any man hauing a ſuite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliuer his ſupplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You muſt come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your ſuite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the beſt friendſhip that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter vnto him, hee may not open it, but in the preſence of the Seigniorie, and they are to ſee it firſt, which being read, perhaps they will deliuer it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniory there be about three hundreth, and about fourtie of the priuie Counſell of Venice, who vſually are arayed in gownes of crimſen Satten, or crimſen Damaſke, when they ſit in Counſell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a ſouldier for the Seigniorie, or a ſcholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not do that without licence.

The exceſſe of the women of Venice.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monſters, then women. Euery Shoomakers or Taylors wife will haue a gowne of ſilke, and one to carie vp her traine, wearing their ſhooes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground: if a ſtranger meete one of them, he will ſurely thinke by the ſtate that ſhe goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady.

His embarking at Venice for Ieruſalem.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, vpon Midſommer day, being the foure and twentieth of Iune, and thinking that the ſhip would the next day depart, I ſtayed, and lay a ſhippeboord all night, and we were made beleeue from time to time, that we ſhould this day, and that day depart, but we taried ſtill, till the fourteenth of Iuly, and then with ſcant winde wee ſet ſayle, and ſayled that day and that night, not aboue fiftie Italian miles: and vpon the ſixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrary, ſo that the Maſter knewe not what to doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot deſcried a ſaile, and at laſt perceiued it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.

The Maſter being a wiſe fellowe, and a good ſayler, beganne to deuiſe howe to eſcape the danger, and to looſe litle of our way: and while both he, and all of vs were in our dumps, God ſent vs a merry gale of winde, that we ranne threeſcore and tenne leagues before it was twelue a clocke the next day, and in ſixe dayes after we were ſeuen leagues paſt Zante. And vpon Munday morning, being the three and twentie of the ſame moneth, we came in the ſight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blaſts, and ſtormes, vntill the eight and twentie of the ſame moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out vpon me, becauſe I was an Engliſh man, & ſayd, I was no good Chriſtian, and wiſhed that I were in the middeſt of the Sea, ſaying, that they, and the ſhippe, were the worſe for me. I anſwered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my ſelfe the worſt creature in the worlde, and conſider you your ſelues alſo, as I doe my ſelfe, and then vſe your diſcretion. The Frier preached, and the ſermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did vnderſtand him: I anſwered, yea, and tolde the Frier himſelfe, thus you ſaide in your ſermon, that we were not all good Chriſtians, or elſe it were not poſſible for vs to haue ſuch weather: to which I anſwered, be you well aſſured, that we are not indeede all good Chriſtians, for there are in the ſhip ſome that hold very vnchriſtian opinions: ſo for that time I ſatiſfied him, although (they ſaid) that I would not ſee, when they ſaid the proceſſion, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady, and S. Marke.

There was alſo a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a paſſenger in the ſhip, and he tolde me what they ſaid of me, becauſe I would not ſing, Salue Regina, and Aue Maria, as they did: I told them, that they that praied to ſo many, or ſought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Ieſus Chriſt his onely ſonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne deſtructions.

All this was told the Friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at euening prayer, they ſent the purſer about with the image of our Lady to euery one to kiſſe, & I perceiuing it went another way from him, and would not ſee it: yet at laſt he fetched his courſe about, ſo that he came to me, & offered it to me as he did to others, but I refuſed it: whereupon there was a great ſtirre: the patron and all the friers were told of it, and euery one ſaide I was a Lutheran, and ſo called me: but two of the friers that were of greateſt authoritie, ſeemed to beare mee better good will then the reſt, and trauelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

Cyprus. Miſſagh.

The ſecond day of Auguſt we arriued in Cyprus, at a towne called Miſſagh: the people there be very rude, and like beaſts, and no better, they eat their meat ſitting vpon the ground, with their legges a croſſe like tailors, their beds for the moſt part be hard ſtones, but yet ſome of them haue faire mattraces to lie vpon.

Ioppa.

The Baſha of Ioppa.

Vpon thurſday the eight of Auguſt we came to Ioppa in a ſmall barke, which we hired betwixt Miſſagh and Salina, and could not be ſuffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great Baſha, who ſate vpon the top of a hill to ſee vs ſent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any houſe for victuals, but were to content our ſelues with our owne prouiſion, and that which we bought to carie with vs was taken from vs. I had a paire of ſtirrops, which I bought at Venice to ſerue me in my iourney, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Baſha ſaw me vp before the reſt of the companie, he ſent one to diſmount me, and to ſtrike me, whereupon I turned me to the Baſha, and made a long legge, ſaying, Grand mercie Signior: and after a while we were horſed vpon litle aſſes, and ſent away, with about fiftie light horſemen to be our conduct through the wilderneſſe, called Deſerta fœlix, who made vs good ſport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fauchins.

Rama.

That day being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Ioppa, and there we ſtayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the caſtell, euery man a chekin, which is ſeuen ſhillings and two pence ſterling. So then we had a new gard of ſouldiers, and left the other.

The houſe we lodged in at Rama had a doore ſo low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were vpon my knees, & within it are three roomes to lodge trauellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the prouiſion, without ſtooles or benches to ſit vpon. Our victuals were brought vs out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great ſtore of fruite, as pomgranates, figges, grapes, oringes, and ſuch like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it ſelfe is ſo ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of ſtones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to haue gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, ſo we ſtayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a freſh gard of ſouldiers we departed toward Ieruſalem. We had not ridde fiue Engliſh miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who ſtayed vs, and would not ſuffer vs to paſſe till they had ſomewhat, ſo it coſt vs for all our gard aboue twentie ſhillings a man betwixt Ioppa and Ieruſalem. Theſe Arabians troubled vs oftentimes. Our Truchman that payed the money for vs was ſtriken downe, and had his head broken becauſe he would not giue them as much as they asked: and they that ſhould haue reſcued both him and vs, ſtood ſtill, and durſt doe nothing, which was to our coſt.

Troopes of theeuiſh Arabians.

His arriuall in the ſight of Ieruſalem.

Being come within ſight of Ieruſalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and giue God thankes, that it hath pleaſed him to bring vs to that holy place where he himſelfe had beene: and there we leaue our horſes, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and ſo we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

The gouernor of the houſe met vs a mile out of the towne, and very curteouſly bade vs all welcome, and brought vs to the monaſterie. The gates of the citie are all couered with yron, the entrance into the houſe of the Chriſtians is a very low & narrow doore, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monaſtery: there we lay, & dieted of free coſt, we fared reaſonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, & all the meat well ſerued in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monaſterie two dayes, friday and ſaturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the houſe with vs: in the way thither we ſaw many monuments, as:

The monuments in and about Ieruſalem.

The mountaine where the Angell tooke vp Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of the prophet Ieremie.

The place where the wiſe men met that went to Bethlem to worſhip Chriſt, where is a fountaine of ſtone.

Being come to Bethlem we ſawe the place where Chriſt was borne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they ſay maſſe: the place is built with gray marble, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the ſepulchre of the innocents ſlaine by Herod, the ſepulchres of Paul, of Ierome, and of Euſebius.

Alſo a litle from this monaſterie is a place vnder the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Chriſt when Herod ſought him to deſtroy him.

We ſtayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Iudea, which are about eight miles from Ieruſalem, where are the ruines of an olde monaſterie. In the mid way from the monaſterie to Ieruſalem is the place where Iohn Baptiſt was borne, being now an olde monaſterie, and cattell kept in it. Alſo a mile from Ieruſalem is a place called Inuentio ſanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the croſſe.

In the citie of Ieruſalem we ſaw the hall where Pilat ſate in iudgement when Chriſt was condemned, the ſtaires whereof are at Rome, as they told vs. A litle from thence is the houſe where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is alſo the piſcina or fiſhpoole where the ſicke folkes were healed, which is by the wals of Ieruſalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Caluaria is a great church, and within the doore therof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and fiue great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of tauerne doores in London, they ſit that are appointed to receiue our money with a carpet vnder them vpon a banke of ſtone, & their legs a croſſe like tailors: hauing paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right againſt the church doore is the graue where Chriſt was buried, with a great long ſtone of white marble ouer it, and rayled about, the outſide of the ſepulchre is very foule, by meanes that euery man ſcrapes his name and marke vpon it, and is ill kept.

Within the ſepulchre is a partition, & in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they ſay maſſe, and at the doore thereof is the ſtone whereupon the Angell ſate when he ſayde to Marie, He is riſen, which ſtone was alſo rowled to the doore of the ſepulchre.

The altar ſtone within the ſepulchre is of white marble, the place able to conteine but foure perſons, right ouer the ſepulchre is a deuiſe or lanterne for light, and ouer that a great louer, ſuch as are in England in ancient houſes. There is alſo the chappell of the ſepulchre, and in the mids thereof is a canopie as it were of a bed, with a great ſort of Eſtridge egges hanging at it, with taſſels of ſilke and lampes.

Behinde the ſepulchre is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Vpon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his ſonne: and in the ſame place the tombe of Melchiſedech.

S. Helens chappell.

There is a chappell alſo in the ſame church erected to S. Helen, through which we go vp to the place where Chriſt was crucified: the ſtayres are fiftie ſteps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the croſſe ſtood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with ſiluer, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent alſo of the mountaine is there to be ſeene in the creuis, wherein a man may put his arme.

Vpon the other ſide of the mount of Caluarie is the place where Abraham would haue ſacrificed his ſonne. Where alſo is a chapell, and the place paued with ſtones of diuers colours.

There is alſo the houſe of Annas the high Prieſt, and the Oliue tree whereunto Chriſt was bound when he was whipt. Alſo the houſe of Caiphas, and by it the priſon where Chriſt was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Ieruſalem in the vally of Ioſaphat is a church vnder the ground, like to the ſhrouds in Pauls, where the ſepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the ſtaires be very broad, and vpon the ſtaires going downe are two ſepulchres: vpon the left hand lieth Ioſaphat, and vpon the right hand lieth Ioachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Ioſaphat we came to mount Oliuet, where Chriſt praied vnto his father before his death: and there is to be ſeene (as they tolde me) the water & blood that fell from the eyes of Chriſt. A litle higher vpon the ſame mount is the place where the Apoſtles ſlept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Chriſt was impriſoned.

Vpon the mountaine alſo is the place where Chriſt ſtood when he wept ouer Ieruſalem, and where he aſcended into heauen.

His departure from Ieruſalem.

Now hauing ſeene all theſe monuments, I with my company ſet from Ieruſalem, the 20 day of Auguſt, and came againe to Ioppa the 22 of the ſame moneth, where wee tooke ſhipping preſently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ſhips lie that come for Tripolis.

Tripolis in Syria.

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, ſo that no ſhip can come further then Mecina: ſo that night I came thither, where I lay nine daies for paſſage, and at laſt we imbarked our ſelues in a good ſhip of Venice called the new Naue Ragaſona. We entred the ſhip the ſecond of September, the fourth we ſet ſaile, the ſeuenth we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we ſtayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell ſicke of an ague, but recouered againe, I praiſe God.

Salina.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was deſtroyed by the Turke ten yeeres paſt: there are in it now but ſeuenteene perſons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina is a ſalt piece of ground, where the water groweth ſalt that raineth vpon it.

Miſſagh a towne in Cyprus.

Thurſday the 21 of September, we came to Miſſagh, & there we ſtayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Miſſagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, becauſe the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to boord vs, they made an excuſe to ſeeke for foure men which (they ſaid) our ſhip had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not ſuffer any of them to come in to vs.

The next morning they came to vs againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at yͤ leaſt, whereupon our captaine ſent the boat to them with twelue men to know their pleaſure: they ſaid they ſought for 4 men, and therfore would talke with our maiſter: ſo then the maiſters mate was ſent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, & with three other gallies, and then would needes ſpeake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimſon damaſke, and other very braue apparell, and fiue or ſixe other gentlemen richly apparelled alſo. They hauing the Turks ſafe conduct, ſhewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it vpon his head, charging him to obey it: ſo with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

Candie.

That day as aforeſaid, we came to Miſſagh, and there ſtayed eight dayes, and at laſt departed towards Candie, with a ſcant winde.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which alſo made a ſleeueleſſe arrant, and troubled vs very much, but our captaines paſport, and the gift of 100 chekins diſcharged all.

Zante. Iſtria.

The 27 of October we paſſed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third of Nouember we arriued at Iſtria, and there we left our great ſhip, and tooke ſmall boates to bring vs to Venice.

The 9 of Nouember I arriued again at Venice in good health, where I ſtaied nine daies, and the 25 of the ſame moneth I came to Auguſta, and ſtaied there but one day.

The 27 of Nouember I ſet towards Nuremberg where I came the 29, and there ſtaied till the 9 of December, and was very well interteined of the Engliſh marchants there: and the gouernors of the towne ſent me and my company ſixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Vtreight, from Vtreight to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Fluſhing, from Fluſhing to London, where I arriued vpon Twelfe eue in ſafetie, and gaue thanks to God, hauing finiſhed my iourney to Ieruſalem and home againe, in the ſpace of nine moneths and fiue dayes.

The paſſeport made by the great Maiſter of *Malta* vnto the Engliſhmen in the barke *Raynolds*. 1582.

F*Rere Hugo de Loubeux Verdala*, Dei gratia ſacræ domus hoſpitalis ſancti Ioannis Hieroſolymitani magiſter humilis, pauperumq; Ieſu Chriſti cuſtos, vniuerſis & ſingulis principibus eccleſiaſticis & ſecularibus, archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, præfectis, caſtellanis, admiralijs, & quibuſcunque triremium vel aliorum nauigiorum patronis, ac ciuitatum rectoribus, poteſtatibus ac magiſtratibus,

cæteriſque officialibus, & quibuſcunque perſonis cuiuſuis dignitatis, gradus, ſtatus & conditionis fuerint, vbilibet locorum & terrarum conſtitutis, ſalutem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis atteſtamur, *come nel meſe di Maggio proſſime paſſato le noſtre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, doue hauendo mandato per ſoccorrere a vn galionetto de Chriſtiani che hauea dato trauerſo in quelle parti, eſſendo arriuati ſopra queſta iſola alla parte de ponente trouarono vna naue Ingleſa, ſopra cargo de eſſa il magnifico Giouanni Keale, & Dauid Filly patrono, volendo la reconoſcere che naue foſſe, han viſto, che ſe metteua in ordine per defenderſi, dubitando che dette noſtre galere foſſero de inimici: & per che vn marinaro riuoltoſe contra la volonta de detti magnifico Giouani Keale & Dauid Filly, habbi tirato vn tiro di artiglieria verſo vna de dette galere, & che non ſe amangnaua la vela de la Maieſtra ſecondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly patrono, fu rimenſata detta naue nel preſente general porto di Malta, ſecondo l'ordine del venerando Generale de dette galere, & eſſendo qua, monſignor Inquiſitore ha impedita quella per conto del ſancto officio, & ſi diede parte alla ſantita di noſtro ſignor Gregorio papa xiij. A la fin fu licenciata per andarſene al ſuo viaggio. Han donq; humilmente ſupplicato detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly per nome & parte delli magnifici Edwardo Oſborn ſenatore & Richardo Staper merchanti Ingleſi della nobile citta di Londra, & anco di Thomaſo Wilkinſon ſcriuano, piloti, nocheri, & marinari, gli voleſſimo dare le noſtre lettere patente & ſaluo condutto, accioche potranno andare & ritornare quãdo gli parera commodo con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro benuiſta: ſi come noi, eſſendo coſa giuſta & che retornera commoda a noſtra relligione & a queſti forreſtieri, per tenor de li preſenti ſe gli habiamo conceſſe con le conditione però infra ſcritte.* videlicet:

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con ſopradetta naue o con altra non porteranno mercantie de contra bando, & che conſtara per fede authentica & con lettere patente de ſanita, poteran liberalmente victualiarſe de tutte le victuarie neceſſarie, & praticare in queſta iſola & dominij, & poi partirſene & ſeguire ſuo viaggio per doue voleſſero in leuante o altroue, come tutti altri vaſelli & ſpecialmente de Franceſi & altri nationi, & di vendere & comprare qual ſi voglia mercantia a loro benuiſta.

Item, che potera portare poluere de canone & di archibuſo, ſalnitro, carboni di petra roſetta, platine de rame, ſtagno, acciale, ferro, cariſée commune, tela groſſa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore & antenne de galere, baſtardi & alteri. Et in concluſione, hauenda viſto che loro per il tempo che reſtarano qua, ſi portorno da fideli & Catholici Chriſtiani, & che ſua ſanctita habbia trouato bono il ſaluo condutto del gran Turko a loro conceſſo, per il timor della armata Turkeſca & di altri vaſelli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di ſua ſanctitá, & maſſime per che hauera de andare & paſſare per diuerſi lochi & tanto lontani come Ingilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altroue, a noi ha parſo farle le preſente noſtre lettere patente come fidele conuerſatore noſtro, accio piu ſecuramente & ſenſa obſtaculo poſſa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta naue o con altre, a loro benuiſta. Per tanto donque tutti & ciaſcun di voi ſudetti affectuoſamente pregamo, che per qual ſi voglia de voſtra iuriſditione, alla quale detto magnifico Giouani Keale & Dauid Filly a nome quo ſupra con la naue & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caſchera, nauigare, paſſare, & venire ſicuramente, alla libera, ſenſa alcuno diſturbo o altro impedimento li laſciate, & facciate laſciare ſtare, & paſſare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore & contemplatione noſtra il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome quo ſupra con le naue, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta, faſtidio & ritentione alcuna, anzi ſe gli dia ogni agiuto & fauore, coſa degna di voi, giuſta, & a noi gratiſſima, de recompenſaruila con vguale & maggior ſeruitio, quando dall' occaſione ne ſaremo rechieſti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti & qual ſi voglia relligioſi & frati de noſtra relligione di qual ſi voglia cõditione, grado & ſtato che ſiano, & a tutti riceuitori & procuratori noſtri in tutti & qual ſi voglia priorati noſtri deputati & deputandi in vertu di ſanta obedientia, & a tutti noſtri vaſſalli & alla giuriſditione di noſtra relligione ſoggetti, che in tale & per tale tenghino & reputino il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome vt ſupra, naue, marinari, & mercantia, ſenſa permittere, che nel detto ſuo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo ſia moleſtato, o in qual ſi voglia manera impedito, anzi tutte le coſe ſue & negotij loro ſian da voi agioutati & continuamente fauoriti. In cuius rei teſtimonium Bulla noſtra magiſtralis in cera nigra præſentibus eſt impreſſa. Data Melitæ in conuentu noſtro die duodecimo Menſis Iulij. 1582.

The ſame in Engliſh.

FRier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, maſter of the holy houſe, the hoſpital of S. Iohn at Ieruſalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Ieſus Chriſt, to all & euery prince eccleſiaſtical & ſecular, archbiſhops, biſhops, Dukes, Marqueſes, Barons, Capteines, Vicelords, Maiors, Caſtellanes, Admirals, and whatſoeuer patrons of Gallies, or other greater ſhippes, and gouernors of cities, potentates and magiſtrates, and other officers and perſons whatſoeuer,

of what dignitie, degree, ſtate and condition ſoeuer they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witneſſe, that in the moneth of May laſt paſt, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where hauing commandement to ſuccour a little ſhip of the Chriſtians which was driuen ouer into that part, being arriued vpon this Iland on the Weſt part they found one Engliſh ſhip vnder the charge of the worſhipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie maſter: and our men willing to know what ſhip it was, they ſeemed to put themſelues in order for their defence, doubting that the ſaid our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worſhipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie maiſter, and had ſhot off a piece of artillerie againſt one of the ſaid gallies, and becauſe ſhe would not ſtrike amaine her ſayle, according to the will of the ſaide worſhipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie maſter, the ſaid ſhip was brought backe againe vnto the preſent port of Malta, according to the order of the reuerend generall of the ſaid gallies: and in being there, maiſter Inquiſitor ſtaid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holineſſe of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the ſaid worſhipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worſhipfull maſter Eward Oſborne Alderman, and Richard Staper, Engliſh marchants of the noble citie of London, haue humbly beſought together with Thomas Wilkinſon the purſer, pilots, maſter and mariners, that we would giue our letters patents, and ſafe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they ſhall ſee opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleaſure: whereupon the thing ſeeming vnto vs iuſt, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of theſe ſtrangers, by the tenor of theſe preſents we haue granted the ſame to them: yet, with the conditions hereunder written. viz.

That euery time the ſaid marchants of the ſaid ſhip, or with any other, ſhall not bring ſuch marchandize as is forbidden, and that by ſufficient proofe and letters teſtimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themſelues with all neceſſarie victuals, and traffike with vs, and in this Iland and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Leuant or elſe where, as all other veſſels, and eſpecially of France and other nations do, and ſell and buy whatſoeuer marchandize they ſhal thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebuſh, ſaltpeeter, cole of Newcaſtle, plates of lattin, tinne, ſteele, yron, cõmon karſies white, courſe canuas to make ſaile for the gallies, balles of yron for ſhot, fine milſtones, trees & maſts for gallies, litle and others, and in concluſion, hauing ſeene that they for the time of their abode here, did behaue themſelues like faithfull and catholike Chriſtians, & that his holines hath allowed the ſafeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkiſh armie, and other veſſels of the enemie, ſubmitting our ſelues to the pleaſures of his holineſſe, and eſpecially becauſe our people haue occaſion to paſſe by diuers places ſo farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Weſtwards, and in other places, we haue vouchſafed to make theſe our letters patents, as our faithfull aſſiſtant, ſo as more ſurely, and without let they may go and returne when they ſhall thinke good, with the ſaid ſhip or with others at their pleaſure. We therefore pray all and euery of your ſubiects effectually that by what part ſoeuer of your iuriſdiction, vnto the which the ſaid worſhipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie by name abouesaid, with the ſhip and mariners of the ſaid principall place or other, ſhall haue acceſſe, ſaile, & paſſe, and come ſafely with libertie without any diſturbance or other impediment, that you giue leaue, and cauſe leaue to be giuen that they may paſſe, ſtay and returne, and when they pleaſe, depart, in ſuch ſort, that for our loue & contentation the ſaid worſhipfull Iohn Keele, with the ſhip and mariners haue no let, hinderance, or retention, alſo that you giue all helpe and fauour, a thing worthy of your iuſtice, and to vs moſt acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater ſeruice, when vpon occaſion it ſhalbe required.

And finally, we command all, and whatſoeuer religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatſoeuer condition, degree, and ſtate they be, and all other receiuers and procurators, in all and whatſoeuer our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of our religion, that in, and by the ſame they hold, and repute the ſaid worſhipfull Iohn Keele in the name as abouesaid, the ſhip, mariners, and marchandize, without let in the ſame their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not moleſted, nor in any wiſe hindered, but that in all their cauſes and buſineſſe they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In witneſſe whereof, our ſeale of gouernment is impreſſed to theſe preſents in blacke waxe. Giuen at Malta in our Conuent, the twelfth of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere 1582.

The Queenes Commiſsion vnder her great ſeale, to her ſeruant maſter *William Hareborne*, to be her maieſties Ambaſſadour or Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582.

ELIZABETHA, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris, & rectoris vnici clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei contra Idololatras falsò Chriſti nomen profitentes inuicta & potentiſſima propugnatrix, vniuerſis, & ſingulis præſentes has literas viſuris, & inſpecturis, ſalutem. Cùm auguſtiſſimus, & inuictiſſimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici regni Dominator potentiſſimus, imperiíque Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiámque nobiſcum percuſſerit, iuraueritque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inuiolatè ſeruare deſtinamus) ad eámque magis ornandam, illuſtrandámque conceſſerit idem auguſtiſſimus Imperator ſubditis noſtris liberam ſuas merces excercendi rationem in omnibus Muſulmanici imperij ſui partibus, cùm tam ampla priuilegiorum conceſſione, quàm alijs bonis principibus, ſocijs, & fœderatis noſtris largitus eſt, quorum priuilegiorum donationem nos gratam, acceptámque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus, deliberatúmque, nihil in votis habentes potiùs, quàm bonorum erga nos principum animos beneuolos honoratiſſima mente fouere, promererique: Sciatis, nos de ſingulari erga nos, obſequiúmque noſtrum, fide, obſeruantia, prudentia, & dexteritate multùm nobis chari Guilielmi Hareborne, è cuſtodibus corporis noſtri vnius, plurimùm confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem noſtrum certum & indubitatum ordinamus, facimus, & conſtituimus, per præſentes: dantes ei, & concedentes poteſtatem, & authoritatem, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis prædictũ amicitiæ fœdus confirmandi, priuilegiorum conceſſionem in manus ſuas capiendi, ratámque habendi, omnibus & ſingulis ſubditis noſtris, Muſulmanicis oris terríſque negotiantibus, pro Maieſtatis noſtræ authoritate præcipiendi, mandandíque, vt ſint in ſuis commercijs, quamdiu, quotiéſque cum Manſulmanicis verſantur, dictorum priuilegiorum præſcripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obſequia tanta amicitia digna ſe componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus noſtrum iuſtitiam exequatur. Poteſtatem, & authoritatem ei damus in omnes, & ſingulos ſubditos noſtros in quibuſcunque & locis, & partibus Muſulmanici Imperij dominationi ſubiectis negotiantes, conſtituendi emporiorum ſuorum ſedes, in quibus voluerit portubus, & ciuitatibus, in alijs vetandi, in conſtitutis autem emporiorum ſedibus, conſules curandi, leges præceptionéſque ferendi, condendíque, quarum ex præſcripto dicti noſtri ſubditi, & eorum quilibet ſeſe publicè, & priuatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, caſtigandíq;, omnia denique & ſingula faciendi, perimplendíque, quæ ad dictorum ſubditorum noſtrorum honeſtam gubernationem, & commercij exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcunque dictus Orator, & Agens noſter, à legibus noſtris non abhorrentia in præmiſſis aut præmiſſorum aliquo fecerit. In cuius rei teſtimonium, has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes, & ſigilli noſtri impreſſione iuſſimus muniri. Datum è caſtro noſtro Windeſoriæ, 20. die Menſis Nouembris, Anno Ieſu Chriſti 1582. regni verò noſtri, viceſimo quarto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth, by the clemencie of the moſt good and moſt great God, the only creator and gouernour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, inuincible, and moſt mightie defender of the true faith, againſt all Idolaters falſly profeſſing the name of Chriſt, to all and ſinguler perſons, to whoſe ſight and view theſe our preſent letters may come, greeting. Whereas the moſt renowmed, and moſt inuincible Prince Zuldan Murad Can, the moſt mighty gouernour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the Eaſt Empire, hath entered into league and friendſhip with vs, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in vs, doe purpoſe ſolemnly, and inuiolablie to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better countenancing and authorizing of the ſame, the foreſayd renowmed Emperour hath graunted vnto our ſubiects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his ſacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of priuileges, as is giuen to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates, the grant of which priuileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainely, and throughly determined to keepe and mainetaine, with the like goodneſſe and curteſie of minde, deſiring nothing more, then with an honourable reſpect to nouriſh, and deſerue the beneuolent affections of good Princes toward vs: Know ye, that wee thinking well, and hauing good confidence in the ſingular truſtineſſe,

O obedience,

obedience, wiſedome, and diſpoſition of our welbeloued ſeruant William Hareborne, one of the Eſquiers of our body, towards vs, and our ſeruice, doe by theſe preſents, make, ordaine and conſtitute him our true and vndoubted Orator, Meſſenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giuing and granting vnto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for vs, to confirme the foreſaid league of friendſhip, to take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the priuileges, and to commaund, and enioyne by the authoritie of our Maieſtie, all and ſingular our Subiects trading and dealing in any of the coaſtes and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his ſubiects, they be obedient to the preſcription and order of the foreſayd priuileges, applying themſelues in all things, and through all things, to ſuch dueties and ſeruices as appertaine to ſo great a league and friendſhip, and the offenders agaynſt this our league to receiue iuſtice, and puniſhment accordingly. We further giue vnto him power and authoritie ouer all and ſinguler our Subiects, dealing, and vſing traffique in any place or part whatſoeuer, ſubiect to the gouernement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Hauen or Citie it ſhall pleaſe him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and whereſoeuer their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Conſuls or Gouernours, to enact lawes and ſtatutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foreſayd ſubiects, and euery one of them, ſhall both publikely and priuately vſe and behaue themſelues, to correct and puniſh the breakers of thoſe lawes: and laſt of all, to doe and fulfill all and ſingular things whatſoeuer, which ſhall ſeeme requiſite and conuenient for the honeſt and orderly gouernment of our ſaid ſubiects, and of the maner of their traffique in thoſe parts. Promiſing aſſuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatſoeuer ſhall be done of our ſayd Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premiſſes, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, ſhall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by vs. In witneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, and our ſeale thereunto to be appenſed. Giuen at our Caſtle of Windſore, the 20. day of Nouember, in the yeere of Chriſt 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of Maſter *Hareborne*, when he was ſent Ambaſſadour.

ELIZABETH &c. Auguſtiſſimo inuictiſſimóque principi, &c. Cùm ad poſtulatum noſtrum Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtas, anno ſaluatoris noſtri Ieſu 1580. pacis fœdus nobiſcum pepigerit, coniunctum cum liberaliſſima priuilegiorum quorundam conceſſione, quorum beneficio ſubditi noſtri cum omni ſecuritate tutiſſimè liberriméque ad vniuerſas & ſingulas Muſulmanici imperij veſtri partes terra maríque proficiſci, in iiſque commercij exercendi gratia, negotiari, habitare, manere, exindéque ire & redire cum volent queant, ab ijs qui ſub Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtate in magiſtratu ſunt vbique locorum protegendi defendendíque ſine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorum læſione: nos tantæ conceſſionis beneficium gratum acceptúmque habentes, quantum in nobis eſt, approbamus confirmamúſque: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem ſine vlla violatione ſartam tectámq; conſeruabimus: faciemúſq; vt ſubditi noſtri priuilegiorum ſibi indultorum conceſſione ita vtantur, vt Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem magnificentiſſimæ ſuæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem conceſſionis huius virtus in vſu potiùs quàm verbis, Maieſtatis vtriúſq; noſtrum ſententiâ, ponenda videtur, voluimus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Hareborne, ex ſatellitibus quibus ad corporis noſtri tutelam vtimur vnum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum, ad Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem ablegare, qui tum nomine noſtro vobis gratias ageret, tum vt eius opera vteremur ad eam ſubditorum noſtrorum mercimoniorum rationem ſtabiliēdam, tam in Imperiali veſtra ciuitate Conſtantinopoli, quàm alijs imperij veſtri Muſulmanici locis, quæ ex præſcripto priuilegiorum, Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis benignitate, conceditur, & ex vſu ſubditorum vtriúſq; noſtrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis authoritate, ſumma contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui ſub ſe in magiſtratu ſunt, vt quibuſcunq; poterunt melioribus modis huic noſtro mandatario in Cęſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis placito exequendo, adiutores ſint & eſſe velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandauimus, in qua quàm fidem ſuam ſit honeſtè liberaturus erga Maieſtatem vtriuſq; noſtrũ neutiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, vt in omnibus ſint obtemperantes noſtri ſubditi, quantum Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis conceſſio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Muſtafa ſacræ Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis Muſulmannorum interpres egregiam nauarit operam vt hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus ſummoperè vt in noſtram gratiam cum in Muſtafara caxum

Muſtafa interpres.

rum ordinem Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtas recipere dignetur. Si in his aliíſque omnibus honeſtis cauſis hic noſter agens ſubditiq; noſtri Imperatoriæ veſtræ ſublimitatis æquanimitatem ſenſerint, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officijs huic veſtrę Maieſtatis fauori & beneuolentiæ (ſi vlla ratione rebus veſtris commodare poterimus) reſpondere libentiſſimè ſemper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Elizabeth by the grace of the moſt mightie God and only creator of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the moſt inuincible and moſt mighty defender of the Chriſtian faith againſt all kind of idolatries of all that liue among the Chriſtians and falſly profeſſe the name of Chriſt, vnto the moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the moſt mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, ſole aboue all, and moſt ſoueraigne Monarch of the Eaſt Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our requeſt your Imperiall Maieſtie in the yeere of our Sauiour Jeſus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with vs, whereunto was vnited a moſt large & bountiful grant of certaine priuileges, by benefite whereof our ſubiects may with all ſecuritie moſt ſafely and freely trauell by Sea and land into all and ſingular parts of your Muſulmanlike Empire, and in the ſame exerciſing the trade of merchandiſe, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleaſure, and in all places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodies and goods, by ſuch as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maieſtie: we thankfully and gratefully receiuing the benefite of ſo great a priuilege, as much as in vs lieth doe approoue and confirme the ſame, promiſing in the worde of a Prince, that wee will keepe the ſaid league perfect and inuiolable, and will cauſe our ſubiects ſo to vſe the grant of the priuileges giuen vnto them, as your Imperiall Maieſtie ſhall neuer haue occaſion to repent you of your moſt princely liberalitie. And becauſe the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our maieſties, ſeemeth rather to conſiſt in the vſe thereof, then in the wordes, we thought good to ſend vnto your Imperiall maieſtie this our ambaſſadour William Hareborne, one of the Eſquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe ſhould yeeld thanks vnto your maieſtie, and alſo that we might vſe his good indeuour for the eſtabliſhing of ſuch order in our ſubiects trade of merchandiſe, as well in your Imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, as in other places of your Muſulmanlike Empire, as according to the preſcript of the priuileges is granted by your princely maieſties goodneſſe, and ſhall be for the benefite of both our ſubiects. For performance whereof, becauſe hee ſtandeth in neede of your Imperiall Maieſties authoritie, wee earneſtly beſeech the ſame, that you would cauſe all thoſe which bee in authoritie vnder your Highneſſe, by all their beſt meanes to aide and aſſiſt this our Ambaſſadour in executing this your Imperiall Maieſties pleaſure, for vnto him wee haue committed this charge: wherein how honeſtly hee will diſcharge his credite toward both our Maieſties, I no whit ſtand in doubt: to whom alſo our pleaſure is, that all our ſubiects ſhall bee obedient, as farre as the grant of your Imperiall maieſtie doeth permit. Moreouer, whereas that woorthie perſonage Muſtafa, your Imperiall maieſties Interpretor, hath taken ſpeciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene vs, wee earneſtly beſeech you that for our ſakes your Imperiall Maieſtie would vouchſafe to aduance him vnto the degree of the Muſtafaraks or chiefe penſioners. If in theſe and in all other honeſt cauſes, our aforeſayde Agent and our ſubiectes ſhall finde your Imperiall Higneſſes fauour, a noble traffique will flouriſh betweene theſe nations, and wee (if by any way wee may ſtand your State in ſteade) will alwayes moſt willingly be readie to requite this your Maieſties fauour and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almightie God the maker of the world preſerue and keepe your Imperiall Maieſtie, &c.

M. Wil. Hareborne ſent ambaſſador to the Turke.

A requeſt for the preferring of Muſtafa Beg.

A Letter of the Queenes Maieſtie to *Alli Baſſa* the Turkes high Admirall, ſent by her ambaſſadour M. *William Hareborne*, and deliuered vnto him aboord his gallie in the *Arſenal*.

ELIZABETHA, &c. Illuſtriſſimo viro Alli Baſſa, magni Muſulmanici Cæſaris Admiralio, ſalutem & ſucceſſus fortunatos. Non ignotum eſſe Excellentiæ veſtræ arbitramur, priuilegia quædam à potentiſſimo Cæſare Muſulmanico domino veſtro clementiſſimo ſubditis noſtris Anglicis conceſſa eſſe, vt illis liceat in omnibus imperij Muſulmanici prouincijs tutò & ſecurè manere ac negotiari: non aliter quàm hoc ipſum Francis, Polonis, Venetis, Germanis antea indultum eſt. Qua ex cauſa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, è corporis cuſtodibus vnũ, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad inclytam Conſtantinopolis ciuitatem pro agente miſimus: qui ex priuilegiorum prædictorum præſcripto noſtras & ſubditorum noſtrorum res in illis locis conſtitueret. Facere igitur non potuimus, quin Excellentiæ veſtræ Guilielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Cæſarem polles authoritate, commendaremus: petentes ſummopere vt tutò in mari ſine Claſſiariorum veſtrorum violentia, & ſecurè in portibus abſque miniſtrorum rapinis & iniuria, tam ipſe quàm omnes Angli ſubditi noſtri poſſint verſari: vti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Cæſare conceſſarum illis licere ex illarum conſpectione perſpicuum eſſe poteſt. Gratiſſimum ergo nobis excellentia veſtra fecerit, ſi portuum omnium, aliorúmque locorum, qui veſtræ iuriſdictioni parent, cuſtodibus, item claſſium & nauium præfectis omnibus mandare velit, vt Guilielmus iſte, aliíque Angli ſubditi noſtri cum in illorum erunt poteſtate, amicè & humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum nos viciſſim omnes magni Cæſaris ſubditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, ſi in Oceani maria, aliáue loca venerint, quæ noſtro parent imperio. Poſtremo excellentiam veſtram pro eo quem in noſtros extendet fauore ijs omnibus officijs proſequemur, quæ à gratiſſima principe in optime de ſe merentes debent proficiſci. Benè & fœliciter valeas. Datum è caſtro noſtro Windeſorij die viceſſimo menſis Nouembris, Anno Ieſu Chriſti ſaluatoris noſtri 1582, Regni verò noſtri viceſſimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at *Conſtantinople*, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the ſame, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawen by M. *Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple, and giuen to a friend that was ſent into Turkie 1582.

1 Anile wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by ſeed or roote.
2 And the Arte of compounding of the ſame.
3 And alſo all other herbes vſed in dying in like maner to bee brought in.
4 And all Trees, whoſe Leaues, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe ſerue to that vſe, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.
5 All little Plants and Buſkes ſeruing to that vſe to be brought in.
6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren vſed in dying, and their naturall places, for poſſible the like may here be found vpon ſight.
7 Alſo with the materials vſed in dying, to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.
8 To procure from Muhaiſira a citie in Ægypt to Conſtantinople, the ſeed of Seſamum the herbe, and the ſame into this realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Conſtantinople, and therefore you may eaſily procure the ſeeds. Of this ſeed much oyle is made, and many mils ſet on worke about the ſame in the ſayd Muhaiſira, and if this ſeede may proſper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may riſe by the ſame. This citie is ſituate vpon Nilus the riuer, and thence this is brought to Venice and to diuers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.
9 To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the ſame.
10 To endeuour rather the vent of Kerſies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.
11 To endeuour the ſale of ſuch our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then ſuch as be coloured with forren colours.
12 To ſeeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.
13 To endeuour vent of knit Stocks made of Norwich yarne, & of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefice, beſides the vent of the ſubſtance, of our colours, and of our diuers labour.
14 To endeuor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found, it ſetteth many on worke.

Remem-

Remembrances for maſter S. to giue him the better occaſion to informe himſelfe of ſome things in *England*, and after of ſome other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey, Written by the foreſayd maſter *Richard Hakluyt*, for a principall Engliſh Factor at *Conſtantinople* 1582.

Since all men confeſſe (that be not barbarouſly bred) that men are borne as well to ſeeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne priuate benefite, it may ſeeme follie to perſwade that point, for each man meaneth ſo to doe. But wherein men ſhould ſeeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or ſumme of the matter, ſince euery good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite ſort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things ſo to bee done be diuers, ſo are they to bee done by diuers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or leſſe fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, ſome tend more, and ſome leſſe, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the ſame. And vnderſtanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Conſtantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the Engliſh Factors there, then you. And therefore I am ſo bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with ſome indeuiour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and giue an infinite ſorte of the poore people occaſion to pray for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

1 First, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the moſt fine Wooll, the moſt ſoft, the moſt ſtrong Wooll, the moſt durable in Cloth, and moſt apte of nature of all other to receiue Die, and that no Iſland or any one kingdome ſo ſmall doeth yeeld ſo great abundance of the ſame: and that no Wooll is leſſe ſubiect to mothes, or to fretting in preſſe, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be ſhewed may plainly teſtifie.

2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may ſet ſo many poore ſubiects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in ſo much treaſure, and ſo much enrich the merchant, and ſo much employ the Nauie of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the ſame are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and ſo haue diuers prouinces of Chriſtendome and of Heatheneſſe, and cloth is made of the ſame in diuers places.

1 But if England haue the moſt fine, and the moſt excellent Wools of the world in all reſpects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the ſame, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we ſhall haue vent for our Clothes, although the reſt of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanſhip and their dying were in euery degree equal with ours of England, vnleſſe the labour of our people imployed that way, and the materials vſed in dying ſhould be the cauſe of the contrary by dearth.

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and ſhall die the ſame in truer, ſurer, and more excellent and more delectable colours, then ſhall they ſell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the Engliſh cloth of better wooll ſhall reſt vnſold, to the ſpoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people imploied in clothing in ſeuerall degrees of labour here in England.

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wiſh you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indeuour from time to time, as your laiſure may permit the ſame.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne:

1 TO know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be yͤ ſame in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatſoeuer, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking; as the ſorting together of Wools of ſeuerall natures, ſome of nature to ſhrinke, ſome to hold out, which cauſeth cloth to cockle and lie vneuen.

The euill ſorting of threed of good or bad wooll, ſome tootoo hard ſpun, ſome tootoo ſoft ſpun deliuered to be wouen.

The faults in Weauing.

The faults in Walking, Rowing, and Burling, and in Racking the Clothes aboue meaſure vpon the Teintors: all which faults may be learned of honeſt men, which faults are to be knowen to the merchant, to be ſhunned and not to be vſed.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to diſcerne all kind of colours; as which be good and ſure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the ſubſtances bee deare, and which by reaſon of the cheapeneſſe of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and ſubſtaunces vſed in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or ſilke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials vſed in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the ſcarceneſſe of each of them.

Theſe things ſuperficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to ſerue your Countrey, for by this meanes you haue an enterie into the thing that I wiſh you to trauell in.

What you ſhall doe in Turkie, beſides the buſineſſe of your Factorſhip.

1 FOraſmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee moſt excellently died, you ſhall ſend home into this realme certaine Mowſters or pieces of Shew to be brought to the Diers hall, there to be ſhewed, partly to remooue out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they haue conceiued of their owne cunning, and partly to mooue them for ſhame to endeuour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the vniuerſall benefit of the realme.

2 You ſhall deuiſe to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought vp in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of ſkill, or rather to deuiſe to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by ſome great Baſſas meane, or if your owne credite there be not ſufficient by meane of your ſmall abode in thoſe parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambaſſador there reſident, for which purpoſe you may inſinuate your ſelfe into his acquaintance, and otherwiſe to leaue no meane vnſought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumſtances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and ſubſtances that the Turkes vſe in dying, be they of Herbes, ſimple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els ſoeuer. But before all other, ſuch things as yeeld thoſe famous colours that carrie ſuch ſpeciall report of excellencie, that our Merchaunts may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the vſe of thoſe, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wiſe, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of thoſe parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to ſend the ſame into this realme by ſeed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of ſowing, ſetting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the ſame, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which deuoureth yeerely great treaſure) may be brought

downe. So ſhall the marchant buy his cloth leſſe deare, and ſo he ſhalbe able to occupy with leſſe ſtocke, be able to afoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and alſo become a greater gainer himſelfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent vſe, as to ſend the ſame by ſeed, berry, root, &c: for by ſuch meanes Saffron was brought firſt into this realme, which hath ſet many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the moſt excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the ſame, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this realme, and came to good perfection, to the great loſſe of the French our olde enemies. And it doth maruellouſly import this realme to make naturall in this realme ſuch things as be ſpecial in the dying of our clothes. And to ſpeake of ſuch things as colour blew, they are of greateſt vſe, and are grounds of the moſt excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And becauſe yellowes and greenes are colours of ſmall prices in this realme, by reaſon that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes ſo died to common ſale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore ſubiects of this realme, for in ſale of ſuch our owne naturall colours we conſume not our treaſure in forren colours, and yet we ſell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here alſo naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely ſpeciall thing. For in this ſo temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in ſome regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in ſome other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and bleſſed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatneſſe of their riuers cannot make Walkmilles for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dreſſe all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raiſed to an higher price, we of England haue in all Shires ſtore of milles vpon falling riuers. And theſe riuers being in temperate zones are not dried vp in Summer with drought and heat as the riuers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen vp in Winter as all the riuers be in all the North regions of the world: ſo as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dreſſe clothes cheaply. Then we haue alſo for ſcowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay, and the clay of Oborne little inferior to Sope in ſcowring and in thicking. Then alſo haue we ſome reaſonable ſtore of Alum and Copporas here made for dying, and are like to haue increaſe of the ſame. Then we haue many good waters apt for dying, and people to ſpin and to doe the reſt of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile: the want whereof if any man could deuiſe to ſupply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatſoeuer he were that could bring it about, might deſerue immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and ſuch a deuiſe was offered to the Parliament and refuſed, becauſed they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, ſome others hauing obtained the ſame before, that practiſed to worke that effect by Radiſh ſeed, which onely made a triall of ſmall quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plenty: and now he that offered this deuiſe was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the deuiſe is dead with him.

Supply of the want of oile.

Leo Africanus lib. 8.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a city called Mubaiſira there be many milles imployed in making of Oile of the ſeed of an herbe called Seſamum. Pena and Lobell, Phyſicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily ſeed, and that there is plenty of this ſeede brought out of Egypt to diuers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will proſper in this realme, our marchants may eaſily bring of it, &c.

9 Hauing heerein thus troubled you by raiſing to your minde the conſideration of certaine things, it ſhall not be impertinent to tell you that it ſhall not be amiſſe that you note all the order of the degrees of labour vſed in Turky, in the arte of Clothing, and to ſee if any way they excell in that profeſſion our people of theſe parts, and to bring notice of the ſame into this realme.

10 And if you ſhall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great vſe, then to bring of the ſame into this realme ſome Mowſters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the ſame for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can deuiſe to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we ſhall haue, and the more ſale of the labour of our poore ſubiects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our ſelues according to the deſires of forren nations, be it that they deſire thicke or thinne, broad or narowe,

long or ſhort, white or blacke. 11 But with this prouiſo alwayes, that our cloth paſſe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great conſideration ought to be had: for (if vent might ſo admit it) as it were the greateſt madneſſe in the world for vs to vent our wooll not clothed, ſo were it madneſſe to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the ſame in Kerſies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a ſacke of wooll in the one, and the like ſacke of wooll in the other, of which I wiſh the marchant of England to haue as great care as he may for the vniuerſall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a ſacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And alſo not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the ſubiects of this realme may take as much benefit as is poſſible, and rather to ſeeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then ſuch as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of neceſſity we muſt be forced to receiue certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wiſh that our marchants procure Anile and ſuch other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in diuers other places, that this realme may haue that brought in for as baſe prices as is poſſible, and that falling out with one place we may receiue the ſame from another, and not buy the ſame at the ſecond or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere neceſſity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchaſed.

1 How many ſeuerall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of thoſe colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and ſubſtances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our ſoiles, that may die the reſt of the colours, that preſently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it ſure. This wood you muſt take with you, and ſee whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may inrich your ſelfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeuoured earneſtly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other ſome things to be remembred.

If you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elſewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottiſh cap as it were without brims, you ſhould do your countrey much good: for as a ſacke of wooll turned into fine Deuonſhire kerſies doth ſet many more people on worke then a ſacke ſpunne for broad cloth in a groſſer threed, ſo a ſacke of wooll turned into thoſe Bonets doth ſet many more poore people on worke, then a ſacke turned into Kerſies, by reaſon of the knitting. And therefore if you can indeuour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a maruellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeaſt and Southweſt thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hoſe of Woollen yarne, Woorſted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may ariſe, and a great value in fine Kerſies and in thoſe knit wares may be couched in a ſmall roome in the ſhip. And for theſe things our people are growen apt, and by indeuour may be drawen to great trade.

3 Saffron the beſt of the vniuerſall world groweth in this realme, and foraſmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in diuers ſorts, and ſetteth the people on worke ſo plentifully, I wiſh you to ſee whether you can finde out ample vent for the ſame, ſince it is gone out of great vſe in thoſe parts. It is a ſpice that is cordiall, and may be vſed in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow ſilks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in thoſe parts Garian, ſo as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodneſſe of it, and the places of the vent. But it is ſayd that from that hill there paſſeth yerely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that thoſe regions notwithſtanding lacke ſufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Eſſex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge ſhire reuiue the trade for the benefit of the ſetting of the poore on worke. So would they doe in Hereford ſhire by Wales, where the beſt of all England is, in which place the ſoile yeelds the wilde Saffron commonly, which ſheweth the naturall inclination of the ſame ſoile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the ſoile be manured and that way employed.

Leo Africanus lib. 4.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telenſin, about ſix miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all

Diers. And it is ſayd that thereabout they haue plenty of Anile, & that they occupy that, and alſo that they vſe there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforeſayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran ſea, is eaſily learned in your paſſage to Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may vnderſtand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purpoſing to do good to his countrey, ſtole an head of Saffron, and hid the ſame in his Palmers ſtaffe, which he had made hollow before of purpoſe, and ſo he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like loue in this our age were in our people that now become great trauellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans hauing that care, brought from all coaſts of the world into Italie all arts and ſciences, and all kinds of beaſts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, buſks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleaſure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our anceſters, then had our life bene ſauage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleaſant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horſe nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we inioy, without which our life were to be ſayd barbarous: for theſe things and a thouſand that we vſe more the firſt inhabitors of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things haue bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaſke roſe by Doctour Linaker king Henry the ſeuenth and king Henrie the eights Phyſician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres paſt, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muſke roſe plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his trauell, and the Abricot by a French Prieſt one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within theſe foure yeeres there haue bene brought into England from Vienna in Auſtria diuers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and thoſe and other procured thither a little before from Conſtantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Cluſius. And it is ſayd that ſince we traded to Zante that the plant that beareth the Coren is alſo brought into this realme from thence; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may ſerue for pleaſure and for ſome vſe, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well ſpare, although the climat ſo colde will not permit vs to haue good wines of them. And many other things haue bene brought in, that haue degenerated by reaſon of the colde climat, ſome other things brought in haue by negligence bene loſt. The Archbiſhop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath ſo increaſed that there be here thouſands of them: and many people haue receiued great health by this plant: and if of things brought in ſuch care were had, then could not the firſt labour be loſt. The ſeed of Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the Weſt Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eaſed of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a iourney to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Conſtantinople, the Weſt Indies, and to diuers other places neerer and further off then any of theſe, yet foraſmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich ſetled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make ſute to ſuch as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other buſineſſes, to haue ſome care heerein, and to ſet before their eyes the examples of theſe good men, and to endeuour to do for their parts the like, as their ſpeciall buſineſſes may permit the ſame. Thus giuing you occaſion by way of a little rememembrance, to haue a deſire to do your countrey good, you ſhall, if you haue any inclination to ſuch good, do more good to the poore ready to ſtarue for reliefe, then euer any ſubiect did in this realme by building of Almeſhouſes, and by giuing of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to driue idleneſſe the mother of moſt miſchiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the Weſt Indies.

This may be learned at Alger.

The voyage of the *Suſan* of *London* to *Conſtantinople*, wherein the worſhipfull M. *William Harborne* was ſent firſt Ambaſſadour vnto *Sultan Murad Can*, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Maieſties Ligier almoſt ſixe yeeres.

The 14 of Nouember 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Conſtantinople, in the tall ſhippe called the Suſan of London: the Maſter whereof was Richard Parſons, a very excellent and ſkilfull man in his facultie. But by occaſion of contrary weather we ſpent two moneths before we could recouer the Rowes

in

January the fourteenth.

C. Vincente.
C. Santa Maria.
Tariffa.
Velez Malaga.
C. de Gates.
C. de Palos.
Denia.
Formentera.
Cabrera.
February the firſt.
Mallorca.

The ſhippes men goe on land at Porto de Sant Pedro.

The Ambaſſadour betrayed.

February the ſixth.

The Engliſh men are ſurpriſed.

The Spaniards come to the ſea ſide to ſpeake with the captaine.

in the Iſle of Wight. Where the 14 of January following we tooke in the worſhipfull M. William Hareborne her Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the Turke, and his company, and ſailed thence to Yarmouth in the foreſayd Iſle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did ſee Cauo de Sant Vincente. The ſame day we were thwart of Cauo Santa Maria. The 27 we paſſed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we paſſed by Velez Malaga: and that night were thwart of Cauo de Gates. The 29 at night we had ſight of Cauo de Palos. The 30 in the morning we did ſee the high land of Denia, in the kingdome of Valentia, and that night we had ſight of the Iland Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Iland of Cabrera. The firſt of February we put into a Port in Mallorca, called Porto de Sant Pedro: where they would haue euill intreated vs for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might haue bene as bolde there as in other places of Chriſtendome, but it proued farre otherwiſe. The firſt man we met on land was a ſimple Shepheard, of whom we demanded whether we might haue a ſheepe, or ſuch like to refreſh our ſelues, who tolde vs yea. And by ſuch conference had with him, at the laſt he came aboord once or twiſe, and had the beſt cheare that we could make him: and our Ambaſſadour himſelfe talked with him, and ſtill he made vs faire promiſes, but nothing at all meant to performe the ſame, as the end ſhewed. In the meane time came in a ſhippe of Marſeils, the Maſter whereof did know our Ambaſſadour very well, with whom our Ambaſſadour had conference, and with his Marchants alſo. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is vnder the gouernement of the Great Turke. They did preſent our Ambaſſadour with an Ape, wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboord. By them I ſuppoſe, he was bewrayed of his purpoſe as touching his meſſage, but yet ſtill we had faire words of the Shepheard aforeſayd, and others. So that vpon their words, our Purſer and another man went to a Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire ſpeeches, and ſuch ſmall things as could be gotten vpon the ſudden, and ſo returned to the ſhippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. The next day, being the ſixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purſer, and one of the Ambaſſadours men went to the Towne aforeſayd, thinking to doe as the Purſer and the other had done before, but it prooued contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and ſuch neceſſaries for their money, vntill ſuch time as they were beſet with men, and the Maiorcans neuer ſhewed in their countenance any ſuch matter, but as the maner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the moſt part to be trecherous to vs, if they thinke they haue any aduantage. For vpon the ſudden they layed handes on them, and put them in holde, as ſure as might be in ſuch a ſimple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and ſtill deluded with faire words, & they ſayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Iland would come aboord to ſee the ſhippe. But they preſently ſent the Purſer to the Towne of Maiorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very ſtraightly, what their ſhippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confeſſed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewiſe ſtraightly examined by a Prieſt and other officers vpon their othes: who for their othes ſake declared the whole eſtate of their voyage. The Ambaſſadours man was a French man, and therefore was ſuffered to goe to the ſhippe on a meſſage, but he could tell the Ambaſſadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboord the ſhippe, and that our men ſhould come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marſeilian Marchants were ſtayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better ſhew vnto vs. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men vnto vs euery day, more or leſſe, but one day eſpecially there came two men on horſebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being luſty men, and very well horſed. Theſe men deſired to ſpeake with our Captaine (for all things that paſſed there were done in the name of our Captaine Iohn Gray) for it was ſayd by vs there, that he was Captaine of one of her Maieſties ſhippes: wherefore all things paſſed in his name: and the Ambaſſadour not ſeene in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, becauſe of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himſelfe went on land clothed in Veluet, and talked with theſe men, and with him ten or twelue luſty fellowes well weaponed, ech one hauing a Boareſpeare or a Caliuer, the Captaine Iohn Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warely kept and ready. For then wee began to ſuſpect, becauſe the place was more frequented with men then it was woont. The men on horſebacke were in doubt to come neere, becauſe hee came ſo well weaponed. But they bade him welcome, and gaue him great ſalutations in words as their maner is: and demanded why he came ſo ſtrong, for they ſayd he needed not to feare any man in the Iland. Anſwere was made, that it was the maner of Engliſh Captaines to goe with their guard in ſtrange places. Then they tolde our Ambaſſador (thinking him to be the Captaine) that they were ſent from the Viceroy to know what they did lacke, for they promiſed him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the Iland to be had, but their purpoſe was to haue gotten more of our men if they could, and they ſayde that wee ſhould haue our men againe the next day: with ſuch prety deluſions they fed vs ſtill. Then our Ambaſſadour did write a letter to the Viceroy in her Maieſties name, and in our Captaine Iohn Grayes name, and not in his owne, and ſent it by them, deſiring him to ſend his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had giuen him no ſuch cauſe, nor any of his. So theſe men departed with great courteſie in words on both parts. And in all this time we did ſee men on horſebacke and on foot in the woods and trees more then they were accuſtomed to be, but we could perceiue nothing thereby. The next day, or the ſecond, came either foure or ſixe of the beſt of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men beſides in the fieldes, both on foot and on horſe, but came not neere the water ſide. And thoſe in like order deſired to ſpeake with the Captaine, and that when he came on land the trumpets might ſound) but then the Ambaſſadour, whom they thought to be Captaine, would not goe, nor ſuffer the trumpets to be ſounded (for that he thought it was a trappe to take himſelfe, and more of his company. But did ſend one of the principall of the Marchants to talke with them. And the Captaine Iohn Gray went alſo with him, not being knowen of the Spaniards, for he went as a ſouldiour. Thus they receiued of thoſe men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who ſayd we ſhould haue our men againe, for they meant vs no hurt. Then our Ambaſſadour did write another letter, and ſent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he receiued no anſwere of any of them. In all this time they had priuily gathered together the principall men of the Iland, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any ſhew of their trecherie towards vs. But the ſame night following, we ſaw very many lights paſſe in the woods among the trees. And in the morning when the watch was broken vp, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked foorth, and ſaw ſtanding on land the cariage of a piece: then was one commanded to goe into the toppe, and there he did deſcrie two or three pieces, and alſo many men on the ſhoare, with diuers weapons that they brought. Then they ſuddenly tooke foure or fiue braſſe pieces, and placed them on either ſide of the harborough where we ſhould go out, and hid them with ſtones and buſhes that we ſhould not ſee them. Now I thinke the harborough not to be aboue the eight part of a mile ouer. Thus perceiuing their meaning which was moſt plaine; wee agreed to take vp our anker and goe out, and leaue our men there, hauing none other way to take. Then our Ambaſſadour intreated the Maſter of the Marſeilian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the trueth: who ſatisfied his requeſt. And at his returne he tolde vs that it was very true, that they would lay holde of vs if they could. Then we weighed our ankers: but hauing little winde, we towed the ſhippe forward with the boat. The Viceroy himſelfe was at the water ſide with more then fiue hundred men on both ſides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our ſhippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambaſſadour and the Captaine being in their armour, the Maſter commanding of the company, and trimming of the ſailes, the Pilot ſtanding on the poope, attending to his charge, with other very well furniſhed, and euery man in order about their buſineſſe very ready, they on land on the contrary part hauing a very faire piece mounted on the North ſide openly in all our ſights, as the ſhippe paſſed by, they trauerſed that piece right with the maine maſt or after-quarter of the ſhippe, and a Gunner ſtanding by, with a lintſtocke in his hand, about foureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to giue fire. Our whole noiſe of trumpets were ſounding on the poope with drumme and flute, and a Minion of braſſe on the ſummer decke, with two or three other pieces, alwayes by our Gunners trauerſed mouth to mouth with theirs on land, ſtill looking when they on land ſhould ſhoot, for to anſwere them againe. The Pilot ſtanding on the poope, ſeeing this readineſſe, and the ſhippe going very ſoftly, becauſe of the calmeneſſe of the winde, he called to them on the South ſide, where the Viceroy was, and ſayd vnto him: Haue you warres with vs? If you haue, it is more then we know; but by your prouiſion it ſeemeth ſo: if you haue, ſhoot in Gods name, and ſpare not, but they held all faſt and ſhot not. Then the Viceroy himſelfe held vp a paper, and ſayd he had a letter for our Captaine, and deſired vs to ſtay for it. Then we anſwered and ſayd we would not, but willed him to ſend it by the Marſeilians boat, and our men alſo. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flute ſounded, and ſo we paſſed out in the face of them all. When they perceiued that they could lay no holde on vs, they preſently ſent to the Towne for our men, whom within leſſe then three houres after they ſent aboord with the ſayd letter, wherein he deſired our Captaine and his company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would haue ſeene our ſhippe. His letter did import theſe and ſuch like faire ſpeeches: for it altogether contained courteous ſalutations,

The Spaniards come againe to parle.

The Ambaſſadour writeth to the Viceroy.

The ninth of February.

The ſhip Suſan prepareth to defend herſelfe.

The effect of the Viceroys letter to the Captaine of the Suſan.

ſaying that he might boldly come into any port within his Iland, and that he and his would ſhew him what friendſhip they might: and that the iniury that was offered was done at the requeſt of the Shepheards and poore people of the countrey, for the more ſafegard of their flockes, and becauſe it was not a thing vſuall to haue any ſuch ſhippe to come into that port, with many other deceitfull words in the ſayd letter. Then our Ambaſſadour wrote vnto him another letter to anſwere that, and gaue him thanks for his men that he had ſent him, and alſo for his good will, and ſent him a preſent. This done, we ſhot off halfe a dozen pieces, hoiſed our ſailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purſer and the reſt of our men that had beene in holde, tolde vs that they did ſee the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Iland, hauing their buſkins and ſtockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the buſhes day and night to make that ſudden prouiſion. The 12 of February we ſaw an Iland of Africa ſide called Galata, where they vſe to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we ſaw likewiſe Sardinia, which is an Iland ſubiect to Spaine. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did ſee an Iland neere Sicilia, and an Iland on Africa ſide called Cyſimbre. The ſame day likewiſe we ſaw an Iland called Pantalaria, and that night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as Capo Paſſaro, which is the Southeaſt part of Sicilia. The 24 we were put into a port called Porto de Conte, in an Iland called Cephalonia: it is an out Iland in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this preſent gouerned by the Signory of Venice, as the reſt of Grecia is vnder the Turke, for the moſt part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arriued at Zante which is alſo in Grecia; for at this preſent wee entred the parts of Grecia. The ſecond of March we came from Zante; and the ſame day were thwart of an Iland called Prodeno: and the 4 we were thwart of an Iland called Sapientia. There ſtandeth a faire Towne and a Caſtle on the maine ouer againſt it, called Modon. The ſame day by reaſon of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, becauſe we could not fetch Sapientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapientia againe. The tenth we were as farre ſhot as Cauo Matapan; and that day we entred the Archipelago, and paſſed thorow betweene Cerigo and Cauo Malio. This Cerigo is an Iland where one Menelaus did ſometimes reigne, from whome was ſtollen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Recordes doe declare. The ſame day we had ſight of a little Iland called Bellapola, and did likewiſe ſee both the Milos, being Ilands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Iland called Falconara, and the Iland of Antemila. The 12 in the morning we were betweene Fermenia and Zea, being both Ilands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewiſe Ilands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Pſara and Saraſo, being Ilands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the ſixteenth we put into Porto Delfi . This port is 9 Engliſh miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelue of their miles) this night we ſtayed in the ſayd port, being in the Iland of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the gouernour of the Iland (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and thoſe that were with him, and vnderſtood of our arriuall within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallies, and came to welcome our Ambaſſadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Cuſtomer, and alſo the French Conſull, with diuers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendſhip as he could or would deſire: for he did offer to attend vpon vs, and towe vs if need were to the Caſtles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day paſſed by port Sigra againe. This Iland of Metelin is part of Aſia, and is neere to Natolia. The 22 we paſſed by a head land called Baberno, and is alſo in Aſia. And that day at night we paſſed by the Iſle of Tenedo, part of Aſia, and by another Iland called Maure. And the ſame day we paſſed thorow the ſtraights of Galipoli, and by the Caſtles, and alſo by the Towne of Galipoli it ſelfe, which ſtandeth in Europa. And that night we were in ſight of Marmora which is neere Natolia, and part of Aſia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Araclia, and that night we ankered in Silauria. The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were ſet on land to goe to the City about the Ambaſſadours buſineſſe, but there they could not land becauſe we had the winde faire. That place of ſome is called Ponte grande, and is foure and twenty miles on this ſide of Conſtantinople, and becauſe of the winde, they followed in the ſkiffe vntill they came to a place called Ponte picola, and there is a little bridge, it ſtandeth eight Turkiſh miles from Conſtantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an houſe of the great Turkes with a faire Garden belonging vnto it, neere the which is a point called Ponta S. Stephano, and there the ſhippe ankered that day. The 26 day the ſhip came to the ſeuen Towers, and the 27 we came neerer. The 29 there came three gallies

The effect of the Ambaſſadors anſwere.

Galata.
Sardinia.
Fauagniana.
Ciſimbri,
Pantalaria.
Sicilia.
C. Paſſaro.
Porto de Conte in Cephalonia.

Zante.

Prodeno.
Sapientia.
Modon.

C. Matapan.
Cerigo.

C. Malio.
Menelaus.

Bellapola.
Both Milos.
Falconara.
Antemila.
Fermenia, Zea.
Negroponte.
Andri.
Pſara. Saraſo.
Sigra, a port in Metelin.

Porto Delfin.

The city of Chio.

A By.

Ermin, or Cuſtomer.

Baberno.
Tenedo.
Maure.
Galipoli.
Marmora.

Araclia.
Silauria.

Ponte grande.

Ponte picola.

Ponte S. Stephano.

to bring vs vp further: and when the ſhippe came againſt the great Turks palace, we ſhot off all our ordinance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. Then landed our Ambaſſadour, and then we diſcharged foure and twenty pieces, who was receiued with more then fifty or threeſcore men on horſebacke. The ninth of April he preſented the great Baſſa with ſixe clothes, foure cannes of ſiluer double gilt, and one piece of fine holland, and to three other Baſſas, that is to ſay, the ſecond Baſſa, which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Baſſa, to the third who maried the great Turks ſiſter, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham Baſſa, to euery one of theſe he gaue foure clothes. Now, before the great Baſſa, and Abraham Baſſa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a foole, who gaue a great ſhout three or foure times, crying very hollowly, the place rebounded with the ſound, and this man, ſay they, is a prophet of Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare wooden pattens of two ſorts, in his hand, a flagge, or ſtreamer ſet on a ſhort ſpeare painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his backe, and ſometimes vnder his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about his head a linnen rowle. Other ſeruingmen there were with the ſayd Baſſas, with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe ſomewhat ſmaller towardes the end, with ſcuffes or plates of mettall, like vnto the chape of an ancient arming ſword, ſtanding on their foreheads like other Ianiſaries. Theſe Baſſas entertained vs as followeth: Firſt, they brought vs into a hall, there to ſtand on one ſide, and our Ambaſſadour and gentlemen on the other ſide, who ſate them downe on a bench couered with carpets, the Ambaſſadour in the midſt; on his left hand ſate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the Turkes, next to the doore where their maſter goeth in and out: the common ſort of Turkes ſtayed in the Court yard, not ſuffered to come neere vs. When our Ambaſſadour had ſitten halfe an houre, the Baſſas (who ſate by themſelues in an inner ſmall roome) ſent for him; to whom the Ambaſſadour and his gentlemen went: they all kiſſed his hand, and preſently returned (the Ambaſſadour onely excepted, who ſtayed there, and a Turks chaus with him) with the Ambaſſadour and his gentlemen went in alſo ſo many of our men as there were preſents to cary in, but theſe neither kiſſed his hand nor taried. After this I went to viſit the church of Santa Sophia, which was the chiefe church when it was the Chriſtians, and now is the chiefe ſee and church of primacie of this Turke preſent: before I entred I was willed to put off my ſhoes, to the end I ſhould not prophane their church, I being a Chriſtian. The pillers on both ſides of the church are very coſtly and rich, their Pulpets ſeemely and handſome, two are common to preach in, the third reſerued onely for their Paſchall. The ground is couered with Mats, and the walles hanged with Tapiſtry. They haue alſo Lamps in their churches, one in the middle of the church of exceeding greatneſſe, and another in another part of the church of cleane golde, or double gilded, full as bigge as a barrel. Round about the church there is a gallery builded vpon rich and ſtately pillers. That day I was in both the chappels, in one of the which lieth the Turkes father, and fiue of his ſonnes in tombes right coſtly, with their turbents very white and cleane, ſhifted (as they ſay) euery Friday, they be not on their heads, but ſtand on mouldes made for that purpoſe. At the endes, ouer, and about their tombes are belts, like girdles, beſet with iewels. In the other chappell are foure other of his ſonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the firſt chappell is a thing foure foot high, couered with greene, beſet with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and ſtandeth on the left ſide of the head of the great Turks tombe. Theſe chappels haue their floores couered, and their walles hanged with Tapiſtrie of great price, I could value the couering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no leſſe then fiue hundred poundes, beſides their lamps hanging richly gilded. Theſe chappels haue their roofes curiouſly wrought with rich ſtone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for euery man to reade. The 11 day of April the ſhippe came to the Key of the Cuſtome houſe. The 16 the Ambaſſadour and we his men went to the Captaine Baſſa, who is Admirall of the ſeas, his name is Vchali, he would not receiue vs into his houſe, but into his gallie, to deliuer our preſent, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two ſiluer pots gilt & grauen. The poope or ſterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and vnder his feet, and where he ſate was all couered with very rich Tapiſtry. Our Ambaſſadour and his gentlemen kiſſed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambaſſadour ſate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus ſtood before him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, ſome of vs taried, and ſome went out againe. The gally had ſeuen pieces of braſſe in her prowe, ſmall and great; ſhe had thirty bankes or oares on either ſide, and at euery banke or oare ſeuen men to rowe. The 18 day the ſhippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leaue of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with ſixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with

The arriuall of the Suſan at Conſtantinople.

The Ambaſſadour giueth a preſent to the great Baſſa.

A man halfe naked goeth before yͤ great Baſſa.

The Ambaſſadours entertainment with the Baſſas.

Santa Sophia.

A diſcription of their church

The ſhip commeth to the cuſtome houſe.

The Ambaſſador preſenteth the Admirall Vchali.

The Suſan goeth from the Cuſtome houſe.

The Admirall departeth to the ſea.

The Ambaſſadours repaire to the great Turks court.

gilding and painting, and beſet with flags and ſtreamers, all the which gallies diſcharged their ordinance: and we for his farewell gaue him one and twenty pieces. Then he went to his houſe with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Caſtle that ſtandeth in the water gaue him fouretrene or ſixteene pieces: and when he came againſt the Turks Seraglio he ſhot off all his caliuers and his great pieces, and ſo hee went his way. The 24 our Ambaſſadour went to the Court, whoſe entertainement with the order thereof followeth. When wee came firſt on land there was way made for vs by two or three Baſſaes and diuers chauſes on horſebacke with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambaſſadour to the Court. Alſo they brought horſes for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furniſhed: and by the way there met with vs other chauſes to accompany vs to the Court. When we came there wee paſſed thorow two gates, at the ſecond gate there ſtood very many men with horſes attending on their maſters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compaſſe twiſe ſo bigge as Pauls Church yard. On the right hand of the ſayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railes and ſuch other prouiſion. On the left ſide was the like, halfe the Court ouer: it was diuided into two parts, the innermoſt fairer then the other. The other part of that ſide is the place where the Councell doe vſually ſit, and at the inner end of that is a faire place to ſit in, much like vnto that place in Pauls Church-yard, where the Maior and his brethren vſe to ſit, thither was our Ambaſſadour brought, and ſet in that place. Within that ſayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. Aſſoone as wee came in, wee were placed in the innermoſt alley of the ſecond roome, on the left ſide of the Court, which was ſpread with carpets on the ground fourescore or fourescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie ſeuerall diſhes ſet thereon, that is to ſay, Mutton boiled and roſted, Rice diuerſly dreſſed, Fritters of the fineſt faſhion, and diſhes daintily dight with pritty pappe, with infinite others, I know not how to expreſſe them. We had alſo roſted Hennes with ſundry ſorts of fowles to me vnknowen. The gentlemen and we ſate downe on the ground, for it is their maner ſo to feede. There were alſo Greekes and others ſet to furniſh out the roome. Our drinke was made with Roſe water and Sugar and ſpices brewed together. Thoſe that did ſerue vs with it had a great bagge tied ouer their ſhowlders, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the ſayd bagge vnder his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a deuiſe to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambaſſadour when hee had eaten, paſſed by vs, with the chauſes aforeſayd, and ſate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he ſate was againſt the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, ſomewhat on the left ſide of the Court, this was at the Eaſt end of the Court, for we came in at the Weſt. All this time our preſents ſtood by vs vntill we had dined, and diner once ended, this was their order of taking vp the diſhes. Certaine were called in, like thoſe of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turks call them Moglans. Theſe came in like rude and rauening Maſtifs, without order or faſhion, and made cleane riddance: for he whoſe hungry eye one diſh could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus euen on the ſudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chauſes and brought our gentlemen to ſit with the Ambaſſadour. Immediatly came officers & appointed Janiſers to beare frō vs our preſents, who caried them on the right ſide of the Court, and ſet them hard by the doore of the Priuy chamber, as we call it: there all things ſtoode for the ſpace of an houre. Thus the Ambaſſadour and his gentlemen ſate ſtill, and to the Southward of them was a doore whereas the great Turke himſelfe went in and out at, and on the South ſide of that doore ſate on a bench all his chiefe lordes and gentlemen, and on the North ſide of the Weſt gate ſtood his gard, in number as I geſſe them a thouſand men. Theſe men haue on their heads round cappes of mettall like ſculles, but ſharpe in the toppe, in this they haue a bunch of Oſtridge feathers, as bigge as a bruſh, with the corner or edge forward: at the lower end of theſe feathers was there a ſmaller feather, like thoſe that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard had ſmal ſtaues, & moſt of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes. Here they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After the Ambaſſadour with his gentlemen had ſitten an houre and more, there came three or foure chauſes, and brought them into the great Turkes preſence. At the Priuy chamber doore two noble men tooke the Ambaſſadour by ech arme one, and put their fingers within his ſleeues, and ſo brought him to the great Turke where he ſumptuouſly ſate alone. He kiſſed his hand and ſtood by vntill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by one, and ledde backewards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might neither tarry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the Ambaſſadour. The ſalutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, moſt of the Noble men that ſate on the South ſide of the Priuy chamber ſate likewiſe on cloth of golde. Many

The entertainment at dinner of the Ambaſſadours men.

The Turke is preſented with a rich preſent.

officers or Ianiſaries there were with ſtaues, who kept very good order, for no Turke whatſoeuer might goe any further then they willed him. At our Ambaſſadours entring they followed that bare his preſents, to ſay, twelue fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one caſe of candleſticks, the caſe whereof was very large, and three foot high and more, two very great cannes or pots, and one leſſer, one baſin and ewer, two poppiniayes of ſiluer, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire maſtifs in coats of redde cloth, three ſpaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of ſilke: one clocke valued at fiue hundred pounds ſterling: ouer it was a forreſt with trees of ſiluer, among the which were deere chaſed with dogs, and men on horſebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke ſtood a caſtle, and on the caſtle a mill. All theſe were of ſiluer. And the clocke was round beſet with iewels. All the time that we ſtayed at the Councell chamber doore they were telling or weighing of money to ſend into Perſia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in euery bagge, as it was tolde vs, one thouſand ducats, which amounteth to three hundred and thirty thouſand * , and in ſterling Engliſh money to foureſcore and nineteene thouſand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court made obeiſance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breaſts, and he in like order reſaluted them: he was in cloth of ſiluer, he went and came with two or three with him and no more. Then wee went out at the firſt gate, and there we were commanded to ſtay vntill the Captaine of the guard was paſſed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, ſome on horſebacke and ſome on foot, but the moſt part on foot carrying on their ſhoulders the money before mentioned, and ſo we paſſed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the moſt part a foole reſembling the firſt, but not naked as was the other at the Baſſas: but he turned him cōtinually, & cried Hough very hollowly. The third of May I ſaw the Turke go to the church: he had more then two hundred and fifty horſes before and behinde him, but moſt before him. There were many empty horſes that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himſelfe in white ſattin. There did ride behinde him ſixe or ſeuen youthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke as they ſayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried Hough very hollowly, as the aforeſayd fooles.

A letter of *Muſtapha Chaus* to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie.

Sereniſſima, prudentiſſima, & ſacra Regia Maieſtas, domina mihi ſemper clementiſſima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratiſſimámque commendationem. Generoſus & virtuoſus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus veſtræ ſacræ Maieſtatis venit ad portam excelſiſſimam potentiſſimi & inuictiſsimi, & ſemper Auguſtiſsimi Cæſaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus omnipotens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantáque humanitate aliorum confœderatorum legati accipiuntur, præfatus quoque legatus veſter tanta reuerentia, tantáque amplitudine acceptus & collocatus eſt in porta excelſiſsima. Et poſthac ſubditi & homines veſtræ ſacræ Maieſtatis ad ditiones omnes Cæſareas venire, & ſua negocia tractare, & ad ſuam patriam redire ſine impedimento, vt in literis excelſiſsimi, potentiſsimi, & inuictiſsimi, & ſemper Auguſtiſsimi Cæſaris ad veſtram ſacram Regiam Maieſtatem datis facile patet, tranquillè & pacificè poſſunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam & fidele ſtudium & nunc eodem confirmando nauaui, & in futurum quoque vſque in vltimum vitæ ſpiritum in negotijs potentiſsimi & inuictiſsimi Cæſaris, & veſtræ ſacræ Regiæ Maieſtatis egregiam nauabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum & vtilitatem vtriúſque Reipublicæ ſecundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Maieſtatem fœliciſsimè valere exopto. Datum Conſtantinopoli anno 1583, die octauo Maij.

A letter of the Engliſh Ambaſſadour to M. *Haruie Millers*, appointing him Conſull for the Engliſh nation in *Alexandria*, *Cairo*, and other places of *Egypt*.

HAuing to appoint our Conſull in Cayro, Alexandria, Egypt, and other parts adiacent, for the ſafe protection of body and goods of her Maieſties ſubiects; being well perſwaded of your ſufficient abilitie; in her Maieſties name I doe elect and make choiſe of you, good friend Haruie Millers, to execute the ſame worſhipfull office, as ſhall be required for her Maieſties better ſeruice, the commodity of her ſubiects, and my contentation: hauing and inioying for merit of your trauell in the premiſſes the like remuneration incident to the reſt of ours in ſuch office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other affaires ſet aſide) to repaire thither with expedition, and attend vpon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accompliſh. For the due execution whereof, we heerewith ſend you the Grand Signiors Patent of priuilege with ours, and what els is needfull therefore, in ſo ample maner, as any other Conſull whoſoeuer doeth or may enioy the ſame. In ayd whereof, according to my bounden duety to her Maieſty our moſt gracious Miſtreſſe, I will be ready alwayes to employ my ſelfe to the generall benefit of her Maieſties ſubiects, for your maintenance in all iuſt cauſes incident to the ſame. And thus eftſoones requiring and commanding you as aboueſayd, to performe my requeſt, I bid you moſt heartily well to fare, and deſire God to bleſſe you. From my manſion Rapamat nigh Pera this 25 of April 1583.

Commiſſion giuen by M. *VVilliam Hareborne* the Engliſh Ambaſſadour, to *Richard Forſter*, authoriſing him Conſul of the Engliſh nation in the parts of *Alepo, Damaſco, Aman, Tripolis, Ieruſalem*, &c.

I William Harborne, her Maieſties Ambaſſadour, Ligier with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Leuant doe in her Maieſties name confirme and appoint Richard Forſter Gentleman, my Deputie and Conſull in the parts of Alepo, Damaſco, Aman, Tripolis, Ieruſalem, and all other ports whatſoeuer in the prouinces of Syria, Paleſtina, and Iurie, to execute the office of Conſull ouer all our Nation her Maieſties ſubiects, of what eſtate or quality ſoeuer: giuing him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all ſuch her Maieſties ſubiects as to him ſhall be obedient, in all honeſt and iuſt cauſes whatſoeuer: and in like caſe no leſſe power to impriſon, puniſh, and correct any and all ſuch as he ſhall finde diſobedient to him in the like cauſes, euen in ſuch order as I my ſelfe might doe by vertue of her Maieſties Commiſſion giuen me the 26 of Nouember 1582, the copie whereof I haue annexed to this preſent vnder her Maieſties Seale deliuered me to that vſe. Straightly charging and commanding all her Maieſties ſubiects in thoſe parts, as they will auoid her Highneſſe diſpleaſure and their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and haue due reſpect vnto the ſame, aiding and aſſiſting him there with their perſons and goods in any cauſe requiſite to her Maieſties good ſeruice, and commoditie of her dominions. In witneſſe whereof I haue confirmed and ſealed theſe preſents at Rapamat my manſion houſe by Pera ouer againſt Conſtantinople, the 20 of Iune 1583.

A letter of directions of the Engliſh Ambaſſadour to M. *Richard Forſter*, appointed the firſt Engliſh Conſull at *Tripolis* in *Syria*.

Couſin Forſter, theſe few words are for your remembrance when it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to ſend you ſafe arriuall in Tripolis of Syria. When it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend you thither, you are to certifie our Nation at Tripolis of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may haue their houſe in a readineſſe, and alſo meet you perſonally at your entrance to accompany you, being your ſelfe apparelled in the beſt maner. The next, ſecond, or third day, after your comming, giue it out that you be crazed and not well diſpoſed, by meanes of your trauell at Sea, during which time, you and thoſe there are moſt wiſely to determine in what maner you are to preſent your ſelfe to the Beglerbi, Cadi, and other officers: who euery of them are to be preſented according to the order accuſtomed of others formerly in like office: which after the note of Iohn Blanke, late Vice-conſull of Tripolis for the French, deliuered you heerewith, is very much: and therefore, if thereof you can ſaue any thing, I pray you doe it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to giue you there alſo another Ianizarie according as the French hath; whoſe outward proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in ſuch ſort as you bee not his inferiour, according as thoſe of our Nation heeretofore with him reſident can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, you are wiſely to proceede conſidering both French and Venetian will haue an enuious eye on you: whome if they perceiue wiſe and well aduiſed, they will feare to offer you any iniurie. But if they ſhall perceiue any inſufficiencie in you, they will not omitte any occaſion to harme you. They are ſubtile, malicious, and diſſembling people, wherefore you muſt alwayes haue their doings for ſuſpected, and warily walke in all your actions : wherein if you call for Gods diuine aſſiſtance, as doth become euery faithfull good Chriſtian, the ſame ſhall in ſuch ſort direct you as he ſhall be glorified, your ſelfe preſerued, your doings bleſſed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrarywiſe you omit and forget, your enemies malice ſhalbe ſatiſfied with your confuſion, which God defend, and for his mercies ſake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come thither to traffike, you are not to ſuffer, but to impriſon the chiefe officers, and ſuffer the reſt not to traffike at any time, and together enter in ſuch bonds as you thinke meete, that both they ſhall not deale in the Grand Signiors dominions, and alſo not harme, during their voyage, any his ſubiects ſhippes, veſſels, or whatſoeuer other, but quietly depart out of the ſame country without any harme doing. And touching thoſe there for the company, you are to defend them according to your priuiledge & ſuch commandements as you haue had hence, in the beſt order you may. In all and euery your actions, at any hand, beware of raſhneſſe and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandiſe, you are not to deale otherwiſe then in ſecret and counſell. You are carefully to foreſee the charge of the houſe, that the ſame may be in all honeſt meaſure to the companies profit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the beſt hand, and in due time to prouide things needfull, to ſaue what may be : for he that buyeth euery thing when he needeth it, harmeth his owne houſe, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wiſdome to foreſee the buying of all things in their natiue ſoile, in due time, and at the firſt hand euery yeere, as you are to ſend the company the particular accounts of the ſame expenſes. Touching your ſelfe, you are to cauſe to be employed fifty or threeſcore ducats, videlicet, twenty in Sope, and the reſt in Spices, whereof the moſt part to be Pepper, whereof we ſpend very much. The Spices are to be prouided by our friend William Barrat, and the Sope buy you at your firſt arriuall, for that this ſhippe lading the ſame commodity will cauſe it to amount in price. From our manſion Rapamat, the fift of September 1583.

A letter to the right honourable *VVilliam Hareborne* her Maieſties Ambaſſadour with the *Grand Signior* from *Alger*.

Right honorable, we haue receiued your honors letters dated in Conſtantinople the 5 of Nouember, and accordingly deliuered that incloſed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command vs in her Maieſties name, that he would vouchſafe to giue order to all his Captaines & Raies that none of them ſhould meddle with our Engliſh ſhippes comming or going to or from theſe parts, for that they haue order not to paſſe by the Chriſtian coaſt, but vpon the coaſt of Barbary, and ſhewing him of the charter giuen by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like caſe that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendſhip and holy league betweene the Grand Signior and her Maieſty, he would giue vs fiue or ſix ſafeconducts for our ſhips, that meeting with any of his gallies or galliots, they might not meddle with them neither ſhoot at them: who made me anſwere he would neither giue me any ſafe conduct nor commiſſion to his men of war not to meddle with them, for that he truſted to take ſome of them this yere, and made good account thereof. In like maner I ſpake to the chiefe of the Ianiſers and the Leuents, who made me anſwere, the beſt hope they had this yere was to take ſome of them, and although they haue the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefore : for we will by policy, or one meanes or other prouoke them to ſhoot ſome ordinance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And ſome of them ſay further, we care not for their ſafeconduct, for if they ſhew it vs, we will conuey it away, we are ſure the dogs cannot be beleeued againſt vs. The premiſſes conſidered, your honor is with all ſpeed to procure the Grand Signior his fauorable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady, Captaines, Ianiſers, & Leuents, & another like to Romadan Baſſa, king of Tripolis, cōmanding them in no maner whatſoeuer to deale with our Engliſh ſhips bound into thoſe parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they ſhould ſhoot one at another : for when our ſhips ſhall meet them, for that, as your honor is aduertiſed, the gallies of Carthagena, Florence, Sicilia and Malta haue made a league to take all our ſhips comming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of theſe gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may ſhoot at them, which if therefore they ſhould make them prizes, were againſt Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reaſon and conſcience, conſidering that all the world doth know that Marchants ſhips laden with marchandiſe do not ſeeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwiſe to defend themſelues from them, when they would do them harme. Wherefore if your honor do not get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforeſayd, & ſend them hither with all ſpeed by ſome one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or ſome other of the Grand Signiors ſeruants, it is impoſſible that our Engliſh ſhips can eſcape freely from theſe or the Chriſtians: for either they muſt of force go on the Chriſtian coaſt, and ſo fall into their hands, or els on this coaſt, and fall into the kings of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands, which if they ſhould, will neuer be recouered. And if your honor cannot obtaine this thing, I beſeech your honor in the behalfe of all the Engliſh marchants (who ſent me hither to follow ſuch order as your honor ſhould giue me) to certifie her Maieſty, to the end that they may be commanded to leaue off traffique, and not to loſe their goods, and her poore ſubiects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leaue, I deſiſt from troubling your honor: From Algier the tenth of February 1583.

A letter of M. *Harborne* to *Muſtapha*, challenging him for his diſhoneſt dealing in tranſlating of three of the *Grand Signior* his commandements.

DOmine Muſtapha, neſcimus quid ſibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem vtilem conceſſa perperàm reddas, quæ male ſcripta, plus damni, quàm vtilitatis adferant: quemadmodum conſtat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus ſummum aut principale deeſt aut aufertur. In poſterum noli ita nobiſcum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in noſtrum & tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum ſpem Turcicè ſcriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita prouidere debes, vt non eueniant huiuſmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut ſcriptum aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum conuertatur in Latinum ſermonem, ne damnum inſequatur. Noſti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus noſtris inuidentes, quorum malitiæ veſtræ eſt prudentiæ aduerſari. Hi noſtri, Secretarius & minimus interpres ex noſtra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Vt deinceps ſimiles errores non eueniant precamur. Iſta emendes, & cætera Sereniſſimæ regiæ Maieſtatis negocia, vti decet veſtræ conditionis hominem, meliùs cures. Nam vnicuique ſuo officio ſtrenuè eſt laborandum vt debito tramite omnia ſuccedant: quod ſpero te facturum. Bene vale.

The Paſport in Italian granted to *Thomas Shingleton* Engliſhman, by the king of *Algier*. 1583.

NOi Aſſan Baſha Vicere & lochotenente e capitan della iuriſditione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero ſaluo condutto a Thomas Shingleton *mercadante, che poſſi con ſuo vaſſello e marinari de che natione ſe ſiano, e mercadantia di qual ſi voglia natione, andare & venire, e negotiare, e contrattare liberamente in queſta citta de Algier & altri lochi de la noſtra iuriſditione coſi di ponente comi di Leuante: & coſi anchora commandiamo al capitan di mare di Algier & d' altri lochi de noſtra iuriſditione, Rais de Vaſſelli & capitani de Leuante, & altri capitani di vaſſelli tanto groſſi como picholi, ſi commanda a qual ſi voglia, che trouando il ſopradetto* Thomas Shingleton *Ingleſe nelli mari di Genua, Francia, Napoli, Calabria, e Sardigna con ſuo vaſſello e mercantia, & homini de che nationi ſi ſiano, non gli debba moleſtare, ne piggliare, ne toccare coſa de neſſuna manera tanto di denare, como di qual ſi voglia altra robba, ſotto la pena e diſgratia di perdir la vita & la robba: Et per quanto hauete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor noſtro patrone* Soltan Murates Ottomano, *lo laſciarete andare per ſuo camino ſenza dargli neſſuno impedimento. Dato in Algieri in noſtro reggio Palazzo, ſigillato del noſtro reggio ſigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & ſcritto del noſtro reggio Secretario, il di 23 de Ienaro, 1583.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

WE Aſſan Baſſha Viceroy and lieutenant, and captaine of the iuriſdiction of Algier, giue and grant free ſafeconduct to Thomas Shingleton marchant, that with his ſhip and mariners, of what nation ſoeuer they be, & with his marchandize of what countrey ſoeuer, he may go and come, and trade & traffike freely in this city of Algier, and other places of our iuriſdiction, as well of the Weſt as of the Eaſt. And in like ſort we further command the captaine of the ſea of Algier, and other places of our iuriſdiction, the Reiz of veſſels & captaines of the Leuant, & other captaines of veſſels aſwell great as ſmall, whoſoeuer they be, we do command them, that finding the foreſayd Thomas Shingleton Engliſhman in the ſeas of Genua, France, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ſhip and merchandize, and men of what nation ſoeuer they be, that they moleſt thẽ not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, vnder paine and peril of looſing of their liues and goods: and as you make account of the fauour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, ſo ſee you let him paſſe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, ſigned with our princely Signet, and ſealed with our great ſeale, and written by our Secretarie of eſtate, the 23. of Ianuarie, 1583.

A letter written in Spaniſh by Sir *Edward Oſborne*, to the king of *Alger*, the 20. of Iuly, 1584. in the behalfe of certaine Engliſh captiues there detained.

Muy alto y poderoſo Rey,

Sea ſeruida voſtra alteza. Como la muy alta y potentiſſima mageſtad del Gran Señor tiene hecho articulos de priuilegios con la Sereniſſima Mageſtad de nueſtra Reyna d'Inglatierra, para los vaſſallos della poder libremente yr y boluer, y tratar por mar y tierra en los dominios de ſu potentiſſima Mageſtad, Como a la clara pareſce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el tractado al Señor Iuan Tipton nueſtro commiſſario, para le mueſtrar a voſtra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de ſu ciudad de Alger ha ſido hechado al fondo en la mar vn des nueſtros nauios que venia de Patras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que allá ſe compraron, y las mas de la gente del la matados y ahogados en la mar, y el reſto eſtan detenidos por eſclauos: coſa muy contraria a los dichos articulos y priuilegios. Que es occaſion, que por eſto ſupplicamos a voſtra Alteza muy humilmente, que, pues que la potentiſſima mageſtad del Gran Sennor es ſeruida nos fauoreſcer por los dichos articulos, tambien ſea ſeruida voſtra Alteza aſſiſtirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por voſtra autoridad ſu aiuda y fauor, ſegun que eſperamos, para que puedan eſtar libres, y boluer para aca aquellos pobres hombres anſi hechos eſclauos, como dicho es. Y anſi miſmo, que mande voſtra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maeſtres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nueſtro trafico con ſeys naos cada anno para Turquia a los dominios del gran Sennor a paz y a ſaluo, por no cōtrariar a los dichos nueſtros priuilegios, Lleuando cada vna de nueſtras dichas naos por ſe conoſcer vn ſaluo conductto de ſu alta & potentiſſima mageſtad. Y con eſta voſtra tan ſenallada merced y fauor que en eſſo reciberemos, quedaremos noſotros con grandiſſima obligation a voſtra Alteza de ſeruirla por ello, ſegun que el dicho Sennor Iuan Tipton, a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informera voſtra Alteza: Cuya ſereniſſima perſona y eſtado ſupplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente proſpere y accreſcente con toda felicitad y honra. De la ciudad de Londres a los veynte dias de Iulio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.

Al ſeruitio de vueſtra Alteza por y en nombre de todos
los tratantes en Turquia, Io el Mayor de Londres,
Edward Oſborne.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Right high and mightie king,
May it pleaſe your highneſſe to vnderſtand, that the moſt high and moſt mightie maieſtie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of priuileges with the moſt excellent maieſtie of our Queene of England, that her ſubiects may freely go and come, and traffike by ſea and land in the dominions of his moſt mighty maieſty, as appeareth more at large by yͤ ſaid articles, whereof we haue ſent the copy vnto M. Ioh. Tipton our Commiſſarie, to ſhew the ſame vnto your highnes. Againſt the tenor of which articles, one of our ſhips which came from Patras which is in Morea, laden with corants and other merchandizes which were bought in thoſe parts, was ſunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Alger, and the greateſt number of the men thereof were ſlain and drowned in the ſea, the reſidue being detained as ſlaues: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforeſaid articles and priuileges: which is the occaſiō that by theſe preſents we beſeech your highneſſe very humbly, that ſince it hath pleaſed the moſt mightie maieſtie of the Grand Signor to fauour vs with the ſayd priuileges, it would pleaſe your Highneſſe in like maner to aſſiſt vs in the ſame, graunting vs by your authoritie, your ayde and fauour, according as our hope is, that theſe poore men ſo detained in captiuitie, as is aforeſaid, may be ſet at libertie, & returne into their countrey. And likewiſe that your highneſſe would ſend to giue order to the captaines, maſters and people of your gallies, that from henceforth they would ſuffer vs to vſe our traffique with ſixe ſhips yerely into Turkie vnto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and ſafetie, that they do not

An Engliſh ſhip ſunke by two gallies of Alger.

withſtand thoſe our ſaid priuileges, euery one of our foreſaid ſhips carying with them a paſſeport of his moſt high and moſt mightie maieſtie to be knowen by. And for that your ſo ſingular fauour and curteſie which in ſo doing we ſhall receiue, we on our part with all bounden duetie vnto your highneſſe, will ſeeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the ſayd maſter Iohn Tipton (to whom wee referre our ſelues touching all other circumſtances) ſhall more at large enforme your highneſſe, whoſe moſt excellent perſon and eſtate, we pray and beſeech almightie God to proſper and increaſe with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of Iuly, 1584.

At the ſeruice of your highneſſe, for and in the name of
our whole company trading into Turkie, I Maior of
London, *Edward Oſburne.*

Notes concerning the trade of *Alger*.

The money of Alger.

THe money that is coined in Alger is a piece of gold called Aſiano, & Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Aſiano, but the Doubla is moſt vſed, for all things be ſold by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aſpers there.

The Aſper there is not ſo good by halfe & more, as that in Conſtantinople: for the Chekin of gold of the Turkes made at Conſtantinople is at Alger worth an 150. Aſpers, and at Conſtantinople it is but 66. Aſpers.

The piſtolet and roials of plate are moſt currant there.

The ſaid piſtolet goeth for 130. Aſpers there: & the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40. Aſpers, but oftentimes is ſold for more, as men need them to cary vp into Turkie.

Their Aſianos and Doublaes are pieces of courſe gold, worth here but 40. s. the ounce, ſo the ſame is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdom of Alger, neither the Aſpers, for that they be leſſe then others be, for they coine them in Alger.

The cuſtome.

The cuſtome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it ſelfe, or as it ſhall be rated.

There is another cuſtome to the Ermine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Iuſtice of the Chriſtians: the goods for this cuſtome are rated as they are for the kings cuſtome.

Hauing paid cuſtome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waights.

The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and ſpices, &c. which is here 120. li. ſubtil.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and ſuch groſſe wares, are ſold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: ſo it is 180. li. ſubtil of ours here.

The meaſure.

The meaſure of corne is by a meaſure called a Curtia, which is about 4. buſhels of our meaſure, and corne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yeere.

The ſureſt lodging for a Chriſtian.

The ſureſt lodging for a Chriſtian there is in a Iewes houſe: for if he haue any hurt, the Iew and his goods ſhall make it good, ſo the Iew taketh great care of the Chriſtian and his goods that lieth in his houſe, for feare of puniſhment.

An Engliſhman called Thomas Williams, which is M. Iohn Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the ſtreete called The Soca of the Iewes.

Notes concerning the trade in *Alexandria*.

* This is another officer.

ALexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the caſtles, preſently the Ermyn ſends aboord to haue one come and ſpeake with him, to know what goods are aboord: and then hee will ſet guards aboord the ſhip to ſee all the goods diſcharged. And then from the Ermin you goe to the * Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and ſo from thence to the Conſuls houſe where you lie. The Venetians haue a Conſul themſelues. But all other nations goe to the French nations Conſul, who will giue you a chamber for your ſelues apart, if you will ſo haue it.

Other ſmal cuſtoms you pay beſides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for Conſullage you pay two in the hundred.

The cuſtoms inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, & the cuſtome is paid in wares alſo that you buy: for the ſame wares in barter you pay alſo ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you ſell for mony, you pay no more cuſtome but the ten aforeſaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the cuſtome of the goods you lade for the ſayd mony, for more cuſtome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the cuſtome of the ſame. And if you ſell your wares for mony, and with the ſame money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the cuſtome thereof. And if you ſteale any cuſtome, if it be taken, you pay double cuſtome for that you ſteale.

The weight of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marſeils 109.li.of Marſeils waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 103.li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waight called Pois Gerrin, which is 150.li.of Marſeils waight, by which are ſold all things to eate: but ſpice is ſold by the former waight.

From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies iourney, but you muſt take a Janiſſarie with you: & to go vp thither by water it is 8. dayes iourney. Roials of Spaine are currant mony there, and are the beſt money you can cary. And 4. roials are worth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aſpers. Piſtolets and crownes of France and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are beſt.

Cairo three daies iourney from Alexandria by land.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a preſent to the Bye and Ermine ſome may paſſe.

All ſortes of ſpices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill diſpoſed. And after you be ſearched & haue leaue to paſſe, you muſt preſently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will ſearch you againe. And you muſt depart in the day, for in the night the caſtles will not ſuffer you to depart. The duetie to the Conſul is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Siluer is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the Carauans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the ſpices, and therfore the ſpices are brought moſt to Alexandria, where each Chriſtian nation remaineth at the Conſuls houſes. Yet oftentimes the chriſtians go vp to Cairo to buy drugs & other commodities there, as they ſee cauſe. And the commodities there vendible are all ſorts of kerſies, but the moſt part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is vſually ſold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for 14. ducats. You muſt take canuas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is alſo fine flaxe, and good ſtore of Buffe hides.

A letter of the Engliſh ambaſſador to M.*Edward Barton.*

MAſter Barton I ſend you 3. commandements in Turkiſh, with a copy thereof in Engliſh, to the ende our ſhips might not come in danger of breach of league, if they ſhould ſhoote at the gallies of thoſe of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in the Weſt: which after you haue ſhewed the Baſſas, receiue againe into your hands, and ſee them regiſtred, and then deliuer one of them to our friend M. Tipton, & the like you are to do with the priuilege which you cary with you, and ſee them iointly regiſtred in the Cadies booke, deliuering the copy of the ſaid priuilege ſealed by the Cadi, alſo to the ſayd our friend M. Tipton, taking a note of his hand for the receipt thereof, and for deliuerie at all times to vs or our aſſignes. And require them in her maieſties and the grand Signors name, that they will haue our ſhips paſſing too and fro vnder licence and ſafeconduct for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tripolis with Romadan, as I haue not receiued any aduiſe thereof, ſince your departure, ſo muſt I leaue you to God and my former directiõ. The ſhip patroniſed of Haſſan Rayes, which you wrote to be ours, prooued to be a Catalonian. As for ours, by report of that Haſſan and other Jewes in his ſhip, it was affirmed to be ſold to the Malteſes, which with the reſt you are to receiue there. And hauing ended theſe affaires and regiſtred our priuilege, and theſe three commandements, in Tripolis, Tunis, and Alger, I pray you make ſpeedy returne, and for that which may be recouered, make ouer the ſame either to Richard Rowed for Patraſſo in Morea, or otherwiſe hither to Iohn Bate in the ſureſt maner you may, if the regiſtring of that your priuilege and theſe commandements will not ſuffer you in perſon to returne with the ſame. From my Manſion Rapamat in Pera this 24. of June 1584.

The commaundement obtained of the *Grand Signior* by her Maieſties ambaſſador M.*Will.Hareborne*, for the quiet paſſing of her ſubiects to and frõ his dominions, ſent in *An.1584.* to the Viceroyes of *Algier*, *Tunis* & *Tripolis* in *Barbary.*

To our *Beglerbeg* of *Algier.*

WE certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable Will. Hareborne ambaſſador to the Queenes maieſtie of England hath ſignified vnto vs, that the ſhips of that countrey in their comming and returning to and from our Empire, on the one part of the Seas haue the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians and Malteſes, on the other part our countreis committed to your charge: which aboueſaid Chriſtians will not quietly ſuffer their egreſſe and regreſſe, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captiues,

tiues, and forfeit the ſhippes and goods, as the laſt yeere the Malteſes did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their deſtruction, whereupon they are conſtrained to ſtand to their defence at any ſuch time as they might meet with them. Wherefore conſidering by this means they muſt ſtand vpon their guard, when they ſhall ſee any gallie afarre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies and not knowing them, in their defence they do ſhoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not ſhoote any more, but require to paſſe peaceably on their voiage, which you would deny, ſaying, the peace is brokē becauſe you haue ſhot at vs, and ſo make prize of them contrary to our priuileges, and againſt reaſon: for the preuenting of which inconuenience the ſaid ambaſſador hath required this our commaundement. We therefore command thee, that vpon ſight hereof thou doe not permit any ſuch matter in any ſort whatſoeuer, but ſuffer the ſayd Engliſhmen to paſſe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement giuen, without any diſturbance or let by any means vpon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them afarre off, they taking them for enemies ſhould ſhoot at them, yet ſhall you not ſuffer them to hurt them therfore, but quietly to paſſe. Wherefore looke thou that they may haue right, according to our priuilege giuen them, & finding any that abſenteth himſelf, & wil not obey this our commandement, preſently certify vs to our porch, that we may giue order for his puniſhment, and with reuerence giue faithfull credite to this our commandement, which hauing read, thou ſhalt againe returne it vnto them that preſent it. From our palace in Conſtantinople, the 1. of Iune 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Wil. Hareborne her maieſties ambaſſ. with the grand Signior to M. *Tipton*, appointing him Conſul of the Engliſh in *Algier*, *Tunis*, & *Tripolis* of *Barbarie*.

MAſter Tipton, I haue receiued among others, yours of the 10. of Nouember 1584. by Soliman Sorda, certifying the receipt of mine of the 24. of Iune 1584. with the 3. commandements, which not being regiſtred, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the priuilege to be broken by our ſhips in ſhooting, & therfore be lawfully taken, you are deceiued, for of thoſe taken in thē, hath the grand Signior now deliuered vs free, Wil. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, & further promiſed the reſt in like caſe, whereſoeuer they be, & that hereafter no violence ſhalbe ſhewed, conſidering ours be merchāts ſhips which go peaceably in their voiage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew afar off whether they were friends or the Chriſtians gallies in league againſt vs, of whom they moſt doubted, who not ſuffring our ſhips to come into theſe parts, wil make prize of the goods & captiue the mē, ſo as they are not to let them come nigh them: & ſince ours haue not done contrary to the articles of the ſame priuilege, wherein is no order for Algier preſcribed vs, as both by the originall now ſent vs, & alſo by the copy now ſent you frō London you may perceiue, they according to right are as aboueſaid to be ſet free, and their goods reſtored, which if it be not there accompliſhed as the grand Signior hath now cōmanded & moſt faithfully promiſed, neither yet in caſe of their denial, thoſe offenders puniſhed here, and our iniuries redreſſed, we are to demand our Congie, & command our merchants her maieſties ſubiects, to end their traffike here, which in our countrey commodities is prooued & found by the grand Signior to be ſo beneficial to his countries as we are aſſured ſo well thereof, as alſo for the honor which his anceſtors neuer had of friēdſhip wͭ ſo mighty a prince as is her maieſty, he wil not but maintaine yͤ faith promiſed her, & the intercourſe in due force. And where you ſay yͭ the grand Signor his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, then of a mean mā, nor tooke no place, that is not material to vs, our letters are after another ſort much more effectuall. For our caſe & theirs be found far different, in yͭ they be not onely now out of fauour with him, but alſo the commodities which they bring hither, as ſuger, paper, bracelets, ropes of baſt almonds, &c. all which may be here wel ſpared, & we contrarily ſo wel eſteemed, as he neuer denied vs any thing ſince our comming demanded, which neither their ambaſſador, nor the Venetian could haue here, & therfore we reſt perſwaded, knowing the wiſdom of the Beglerbeg, who is aduiſed by his friēds from hence, of this our credite wͭ his maſter, he wil ſo reſpect his cōmandements, as to accōpliſh yͤ tenor therof according to our deſire. And where you ſay yͭ the Ianizers rule all there, I know right wel yͭ if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant muſt anſwer it. And therefore I am fully perſwaded if he doe what he may they dare not reſiſt him, for if they ſhould, thoſe rebels ſhould not be vnpuniſhed of yͤ grand Signior. And though they ſpeake their pleaſures amōg themſelues there, yet they be not ſo brutiſh, but they wel conſider that their maſter yͤ grand Signior may not be gainſaid or mocked of any. For vpon his word dependeth the life or death euē of the chiefeſt, as I haue ſeene ſince my comming hither. So whatſoeuer theſe Ianizaries ſay, they will be better aduiſed in their deedes then to withſtand their Viceroy, if he himſelfe wil vſe his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himſelfe here of their euill proceedings againſt the grand Signiors friends: for the feet may not rule the bodie, but contrarywiſe, the head, the feete, and all the reſt of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection or otherwiſe you omit as a faithfull true ſubiect to her maieſtie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant going herewith charge you, & in her maieſties name, to the vttermoſt to vſe your good and faithful endeuour, as becommeth a true ſubiect, & in all things that may concerne her maieſties good ſeruice, aſſiſting the Chaus with the reſt of our meſſengers in counſel, trauel, & what els ſhall be thought requiſite for your good diſcharge of your dutie. And to yͤ end you may boldly proceed herein as alſo for the good opinion ſir Edward Oſborne & the company haue of you, and I no leſſe perſwaded of your wiſedom, vpright dealing, & good experience in thoſe parts, do ſend you herewith the grand Signiors & our patents for exerciſing the office of Conſul there, in Tripolis & Tunis; by vertue of which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the office doeth chalenge in defence of our priuilege, to redreſſe all iniuries offred our nation. Which if you cannot get reformed there of yͤ Beglerbics vpon your complaint, I thereof aduertiſed, ſhal doe it here, and to the vttermoſt maintaine you in al rightful cauſes whatſoeuer, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your aduiſe, I wil and do giue our ſhips order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoiſe out their ſkiffe and go aboord to ſhew them their ſafeconduct, & to preſent the captain with a garment, & you there in ſuch like caſe are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing doubting but the Viceroy (whoſe friendſhip in her maieſties behalfe I deſire) will not onely performe the ſame your iuſt requeſt, & according to right, reſtore to libertie our mẽ ſince the priuilege taken, but alſo cauſe thoſe yͭ tooke & ſunke our ſhips to anſwere the value, which I haue ſet downe truly, and rather with the leaſt in the Inuentorie tranſlated into Turkiſh, whereof the incloſed is the copy in Engliſh, which I ſend to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this our Chaus Mahomet, with whom in all things you are to conferre of matters expedient, for the honor of her maieſties country, & the commoditie, and libertie of poore captiues, which if the Viceroy do wel conſider, according to his wiſedom, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he ſhal wel perceiue it not onely a great honour to his maſter as aforeſaid, to continue this amitie with her maieſtie, but chiefly to the whole eſtate of his kingdom exceeding profitable, which by this means ſhall be abundantly ſerued with the chiefeſt commodities they want, with many other things of more importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the Viceroies experienced wiſdom can wel conſider thereof, in ſuch ſort as he wil not deny to accõpliſh his maſters commandement, & our earneſt requeſt in ſo ſmal a matter as this we require, whereof I expect no refuſall: for thereby he ſhall increaſe his honor with the grand Signior, be in credite with her maieſtie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future ſuite againſt him may happen, and his gallies free of ſuch doubtful iſſue as doeth chance, fighting with our ſhips. Which, as it is well knowen to all the world, haue ſo great hearts as neuer cowardly to yeeld to their enemies. And that therefore in that reſpect (after the prouerbe, like eſteeme of their like) they are the more of ſuch a valiant prince as is their Viceroy and his couragious ſouldiers to be in all friendſhip cheriſhed and better eſteemed. If the captaine Baſſa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like maner haue procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Signiors will ſuffiſe. Thus commending your ſelfe and theſe proceedings to the almighty his merciful direction, I bid you moſt heartily wel to fare. From my manſion Rapamat nigh Pera, this 30. of March 1585.

The Inuentorie of our ſhips and goods ſunke and taken by the gallies of Alger.

Series vel regiſtrum valoris nauium, bonorum, & hominum per triremes Argerienſes *ereptorum, vna cum captiuorum hominum nominibus,* Beglerbego Argerienſi Haſſano.

1 SAlomon de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum ſale, onere trecentorum doliorum, valore Florenorum 5600.

2 Elizabetha de Garneſey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Florenorum 2000.

3 Maria Martin de London onere centum & triginta doliorum, rectore Thoma More cum triginta quinque hominibus, reuertens de Patraſſo cum mandato Cæſareo, valore Florenorum 1400.

4 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rectore Dauid Fillie de London, Patraſſum veniens cum mãdato Cæſareo: huius præcipuus valor erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gibben, qui adduxit etiam Sereniſſimæ Reginæ maieſtatis literas Cæſari & oratori. Valor reliquus in mercibus vna cum ſuperiori in talleris effecit Florenorum 21500.

5 Nicolaus de London, rectore Thoma Forſter, onerata cum vuis ſiccis, valore Florenorum 4800.

In tempore *Romadan Beglerbegi Argiræ* ſpoliatæ & ereptæ naues, merces, & homines.

1 IVdith de London, rectore Iacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.

2 Ieſus de London, rectore Andræa Dier, cum 21. hominibus. Valorem huius & 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Baſſa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barton, valore Florenorum 9000.

Nomina hominum mancipatorum & viuentium tunc temporis, quando **Cæſar illu-*ſtriſſimus, & dominus Orator*** Chauſeum Mahumetem ***miſerunt*** Algiram.

1	Ante fœdus initum in naue Peter de Briſtow.	John Winter. Robert Barton.
2	In naue Swallow de London.	Rich. Crawford. Anthony Eluers. Wil. Rainolds.
	Poſt fœdus initum in naue Britona.	James Yoong.
1	In naue Rabnet de Hampton.	Thomas Liſney.
2	In naue Salomon.	John Tracie. Wil. Griffith. Wil. Cocke.

1 In naue Elizabeth. John Woodward, Giles Naper, Leonard James, Oliuer Dallimore, and Richard Maunſell.

2 In naue Maria Martin. Thomas Moore, Wil. White, Wil. Palmer, Nich. Long, Peter March, Rich. Haſlewood, Wil. Dewly, Wil. Cowel, John Franke, Henry Parker, John Cauendiſh, Moiſes Robinſon, James Sotherich, Henry Howel, Nich. Smith, Henry Ragſter, Rich. Dauiſon, Rich. Palmer.

3 In naue Elizabeth Stokes. Dauid Fillie, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Dauis, John Quinte, Ambroſe Hariſon, John Peterſon, Triſtram Vois, Roger Kibbe.

4 In naue Nicholas, Thomas Forſter rector nauis & eius nautæ.

To *Aſſan Aga*, Eunuch & Treaſurer to *Haſſan Baſſa* king of *Alger*, which *Aſſan Aga* was the ſonne of *Fran. Rowlie* of *Briſtow* merchant, taken in the *Swalow*.

I Receiued your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my ſeruant very thankfully, aſwel for the feruent faith that by his report I heare you haue in our lord Ieſus Chriſt, by whoſe onely merits and bloodſhedding, you together with vs and all other good Chriſtians ſo truly beleeuing, ſhalbe ſaued, as alſo for your faithfull obedience like a true ſubiect to her Maieſtie, naturally louing your countrey & countreymen, declared in your fauourable furtherance of the ſaid Wil. Hamore, procuring their redemption. Of which your good & vertuous actions, as I reioice to vnderſtand, ſo wil I impart the ſame to your ſinguler cōmendation, both to our miſtreſſe her Maieſtie, & her moſt honorable counſellers the nobilitie of England, to whom aſſure your ſelfe the report ſhalbe very welcome. And now this ſecond time I am inforced by duetie to God & her maieſty, as alſo by the final regard your maſter had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine vnto him, though not ſo vehemently as I had occaſion by his moſt vnworthy anſwer. But I hope, & the rather by your means, he will not contrary this ſecond commandement, threatning him, not obſeruing the ſame, loſſe of office & life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous & careful induſtry procured, wil manifeſt to all the world, eſpecially to her maieſty, & me her ambaſſador, your true chriſtian mind & Engliſh heart, intentiuely bent to Gods honor, & the libertie of the poore men, for which I truſt you be ordained another Ioſeph, to folow his example in true pietie, in ſuch ſort that notwithſtāding your body be ſubiect to Turkiſh thraldom, yet your vertuous mind free frō thoſe vices, next vnder God addict to yͤ good ſeruice of your liege Lady & ſoueraigne princes, her moſt excellent maieſty, wil continually ſeeke by all good means to manifeſt yͤ ſame in this & the like faithful ſeruice to your ſinguler cōmendation, wherby both my ſelfe & others in that place hauing found you in all good offices faithfully affectionated, may in like caſe performe the like towards you, when & where you may haue occaſion to vſe me: which as I for my part do aſſuredly promiſe, & will no leſſe faithfully performe; ſo accordingly I expect herein, and hereafter the like of you, whom moſt heartily ſaluted I commend to the diuine tuition and holy direction. From my houſe Rapamat, this 28. of Iune 1586.

Your louing and good friend her Maieſties Ambaſſador
with the *Grand Signor*, *Will. Hareborne.*

A petition exhibited to the Viceroy for reformation of ſundry iniuries offered our nation in *Morea*, as alſo for ſundry demaundes needefull for the eſtabliſhing of the traffike in thoſe parts.

1 First that our people may be freed of ſuch wonted moleſtation, as the Ianiſers of Patraſſo haue alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be remoued and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 That where heretofore the kings commandements haue beene graunted to ours, that no perſon whatſoeuer ſhall forceably take from them any of their commodities, otherwiſe then paying them before the deliuerie thereof, for the ſame in readie money, at ſuch price as they themſelues will, and ſell ordinarily to others, as alſo that no officer whatſoeuer, of the kings or any other, ſhall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, otherwiſe then the needfull, at their owne will and pleaſure, that the ſaid commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renued with ſuch ſtraight charge for the execution of the ſame, as is requiſite for their due effect.

3 That whereas ſundry exactions and oppreſſions be offered ours by ſuch Byes, Sanjacbies, iuſtices and Cadies, Ianizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into thoſe parts, who finding there reſident no other nation but only ours, will vnder the name of preſents forceable take from them what they pleaſe: We do require to obuent theſe harmes, it may be ſpecified by a commandement from the king to which of ſuch his officers, preſents may be giuen, and their ſundry values, whereby both they and ours may reſt contented, ſeuerely prohibiting in the ſaid commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no other officers but thoſe onely ſpecified in that commaundement, doe forcibly require of them any thing whatſoeuer.

4 That the Nadir and Cuſtomer of the port, hauing permitted our ſhip to lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward cuſtome due to the king for the ſame goods. And being ſo laden, may by them and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be viſited, requiring for the viſiting no more then formerly they were accuſtomed to pay at their firſt comming. After which the ſaid ſhip to depart at the Conſuls pleaſure, without any moleſtation of them, or any other officer whatſoeuer.

5 That Mahomet Chaus, ſometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his ſubſtitute being with him may be ſeuerely puniſhed to the example of others, for often and vniuſtly moleſting our nation, contrarie to the kings commandement, which they diſdainefully contemned, as alſo that the ſaid Mahomet reſtore and pay vnto ours thirtie for 300 ſackes of currants nowe taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of Morea, to pay the king his cuſtome, and that from hence forth, neither the ſaid Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other officer or perſon whatſoeuer doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about ther affaires.

6 That whereas certaine Iewes of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities ſolde them, haue not hitherto ſatiſfied them, notwithſtanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recouery of the ſame debts, but fled and abſented themſelues out of the Towne at the comming of the ſame, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for non paiment, whatſoeuer may be foũd of theirs in goods, houſes, vineyards, or any other thing, may be ſold, and ours ſatiſfied of their ſaid debt, according to equitie and reaſon.

A commandement to *Patraſſo* in *Morea*.

When this commandement ſhall come vnto you, know you, that the Conſull of the Engliſh Nation in our port of Patraſſo, hath giuen vs to vnderſtand, that formerly we granted him a commandement that hauing paied once cuſtome for the currants bought to lade in their ſhips, they ſhall not pay it againe: according to which they bringing it to the port of Petraſſo, informing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another cuſtome of him, and requiring him to know why he ſo did contrary to our commandement, he anſwered vs, he tooke it not for cuſtome, but for a preſent. Moreouer the ſayd Conſull certified vs how that the ſaid Nadir contrary to to ancient cuſtome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currents, but will haue of the poore men money at his pleaſure, and therewith buyeth currents at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly ſell to vs at a much higher price, ſaying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this meanes doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Wherefore I command you by this my commandement, that

you looke to this matter betweene this Conſull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to right. And ſee that our comandement in this matter be obſerued in ſuch ſort, as they hauing once in the port paied full cuſtome, do not pay it againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way of preſent, for that therein it is moſt certaine he doth them iniurie contrary to the Canon. And if with you ſhall be found to the value of one Aſper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, ſee it preſently reſtored to them, without any default, And from henceforth ſee that he doe neither him nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according to our Canon, that the Conſull and his hereafter haue no occaſion any more to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering corants of the people after the old order and not otherwiſe, This know you for certaine, and giue credit to this my commaundement, which hauing read deliuer againe into the Conſuls handes. From Conſtantinople the yeere of Mahomet 993.

A commandement for *Chio.*

VObis, Beg & Cadi & Ermini, qui eſtis in Chio, ſignificamus: quòd ſereniſſimæ Reginea Maieſtatis Angliæ orator, qui eſt in excelſa porta per literas ſignificauit nobis, quod ex nauibus Anglicis vna nauis veniſſet ad portum Chio, & illinc Conſtantinopolim recto curſu voluiſſet venire, & contra priuilegium detinuiſtis, & non ſiuiſtis venire. Hęc prædictus orator ſignificauit nobis: & petiuit a nobis in hoc negocio hoc mandatum, vt naues Anglicæ veniant & redeant in noſtras ditiones Cæſareas, Priuilegium datum & conceſſum eſt ex parte Serenitatis Cæſareæ noſtræ: & huius priuilegij copia data eſt ſub inſigni noſtro: Et contra noſtrum priuilegium Cæſareum quod ita agitur, quæ eſt cauſa? Quando cum hoc mandato noſtro homines illorum ad vos venerint ex prædicta Anglia, ſi nauis venerit ad portum veſtrum, & ſi res & merces ex naue exemerint, & vendiderint, & triceſſimam ſecundam partem reddiderint, & res quæ manſerint Conſtantinopolim auferre velint, patiantur: Et ſi aliquis contra priuilegium & articulos eius aliquid ageret, non ſinatis, nec vos facite: & impediri non ſinatis eos, vt rectà Conſtantinopolim venientes in ſuis negotiationibus ſine moleſtia eſſe poſſint. Et quicunque contra hoc mandatum & priuilegium noſtrum aliquid fecerit, nobis ſignificate. Huic mandato noſtro & inſigni fidem adhibete. In principio menſis Decembris.

A commandement for *Baliabadram.*

SEreniſſimæ Reginæ Angliæ orator literis ſupplicatorijs in porta noſtra fulgida ſignificauit, quod Baliabadram venientes mercatores, naues & homines eorum, contra priuilegium impedirentur & moleſtarentur. Inter nos enim & Reginam cum fœdus ſit, vt mercatores, homines & naues eorum contra priuilegium impediantur aut moleſtentur, nullo vnquam pacto concedimus. Mandamus igitur, vt literæ noſtræ Cæſareæ, quàm primum tibi exhibitæ fuerint, has in perſona propria cures, ſecundum quod conuenit, videaſq; ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus venientibus mercatoribus, & alias ob cauſas venientibus hominibus, in ſumma Anglienſibus & nauibus eorum, & in nauibus exiſtentibus mercibus & rebus contra fœdus & priuilegium, iniuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur: ſed, vt conuenit, defendas, vt naues, mercatores, & homines, noſtri velut proprij ſubditi, liberi ab omni vi & iniuria permaneant, & negotijs ſuis incumbant. Et quod illius loci Ianiſſeri illos impedirent, ſignificatum eſt: vt illi illis nocumento ſint nullo modo concedimus. Iuxta tenorem mandati huius illos commouefacias, vt nihil quicquam contra fœdus faciant, ita vt nunquam huiuſmodi querela huc veniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expoſtulabimus. Negligentiam poſtponito, & inſigni Cęſareo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement for *Egypt.*

SCito, quod orator Reginæ Angliæ in porta mea exiſtens libellum ſupplicem ad portam noſtram mittens ſignificauit, quod cum ex Ægypto Conſul eorum abeſſet, Conſul illic Gallicus exiſtens, Vento nuncupatus, quamuis ante hæc tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret mandatum noſtrum fuerit datum, Angli ſub vexillo & tutela noſtra ſunt inquiens, mandatum Cæſareum vili exiſtimans, non ceſſauit perturbare Anglos. Quare ſcito quod Reginæ Angliæ priuilegium noſtrum eſt datum. Iuxta illud priuilegium Anglis nulla ratione Conſul Gallicus Conſulatum agat, neue manus immittat, mandatum noſtrum poſtulauit eius legatus. Quare mando, vt contra priuilegium noſtrum Conſul Gallicus Anglis iniuriam non inferat, neue Conſulatum agat. Iudici Ægypti literæ noſtræ ſunt datæ: hanc ob cauſam mando tibi quoque, vt iuxta illud mandatum noſtrum, contra priuilegium noſtrum Anglis Gallum Conſulatum agere nunquam patiare. Sic ſcito, & inſigni meo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement of the Grand *Signior* to the *Cadie* or Iudge of *Alexandria.*

THe Embaſſadour for the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie of England certified vs howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Conſul Vento ſealing vp his fondego and chamber, tooke vnder his ſeale al his goods and marchandiſe into his power, and required our commandement that all the goods might be reſtored againe according to iuſtice vnto the Engliſhmen: wherefore we commaund you that hauing receiued this our commandement, you aſſemble thoſe of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not paſſed fiue yeeres, if you haue not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, & if it be according to their Arz or certificate preſented vnto vs, that the foreſaid French Conſull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceaſed Engliſh marchant vnder his ſeale, that then you cauſe him to reſtore all the ſaid goods and marchandiſe ſealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting vnto the Engliſh marchants: doe in this matter according to iuſtice, and credite this our ſeale.

A commandement to the *Baſſa* of *Alexandria.*

THe Embaſſadour for the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty of England by ſupplication certified vs, how that notwithſtanding our priuilege granted them to make Conſuls in al parts of our dominions to gouerne their nation according to their owne cuſtome & law, to defend them againſt all wrongs and iniuries whatſoeuer; yet that the French Conſull affirming to thee that art Baſſa, that they were vnder his banner, and that he ſhould gouerne them, and ouerſee their buſineſſe, and hauing got a new priuilege, mentioning therein the Engliſh men to be vnder his banner, did by all meanes moleſt & trouble them, inſomuch that their Conſull oppreſſed with many iniuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didſt maintaine the French Conſul herein; whereupon the Embaſſadour required our commandement, that they might haue iuſtice for theſe iniuries: wherefore we command thee that hauing receiued this our commandement, you examine diligently that his priuilege, and ſend the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Conſull Vento hath by ſubtiltie got the aforeſaid priuilege written, that you then ſee him puniſhed, and ſuffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Conſuls to intermeddle with their buſineſſe. Obey this our commaundement, and giue credite to the ſeale.

A commaundement to the *Byes*, and *Cadies* of *Metelin* and *Rhodes*, and to all the *Cadies* and *Byes* in the way to *Conſtantinople.*

TO the Saniakbies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Saniacbies bordering on the ſea-coaſt, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other portes and coaſtes. This commaundement comming to you, know that the Embaſſadour of England required of vs our commaundement that their ſhips comming to Chio, & from thence to Conſtantinople, no man ſhould hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the ſea or on the land, or in the portes. I haue commaunded, that their ſhips comming to any of the ſaid places or ports with marchandiſe, if they themſelues will, they may ſell their commodities, & as much, and as litle as they will, and if it be in a place where cuſtome was not woont to be taken, hauing taken the cuſtome due by the olde Canon you ſuffer them not to bee iniuried, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietneſſe to Conſtantinople, and certifie vs of thoſe that be diſobedient to our commaundement, and giue credite to our ſeale. And hauing read this our commandement, giue it to them againe.

A commaundement for *Aleppo.*

WHen my letters ſhal come vnto you, know that the Queene of England her Embaſſador by ſupplication certified how that before this time we had giuen our cõmandement that the ſumme of 70 ducats, & other marchandize belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, ſaying he was a Venetian, ſhould be giuen to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was not a Venetian, my will was that they ſhould ſend all his goods and marchandize to our port into my treaſurie. But becauſe that man was an Engliſhman, the Embaſſadour required that the ſayde goods might not be diminiſhed, but that they might be reſtored to one of their Engliſhmen. This buſineſſe was ſignified vnto vs in the nine hundred ninety & fourth yere of Mahomet, and in the moneth of May the 10 day. This buſineſſe pertaineth to the Engliſhmen, who haue in their handes our priuilege, according to which priuilege being in their hands let this matter be done. Againſt this priuilege do nothing, aſke nothing of them, but reſtore to euery one his goods. And I command that when my cōmandement ſhall come vnto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambaſſadour certified, and that they haue the priuilege, peruſe the ſame, looke that nothing be committed againſt it and our league, and let none trouble them contrarie to it, reſtore them their goods according to iuſtice, and take heede diligently in this buſineſſe: if another ſtrange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Engliſhman, let not his goods periſh among you. Before this time one of our Chauſes called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was ſent with our commaundement to ſende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you ſhall be puniſhed. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Engliſhman in veritie, doe not looſe the goods of the ſaid dead marchant vnder the name of a Venetian or Engliſhman, doe not to the diſcommoditie of my treaſurie, for after it will be hard to recouer it.

The voyage made to *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, in the yeere 1583. with a ſhip called the *Ieſus*, wherein the aduentures and diſtreſſes of ſome Engliſhmen are truely reported, and other neceſſary circumſtances obſerued. Written by *Thomas Sanders*.

This voyage was ſet foorth by the right worſhipfull ſir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkiſh company, and one maſter Richard Staper, the ſhip being of the burden of one hundred tunnes, called the Ieſus, ſhe was builded at Farmne a riuer by Portſmouth. The owners were maſter Thomas Thomſon, Nicholas Carnaby, and Iohn Gilman. The maſter was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthonie Ierado a Frenchman, of the prouince of Marſeils: the purſer was one William Thomſon our owners ſonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs ſeruant vnto the ſaid maſter Staper. The owners were bound vnto the merchants by charter partie thereupon, in one thouſand markes, that the ſaid ſhip by Gods permiſſion ſhould goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to ſay, firſt from Portſmouth to Newhauen in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, otherwiſe called Saint Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the Eaſt part of Africa, and ſo to returne vnto London. But here ought euery man to note and conſider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth diſappoint. The ſaid maſter hauing ſome occaſion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purſer, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they were, was drowned, with the ſaid maſter, the purſer, and all the company: onely the ſaid Pilot by experience in ſwimming ſaued himſelfe: theſe were the beginnings of our ſorrowes. After which the ſaid maſters mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this miſfortune, and the vnwillingneſſe of the maſters mate, did ſend downe one Richard Deimond, and ſhipped him for maſter, who did chuſe for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and ſo the ſaid ſhip departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to ſay, about the 16 of October, in An. 1583. ſhe made ſaile from Portſmouth, and the 18 day then next following ſhe arriued at Newhauen, where our ſaide laſt maſter Deimond by a ſurfeit died. The factors then appointed the ſaid Andrew Dier, being then maſters mate, to be their maſter for that voiage, who did chuſe to be his Mates the two quarter maſters of the ſame ſhip, to wit, Peter Auſtine, and Shillabey, and for Purſer was ſhipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8 day of Nouember we made ſaile forthward, and by force of weather we were driuen backe againe into Porteſmouth, where we renued our victuals and other neceſſaries, and then the winde came faire. About the 29 day then next following we departed thence, and the firſt day of December by meanes of a contrarie winde, wee were driuen to Plimmouth. The 18 day then next following, we made foorthward againe, & by force of weather we were driuen to Falmouth, where we remained vntill the firſt day of Ianuary: at which time the winde comming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20 day of the ſaid moneth we arriued ſafely at S. Lucar. And about the 9 day of March next following, we made ſaile from thence, and about the 18 day of the ſame moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well intertained by the king of that countrey, and alſo of the commons. The commodities of that place are ſweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himſelfe before his commons) requeſted our ſaid factors to traffique with him, and promiſed them that if they

Man doth purpoſe, and God doth diſpoſe.

A new maſter choſen.

The new maſter died.

The Ieſus arriued in Tripolis.

would take his oiles at his owne price, they ſhould pay no maner of cuſtome, and they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterwarde perceiuing that they might haue farre better cheape notwithſtanding the cuſtome free, they deſired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleaſure of his commons, for that his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, inſomuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the king cuſtome free, and ſo laded the ſame aboord.

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenſon in a ſhip of Briſtow, who togother with our ſaid Factors tooke a houſe to themſelues there. Our French Factor Romane Sonnings deſired to buy a commodity in the market, and wanting money, deſired the ſaide Miles Dickenſon to lend him an hundred Chikinoes vntill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterward the ſame Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenſon in the ſtreete, and deliuered him money bound vp in a napkin: ſaying, maſter Dickenſon there is the money that I borowed of you; and ſo thanked him for the ſame: hee doubted nothing leſſe then falſhoode, which is ſeldome knowne among marchants, and ſpecially being together in one houſe, and is the more deteſtable betweene Chriſtians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The ſaid Dickenſon did not tell the money preſently, vntill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that euery Chikino is woorth ſeuen ſhillings of Engliſh money, he came to the ſayde Romane Sonnings and deliuered him his handkerchiefe, and aſked him howe many Chikinoes hee had deliuered him? Sonnings anſwered, an hundred: Dickenſon ſaid no: and ſo they proteſted and ſwore on both parts. But in the end the ſayd Romane Sonnings did ſweare deepely with deteſtable othes and curſes, and prayed God that hee might ſhewe his workes on him, that other might take enſample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and neuer come into England againe, if he did not deliuer vnto the ſayde Dickenſon an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blaſphemers, curſers and ſwearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it commeth to paſſe, that God ſheweth his miracles vpon ſuch monſtrous blaſphemers, to the enſample of others, as nowe hereafter you ſhall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

Another ſhip of Briſtow came to Tripolis.

There was a man in the ſaid towne a pledge, whoſe name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings ſome pleaſure there. The foreſaid Patrone Norado was indebted vnto a Turke of that towne, in the ſumme of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certain goods ſent by him into Chriſtendome in a ſhip of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himſelfe remained in Tripolis as pledge vntill his ſaid brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arriuall into Chriſtendome, he came among lewde companie, and loſt his brothers ſaid ſhip and goods at dice, and neuer returned vnto him againe.

The ſaid Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding now opportunitie, conſulted with the ſaid Sonnings for to ſwimme a ſeaboorde the Iſlands, and the ſhip being then out of danger, ſhould take him in (as after was confeſſed) and ſo to goe to Tolon in the prouince of Marſeilis with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

A conſpiracie practiſed by the French Factor, to deceiue a Turkiſh marchant of 450 crownes.

The ſhippe being readie the firſt day of May, and hauing her ſayles all aboorde, our ſayde Factors did take their leaue of the king, who very courteouſly bidde them farwell, and when they came aboorde, they commaunded the Maſter and the companie haſtily to get out the ſhip: the Maſter anſwered that it was vnpoſſible, for that the winde was contrary and ouerblowed. And he required vs vpon forfeiture of our bandes, that we ſhould doe our indeuour to get her foorth. Then went wee to warpe out the ſhippe, and preſently the king ſent a boate aboord of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the ſaide Sonnings to come a ſhoare: at whoſe comming, the king demaunded of him cuſtome for the oyles: Sonnings anſwered him that his highneſſe had promiſed to deliuer them cuſtome free. But notwithſtanding the king weighted not his ſaid promiſe, and as an infidell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a king, hee cauſed the ſayde Sonnings to pay the cuſtome to the vttermoſt penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haſte away, ſaying, that the Ianizaries would haue the oyle aſhoare againe.

Theſe Ianizaries are ſouldiers there vnder the great Turke, and their power is aboue the Kings. And ſo the ſaide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterſide, and called for a boate to come aboorde, and he brought with him the foreſaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquiſitiue to know what man that was, Sonnings anſwered, that he was his countreyman, a paſſenger: I pray God ſaid the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then ſaid Sonnings angerly, what haue you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwiſe then well, I muſt anſwere for all.

The beginning of their troubles, and occaſion of all their miſerie.

Nowe the Turke vnto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, miſſing him (ſuppoſed him to be aboorde of our ſhippe) preſently went vnto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboord of the Engliſh ſhip, whereupon the King preſently ſent a boat aboord of vs, with three men in her, commanding the ſaid Sonnings to come a ſhoare, and not ſpeaking any thing as touching the man, he ſaide that hee would come preſently in his owne boate, but aſſoone as they were gone, he willed vs to warpe foorth the ſhip, and ſaide that he would ſee the knaues hanged before he would goe a ſhoare. And when the king ſawe that he came not a ſhoare, but ſtill continued warping away the ſhippe, he ſtraight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next vnto vs, to ſhoote three ſhootes without ball. Then we came all to the ſaid Sonnings, and aſked of him what the matter was that we were ſhot at, he ſaid that it was the Ianizaries who would haue the oyle a ſhoare againe, and willed vs to make haſte away, and after that he had diſcharged three ſhots without ball, he commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indeuour to ſinke vs, but the Turkiſh gunners could not once ſtrike vs, wherefore the king ſent preſently to the Banio: (this Banio is the priſon wheras all the captiues lay at night) and promiſed if that there were any that could either ſinke vs, or elſe cauſe vs to come in againe, he ſhould haue a hundred crownes, and his libertie. With that came foorth a Spaniard called Sebaſtian, which had bene an old ſeruitour in Flanders, and he ſaid, that vpon the performance of that promiſe, hee would vndertake either to ſinke vs, or to cauſe vs to come in againe, and thereto he would gage his life, and at the firſt ſhotte he ſplit our rudders head in pieces, and the ſecond ſhotte he ſtrake vs vnder the water, and the third ſhotte he ſhotte vs through our foremaſt with a Coluering ſhot, and thus he hauing rent both our rudder and maſte, and ſhot vs vnder water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

This Sebaſtian for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor an hundred crownes, ſo promiſed by the ſaid king, but after his ſeruice done was committed againe to priſon, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or infidell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our merchants ſeeing no remedie, they together with fiue of our companie went a ſhoare, and then they ceaſed ſhooting: they ſhot vnto vs in the whole, nine and thirtie ſhootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a ſhoare, the King commaunded preſently that they with the reſt of our companie that were with them, ſhould be cheined foure & foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ſhip, there came preſently aboue an hundred Turks aboord of vs, and they ſearched vs, and ſtript our very clothes from our backes, & brake open our cheſts, and made a ſpoyle of all that we had: and the Chriſtian caitifes likewiſe that came a boord of vs made ſpoyle of our goods, and vſed vs as ill as the Turkes did. And our maſters mate hauing a Geneua Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who ſhewed me of it, and I hauing the language, went preſently to the kings treaſurer, and tolde him of it, ſaying, that ſith it was the will of God that we ſhould fall into their handes, yet that they ſhould grant vs to vſe our conſciences to our owne diſcretion, as they ſuffered the Spaniards and other nations to vſe theirs, and he graunted vs: then I told him that the maiſter gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treaſurer went preſently and commaunded him to deliuer vp the Bible againe, which he did: & within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I ſhewed the Treaſurer of it, and preſently he commaunded him to deliuer it againe: ſaying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Chriſtianitie againe? for he was a Renegado, which is one that firſt was a Chriſtian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and ſo he deliuered me the Bible the ſecond time. And then I hauing it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and ſpake theſe wordes, ſaying, thou dogge, I wil haue the booke in deſpight of thee, and tooke it from me, ſaying: If thou tell the kings treaſurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will be reuenged of thee. Notwithſtanding I went the third time vnto the kings Treaſurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, ſaying thus vnto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou ſhalt haue an hundred baſtonadoes. And foorthwith he deliuered me the booke, ſaying, he had not the value of a pin of the ſpoyle of the ſhip, which was the better for him, as hereafter you ſhall heare: for there was none, neither Chriſtian nor Turke that tooke the value of a peniworth of our goods from vs, but periſhed both bodie and goods within ſeuenteene moneths following, as hereafter ſhall plainely appeare.

Then came the Guardian Baſha, which is the keeper of the kings captiues, to fetch vs all a ſhoare, and then I remembring the miſerable eſtate of poore diſtreſſed captiues, in the time of their bondage to thoſe infidels, went to mine owne cheſt, and tooke out thereof a iarre of oyle, and filled a baſket full of white Ruſke to carie a ſhoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkiſh boyes had taken away almoſt all my bread, and the keeper ſaide, deliuer me the iarre of oyle, and when thou commeſt to the Banio thou ſhalt haue it againe, but I neuer had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Banio, and ſawe our Marchants and all the reſt of our company in chaines, and we all ready to receiue the ſame reward, what heart in the world is there ſo hard, but would haue pitied our cauſe, hearing or ſeeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt vs: all this happened the firſt of May, 1584.

The Engliſhmen araigned.

And the ſecond day of the ſame moneth, the King with all his counſell ſate in iudgement vpon vs. The firſt that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Maſters, and the King aſked them wherefore they came not a ſhoare when he ſent for them. And Romaine Sonnings anſwered, that though he were king on ſhoare, and might commaunde there, ſo was hee as touching thoſe that were vnder him: and therefore ſaid, if any offence be, the fault is wholy in my ſelfe, and in no other. Then foorthwith the king gaue iudgement, that the ſaide Romaine Sonnings ſhould be hanged ouer the Northeaſt bulwarke, from whence he conueyed the forenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Maſter Andrew Dier, and vſed fewe wordes to him, and ſo condemned him to be hanged ouer the walles of the Weſtermoſt bulwarke.

Then fell out other Factor (named Richard Skegs) vpon his knees before the king, and ſaid, I beſeech your highneſſe either to pardon our Maſter, or elſe ſuffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cauſe. And then the people of that countrey fauouring the ſaid Richard Skegs beſought the king to pardon them both. So then the king ſpake theſe wordes: Beholde, for thy ſake, I pardon the Maſter. Then preſently the Turkes ſhouted, and cried, ſaying: Away with the Maſter from the preſence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde vs what had happened, and we all reioyced at the good hap of maſter Skegs, that hee was ſaued, and our Maſter for his ſake.

But afterward our ioy was turned to double ſorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counſell had aduiſed him, that vnleſſe the Maſter died alſo, by the lawe they could not confiſcate the ſhip nor goods, neither captiue any of the men: whereupon the king ſent for our Maſter againe, and gaue him another iudgement after his pardon for one cauſe, which was that hee ſhould be hanged. Here all true Chriſtians may ſee what truſt a Chriſtian man may put in an infidels promiſe, who being a King, pardoned a man nowe, as you haue heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the ſame cauſe before a whole multitude: and alſo promiſed our Factors their oyles cuſtome free, and at their going away made them pay the vttermoſt penie for the cuſtome thereof.

Maſter Dier condemned to be hanged ouer a bulwarke.

And when that Romaine Sonnings ſaw no remedy but that he ſhould die, he proteſted to turne Turke, hoping thereby to haue ſaued his life. Then ſaide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, ſpeake the wordes that thereunto belong: and he did ſo. Then ſaide they vnto him, Now thou ſhalt die in the faith of a Turke, and ſo hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing, he then was condemned ſlaue perpetuall, except there were paiment made of the foreſaid ſumme of money.

A Frenchman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterward was hanged.

Then the king condemned all vs, who were in number ſixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you haue heard) and one died the firſt day wee came on ſhoare, by the viſitation of Almightie God: and the other three and twentie he condemned ſlaues perpetually vnto the great Turke, and the ſhip and goods were confiſcated to the vſe of the great Turke: and then we all fell downe vpon our knees, giuing God thankes for this ſorrowfull viſitation, and giuing our ſelues wholy to the Almightie power of God, vnto whom all ſecrets are knowen, that he of his goodneſſe would vouchſafe to looke vpon vs.

Here may all true Chriſtian hearts ſee the wonderfull workes of God ſhewed vpon ſuch infidels, blaſphemers, whoremaſters, and renegate Chriſtians, and ſo you ſhall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like vpon the vnfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the ſaid goods.

But firſt to ſhewe our miſerable bondage and ſlauerie, and vnto what ſmall pittance and allowance wee were tied, for euery fiue men had allowance but fiue aſpers of bread in a day, which is but two pence Engliſh: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boords, with a very ſimple cape to couer vs, wee were alſo forceably and moſt violently ſhauen, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and ſixe more of my fellowes, together with foureſcore Italians and Spaniards were ſent foorth in a Galeot to take a Greekiſh Carmoſell, which came into Africa to ſteale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis vnto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but wee were chained three and three to an oare, and wee rowed naked aboue the girdle, and the Boteſwaine of the Galley walked abaſt the maſte, and his Mate afore the maſte, and eche of them a bulls piſſell dried in their handes, and when their diueliſh choller roſe, they would ſtrike

Euery fiue men allowed but two pence of bread a day.

the Chriſtians for no cauſe: And they allowed vs but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of ſuſtenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place whereas wee ſaw the Carmoſell, we were not ſuffered to haue neither needle, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about vs, nor at any other time in the night, vpon paine of one hundred baſtonadoes: wee were then alſo cruelly manackled in ſuch ſort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote aſunder the one from the other, and euery night they ſearched our chaines three times, to ſee if they were faſt riueted: Wee continued fight with the Carmoſell three houres, and then wee tooke it, and loſt but two of our men in that fight, but there were ſlaine of the Greekes fiue, and foureteene were cruelly hurt, and they that were ſound, were preſently made ſlaues, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of ſlauerie. I was put to hewe ſtones, and other to cary ſtones, and ſome to draw the Cart with earth, and ſome to make morter, and ſome to draw ſtones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of ſlauerie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the huſbandmen of the countrey, rebelled againſt the king, becauſe he would haue conſtrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, ſo that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched foorth of the towne to haue ioyned battell againſt the Moores for their rebellion, and the King ſent with them foure pieces of Ordinance, which were drawen by the captiues twentie miles into the Countrey after them, and at the ſight thereof the Moores fled, and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Chriſtians more were ſent twelue miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the ſame day.

The Turkes builded a church.

The Chriſtians ſent 3. times a weeke 30. miles to fetch wood.

Nowe the king had 18. captiues, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne: and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and vpon the way as wee rode vpon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct vs the way: he ſayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide: and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other: and hee ſaid, Eaſt Northeaſt, and Weſt Southweſt. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding vpon my camel, I fell aſleepe, and the guide and all the reſt rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awooke, and finding my ſelfe alone durſt not call nor hallow, for feare leaſt the wilde Moores ſhould heare me, becauſe they holde this opinion, that in killing a Chriſtian they do God good ſeruice: and muſing with my ſelfe what were beſt for me to do, if I ſhould goe foorth, and the wilde Moores ſhould hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other ſide, if I ſhould returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or company, I ſhould be moſt miſerably vſed: therefore of two euils, rather I had to goe foorth to the looſing of my life, then to turne backe and truſt to their mercie, fearing to bee vſed as before I had ſeene others: for vnderſtanding by ſome of my company before, howe Tripolis and the ſaide wood did lie one off another, by the North ſtarre I went forth at aduenture, and as God would haue it, I came right to the place where they were, euen about an houre before day: there altogether wee reſted and gaue our camels prouender, and aſſoone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I ſeeing no wood there, but a ſticke here and a ſticke there, about the bigneſſe of a mans arme growing in the ſand, it cauſed mee to marueile how ſo many camels ſhould be loden in that place. The wood was Iuniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it vp by ſtrength of hands rootes and all, which a man might eaſily do, and ſo gathered it together, a little at one place and ſo at another, and laded our camels, and came home about ſeuen of the clocke that night folowing: becauſe I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

Eighteene captiues run away from Tripolis.

The iudgement of God vpon blaſphemers.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whoſe name was Benedetto Venetiano, and ſeuenteene captiues more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in ſight of an Iſland called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the ſhoare, & very faire weather, one of their company ſaid, In diſpetto de dio adeſſo venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to ſay: In the deſpite of God I ſhall now fetch the ſhoare, and preſently there aroſe a mighty ſtorme, with thunder and raine, and the wind at North, their boate being very ſmall, ſo that they were inforced to beare vp roome, and to ſheare right afore the winde ouer againſt the coaſt of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing vp and downe the coaſt, their victuals being ſpent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come aſhoare, thinking to haue ſtolne ſome ſheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily perceiuing their intent, gathered together a threeſcore horſemen, and hid themſelues behinde a ſandie hill, and when the Chriſtians were come all a ſhoare, and paſt vp halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and ſome of them purſued the Chriſtians, and ſo they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had before eſcaped: and preſently the king commaunded that the foreſaide Benedetto with one more of his company ſhould loſe their eares, and the reſt ſhould be moſt cruelly beaten, which was preſently done. This king had a ſonne which was a ruler in an Iſland called Gerbi, whereunto arriued an Engliſh ſhippe called the Greene Dragon, of the which was Maſter one M. Blonker, who hauing a very vnhappy boy in that ſhippe, and vnderſtanding that whoſoeuer would turne Turke ſhould be well enterteined of the kings ſonne, this boy did runne a ſhoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings ſonne came to Tripolis to viſite his father, and ſeeing our company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purſer, and Iames Smith: they were both yong men, therefore he was very deſirous to haue them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his deſire, ſaying: We are your fathers ſlaues, and as ſlaues wee will ſerue him. Then his father the king ſent for them, and aſked them if they would turne Turkes? And they ſaide: If it pleaſe your highneſſe, Chriſtians we were borne, and ſo we will remaine, and beſeeched the king that they might not bee inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his houſe a ſonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings ſonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was Iohn Nelſon: him the king cauſed to be brought to theſe yong men, and then ſaid vnto them: Wil not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as hee is? And they ſaide, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings ſonne went home to Gerbi againe, being ſixe ſcore miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foreſaid yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and Iames Smith: and after their departure from vs, they ſent vs a letter, ſignifying that there was no violence ſhewed vnto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently vſed, for that the kings ſonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? Then anſwered Richard Burges, a Chriſtian I am, and ſo I will remaine. Then the kings ſonne very angerly ſaid vnto him: By Mahomet thou ſhalt preſently be made Turke. Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turke, and they did ſo, and circumciſed him, and would haue had him ſpeake the wordes that thereunto belonged, but he anſwered them ſtoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet ſayd he, A Chriſtian I was borne, and ſo I will remaine, though you force me to doe otherwiſe.

The Greene Dragon.

The Kings ſonne had a captiue that was ſonne to one of the Queenes Maieſties guard, that was forced to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commaunded him to be made Turke perforce alſo: but he was very ſtrong, for it was ſo much as eight of the kings ſonnes men could doe to holde him, ſo in the ende they circumciſed him, and made him Turke. Now to paſſe ouer a litle, and ſo to ſhewe the maner of our deliuerance out of that miſerable captiuitie.

In May aforeſaid, ſhortly after our apprehenſion, I wrote a letter into England vnto my father dwelling in Eauiſtoke in Deuonſhire, ſignifying vnto him the whole eſtate of our calamities: and I wrote alſo to Conſtantinople to the Engliſh Embaſſadour, both which letters were faithfully deliuered. But when my father had receiued my letter, and vnderſtood the trueth of our miſhap, and the occaſion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honourable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in ſhort ſpace acquainted her highneſſe with the whole cauſe thereof, and her Maieſtie like a moſt mercifull princeſſe tendering her Subiects, preſently tooke order for our deliuerance. Whereupon the right worſhipful ſir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all ſpeed to the Engliſh Embaſſadour in Conſtantinople, to procure our deliuery: and he obteined the great Turkes Commiſſion, and ſent it foorthwith to Tripolis, by one Maſter Edward Barton, together with a Iuſtice of the great Turkes, and one ſouldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could ſpeake beſides Greeke, Turkiſh, Italian, Spaniſh and Engliſh. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well interteined. And the firſt night they did lie in a Captaines houſe in the towne: all our company that were in Tripolis came that night for ioy to Maſter Barton and the other Commiſſioners to ſee them. Then maſter Barton ſaid vnto vs, welcome my good countreymen, and louingly interteined vs, and at our departure from him, he gaue vs two ſhillings, and ſaid, Serue God, for to morrow I hope you ſhall be as free as euer you were; We all gaue him thankes and ſo departed.

The firſt motion for thoſe Engliſhmens deliuerie.

The next day in the morning very early, the King hauing intelligence of their comming, ſent word to the keeper, that none of the Engliſhmen (meaning our company) ſhould goe to worke. Then he ſent for Maſter Barton and the other Commiſſioners, and demaunded of the ſaide Maſter Barton his meſſage: the Iuſtice anſwered, that the great Turke his Soueraigne had ſent them vnto him ſignifying that he was informed that a certaine Engliſh ſhippe, called the Ieſus, was by him the ſaide king confiſcated, about twelue moneths ſince, and nowe my ſaide Soueraigne hath here ſent his eſpeciall commiſſion by vs vnto you, for the deliuerance of the ſaide ſhippe and goods, and alſo the free libertie and deliuerance of the Engliſhmen of the ſame ſhippe, whom you haue taken and kept in captiuitie. And further the ſame Iuſtice ſaide, I am authorized by my

ſaid

The Engliſhmen releaſed.

ſaid ſoueraigne the great Turke to ſee it done: And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commiſſion, preſently to make reſtitution of the premiſſes or the value thereof: and ſo did the Iuſtices deliuer vnto the King the great Turkes commiſſion to the effect aforeſaide, which commiſſion the king with all obedience receiued: and after the peruſing of the ſame, he foorthwith commanded all the Engliſh captiues to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to ſtrike off all our yrons, which done, the king ſaid, You Engliſhmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the ſame lawes therefore ſome of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captiues during your liues: notwithſtanding, ſeeing it hath pleaſed my ſoueraigne lord the great Turke to pardon your ſaid offences, and to giue you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make deliuery of you to this Engliſh Gentleman: ſo hee deliuered vs all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Maſter Barton, who required alſo thoſe two yong men which the Kings ſonne had taken with him. Then the king anſwered that it was againſt their lawe to deliuer them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ſhip and goods, the king ſaid, that he had ſolde her, but would make reſtitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came vnto his hands, and ſo the king aroſe and went to dinner, and commaunded a Iew to goe with Maſter Barton and the other commiſſioners, to ſhew them their lodging, which was a houſe prouided and appointed them by the ſaid king. And becauſe I had the Italian & Spaniſh tongues, by which their moſt trafique in that countrey is, Maſter Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and deliuered me money needfull for the ſame. Thus were wee ſet at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The plagues and puniſhments that happened to the King and his people.

The king loſt 150. Camels, taken by the wilde Moores.

Two Engliſhmen ſhipped to Conſtantinople with M. Barton.

The ſouldiers of Tripolis kil the King.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and puniſhments, which Almighty God at his will and pleaſure ſendeth vpon men in the ſight of the worlde, and likewiſe of the plagues that befell his children and others aforeſaide. Firſt when wee were made bondmen, being the ſecond day of May 1584. the king had 300. captiues, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the ſame day that wee were made bondſlaues: that preſent moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearſed: and on the fourth day of Iune next following the king loſt 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores: and on the 28. day of the ſaide moneth of Iune, one Geffrey Malteie, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and ſtole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Chriſtians withall, and caried with him twelue Chriſtians more which were the kings captiues. Afterward about the tenth day of Iuly next following, the king road foorth vpon the greateſt and faireſt mare that might be ſeene, as white as any ſwanne: hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his houſe, but on a ſudden the ſame mare fell downe vnder him ſtarke dead, and I with ſixe more were commaunded to burie her, ſkinne, ſhoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliuerie, Maſter Barton, with all the reſidue of his company, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a veſſell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arriuall at Zante wee remained fifteene dayes there aboorde our veſſell, before wee coulde haue Platego (that is, leaue to come a ſhoare) becauſe the plague was in that place, from whence wee came: and about three dayes after we came a ſhoare, thither came another Settea of Marſeils bound for Conſtantinople. Then did Maſter Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, ſhippe themſelues as paſſengers in the ſame Settea, and went to Conſtantinople. But the other nine of vs that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, ſhipt our ſelues in a ſhippe of the ſaid Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the ſouldiers of Tripolie killed the ſaid king. And then the Kings ſonne, according to the cuſtome there, went to Conſtantinople, to ſurrender vp all his fathers treaſure, goods, captiues, and concubines, vnto the great Turke, and tooke with him our ſaide Purſer Richard Burges, and Iames Smith, and alſo the other two Engliſhmen, which he the ſaid kings ſonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforeſayd. And they the ſaid Engliſhmen finding now ſome opportunitie, concluded with the Chriſtian captiues which were going with them vnto Conſtantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings ſonne, and all the Turkes which were aboorde of the Galley, and priuily the ſaide Engliſhmen conueyed vnto the ſaide Chriſtian captiues, weapons for that purpoſe. And when they came into the maine Sea, towarde Conſtantinople (vpon the faithfull promiſe of the ſayde Chriſtian captiues) theſe foure Engliſhmen lept ſuddenly into the Croſſia, that is, into the middeſt of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their ſwordes drawne, did fight againſt all the foreſaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the ſaide Chriſtian captiues, who falſly brake their promiſes, the ſaid Maſter Blonkets boy was killed, and the ſayde Iames Smith, and our Purſſer Richard Burges, and the other Engliſhman, were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arriuall in Conſtantinople: and as the Lordes will was, about two dayes after, paſſing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Iſland called Cephalonia, they met with two of the duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings ſonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they ſaued the Chriſtian captiues, and would haue killed the two Engliſhmen becauſe they were circumciſed, and become Turkes, had not the other Chriſtian captiues excuſed them, ſaying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings ſonne, and ſhewed the Venetians alſo, how they did enterpriſe at ſea to fight againſt all the Turks, and that their two fellowes were ſlaine in that fight. Then the Venetians ſaued them, and they, with all the reſidue of the ſaid captiues, had their libertie, which were in number 150. or thereabouts, and the ſaide Gallie, and all the Turkes treaſure was confiſcated to the vſe of the ſtate of Venice. And from thence our two Engliſhmen traueiled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one more of our company, which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight ſhipped themſelues at Zante, in a ſhippe of the ſaid Marcus Segorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arriued the Aſſenſion, and the George Bonauenture of London in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogoſtoria, whoſe Marchants agreed with the Marchants of our ſhippe, and ſo laded al the marchandiſe of our ſhippe into the ſaid ſhips of London, who tooke vs eight in as paſſengers, and ſo we came home, and within two moneths after our arriuall at London, our ſaid Purſer Richard Burges, and his fellow came home alſo: for the which we are bound to praiſe Almightie God, during our liues, and as duetie bindeth vs, to pray for the preſeruation of our moſt gracious Queene, for the great care her Maieſtie had ouer vs, her poore Subiects, in ſeeking and procuring of our deliuerance aforeſaide: and alſo for her honourable priuie Counſell, and I eſpeciall for the proſperitie and good eſtate of the houſe of the late deceaſed, the right honourable the Earle of Bedford, whoſe honour I muſt confeſſe, moſt diligently at the ſuite of my father now departed, traueiled herein: for the which I reſt continually bounden to him, whoſe ſoule I doubt not, but is already in the heauens in ioy, with the Almightie, vnto which place he vouchſafe to bring vs all, that for our ſinnes ſuffered moſt vile and ſhameful death vpon the Croſſe, there to liue perpetually world without ende, Amen.

Two Gallies of Venice tooke the king of Tripolie his galley, and killed the kings ſonne, and all the Turkes in it, and releaſed all the Chriſtians being in number 150.

The Queenes letters to the *Turke* 1584. for the reſtitution of the ſhippe called the *Ieſus*, and the *Engliſh* captiues detained in *Tripolie* in *Barbarie*, and for certaine other priſoners in *Argier*.

ELIZABETHA, Dei ter maximi & vnici cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Chriſtianæ contra omnes omnium inter Chriſtianos degentium, Chriſtíque nomen falſò profitentium idololatrias, inuictiſſima & potentiſsima defenſatrix: auguſtiſsimo, inuictiſsimóque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Muſulmanici regni dominatori potentiſsimo, imperijque Orientis Monarchæ, ſupra omnes ſoli & ſupremo ſalutem, & multos cum ſumma rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices & fortunatos annos.

Auguſtiſſime & potentiſſime Imperator, biennio iam peracto, ad Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem ſcripſimus, vt dilectus noſter famulus Guilielmus Harebornus, vir ornatiſsimus pro legato noſtro Conſtantinopoli, alijſque Muſulmanici imperij ditionibus, ſublimi veſtra authoritate reciperetur: ſimul etiam Angli ſubditi noſtri commercium & mercaturam, in omnibus illis prouincijs exerceant, non minus liberè, quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti, Germani, cæteríque veſtri confœderati, qui varias Orientis partes peragrant; operam nauantes, vt mutuis commercijs coniungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Quæ priuilegia, cum noſtris ſubditis Anglis inuictiſſima veſtra Maieſtas literis & diplomate ſuo liberaliſſimè indulſerit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noſter capere poteſt gratias, eo nomine ageremus: ſperantes fore, vt hæc inſtituta commerciorum ratio maximas vtilitates, & commoda vtrinque, tam in imperij veſtri ditiones, quàm regni noſtri prouincias ſecum adſerat.

Id vt planè fiat, cùm nuper ſubditi noſtri nonnulli Tripoli in Barbaria & Argellæ ab eius loci incolis volũtatem veſtram fortè neſcientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter diuexati, Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem beneuolè rogamus, vt per Legatum noſtrum eorum cauſam cognoſcas, & poſtremò earum prouinciarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, vt noſtri liberè in illis locis, ſine vi aut iniuria deinceps verſari, & negotia gerere poſſint.

Et nos omni opera viciſsim ſtudebimus ea omnia præſtare, quæ Imperatoriæ veſtræ Maieſtati vllo pacto grata fore intelligemus: quam Deus vnicus mundi conditor optimus maximus diutiſſimè incolumem & florentem ſeruet. Datæ in palatio noſtro Londini, quinto die Menſis Septembris: anno IESV CHRISTI Seruatoris noſtri, 1584. Regni verò noſtri viceſſimo ſexto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth, by the grace of the moſt high God, and onely maker of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and of the Chriſtian faith, againſt all the Idolaters and falſe profeſſors of the Name of CHRIST dwelling among the Chriſtians, moſt inuincible and puiſſant defender: to the moſt valiant and inuincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the moſt mightie ruler of the kingdome of Muſulman, and of the Eaſt Empire the onely and higheſt Monarch aboue all, health, and many happy and fortunate yeres, with great aboundance of the beſt things.

Moſt noble and puiſſant Emperour, about two yeeres nowe paſſed, wee wrote vnto your Imperiall Maieſtie, that our welbeloued ſeruant, William Hareborne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be receiued vnder your high authoritie, for our Ambaſſadour in Conſtantinople, and other places, vnder the obedience of your Empire of Muſulman: And alſo that the Engliſhmen, being our Subiects, might exerciſe entercourſe and marchandize in all thoſe Prouinces, no leſſe freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which trauelle through diuers of the Eaſt parts: endeuouring that by mutuall trafique, the Eaſt may be ioyned and knit to the Weſt.

Which priuileges, when as your moſt puiſſant Maieſtie, by your letters and vnder your diſpenſation moſt liberally and fauourably granted to our Subiects of England, wee could no leſſe doe, but in that reſpect giue you as great thankes, as our heart could conceiue, truſting that it wil come to paſſe, that this order of trafique, ſo well ordeined, will bring with it ſelfe moſt great profits and commodities to both ſides, as well to the parties ſubiect to your Empire, as to the Prouinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall maner, whereas ſome of our Subiects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of thoſe places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleaſure) euill intreated and grieuouſly vexed, wee doe friendly and louingly deſire your Imperiall Maieſtie, that you will vnderſtand their cauſes by our Ambaſſadour, and afterward giue commaundement to the Lieutenants and Preſidents of thoſe Prouinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or iniurie, traueile, and do their buſineſſe in thoſe places.

And we againe with all endeuour, ſhall ſtudie to performe all thoſe things, which we ſhall in any wiſe vnderſtand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Maieſtie, which God, the onely maker of the world, moſt beſt and moſt great, long keepe in health, and flouriſhing. Giuen in our pallaice at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of IESVS CHRIST our Sauiour, 1584. And of our raigne, the 26.

The *Turkes* letter to the King of *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, commanding the reſtitution of an *Engliſh* ſhip, called the *Ieſus*, with the men, and goods, ſent from *Conſtantinople*, by *Mahomet Beg*, a Iuſtice of the Great *Turkes*, and an Engliſh Gentleman, called Maſter *Edward Barton*. Anno 1584.

HOnourable, and worthy Baſſa Romadan Beglerbeg, moſt wiſe and prudent Iudge of the Weſt Tripolis, wee wiſh the ende of all thy enterpriſes happie, and proſperous. By theſe our highneſſe letters, wee certifie thee, that the right honourable, William Hareborne, Ambaſſadour in our moſt famous Porch, for the moſt excellent Queenes Maieſtie of England, in perſon, and by letters hath certified our highneſſe, that a certaine ſhippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thouſand duckets, ariuing in the port of Tripolis, and diſcharged of her lading and marchandize, paide our cuſtome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their ſhippe with oyle, which by conſtraint they were inforced to buy of you, & hauing anſwered in like maner the cuſtome for the ſame, determined to depart: a Frenchman aſſiſtant to the Marchant, vnknowen to the Engliſhmen, caried away with him another Frenchman, indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force cauſed the Engliſhmen, and ſhippe to depart: who neither ſuſpecting fraude, nor deceite, hoiſed ſailes. In the meane time, this man, whoſe debter the Frenchman had ſtollen away, went to the Baſſa with the ſupplication, by whoſe meanes, and force of the Caſtle, the Engliſhmen were conſtrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the euill, with the Maſter of the ſhip an Engliſhman,

liſhman, innocent of the crime were hanged, and ſixe and twentie Engliſhmen caſt into priſon, of whom through famine, thirſt, and ſtinke of the priſon, eleuen died, and the reſt like to die. Further, it was ſignified to our Maieſtie alſo, that the marchandiſe and other goods, with the ſhippe, were worth 7600. duckets: which things if they be ſo, this is our commandement, which was granted and giuen by our Maieſtie, that the Engliſh ſhippe, and all the marchandize, and whatſoeuer elſe taken away bee wholy reſtored, and that the Engliſhmen be let goe free, and ſuffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commaundement ſhall come vnto thee, wee ſtraightly commaund, that the foreſaid buſineſſe be diligently looked vnto, and diſcharged. And if it be ſo, that a Frenchman, and no Engliſhman hath done this craft, and wickedneſſe vnknowen to the Engliſhmen, and as authour of the wickedneſſe is puniſhed, and that the Engliſhmen committed nothing againſt the peace and league, or their articles: alſo if they payd cuſtome according to order, it is againſt law, cuſtome of Countreys, and their priuilege, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their ſhippe, marchandiſe, and all their goods taken, ſhould be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the Engliſh ſhippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be reſtored to the Engliſhmen: alſo that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this buſineſſe is diſpatched, certifie vs at our moſt famous porche.

Dated in the Citie of Conſtantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October; and in the yeere of IESVS 1584.

A letter of Maſter *VVilliam Hareborne*, the Engliſh Ambaſſadour, Ligier in *Conſtantinople*, to the *Baſſa Romadan*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, for the reſtoring of an Engliſh ſhippe called the Ieſus, with the goods, and men, detained as ſlaues, Anno 1585.

MOlto magnifico Signor,

Noi ha ſtato ſignificato per diuerſe lettere di quanto ha paſſato circa di vna naue noſtra chiamata Ieſu, ſopra il quale in aginto di Ricciardo Skegs, *vno de gli noſtri mercanti di eſſa gia morto, veniua vn certo Franceſe per ſopra cargo, chiamato Romano Sonings, il quale per non eſſer ben portato ſecondo che doueua, volendo importar ſeco vn altro Franceſe debitore a certi voſtri ſenſa pagarcene, per giuſticia era appiccato col patron Ingleſe* Andre Dier, *che come ſimplice credendo al detto Franceſe, ſenza auedercene de la ſua ria malitia, non retornaua, quando da voſtra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto triſto Franceſe approuiamo como coſa benfatta. Ma al contrario, doue lei ha confiſcato la detta naue e mercantia en eſſa, & fatto ſciaui li marinari, como coſa molto contraria a li priuilegij dal* Gran Signor *quattro anni paſſati conceſſi, & da noi confirmati di parte de la Sereniſſima Mageſta* d'Ingilterra *noſtra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto* Gran Signor, *il quale eſſendo dal ſopra detto a pieno informato, noi ha conceduto il ſuo regale mandamento di reſtitutione, la qual mandiamo a voſtra magnifica Signoria col preſente portator* Edoardo Barton, *noſtro Secretario, &* Mahumed Beg, *droguemano di ſua porta excelſa, con altre lettere del excellentiſſimo Vizir, & inuictiſſimo capitan di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del* Gran Signor, *quanto di ſua Sereniſſima Mageſta di V. S. M. che gli huomini, oglij, naue col fornimento, danari, & tutti altri beni qualconque, da lei, & per veſtro ordine da gli noſtri tolti ſiano reſi à queſto mio Secretario liberamente ſenza empacho alcuno, como il* Gran Signor *da ſua gratia noi ha conceduto, ſpecialmente per eſſer detti oglij comprati per ordine di ſua Sereniſſima Mageſtà, per prouiſione della Corte ſua. Il qual non facendo, proteſtiamo per queſta noſtra al incontra di eſſo tutti futuri danni che puono ſuccedere per queſta cagione, como authore di quelli, contrario à la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei, patroni noſtri, como per li priuilegij, che lei moſtrerà il noſtro, conſta: per obſeruatione de gli quali noi ſtiamo di fermo en queſta excelſa Porta. Et coſi reſponderete nel altro mondo al ſolo Iddio, & quà al* Gran Signor *queſto maſſimo peccato commeſſo da lei al incontra di tanti poueracchi, che per queſta crudeltà ſono in parte morti, in parte retenuti da eſſo en duro cattiuerio. Al contrario, piacendo lei euitar queſto incommodo & reſtarcene en gratia del Signor Iddio, & li noſtri patroni, amicheuolmente, (como conuien à par voſtro di moſtrarſi prudente gouernatore, & fidel ſeruitor al patrono) adimpirete queſta noſtra giuſtiſſima domanda, per poter reſultarui à grand honore & commodo per la tratta di marchantia, che faronno a laduenire li noſtri in quella voſtra prouincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riſcontrarete, ſiano, ſecondo che manda il* Grand Signor, *de voſtra Signoria magnifica amicheuolmente recolti & recenuti: Et noi non mancharemo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occurrenza voſtra, piacendo lei amicitia noſtra, como deſideramo. Il*

Edoardo Barton & Mahumed Beg.

Signor Iddio lei conceda (adimpiendo queſta noſtra giuſta rechieſta, per cauar noi di piu futura fatica in queſto negocio, & lei di diſgratia) ogni vera felicitá, & ſupremo honore. Data in palazzo noſtro che fu da Rapamat appreſſo Pera di 15. di Genero 1585.

Il Ambaſſiatore de la Majeſta Sereniſſima d'Ingilterra, amico de voſtra Signoria magnifica, piacendo lei.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Right honourable Lord, it hath bene ſignified vnto vs by diuers letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine ſhippe of ours, called the Ieſus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skegs, one of our Marchants in the ſame, nowe deceaſed, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman called Romaine Sonnings, which for his ill behauiour, according to his deſerts, ſeeking to cary away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditours, was hanged by ſentence of iuſtice, together with Andrew Dier, the Maſter of the ſaid ſhip, who ſimply and without fraude, giuing credite to the ſaid Frenchman, without any knowledge of his euil fact, did not returne when hee was commaunded, by your honourable Lordſhip. The death of the ſaid lewde Frenchman we approoue as a thing well done, but contrarywiſe, whereas your Lordſhip hath confiſcated the ſaid ſhip with the goods therein, and hath made ſlaues of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrary to the priuileges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres ſince, and confirmed by vs on the behalfe of the moſt excellent the Queenes Maieſtie of England our Myſtreſſe, and altogether contrary to the league of the ſaide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the aforeſaid cauſe, hath granted vnto vs his royall commandement of reſtitution, which we ſend vnto your honourable Lordſhip, by the preſent bearer Edward Barton our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Iuſtices of his ſtately Court, with other letters of the moſt excellent Admirall, and moſt valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honourable Lordſhip, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie my Myſtreſſe, that the men, oyles, ſhippe, furniture, money, and all other goods whatſoeuer, by your Lordſhip, and your order taken from our men, be reſtored vnto this my Secretary freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodneſſe hath graunted vnto vs, eſpecially in regard that the ſame oyles were bought by the commaundement of our Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, for the prouiſion of her Court. Which if you performe not, wee proteſt by theſe our leters againſt you, that you are the cauſe of all the inconueniences which may enſue vpon this occaſion, as the authour thereof, contrary to the holy league ſworne by both our Princes, as by the priuileges, which this our ſeruant will ſhewe you, may appeare. For the ſeeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this ſtately Court. And by this meanes you ſhall anſwere in another world vnto God alone, and in this world vnto the Grand Signior, for this hainous ſinne committed by you againſt ſo many poore ſoules, which by this your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in moſt miſerable captiuitie. Contrarywiſe, if it ſhall pleaſe you to auoyd this miſchiefe, and to remaine in the fauour of Almighty God, and of our Princes, you ſhall friendly fulfill this our iuſt demaund (as it behoueth you to ſhew your ſelfe a prudent Gouernour, and faithfull ſeruant vnto your Lord) and the ſame may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may vſe in that gouernment of yours: which generally, as well thoſe poore men, as all others, which you ſhall meete at the ſea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and receiued of your honourable Lordſhip, and we will not faile in the dueties of a ſpeciall friend, whenſoeuer you ſhal haue occaſion to vſe vs, as we deſire. Almighty God grant vnto your Lordſhip (in the fulfilling of this our iuſt requeſt, whereby wee may be deliuered from further trouble in this matter, and your ſelfe from further diſpleaſure) all true felicitie, and increaſe of honour.

Giuen in our Pallace from Rapamat in Pera, the 15. of Ianuarie 1585.

The voyage of Maſter *Henry Auſtell* by *Venice* and thence to *Raguſa* ouer land, and ſo to *Conſtantinople*: and from thence by *Moldauia, Polonia, Sileſia* and *Germanie* to *Hamburg, &c.*

The 9. of Iune we tooke ſhipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Iſle of Walcheren with very ſtormy weather, and that night went to Middleburch in the ſame Iſland.

The twelft we tooke ſhipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the ſame day went to Delft by boat, and ſo that night to the Hage.

The 17. we tooke ſhipping at Amſterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuyſen.

The 19. we tooke ſhipping and by the Zuyderſee we paſſed that day the Vlie, and ſo into the maine ſea; And the next day we entred into the riuer of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21.we came to anker in the ſame riuer before a towne of the biſhop of Breme called Staden,where they pay a certaine toll, and ſpecially for wine, and ſo that night wee landed at Hamburg,where we ſtayde three dayes.

Hamburg.

The 24.wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Pariſh Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntſon, and ſo ouer the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and trauailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Maſter Sanders vpon the heathes, and paſſed by a towne of the duke of Lunenborg called Geffherne, and from thence through many waters, wee lay that night within an Engliſh mile of Brunſwig.

Brunſwig.

The 27.we lay at Halberſtat,which is a great towne ſubiect to the biſhop of that towne.

Halberſtat.

The 28. we baited at Erinſleiben : and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey: and the ſame night we lay at a towne called Eiſleben, where Martine Luther was borne.

Eiſleben.

The 29.we paſſed by Mansfield,where there are many Copper mines: and ſo that night went to Neuburg vpon the riuer of Sala; and at that time there was a great faire.

Copper Mines.

The 30. we baited at a proper towne called Iena vpon the ſame riuer, and the ſame night wee lay at Cone vpon that riuer.

Iena.

The firſt of Iuly we baited at Salfeld : and the ſame day we entred firſt into the great woods of firre trees,and that night to Greuandal; The ſecond to dinner to Neuſtat.

Great woods of firre trees.

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee paſſed the riuer of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt,and that night to Forchaim.

Bamberg.

The 4.we came to Nurenberg,and there ſtayed two dayes. The 6. to bed to Blayfield.

Nurenberg.

The 7.we paſſed without Weiſſenburg to dinner at Monhaim,and that night we paſſed the riuer of Danubius at Tonewertd, and ſo to bed to Nurendof.

The 8.we came to Augſpurg,otherwiſe called Auguſta,vpon the riuer of Lech.

Augſpurg.

The 9. we lay at Landsberg vpon the ſaid riuer, in the duke of Bauars countrey.

The 10.to dinner at Suanego, and that night to Hamber againſt the mountaines, where the ſmall toyes be made.

The 11.to dinner to Parcberk,, & that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Auſtria his countrey.

The 12.to dinner at Inſpruck, & that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of braſſe with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13.we paſſed by Stizen,and dined at Priſena,and ſo that night to Cluſen,

The 14.to dinner at Bolſan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we paſſed the dangerous place,where ſo many murthers haue bene committed.

The 15.to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy,that night to Lenigo.

The borders of Italy.

The 16.to dinner at Grigno,where the laſt toll of the Emperour is: and ſo we came by Churſa,which is a ſtreight paſſage. And the keeper thereof is drawne vp by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

The 17.to dinner at caſtle Franco: by the way we ſtayed at Taruiſo,and there tooke coche,and that night came to Meſtre to bed.

The 18.in the morning we came to Venice, and there we ſtayed 15.dayes. In which time the duke of Venice called Nicolas de Ponte died, and we ſaw his burial. The Senators were continually ſhut vp together, as the maner is, to chuſe a newe duke, which was not yet choſen when we departed from thence.

Venice.

The 2.of Auguſt at night wee did embarke our ſelues vpon the Frigate of Cattaro, an hauen neere Raguſa. The 3.we came to a towne in Iſtria called Citta noua.

The 4.we came to Parenzo, and ſo that night to Forcera of the biſhop.

The 5.we paſſed by Rouigno: and a litle beyond we met with 3.Galies of the Venetians: we paſſed in the ſight of Pola; and the ſame day paſſed the gulfe that parteth Iſtria from Dalmatia.

The 6.of Auguſt we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a ſtrong towne of the Venetians; and ſo that night to Sebenico, which ſtandeth in a maruelous goodly hauen, with a ſtrong caſtle at the entrie thereof.

The 7.we came to Lezina,and went not on ſhoore,but traueiled all night.

The 8.we paſſed by a very wel ſeated town called Curzola, which ſtandeth in an iſland of that name. The 9.in the morning betimes we landed at Raguſa,and there ſtayed three daies,where we found many friendly gentlemen.

Raguſa.

The 11.being prouided of a Ianizarie we departed from Raguſa in the company of halfe a doſen Marchants of that towne: and within 6. miles we entred into the countrey of Seruia. So

Seruia.

trauelling in barren and craggie mountaines for the ſpace of foure dayes, wee came by a ſmall Towne of the Turkes called Chierniſa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants. Chierniſa.

Or,*Fochia. The 16. we dined in a Cauarſara in a Towne called Focea, being then greatly infected with the plague.

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taſlizea.

Nouibazar. The 20. we came to Nouibazar.

The 21. we parted frō thence, trauailing ſtil in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in yͤ fields.

Or, Niſſa. The 22. we paſſed within ſight of Nicea.

The 23. we paſſed in ſight of another towne called Circui: and about thoſe places wee began to leaue the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as euill inhabited as the other, or worſe.

Sophia. The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee ſtayed three dayes, being our Ianizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants houſe of Raguſa, that came in company with vs from Nouibazar; and alſo wee had in company, euer ſince wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with vs till we came very neere Conſtantinople.

Philippopoli. The firſt of September we came to Philippopoli, which ſeemeth to be an ancient towne, and ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Stanuch.

Andrinopolis. The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which ſtandeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cauarzaras, that were built by Mahomet Baſſha with ſo many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

Siliueri. The 8. we came to Siliueri, which by report was the laſt towne that remained Chriſtian.

Conſtantinople. The 9. of September wee arriued at the great and moſt ſtately Citie of Conſtantinople, which for the ſituation and proude ſeate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious hauens, and for the great and ſumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moſchea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then liuing, whoſe name was Amurat, kept his Court and reſidence, in a maruellous goodly place, with diuers gardens and houſes of pleaſure, which is at the leaſt two Engliſh miles in compaſſe, and the three parts thereof ioyne vpon the ſea: and on the Northeaſt part of the Citie on the other ſide of the water ouer againſt the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the moſt part of the Chriſtians do lye. And there alſo wee did lye. And on the North part of the ſaide Towne is the Arſenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southſide is all the Ordinance, artilerie, and houſes of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Raguſa to Conſtantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Boſnia, Bulgaria, and the riuer of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefeſt feaſtes.

Pompeys piller. The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there vpon a rocke we ſawe a piller of white Marble that was ſet vp by Pompeius: and from thence wee paſſed to the other ſide of the water, vpon the ſhore of Aſia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Conſtantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchiſea, that is to ſay, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of ſcattered buildings.

Prouaz. Varna. The 4. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes iourney diſtant from Varna vpon the Blacke Sea.

The 9. we came to Saxi vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The 10. we paſſed the ſaid riuer which in that place is about a mile ouer, and then we entred into the countrey of *Bogdania: they are Chriſtians but ſubiects to the Turke.

*Or, Moldania. Palſin vpon the riuer of Prut. The 12. we came to Palſin vpon the riuer Prut.

Yas. The 14. wee came to Yas the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayuoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his reſidence, of whom wee receiued great courteſie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he cauſed vs to be ſafe conducted through his ſaid Countrey, and conueyed without coſte.

The 17. we came to Stepanitze.

Sotſchen. The 19. we came to Zotſchen, which is the laſt towne of Bogdania vpon the riuer of Nieſter, that parteth the ſaid countrey from Podolia.

Nyeſter a riuer. Camyenetz. The 20. we paſſed the riuer of Nyeſter and came to Camyenetz in the countrey of Podolia, ſubiect to the king of Poland: this is one of the ſtrongeſt Townes by nature and ſituation that can be ſeene.

The 21. we came to Skala.

Skala.

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopolis which is in Ruſſia alba, and ſo is the moſt part of the countrey betwixt Camyenetz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well gouerned, full of trafique and plentifull: and there we ſtayed fiue dayes.

Leopolis, or Leunpurg.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna.

Grodecz. Vilna.

The 31. we dined at Moſtiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The firſt of Nouember in the morning before day wee paſſed without the Towne of Iaroſlaw, where they ſay is one of the greateſt faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horſes, and that night to Roſdnoska.

Iaroſlaw.

The ſecond to dinner at Lanczut, at night to Retsbou.

Lanczut.

The thirde to Sendxizow, at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska.

The fifth to Kuhena.

The 6. to Cracouia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his reſidence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracouia ſtandeth on the riuer of Viſtula.

Cracouia.

The 9. wee departed from Cracouia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkuſch, where the leade Mines are.

Leade Mines.

The 10. wee paſſed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are alſo leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, which is the laſt towne of Poland towards Sileſia; and there is a toll.

Bendzin.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Ruſſia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and diuers other Countreys adioyning vnto them, doe conſume no other ſalt but ſuch as is digged in Sorſtyn mountaine neere to Cracouia which is as hard as any ſtone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other ſalt. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the firſt Towne of Sileſia.

Salt digged out of mountaines in Poland. Bitom.

The 12. we paſſed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen vpon the riuer of Odera.

Oppelen.

The 13. we paſſed by Schurgaſſe, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigk: for wee coulde not bee ſuffered to come in by reaſon of the plague which was in thoſe partes in diuers Townes.

Schurgaſſe. Brigk.

The 14. wee paſſed by Olaw, and that night wee came to the Citie of Breſlaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well ſeated vpon the riuer of Odera.

Breſlaw.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. wee paſſed by Lignizt and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee paſſed by Naumburg through Gorlitz vpon the riuer of Neiſſ, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we paſſed by Baudzen and Cannitz, and that night to Renſperg.

The 20. we paſſed by Hayn, by Strelen, where we ſhould haue paſſed the riuer of Elbe, but the boate was not there, ſo that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we paſſed the ſaid riuer, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch; and at night to Bretſch.

The 22. wee paſſed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very ſtrong towne, with a good Vniuerſitie: and that day we paſſed by Coſwig.

The 23. wee paſſed through Zerbſt in the morning, and that night to Magdeburg, a very ſtrong Towne, and well gouerned as wee did heare. The moſt part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes iourney on this ſide Breſlawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon.

Magdeburg.

The 24. wee paſſed by a caſtle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerſtat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. wee lay at Soltwedel.

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenborg, that night we lay at Winſon.

Lunenburg.

The 28. we came to Hamborg, and there ſtayed one weeke.

Hamborg.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and paſſed the Elbe by boate being much froſen, and from the riuer went on foote to Boxtehoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence paſſed ouer land to Emden.

Thence hauing paſſed through Friſeland and Holland, the 25. being Chriſtmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leiceſter with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and ſouldiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there ſtayed eight dayes for paſſage.

The fifth of Ianuary we tooke ſhipping.

The 7. we landed at Graueſend, and ſo that night at London with the helpe of almightie God.

The Turkes paſſeport or ſafeconduct for Captaine *Auſtell*, and *Iacomo Manuchio.*

KNow thou which art Voyuoda of Bogdania, & Valachia, & other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly paſſe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embaſſador of England hauing two Engliſh gentlemen deſirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Auſtel, and the other Iacomo de Manuchio, requeſted our highneſſe letters of Safeconduct to paſſe through our dominions with one ſeruant to attende on them. Wherefore wee ſtraightly charge you and all other our ſeruants by whom they ſhall paſſe, that hauing receiued this our commandement, you haue diligent care and regard that they may haue prouided for them in this their iourney (for their money) all ſuch neceſſary prouiſion as ſhalbe neceſſary for themſelues and their horſes, in ſuch ſort as they may haue no cauſe hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come vnto any place, where they ſhal ſtand in feare either of their perſons or goods, that then you carefully cauſe them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all ſuſpected places, with ſufficient company; But haue great regard that they conuey not out of our countrey any of our ſeruiceable horſes. Obey our commandement, and giue credite to this our Seale.

A Paſſeport of the Earle of *Leiceſter* for *Thomas Forſter* gentleman trauailing to *Conſtantinople.*

RObertus Comes Leiceſtriæ, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterij & Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Sereniſſimæ Reginę Angliæ a Secretioribus conſilijs, & magiſter equorum, dux & capitaneus generalis exercitus eiuſdem Regiæ maieſtatis in Belgio, & gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, & prouinciarum vnitarum & aſſociatarum, omnibus ad quos præſentes literæ peruenerint, ſalutem. Cùm lator præſentium Thomas Forſter nobilis Anglus neceſſarijs de cauſis hinc Conſtantinopolim profecturus ſit, & inde ad nos quanta poteſt celeritate reuerſurus: petimus ab omnibus & ſingulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magiſtratibus, & alijs, mandent & permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum tranſitum per eorum ditiones & territoria ſine detentione aut impedimento iniuſto, & prouideri ſibi de neceſſarijs iuſtum precium reddenti, ac aliter conuenienter & humaniter tractari, vt occaſiones eius eundi & redeundi requirent: Sicut nos Maieſtates, Serenitates, Celſitudines, & dominationes veſtræ paratos inuenietis, vt veſtratibus in ſimilibus caſibus gratum ſimiliter faciamus.

Datum in caſtris noſtris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. ſtylo veteri.

A deſcription of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the *Mahumitans, Turkes* and *Moores* vnto *Mecca* in *Arabia.*

Of the Citie of *Alexandria.*

ALexandria the moſt ancient citie in Africa ſituated by the ſeaſide containeth ſeuen miles in circuite, and is enuironed with two walles one neere to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher then thoſe without, with a great ditch round about the ſame: yet is not this Citie very ſtrong by reaſon of the great antiquitie, being almoſt halfe deſtroyed and ruinated. The greatneſſe of this Citie is ſuch, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compaſſed with a double wall, it might be truely ſaid, that there were two Alexandrias one builded vpon another, becauſe vnder the foundations of the ſaide City are great habitations, and incredible huge pillers. True it is, that this part vnderneath remaineth at this day inhabitable, becauſe of the corrupt aire, as alſo for that by time, which conſumeth all things, it is greatly ruinated. It might well be ſayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterpriſes, ſo likewiſe in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himſelfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is ſubiect to an euill ayre, which onely proceedeth of that hollowneſſe vnderneath, out of the which iſſueth infinite moiſture: and that this is true the ayre without doth euidently teſtifie, which is more ſubtile and holeſome then that beneath. The waters hereof be ſalt, by reaſon that the ſoile of it ſelfe is likewiſe ſo. And therefore the inhabitants, at ſuch time as the riuer Nilus floweth, are accuſtomed to open a great ditch, the head whereof extendeth into the ſaid riuer, and from thence they conueigh the ſame within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and ſo conſequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth vnto the ceſternes of Alexandria, which being full ſerue the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Hiſtories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of ſuch height and thickneſſe, that it is ſuppoſed there is not the like in the whole world beſides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance ſaue a litle caſtle which is guarded with 60 Ianizaries. Alexandria hath three portes, one towardes Roſſetto, another to the land ward, & the third to the ſea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Iland called Gheſira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholy an Iland, becauſe a litle point or corner thereof toucheth the firme lande, and therefore may be called Peninſula, that is to ſay, almoſt an Iland. Hereupon are builded many houſes of the Iewes, in reſpect of the aire. This Peninſula is ſituate betweene two very good ports, one of them being much more ſafe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the veſſels of Barbarie, and the ſixe Gallies of the Grand Signior deputed for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath vpon the right hand at the mouth or enterance thereof a caſtle of ſmall importance, and guarded but with fifteene men or thereabouts. On the other ſide of this Iland is the other called The new port, which name is not vnfitly giuen vnto it, for that in all mens iudgement in times paſt there hath not beene water there, becauſe in the midſt of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are diſcouered and found great ſepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are dayly digged with engines Iaſpar and Porphyrie ſtones of great value, of the which great ſtore are ſent to Conſtantinople for the ornament of the Meſquitas or Turkiſh Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all ſuch veſſels as traffique to this place. This port hath on ech ſide a caſtle, whereof that vpon the Peninſula is called Faraone, vpon the toppe whereof euery night there is a light ſet in a great lanterne for direction of the ſhips, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Ianizaries: the other on the other ſide is but a litle caſtle kept by 18 men. It is certaine, that this hauen of Alexandria is one of the chiefeſt hauens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of euery Nation, and all ſorts of veſſels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by ſtrangers, marchants, and Chriſtians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are fiue Fontechi, that is to ſay, one of the Frenchmen, where the Conſul is reſident, & this is the faireſt and moſt commodious of all the reſt. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the Raguſeans, and the fourth to the Genoueſes. And all ſtrangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are vnder the French Conſull. It is alſo to be vnderſtood, that all the Chriſtians dwell within their Fontechi, and euery euening at the going downe of the ſunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and ſhut all the gates of the ſaide Fontechi outward, and the Chriſtians ſhut the ſame within: and ſo likewiſe they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabboth) till their deuotions be expired. And by this meanes all parties are ſecure and voide of feare: for in ſo doing the Chriſtians may ſleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whiles they ſleepe or pray, that the Chriſtians ſhould make any tumult, as in times paſt hath happened.

Fontecho ſignifieth an houſe of traffique, as the Stilyard.

Of the coaſt of *Alexandria.*

ON the ſide towardes Barbarie along the ſea-coaſt for a great ſpace there is found neither holo, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other ſide towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria ſtandeth a litle caſtle called Bichier kept by fiftie Turkes, which caſtle is very olde and weake, and hath a port which in times paſt was good, but at this preſent is vtterly decayed and full of ſand, ſo that the veſſels which come thither dare not come neere the ſhoare, but ride far off into the ſea. Fortie miles further is Roſſetto, which is a litle towne without walles, and is ſituate vpon the banke of Nilus three miles from the ſea, at which place many times they build ſhips and other veſſels, for gouernement whereof is appointed a Saniacbey, without any other

Bichier.

Roſſetto.

guard: it is a place of traffique, and the inhabitants are very rich, but naughtie varlets and traytours. Further downe along the ſea-ſide and the riuer banke is another litle caſtle like vnto the aboueſayde, and becauſe the Moores beleeue, that Mecca will in ſhort time be conquered by the Chriſtians, they holde opinion, that the ſame being loſt ſhall be renued in this place of Roſſetto, namely, that all their prayers, vowes, and pilgrimages ſhall be tranſported to Roſſetto, as the religious order of Saint Iohn of the Rhodes is tranſlated thence to Malta. Further forwarde thirtie miles ſtandes another caſtle of ſmall importance called Brulles, kept continually by fourtie Turkes, which hath a good and ſecure port, in forme like to a very great lake or ponde, wherein is taken great quantitie of fiſh, which they ſalt, and the marchants of Candie and Cyprus come thither to lade the ſame, and it is greatly eſteemed, eſpecially of the Candiots, who hauing great abundance of wine aduenture abroad to ſeeke meate fitte for the taſte of the ſayd wine. Diſtant from Brulles fiue and thirtie miles there is another caſtle like vnto the aboueſayd kept by an Aga with fourtie men or thereabout. More within the lande by the riuers ſide is Damiata an auncient citie enuironed with walles contayning fiue miles in circuit, and but of ſmall ſtrength. For the gouernement of this place is a Sanjaco with all his houſholde and no other companie. This citie is very large, delightfull, and pleaſant, abounding with gardens and faire fountaines. Other fortie miles further is Latma, a caſtle of very ſmall importance, and kept as other with fortie Turkes vnder an Aga. In this place is no port, but a roade very daungerous, and without other habitation. Paſſing this place we enter Iudea. But becauſe our intent is to reaſon ſimply of the voyage to Mecca, we will proceede no further this way, but returning to our firſt way, let it ſuffice to ſay, that from Alexandria to Cairo are two hundred miles, in which way I finde nothing worthie of memorie.

Of the mightie Citie of *Cairo*.

CAiro containeth in circuit eighteene miles, being ſo inhabited and repleniſhed with people, that almoſt it cannot receiue more; and therefore they haue begunne to builde newe houſes without the citie and about the walles. In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Chriſtians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Iewes, Indians, Medians, Perſians, Arabians, and other ſortes of people, which reſort thither by reaſon of the great traffique. This citie is gouerned by a Baſha, which miniſtreth iuſtice, together with the Cadie throughout the whole kingdome. Alſo there are two and twentie Saniackes, whoſe office is onely to ouerſee and guarde the kingdome for euery good reſpect. There are alſo ſeuen thouſand Turkes in pay, to wit, three thouſand Ianizaries, and foure thouſand horſemen: The reſt of the people in Cairo are for the moſt part marchants which goe and come, and the remnant are Moores and other baſe people. About two miles from Cairo there is another little Cairo called The olde Cairo, which containeth in circuit litle more then tenne miles, and the better halfe is not inhabited, but deſtroyed, whereof I neede not make any other mention. The new Cairo anſwereth euery yeere in tribute to the grand Signior, 600000 ducates of golde, neat and free of all charges growing on the ſame, which money is ſent to Conſtantinople, about the fine of September, by the way of Aleppo, alwayes by lande, vnder the cuſtodie of three hundred horſemen, and two hundred Ianizaries footmen. The citie of Cairo is adorned with many faire Meſquitas rich, great, and of goodly and gorgeous building, among which are fiue principall. The firſt is called Moraſtano, that is to ſay, The hoſpitall, which hath of rent fiue hundred ducats of golde euery day left vnto it by a king of Damaſco from auncient times; which king hauing conquered Cairo, for the ſpace of fiue dayes continually put the people thereof to the ſword, and in the end repenting him of ſo great manſlaughter, cauſed this cruelty to ceaſe, and to obtaine remiſſion for his ſinne committed, cauſed this hoſpitall to be built, enriching it as is aboueſaid. The ſecond famous monument of Cairo is called Neffiſa, of one Neffiſa buried there, who was a Dame of honour, and mooued by luſt, yeelded her body voluntarily without rewarde, to any that required the ſame, and ſayde ſhe beſtowed this almes for the loue of her Prophet Mahomet, and therefore at this day they adore her, reuerence her, and finally haue canonized her for a Saint, affirming that ſhee did many miracles. The third is called Zauia della Innachari, who was one of the foure Doctors in the law. The fourth is called Imamſciafij, where is buried Sciafij the ſecond Doctor of this law. Of the other two Doctors one is buried in Damaſco, the other in Aleppo. The fift & laſt famous monument is Giamalazar, that is, the houſe of Lazarus: and this is the generall Vniuerſity of the whole kingome of Egypt. In this place Anno 1566 in the 1566. moneth of Ianuary by miſfortune of fire were burned nine thouſand bookes of great value, as well for that they were written by hand, as alſo wrought ſo richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a piece, one with another. And becauſe it could neuer be knowen yet how this fire beganne, they haue and doe holde the ſame for a moſt ſiniſter augurie, and an euident and manifeſt ſigne of their vtter ruine. The houſes of Cairo without are very faire, & within the greater number richly adorned with hangings wrought with golde. Euery perſon which reſorteth to this place for traffiques ſake, is bound to pay halfe a duckat, except the gentlemen Venetians, Siotes, and Rhaguſeans, becauſe they are tributarie to the Grand Signior. Cairo is diſtant from the riuer Nilus a mile and more, being ſituate on a plaine, ſaue that on the one ſide it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof ſtands a faire caſtle, but not ſtrong, for that it may be battered on euery ſide, but very rich & large, compaſſed about with faire gardens into the which they conueigh water for their neceſſitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheeles & other like engines. This magnificent citie is adorned with very fruitfull gardens both pleaſant and commodious, with great plenty of pondes to water the ſame. Notwithſtanding the great pleaſures of Cairo are in the moneth of Auguſt, when by meanes of the great raine in Ethiopia the riuer Nilus ouerfloweth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a great ditch, which extendeth into the riuer, and paſſeth through the midſt of the citie, and entring there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with gallant girles and beautifull dames, which with ſinging, eating, drinking and feaſting, take their ſolace. The women of this countrey are moſt beautifull, and goe in rich attire bedecked with gold, pretious ſtones, and iewels of great value, but chiefely perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewiſe, but foule and hard fauoured. The ſoile is very fertile and abundant, the fleſh fat which they ſell without bones, their candles they make of the marowe of cattell, becauſe the Moores eate the tallow. They vſe alſo certaine litle furnaces made of purpoſe, vnder the which they make fire, putting into the furnace foure or fiue hundred egges, and the ſaid fire they nouriſh by litle and litle, vntill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become ſomewhat bigger, they ſell them by meaſure in ſuch ſort, as we ſell and meaſure nuts and cheſtnuts and ſuch like.

The deſcription of Cairo.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of *Cairo*.

WIthout the Citie, ſixe miles higher into the land, are to be ſeene neere vnto the riuer diuerſe Piramides, among which are three marueilous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of theſe are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten but all whole, the cauſe whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian ſoile, which will not conſume the fleſh of man, but rather dry and harden the ſame, and ſo alwayes conſerueth it. And theſe dead bodies are the Mummie which the Phiſitians and Apothecaries doe againſt our willes make vs to ſwallow. Alſo by digging in theſe Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of golde, ſiluer, and other mettall, but vnder the other piramides the bodies are not taken vp ſo whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to the limmes of giants. Neare to theſe piramides appeareth out of the ſand a great head of ſtone ſomewhat like marble, which is diſcouered ſo farre as the necke ioyneth with the ſhoulders, being all whole, ſauing that it wanteth a little tippe of the noſe. The necke of this head contayneth in circuit about ſixe and thirty foot, ſo that it may be according to the necke conſidered, what greatneſſe the head is of. The riuer Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great Croccodiles from Cairo vpward, but lower then Cairo paſſeth no ſuch creature: and this, they ſay, is by reaſon of an inchantment made long ſince which hindereth their paſſage for comming any lower then Cairo. Moreouer of theſe creatures there are ſometimes found ſome of an incredible bigneſſe, that is to ſay, of fourtie foot about. The males haue their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. Theſe monſters oftentimes iſſue out of the water to feede, and finding any ſmall beaſts, as ſheepe, lambes, goates, or other like, doe great harme. And whiles they are foorth of the water, if they happen at vnwares vpon any man, woman or childe, whom they can ouercome, they ſpare not their liues. In the yeere of our Lorde one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixtie it happened, that certaine poore Chriſtians trauelling by Cairo towardes the countrey of Prete Ianni to reſcue certaine ſlaues, were guided by a Chaus, and iourneyed alongſt the banke of the ſaid riuer. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their cuſtome is) at a place called Tana, whom being buſie in his double deuotion one of theſe Crocodiles ceazed by the ſhoulders, and drew him vnder water, ſo that he was neuer after ſeene. And for this cauſe they haue made in ſundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, ſo that betwixt the hedge and banke of the riuer there remaineth ſo much water, that the women waſhing may take water without danger at their pleaſure. This countrey is ſo fruitfull, that it cauſeth the women as alſo other creatures to bring foorth one, two, and oft-times three at a birth. Fiue miles ſouthwarde of Cairo is a place called Matarea, where the balme is refined: and therefore ſome will ſay, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the ſaid place, wherein they are deceiued: for the ſayde trees growe two dayes iourney from Mecca, in a place called Bedrihone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but ſaluage, wilde, and without vertue, and therefore the Moores carying the ſame within litle cheſts from Bedrihone to Matarea, where the trees being replanted (be it by vertue of the ſoyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatſoeuer) it ſufficeth that here they beare the true balme and licour ſo much in theſe dayes eſteemed of. In this place of Matarea there are certaine little houſes, with moſt goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very Moores themſelues affirme, that the mother of the bleſſed Chriſt fleeing from the fury of wicked Herode there ſaued her ſelfe with the childe, wherein that ſaying of the Prophet was fulfilled, Ex Ægypto vocaui filium meum. The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lorde one thouſand fiue hundred and foure, the Magnifico Daniel Barbaro firſt Conſull of that place went to viſite, and cauſed it to be renued and reediſied, ſo that in theſe dayes there reſort thither many Chriſtians, who oftentimes bring with them a Prieſt, to ſay maſſe there. Alſo about an Harquebuz-ſhotte from Matarea is a ſpire of great height like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to beholde. Neere vnto the olde Cairo are yet twelue ſtorehouſes of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and theſe till late dayes ſerued to keepe corne for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Ioſeph the ſonne of Iacob, for conſideration of the ſeuen deare yeeres. Alſo paſſing higher vp by the banke of Nilus, there is to bee ſeene a fayre Citie ouerflowed with water, the which at ſuch time as Nilus floweth lyeth vnder water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainely appeare princely palaces, and ſtately pillars, being of ſome called Thebes, where they ſay that Pharao was reſident. Moreouer three dayes iourney higher vp are two great images of ſpeckled marble, all whole, and ſomewhat ſunke into the earth, being things wonderfull to conſider of, for the noſe of either is two ſpannes and an halfe long, and the ſpace from one eare to the other conteineth tenne ſpannes, the bodies being correſpondent to their heads, and grauen in excellent proportion, ſo that they are ſhapes of maruellous hugeneſſe, and theſe they call The wife, and The daughter of Pharao.

Olde Thebes.

Of the patriarke of *Greece*.

IN Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Iacobites. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechni, being about the age of one hundred and thirteene yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They ſay, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following: this good patriarke being enuied at by the Iewes of the countrey, for none other cauſe, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (I ſay) that being in diſputation with certaine of the Hebrewes in preſence of the Sultan, and reaſoning of their lawe and faith, it was ſayd vnto him by one of theſe Miſcreants: ſith thou beleeueſt in the faith of Chriſt, take and drinke this potion which I will giue thee; and if thy Chriſt be true Meſſias and true God, he will (ſayd he) deliuer thee from daunger. To whom the auncient patriarke anſwered, that he was content: whereupon that curſed Iewe brought him a cuppe of the moſt venemous and deadly poyſon that could be found, which the holy Patriarke hauing perceiued, ſaid: In the name of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt: and hauing ſo ſayde he dranke it quite vp; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gaue it vnto the Iewe, ſaying vnto him. I in the name of my Chriſt haue drunke thy poyſon, and therefore in the name of thy expected Meſſias drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe. Whereupon the Iewe tooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and hauing drunke the water, within halfe an houre burſt a ſunder. And the Patriarke had none other hurt, ſaue that he became ſomewhat pale in ſight, and ſo remained euer after. And this miracle (which meriteth to be called no leſſe) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the preſence of a thouſand perſons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt: who ſeeing the deſpight of the Iewes, vnto their owne coſt and confuſion compelled them to make the conduct, which with ſo many engines commeth into the caſtle from Nilus aboue mentioned. And this triumphant Patriarke not long ſince was aliue, and in perfect health, which God continue long time.

Of the preparation of the *Carouan* to goe to *Mecca*.

AS touching the Carouan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be vnderſtoode, that the Mahumetans obſerue a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moueable ceremonie, which ſometimes falleth high, ſometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazan, and their feaſt is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe vnto Mecca reſort vnto Cairo, becauſe that twentie dayes after the feaſt the Carouan is readie to depart on the voyage: and thither reſort a great multitude of people from Aſia, Grecia, and Barbaria to goe on this voyage, ſome mooued by deuotion, and ſome for traffiques ſake, and ſome to paſſe away the time. Nowe within fewe dayes after the feaſt they which goe on the voyage depart out of the citie two leagues vnto a place called Birca, where they expect the Captaine of the Carouan. This place hath a great pond cauſed by the inundation of Nilus, and ſo made, that the camels and other beaſtes may drinke therein: whereof, namely, of Mules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at leaſt fortie thouſand, and the perſons which followe the Carouan euerie yeere are about fiftie thouſand, fewe more or leſſe, according to the times. Moreouer euery three yeeres they renue the Captaine of the Carouan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Captaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giueth euery voiage eighteene purſes, conteyning each of them ſixe hundred twentie and fiue ducates of golde, and theſe be for the behoofe of the Carouan, and alſo to doe almes vnto the needfull pilgrimes. This Captaine, beſides other ſeruingmen which follow him, hath alſo foure Chauſi to ſerue him. Likewiſe he hath with him for the ſecuritie of the Carouan foure hundred ſouldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horſemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Ianizaries riding vpon Camels. The Chauſi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Captaine, but the Ianizaries not ſo, for their prouiſion is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeants, but the Ianizaries after another ſort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and hauing before a great piece of wrought ſiluer on their heads. The charge of theſe is to cauſe the Carouan to march in good array when neede requireth; theſe are not at the commaundement of any but of the Captaine of the Carouan. Moreouer the Captaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes ſtable and firme from heire to heire, and theſe goe before guiding the Carouan, and ſhewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they gouerne them as the mariners, by the ſtarre. Theſe alſo vſe to ſende before foure or fiue men carrying pieces of dry wood which giue light, becauſe they ſhould not goe out of the way, and if at any time through their ill hap they wander aſtray out of the way, they are caſt downe and beaten with ſo many baſtonadoes vpon the ſoles of their feete, as ſerue them for a perpetuall remembrance. The Captaine of the Carouan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fifteene Spachi, and he hath the charge to ſet the Carouan in order, and to cauſe them to depart on their iourney when neede requireth: and during the voyage their office is ſome whiles to goe before with the forewarde, ſometimes to come behinde with the rereward, ſometimes to march on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, to ſpy, that the coaſt be cleare. The Carouan carrieth with it ſixe pieces of ordinance drawen by 12 camels, which ſerue to terrifie the Arabians, as alſo to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carouan, ſome carry for marchandiſe cloth of ſilke, ſome Corall, ſome tinne, others wheat, riſe, and all ſorts of graine. Some ſell by the way, ſome at Mecca, ſo that euery one bringeth ſomething to gaine by, becauſe all marchandiſe that goeth by land payeth no cuſtome, but that which goeth by ſea is bound to pay tenne in the hundred.

Pieces of dry wood in ſtead of torches.

The beginning of the voyage.

THe feaſt before the Carouan ſetteth forth, the Captaine with all his retinue and officers reſort vnto the caſtle of Cairo before the Baſha, which giueth vnto euery man a garment, and that of the Captaine is wrought with golde, and the others are ſerued according to their degree. Moreouer he deliuereth vnto him yͤ Chiſua Talnabi, which ſignifieth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet: this veſture is of ſilke, wrought in the midſt with letters of gold, which ſignifie: La illa ill' alla Mahumet Reſullala: that is to ſay, There are no gods but God, and his ambaſſadour Mahumet. This garment is made of purpoſe to couer from top to botome a litle houſe in Mecca ſtanding in the midſt of the Meſquita, the which houſe (they ſay) was builded by Abraham or by his ſonne Iſmael. After this he deliuereth to him a gate made of purpoſe for the foreſaid houſe of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanſhip, and it is a thing of great value. Beſides, he deliuereth vnto him a couering of greene veluet made in maner of a pyramis, about nine palmes high, and artificially wrought with moſt fine golde, and this is to couer the tombe of their prophet within Medina, which tombe is built in manner of a pyramis: and beſides that couering there are brought many others of golde and ſilke, for the ornament of the ſayde tombe. Which things being conſigned, the Baſha departeth not from his place; but the Captaine of the Carouan taketh his leaue with all his officers and ſouldiers, and departeth accompanied with all the people of Cairo orderly in manner of a proceſſion, with ſinging, ſhouting and a thouſand other ceremonies too long to recite. From the caſtle they goe to a gate of the citie called Bab-Naſſera, without the which ſtandes a Moſquita, and therein they lay vp the ſayd veſtures very well kept and guarded. And of this ceremony they make ſo great account, that the world commeth to ſee this ſight, yea the women great with childe, and others with children in their armes, neither is it lawfull for any man to forbid his wife the going to this feaſt, for that in ſo doing the wife may ſeparate her ſelfe from her huſband, and may lie with any other man, in regard of ſo great a treſpaſſe. Now this proceſſion proceeding from the caſtle towardes the Moſquita, the Camels which bring the veſtures are all adorned with cloth of golde, with many little belles, and paſſing along the ſtreete you may ſee the multitude caſting vpon the ſaid veſtures thouſands of beautifull flowers of diuers colours, & ſweete water, others bringing towels & fine cloth touch the ſame, which euer after they keepe as reliques with great reuerence. Afterward hauing left the veſture in the Moſquita, as is aforeſaid, they returne againe into the citie, where they remaine the ſpace of 20 dayes, and then the captaine departeth with his company, and taking the veſtures out of the Moſquita, carieth the ſame to the foreſaid place of Birca, where the Captaine hauing pitched his tent with the ſtandard of the grand Signior ouer the gate, & the other principall tents ſtanding about his, ſtayeth there ſome tenne dayes and no more: in which time all thoſe reſort thither that meane to follow the Carouan in this voyage to Mecca. Where you ſhall ſee certaine women which intend to goe on this voiage accompanied with their parents and friends mounted vpon Camels, adorned with ſo many tryfles, taſſels, and knots, that in beholding the ſame a man cannot refraine from laughter. The laſt night before their departure they make great feaſting and triumph within the Carouan, with caſtles and other infinite deuiſes of firework, the Ianizaries alwayes ſtanding round about the tent of the Captaine with ſuch ſhouting and ioy, that on euery ſide the earth reſoundeth, and this night they diſcharge all their ordinance, foure or ſixe times, and after at the breake of the day vpon the ſound of a trumpet they march forward on their way.

What times the *Carouan* trauelleth, and when it reſteth.

IT is to be noted, that from Cairo to Mecca they make 40 dayes iourney or thereabout, & the ſame great dayes iourneies. For the cuſtome of the Carouan is to trauell much and reſt little, and ordinarily they iourney in this maner: They trauell from two a clocke in the morning vntill the ſunne riſing, then hauing reſted till noone, they ſet forward, and ſo continue till night, & then alſo reſt againe, as is aboueſaid, till two of the clocke: and this order they obſerue vntill the end of the voiage, neuer changing the ſame, except in ſome places, whereof we will hereafter ſpeake, where for reſpect of water they reſt ſometimes a day and an halfe, and this they obſerue to refreſh themſelues, otherwiſe both man and beaſt would die.

In what order the *Carouan* trauelleth.

THe maner and order which the Carouan obſerueth in marching is this. It goeth diuided into three parts, to wit, the foreward, the maine battell, and the rereward. In the foreward go the 8 Pilots before with a Chaus, which hath foure knaues, & ech knaue carrieth a ſinew of a bul, to the end that if occaſion requireth, yͤ baſtonado may be giuen to ſuch as deſerue the ſame. Theſe knaues caſt offendours downe, turning vp the ſoles of their feete made faſt to a ſtaffe, giuing them a perpetuall remembrance for them & the beholders. This Chaus is as the Captaine of the foreward, which commandeth lights to be carried before when they trauell in the night. Alſo there go in this foreward 6 Santones with red turbants vpon their heads, & theſe eat and ride at the coſt of the Captaine of the Carouan. Theſe Santones when the Carouan arriueth at any good lodging, ſuddenly after they haue eſcried the place, cry with an horrible voyce ſaying, good cheare, good cheare, we are neere to the wiſhed lodging. For which good newes the chiefe of the company beſtow their beneuolence vpon them. In this foreward goeth very neere the third part of the people of the Carouan, behind whom go alwayes 25 Spachi armed with ſwords, bowes & arrowes to defend them from thieues. Next vnto the foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and before the ſame are drawen the ſayd ſixe pieces of ordinance, with their gunners, and fifteene Spachi Archers. And next vnto theſe commeth the chiefe phyſicion, who is an olde man of authoritie, hauing with him many medicines, oyntments, ſalues, and other like refreſhings for the ſicke, hauing alſo camels with him for the ſicke to ride on, which haue no horſe nor beaſt. Next vnto him goeth one Camell alone, the faireſt that can be found: for with great induſtrie is ſought the greateſt and faireſt which may be found within the dominions of the Grand Signior. This camell alſo is decked with cloth of golde and ſilke, and carieth a litle cheſt made of pure Legmame made in likeneſſe of the arke of the olde Teſtament: but, as is abouesayd, made of pure Legmame, without golde or any other thing of coſt. Within this cheſt is the Alcoran all written with great letters of golde, bound betweene two tables of maſſie golde, and the cheſt during their voyage is couered with Silke, but at their entring into Mecca it is all couered with cloth of golde, adorned with iewels, and the like at the enterance into Medina. The Camell aforeſayd which carrieth the cheſt, is compaſſed about with many Arabian ſingers and muſicians, alwayes ſinging and playing vpon inſtruments. After this folow fifteene other moſt faire Camels, euery one carying one of the aboueſayd veſtures, being couered from toppe to toe with ſilke. Behind theſe goe twentie other Camels which carrie the money, apparell, and prouiſion of the Amir el Cheggi captaine of the Carouan. After foloweth the royall Standard of the grand Signior, accompanied continually with the muſicians of the captaine, and fiue and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus before them, and about theſe marueilous things goe all the people and Camels which follow the Carouan. Behind theſe, leſſe then a mile, foloweth the rereward, whereof the greater part are pilgrimes: the occaſion whereof is, for that the merchants ſeeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the ſecuritie of their goods, but the pilgrimes which haue litle to looſe care not though they come behind. Behind theſe alwayes goe fiue and twentie other Spachi well armed with another Chaus their captaine, and fortie Arabians all Archers for guard of the rereward. And becauſe the Carouan goeth alwayes along the red ſea banke, which in going forth they haue on their right hand, therfore the two hundred Ianiſſaries parted into three companies goe vpon their left hand well armed and mounted vpon Camels bound one to another, for vpon that ſide is all the danger of thieues, and on the other no danger at all, the captaine of the Carouan alwayes going about his people, ſometimes on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, neuer keeping any firme place, being continually accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted vpon Dromedaries, and 8. muſicians with violes in their handes, which ceaſe not ſounding till the captaine take his reſt, vpon whom they attend, till ſuch time as he entreth his pauillion, and then licencing all his attendants and folowers to depart, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are ſeene in this voyage by the way.

BEcauſe in the way there are not many things found woorthie memorie, for that the Carouan ſeldome reſteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carouan reſteth altogether in the field: therefore in this our voyage wee will onely make mention of certaine Caſtles found in the way, which bee theſe, namely, Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which fiue, the two firſt are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they haue eight men or tenne at the moſt in euery Caſtle, with foure or fiue Smerigli, which ſerue to keepe the water from the Arabians, ſo that the Carouan comming thither, may haue wherewithall to refreſh it ſelfe. Agerut is diſtant from Suez a port of the red Sea eight miles, where are alwayes reſident fiue and twentie gallies of the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is diſtant from the Sea a dayes iourney. The walles of Acba are founded vpon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel likewiſe are daſhed with the waues of the Sea. Ezlem is diſtant from thence aboue a dayes iourney. Theſe fiue Caſtles aboueſayd are not of force altogether to defend themſelues agaynſt an hundred men. The Carouan departing from Birca vntill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betweene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agium el Caſſap, and the other Magaraxiaibi, that is to ſay, the riuer of Iethro the father in lawe of Moſes, for this is the place mentioned in the ſecond chapter of Exodus, whither it is ſayd that Moſes fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would haue killed him, becauſe hee had ſlaine the Ægyptian, which fought with the Hebrew, in which place ſtoode the cite of Midian; and there are yet the pondes, neere vnto the which Moſes ſate downe. And from that place forward they finde more ſtore of water by the way, and in more places, though not ſo good. It is alſo to bee noted, that in this voiage it is needfull and an vſuall thing, that the captaine put his hand to his purſe in theſe places, and beſtow preſents, garments, and turbants vpon certaine of the chiefe of the Arabians, to the ende they may giue him and his Carouan free paſſage: who alſo promiſe, that their followers likewiſe ſhall doe no damage to the Carouan, and bind themſelues to accompliſh the ſame, promiſing alſo by worde of mouth, that if the Carouan bee robbed, they will make reſtitution of ſuch things as are ſtollen: but notwithſtanding, the Carouan is by them oftentimes damnified, and thoſe which are robbed haue no other reſtitution at the Arabians handes then the ſhewing of them a paire of heeles, flying into ſuch places as it is impoſſible to finde them. Nowe the Carouan continuing her accuſtomed iourneys, and hauing paſſed the aboueſayd caſtles, and others not woorthie mention, at length commeth to a place called Iehbir, which is the beginning and confine of the ſtate and realme of Serifo the king of Mecca: where, at their approching iſſueth out to meete them the gouernour of the land, with all his people to receiue the Carouan, with ſuch ſhouting and triumph, as is impoſſible to expreſſe, where they ſtaie one whole day. This place aboundeth with freſh and cleare waters, which with ſtreames fall downe from the high mountaines. Moreouer, in this place are great ſtore of dates, and fleſh great ſtore and good cheape, and eſpecially laced muttons which willingly fall downe, and here the wearie pilgrimes haue commoditie to refreſh themſelues, ſaying, that this wicked fact purgeth them from a multitude of ſinnes, and beſides increaſeth deuotion to proſecute the voiage. Touching the building in theſe places, it is to bee iudged by the houſes halfe ruinated, that it hath bene a magnificent citie: but becauſe it was in times paſt inhabited more with thieues then true men, it was therefore altogether deſtroyed by Soldan Gauri king of Ægypt, who going on pilgrimage vnto Mecca, and paſſing by this place, there was by the inhabitants hereof ſome iniurie done vnto his Carouan, which hee vnderſtanding of, diſſembled till his returned from Mecca, and then cauſed it to bee burned and deſtroyed in pitifull ſort for reuenge of the iniurie done vnto the Carouan. The Carouan hauing reſted and being refreſhed as is aboueſayd, the next day departeth on the way, and the firſt place they arriue at woorthy mention is called Bedrihonem, in which place (as is aforeſayd) grow thoſe little ſhrubbes whereout Balme iſſueth. And before the Carouan arriueth at this place, a mile from the citie is a large and great field enuironed about with moſt high and huge mountaines. And in this field, according to the Alcoran, their prophet Mahomet had a moſt fierce and cruell battell giuen by the Chriſtians of the countrey and other people which ſet themſelues agaynſt them, and withſtood his opinion, ſo that hee was ouercome and vanquiſhed of the Chriſtians, and almoſt halfe of his people ſlaine in the battell. Whereupon, the prophet ſeeing himſelfe in ſuch extremitie, fell to his prayers, and they ſay, that God hauing compaſſion vpon his deare friend and prophet, heard him, and ſent him infinite thouſands of angels, wherewith returning to the battell, they conquered and ouercame the conquerour. And therefore in memorie of this victorie, the Carouan lodgeth euery yeere one night in this place, making great bonefires with great mirth. And they ſay that as yet there is heard vpon the mountaines a litle drumme, which while the Carouan paſſeth, neuer ceaſeth ſounding. And they ſay further, that the ſayd drumme is ſounded by the angels in ſigne of that great victory graunted of God to their prophet. Alſo the Mahumetan writings affirme, that after the ende of the ſayd battell, the prophet commaunded certaine of his people to goe and burie all the Mahumetans which were dead in the fields, who going, knew not the one from the other, becauſe as yet they vſed not circumciſion, ſo they returned vnto him, anſwering, that they had bene to doe his commaundement, but they knew not the Muſulmans from the Chriſtians. To whom the prophet anſwered, ſaying: Turne againe, and all thoſe which you ſhall finde with their faces downeward, leaue them, becauſe all they are miſbeleeuers; and the other which you ſhall finde with their faces turned vpward, them burie, for they are the true Muſulmani, and ſo his commaundement was done.

The next morning by Sunne riſing, the Carouan arriueth at Bedrihonem, in which place euery man waſheth himſelfe from toppe to toe, as well men as women, and leauing off their apparell, hauing each one a cloth about their priuities, called in their tongue Photah, and another white one vpon their ſhoulders, all which can goe to Mecca in this habite, do ſo, and are thought to merite more then the other, but they which cannot doe ſo make a vowe to ſacrifice a Ramme at the mountaine of pardons: and after they bee waſhed, it is not lawfull for any man or woman to kill either flea or lowſe with their handes, neither yet to take them with their nailes, vntill they haue accompliſhed their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons aboueſayd: and therefore they cary with them certaine ſtickes made of purpoſe in maner of a File, called in their language Arca, Caſſah Guch, with which they grate their ſhoulders. And ſo the Carouan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they reſt that night. In the morning at the breake of day, with all pompe poſſible they ſet forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereunto, the Seripho iſſueth foorth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people, ſhouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a boweſhoote into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the middeſt the pauillion of the captaine, who meeting with the Serifo, after ſalutations on each ſide, they light from their horſes and enter into the pauillion, where the king of Mecca depriueth himſelfe of all authoritie and power, and committeth the ſame to the aboue-named captaine, giuing him full licence and authoritie to commaund, gouerne, and miniſter iuſtice during his aboad in Mecca with his company, and on the other ſide the captaine to requite this liberalitie vſed toward him by the Serifo, giueth him a garment of cloth of gold of great value, with certaine iewels and other like things. After this, ſitting downe together vpon carpets and hides they eate together, and riſing from thence with certaine of the chiefeſt, and taking with them the garment and gate aboueſayd, they goe directly to the Moſquita, attended on but with a fewe, and being entered, they cauſe the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe couerture vpon the houſe of Abraham, and the olde veſture is the eunuchs which ſerue in the ſayde Moſquita, who after ſell it vnto the pilgrimes at foure or fiue ſerafines the pike: and happy doth that man thinke himſelfe, which can get neuer ſo litle a piece thereof, to conſerue euer after as a moſt holy relique: and they ſay, that putting the ſame vnder the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his ſinnes are forgiuen. Alſo they take away the old doore, ſetting in the place the new doore, and the old by cuſtome they giue vnto the Serifo. After hauing made their praiers with certaine ordinarie and woonted ceremonies, the Serifo remaineth in the citie, and the captaine of the pilgrimage returneth vnto his pauillion.

Of the *Serifo* the king of *Mecca.*

The Serifo is deſcended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Alli huſband to her, and ſonne in lawe to Mahumet, who had no iſſue male, ſaue this ſtocke of the Serifo, to the eldeſt ſonne whereof the realme commeth by ſucceſſion. This realme hath of reuenues royall, euery yeere halfe a million of golde, or litle more: and all ſuch as are of the prophets kinred, or deſcended of that blood (which are almoſt innumerable) are called Emyri, that is to ſay, lordes. Theſe all goe clothed in greene, or at the leaſt haue their turbant greene, to bee knowen from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of thoſe Chriſtians which dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they haue any thing of greene about them: for they ſay it is not lawfull for miſbeleeuers to weare that colour, wherein that great friend and prophet of god Mahomet was woont to be apparelled.

Of the citie of *Mecca.*

The Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to ſay, an habitation. This citie is inuironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the plaine betweene the ſayde mountaines and the citie are many pleaſaunt gardens, where groweth great abundaunce of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is alſo great abundance of good water and fleſhe, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth in circuite fiue miles. The houſes are very handſome and commodious, and are built like to the houſes in Italie. The palace of the Serifo is ſumptuous and gorgeouſly adorned. The women of the place are courteous, iocund, and louely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hote and libidinous, and the moſt of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are giuen to that abhominable, curſed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but ſmall account by reaſon of the pond Zun Zun, wherein hauing waſhed themſelues, their opinion is, that although like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are clenſed from all ſinne whatſoeuer, of which ſin we will hereafter more largely diſcourſe. In the midſt of the city is yͤ great Moſquita, with the houſe of Abraham ſtanding in the very middeſt thereof, which Moſquita was built in the time when their prophet liued. It is foure ſquare, and ſo great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to ſay, halfe a mile each ſide. Alſo it is made in maner of a cloiſter, for that in the midſt thereof ſeparate from the reſt, is the aboueſayd houſe of Abraham, alſo the galleries round about are in maner of 4. ſtreetes, and the particions which diuide the one ſtreet from the other are pillars, whereof ſome are of marble, and others of lime and ſtone. This famous and ſumptuous Moſquita hath 99. gates, and 5. ſteeples, from whence the Taliſmani call the people to the Moſquita. And the pilgrimes which are not prouided of tents, reſort hither, and for more deuotion the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one vpō another, ſo that their houſe of praier becommeth worſe ſometimes then a den of thieues.

Of the houſe of Abraham.

The houſe of Abraham is alſo foure ſquare, and made of ſpeckled ſtone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And vpon one ſide of this houſe within the wall, there is a ſtone of a ſpan long, and halfe a ſpan broad, which ſtone (as they ſay) before this houſe was builded, fell downe from heauen, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that whereſoeuer this ſtone fell, there ſhould be built the houſe of God, wherein God will heare ſinners. Moreouer, they ſay that when this ſtone fell from heauen, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whiteſt ſnow, and by reaſon it hath bene ſo oft kiſſed by ſinners, it is therewith become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kiſſe this ſtone, otherwiſe they cary their ſinnes home with them again. The entrance into this houſe is very ſmall, made in maner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach, ſo that it is painful to enter. This houſe hath without 31. pillars of braſſe, ſet vpon cubike or ſquare ſtones being red and greene, the which pillars ſuſtaine not ought els ſaue a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, whereunto are faſtened many burning lampes. Theſe pillars of braſſe were cauſed to be made by Sultan Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperor. After this, hauing entred with the difficultie aboueſayd, there ſtand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each ſide one. In the midſt there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and couered with tiles of India of 1000. colours which ſerue to vnderproppe the Terratza. It is ſo darke, that they can hardly ſee within for want of light, not without an euill ſmell. Without the gate fiue paſes is the aboueſayd pond Zun Zun, which is that bleſſed pond that the angell of the lord ſhewed vnto Agar whiles ſhe went ſeeking water for her ſonne Iſmael to drinke.

Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

IN the beginning we haue ſayd how the Mahumetans haue two feaſts in the yeere. The one they call Paſcha di Ramazaco, that is to ſay, The feaſt of faſting, and this feaſt of faſting is holden thirtie dayes after the feaſt, wherein the Carouan trauelleth to Mecca. The other is called the feaſt of the Ramme, wherein all they which are of abilitie are bound to ſacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to ſay, The great feaſt. And as the Carouan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feaſt, ſo likewiſe they come hither fiue or ſixe dayes before the great feaſt, to the ende the pilgrimes may haue time before the feaſt to finiſh their rites and ceremonies, which are theſe. Departing from the Carouan, and being guided by ſuch as are experienced in the way, they goe vnto the citie twentie or thirtie in a company as they thinke good, walking through a ſtreete which aſcendeth by litle and litle till they come vnto a certaine gate, whereupon is written on each ſide in marble ſtone, Babel Salema, which in the Arabian tongue ſignifieth, the gate of health. And from this place is deſcried the great Moſquita, which enuironeth the houſe of Abraham, which being deſcried, they reuerently ſalute twiſe, ſaying, Salem Alech Iara ſul Alla, that is to ſay, Peace to thee, ambaſſadour of God. This ſalutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche vpon their right hand, whereon they aſcend fiue ſteps, vpon the which is a great voyd place made of ſtone: after, deſcending other fiue ſteps, and proceeding the ſpace of a flight-ſhoot, they finde another arche like vnto the firſt, and this way from the one arche to the other they go and come 7. times, ſaying alwaies ſome of their prayers, which (they ſay) the afflicted Agar ſayd, whiles ſhe ſought and found not water for her ſonne Iſmael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Moſquita, and drawing neere vnto the houſe of Abraham, they goe round about it other ſeuen times, alwayes ſaying: This is the houſe of God, and of his ſeruaunt Abraham; This done, they goe to kiſſe that blacke ſtone aboueſayd. After they go vnto the pond Zun Zun, and in their apparell as they be, they waſh themſelues from head to foote, ſaying, Tobah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to ſay, Pardon lord, Pardon lord, drinking alſo of that water, which is both muddie, filthie, and of an ill ſauour, and in this wiſe waſhed and watered, euery one returneth to his place of abode, and theſe ceremonies euery one is bound to doe once at the leaſt. But thoſe which haue a mind to ouergoe their fellowes, and to go into paradiſe before the reſt, doe the ſame once a day while the Carouan remaineth there.

What the *Carouan* doeth after hauing reſted at *Mecca*.

The mountai of pardons.

The Carouan hauing abode within the citie of Mecca fiue dayes, the night before the euening of their feaſt, the captaine with all his company ſetteth forward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Iabel Arafata. This mountaine is diſtant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to ſay, The hauen, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will ſpeake. Now firſt touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleaſant, containing in circuit two miles, and enuironed round about with the goodlieſt plaine that euer with mans eie could be ſeen, and the plaine likewiſe compaſſed with exceeding high mountains, in ſuch ſort, that this is one of the goodlieſt ſituations in the world: and it ſeemeth verily, that nature hath therein ſhewed all her cunning, in making this place vnder the mountaine of pardons ſo broad and pleaſant. Vpon the ſide towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and freſh, and aboue all moſt wholeſome, falling down into certaine veſſels made of purpoſe, where the people refreſh and waſh themſelues, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Euah were caſt out of paradiſe by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans ſay, they came to inhabite this litle mountaine of pardons. Alſo they ſay, that they had loſt one another, and were ſeperated for the ſpace of 40. yeeres, and in the end met at this place with great ioy & gladneſſe, and builded a litle houſe vpon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beyt Adam, that is to ſay, the houſe of Adam.

Of the three Carouans.

The ſame day that the Carouan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carouans alſo, one of Damaſco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes iourney round about, ſo that at one time there is to be ſeen aboue 200000. perſons, and more thē 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feaſt, the three hoſtes caſt themſelues into a triangle, ſetting the mountaine in the midſt of them: and all that night there is nothing to be heard nor ſeene, but gunſhot and fireworkes of ſundry ſortes, with ſuch ſinging, ſounding, ſhouting, halowing, rumors, feaſting, and triumphing, as is wonderfull. After this, the day of the feaſt being come, they are all at reſt and ſilence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to ſacrifice oblations and prayers vnto God, and in the euening all they which haue horſes mount thereon, and approch as nigh vnto the mountaine as they can, and thoſe which haue no horſes make the beſt ſhift they can on foote, giuing euer vnto the captaine of Cairo the chiefe place, the ſecond to the captaine of Damaſco, and the third to the captaine of Arabia, & being all approched as is aboueſayd, there commeth a ſquare ſquire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furniſhed, who at the other ſide of the mountain aſcendeth fiue ſteps into a pulpit made for that purpoſe, and all being ſilent, turning his face towards the people, he maketh a ſhort ſermon of the tenour folowing.

The ſumme of the *Santones* ſermon.

The ſumme of this double doctors ſermon is thus much in briefe. He ſheweth them how many and how great benefits God hath giuen to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloued friend and prophet Mahomet, hauing deliuered them from the ſeruitude of ſinne & from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gaue vnto them the houſe of Abraham wherein they ſhould be heard, and likewiſe the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remiſſion of their ſinnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a liberall giuer of all good things, commaunded his ſecretarie Abraham to build him an houſe in Mecca, where his ſucceſſours might make their prayers vnto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountains in the world came together thither with ſufficiencie of ſtones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for pouertie could not go to diſcharge this debt, for the which it became ſorrowfull, weeping beyond all meaſure for the ſpace of thirtie yeeres, at the ende whereof the eternall God hauing pitie and compaſſion vpon this poore Mountaine, ſaide vnto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter plaints haue aſcended vp into mine eares, therefore comfort thy ſelfe: for I will cauſe all thoſe that ſhall goe to viſite the houſe of my friend Abraham, that they ſhall not be abſolued from their ſinnes, vnleſſe they firſt come to doe thee reuerence, and to keepe in this place their holieſt feaſt. And this I haue commanded vnto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumet. This ſaid, he exhorteth them vnto the loue of God, and to prayer and almes. The ſermon being done at the Sunne-ſetting they make 3. prayers, namely, the firſt for the Serifo, the ſecond for the Grand Signior with his hoſte, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voyce cry ſaying; Amni Ia Alla, Amni Ia Alla, that is to ſay, Be it ſo Lord, be it ſo Lord. Thus hauing had the Santones bleſſing and ſaluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came vnto Mina, whereof wee haue made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the abouesaid 4. pillers, to wit, two on ech ſide of the way, through the midſt whereof they ſay it is needfull that euery one paſſe, ſaying, that who ſo paſſeth without looſeth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Alſo from the mountaine of pardons vntil they be paſſed the ſaid pillers none dare looke backward, for feare leaſt the ſinnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being paſt theſe pillers euery one lighteth downe, ſeeking in this ſandy field 50, or 60. litle ſtones, which being gathered, and bound in an handkerchiffe they carry to the abouesaid place of Mina, where they ſtay 5. dayes, becauſe at that time there is a faire free and franke of al cuſtome. And in this place are other 3. pillers, not together, but ſet in diuers places, where (as their prophet ſaith) were the three apparitions which the diuel made vnto Abraham, and to Iſmael his ſonne; for amongſt them they make no mention of Iſaac, as if he had neuer bene borne. So they ſay, that the bleſſed God hauing commanded Abraham his faithfull ſeruant to ſacrifice his firſt begotten Iſmael, the old Abraham went to do according to Gods wil, and met with the infernal enemie in the ſhape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he anſwered, that he went to ſacrifice his ſonne Iſmael, as God had commanded him. Againſt whom the diuel exclaiming ſaid: Oh doting old man, ſith God in thine old age hath marueilouſly giuen thee this ſon (in whom all nations ſhalbe bleſſed) wherefore giuing credite vnto vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom ſo much thou haſt deſired, and ſo intirely loued. But Abraham ſhaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the diuel ſeeing his words could not preuaile with the father attempted the ſonne, ſaying; Iſmael, haue regard vnto thy ſelfe betimes in this thing which is ſo dangerous. Wherefore: anſwered yͤ childe. Becauſe (ſaith the diuel) thy doting father ſeeketh to take away thy life. For what occaſion, ſaid Iſmael? Becauſe (ſaith the enemie) he ſaith, that God hath commanded him. Which Iſmael hearing hee tooke vp ſtones and threw at him, ſaying, Auzu billahi minal ſcia itanil ragini, which is to ſay, I defend me with God from the diuel the offender, as who would ſay, wee ought to obey the commandement of God and reſiſt the diuel with al our force. But to returne to our purpoſe, the pilgrimes during their aboad there goe to viſite theſe three pillers, throwing away the little ſtones which before they gathered, whiles they repeat the ſame words which they ſay, that Iſmael ſaid to the diuell, when hee withſtoode him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to ſacrifice his ſonne, as is abouesaid. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims reſort to make their prayers, and there is a great ſtone naturally ſeparated in the midſt; and they ſay, that Iſmael, while his father Abraham was buſie about the ſacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to prooue how it would cut, and making triall diuided the ſtone into two parts. The fiue dayes being expired, the captaine ariſeth with all the Carouan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other fiue dayes. And while theſe reſt, we will treat of the city and port of Grida vpon the Red Sea.

Of Grida.

Grida a port neere Mecca.

Therefore wee ſay that from Mecca to Grida they make two ſmall dayes iourney: and becauſe in thoſe places it is ill traueiling in the day-time by reaſon of the great heat of the Sunne, therefore they depart in the euening from Mecca, and in the morning before Sunne-riſing they are arriued halfe way, where there are certaine habitations well furniſhed, and good Innes to lodge in, but eſpecially women ynough which voluntarily beſtowe their almes vpon the poore pilgrims: likewiſe departing the next euening, the morning after, they come vnto Grida. This citie is founded vpon the Red Sea banke, enuironed with wals & towers to the land-ward, but through continuance of time almoſt cõſumed and waſted: on the ſide to ſeaward it ſtands vnwalled. Grida hath three gates, one on eche ſide, and the thirde in the midſt towarde the land, which is called, The port of Mecca, neere vnto which are 6, or 7. Turks vpon the old towers for guard thereof with foure faulcons vpon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Alſo to ſea-ward where the wall ioyneth with the water, there is lately made a fort like vnto a bulwarke, where they haue planted 25 pieces of the beſt ordinance that might be had, which are very well kept and guarded. More outward towards the ſea vpon the fartheſt olde tower are other fiue good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other ſide of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke ſtrong and well guarded by a Saniaccho with 150 Turks wel prouided with ordinance and all other neceſſaries and munition, and all theſe fortifyings are for none other cauſe then for feare and ſuſpition of the Portugals. And if the port were good all this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worſe nor more dangerous, being all full of rocks and ſands, in ſuch wiſe, that the ſhips cannot come neere, but perforce ride at the leaſt two miles off. At this port arriue euery yeere forty or fifty great ſhippes laden with ſpices and other rich marchandize which yeeld in cuſtome 150000 ducats, the halfe whereof goeth vnto the Grand Signior, and the other halfe to the Serifo. And becauſe there is none other thing worthy mention in Grida we wil returne to our Carouan which hath almoſt reſted enough.

The Portugals greatly feared in the Red ſea.

Forty or fifty rich ſhips arriue yerely at Grida.

Of their going to Medina.

The Carouan departeth for Medina returning the ſame way they came vnto Bedrihonem abouesayd, where they leaue their ordinance and other cariages, whereof they haue no need, with the pilgrims which haue ſeene Medina aforetime, and deſire not to ſee it againe, but ſtay in that place, expecting the carouan, and reſting vntill the carouan go from Bedrihonem to Medina, where they alwayes finde goodly habitations, with abundance of ſweet waters, and dates enough, and being within fourteene miles of Medina they come vnto a great plaine called by them Iabel el ſalema, that is to ſay, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to deſcry the city and tombe of Mahomet, at which ſight they light from their horſes in token of reuerence. And being aſcended vp the ſayd mountaine with ſhouting which pierceth the ſkies they ſay, Sala tuua ſalema Alaccah Iarah ſul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alaccah Ianabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Alaccha Iahabit Allah: which words in the Arabian tongue ſignifie: Prayer and health be vnto thee, oh prophet of God: prayer and health be vpon thee, oh beloued of God. And hauing pronounced this ſalutation, they proceed on their iourney, ſo that they lodge that night within three miles of Medina: and the next morning the captaine of the pilgrimage ariſeth, & proceeding towards the city, and drawing neere, there commeth the gouernour vnder the Serifo, accompanied with his people to receiue the Carouan, hauing pitched their tents in the midſt of a goodly field where they lodge.

Of Medina.

Medina is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not aboue two miles, hauing therein but one caſtle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houſes thereof are faire and well ſituated, built of lime and ſtone, and in the midſt of the city ſtands a foureſquare Moſquita, not ſo great as that of Mecca, but more goodly, rich, and ſumptuous in building. Within the ſame in a corner thereof is a tombe built vpon foure pillers with a vault, as if it were vnder a pauement, which bindeth all the foure pillers together. The tombe is ſo high, that it farre exceedeth in heighth the Moſquita, being couered with lead, and the top all inamelled with golde, with an halfe moone vpon the top: and within the pauement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great ſtaires of yron aſcending vp vntill the midſt of the pillers, and in the very midſt thereof is buried the body of Mahomet, and not in a cheſt of yron cleauing to the adamant, as many affirme that know not the trueth thereof. Moreouer, ouer the body they haue built a tombe of ſpeckled ſtone a ſ brace and an halfe high, and ouer the ſame another of Legmame foureſquare in maner of a pyramis. After this, round about the ſepulture there hangeth a curtaine of ſilke, which letteth the ſight of thoſe without, that they cannot ſee the ſepulture. Beyond this in the ſame Moſquita are other two ſepulchres couered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Fatma the daughter of Mahomet, and Alli is buried in the other, who was the huſband of the ſayd Fatma. The attendants vpon theſe ſepulchres are fifty eunuches white and tawny, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, ſauing to three white eunuches the oldeſt and beſt of credit; vnto whom it is lawfull to enter but twiſe in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other ſeruices. All the other eunuchs attend without to the ſeruice of the Moſquita, and the other two ſepulchres of Fatma, and Alli, where euery one may go and touch at his pleaſure, and take of the earth for deuotion, as many do.

Or, a fathom.

Of things without the City.

Without the city and on euery ſide are moſt faire gardens, with many fountaines of moſt ſweet water, infinite pondes, abundance of fruit, with much honeſt liuing, ſo that this place is very pleaſant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hoſpitall cauſed to be built by Caſſachi, called the Roſe, who was wife to Sultan Soliman grandfather to this emperour. The ſayd hoſpitall hath nought els worthy mention, ſaue that it is fairely built, and hath large reuenues belonging thereunto, and nouriſheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houſes whereof they affirme one to be the ſame, where Mahumet in his life-time dwelt. This houſe hath on euery ſide very many faire date trees, amongſt which there are two which grow out of one ſtocke exceeding high, and theſe, they ſay, their Prophet graffed with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes ſent to Conſtantinople, to be preſented vnto the Grand Signior, and is ſayd to be that bleſſed fruit of the Prophet. Nere vnto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and ſweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Alſo there is a little Moſquita, wherein three places are counted holy, and greatly reuerenced: the firſt they affirme, that their Prophet made his firſt prayer in, after he knew God: the ſecond is that whither he went when he would ſee the holy houſe of Abraham, where when he ſate downe to that intent, they ſay the mountaines opened from the toppe to the bottome to ſhew him the houſe, and after cloſed againe as before: the third holy place is in the midſt of the ſayd Moſquita, where is a tombe made of lime and ſtone foureſquare, and full of ſand, wherein, they ſay, was buried that bleſſed camell which Mahumet was alwayes woont to ride vpon. On the other ſide of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and euery one of them hath a tombe built vpon foure pillers, amongſt which three were the companions of Mahumet, to wit, Abubacar, Ottoman, and Omar; all which are viſited of the pilgrims as holy places.

The offering of the veſtures vnto the ſepulchres.

The Carouan being come to Medina two houres before day, and reſting there till the euening, the captaine then with his company and other pilgrims ſetteth forward, with the greateſt pompe poſſible: and taking with him the veſture which is made in maner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and ſilke, departeth, going thorow the midſt of the city, vntill he come to the Moſquita, where hauing praied, he preſenteth vnto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchs receiuing hands are ready) the veſture for the ſayd tombe: and certaine eunuchs entring in take away the old veſture, and lay on the new, burning the olde one, and diuiding the golde thereof into equall portions. After this are preſented other veſtures for the ornament of the Moſquita. Alſo the people without deliuer vnto the eunuchs ech man ſomewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great deuotion. This ceremony being ended, the captaine reſteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finiſh their deuotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Iambor. A good dayes iourney thence is a ſteepe mountaine, ouer which is no paſſage, ſauing by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times paſt called the yron gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans ſay, that Ally the companion and ſonne in law of Mahumet, being here purſued by many Chriſtians, and comming vnto this mountaine, not ſeeing any way whereby to flee, drew out his ſword, and ſtriking the ſaid mountaine, diuided it in ſunder, and paſſing thorow ſaued his life on the other ſide. Moreouer, this Alli among the Perſians is had in greater reuerence then Mahumet, who affirme, that the ſayd Alli hath done greater things and more miraculous then Mahumet, and therefore they eſteeme him for God almighty his fellow. But to returne to our matter, the captaine with the carouan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlem, findeth there a captaine with threeſcore horſes come thither to bring refreſhments to the ſaid captaine of the pilgrimage, as alſo to ſell vnto the pilgrims ſome victuals. From thence they ſet forward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the maſter of the houſe of the Baſſha of Cairo with all his horſemen come thither to receiue him, with a ſumptuous and coſtly banket made at the coſt of the Baſha for the captaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreſhed departeth toward the caſtle of Cairo to ſalute the Baſha, who receiuing him with great ioy and gladneſſe in token of good wil preſenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the captaine taking the Alcaron out of the cheſt preſenteth it to the Baſha, who hauing kiſſed it, commandeth to lay it vp againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arriued at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which carried the Alcaron, and eate him; which is nothing ſo: for they are ſo ſuperſtitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the world they would not kill him. But if by caſualty he ſhould die, in this caſe happy and bleſſed they thinke themſelues, which can get a morſell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carouan of Cairo.

The voyage and trauell of M. *Cæſar Fredericke*, Marchant of *Venice*, into the *East India*, and beyond the *Indies*. Wherein are conteined the cuſtomes and rites of thoſe countries, the merchandiſes and commodities, aſwell of golde and ſiluer, as ſpices, drugges, pearles, and other iewels: tranſlated out of Italian by M. *Thomas Hickocke*.

Cæſar Fredericke *to the Reader*.

I Hauing (gentle Reader) for the ſpace of eighteene yeeres continually coaſted and trauelled, as it were, all the Eaſt Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I haue had both good and ill ſucceſſe in my trauels: and hauing ſeene & vnderſtood many things worthy the noting, and to be knowen to all the world, the which were neuer as yet written of any: I thought it good (ſeeing the Almighty had giuen me grace, after ſo long perils in paſsing ſuch a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I ſay, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and ſet forth this voyage made by me, with the maruellous things I haue ſeene in my trauels in the Indies: The mighty Princes that gouerne thoſe countreys, their religion and faith that they haue, the rites and cuſtomes which they vſe, and liue by, of the diuers ſucceſſe that happened vnto me, and how many of theſe countreys are abounding with ſpices, drugs, and iewels, giuing alſo profitable aduertiſement to all thoſe that haue a deſire to make ſuch a voyage. And becauſe that the whole world may more commodiouſly reioyce at this my trauell, I haue cauſed it to be printed in this order: and now I preſent it vnto you (gentle & louing Readers) to whom for the varieties of things heerein conteined, I hope that it ſhall be with great delight receiued. And thus God of his goodneſſe keepe you.

Cæſar Fredericke trauelled eighteene yeeres in the Eaſt Indies.

A voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, and beyond the *Indies*, &c.

IN the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Cæſar Fredericke being in Venice, and very deſirous to ſee the Eaſt parts of the world, ſhipped my ſelfe in a ſhippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine marchandiſe, gouerned by M. Iacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ſhip, with whom I went: and when we were arriued in Cyprus, I left that ſhip, and went in a leſſer to Tripoly in Soria, where I ſtayed a while. Afterward I tooke my iourney to Alepo, and there I acquainted my ſelfe with marchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were marchants, and conſorted to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes iourney and a halfe, wee came to a city called Bir.

The authours going frō Venice to Cyprus and Tripoly.

Of the city called *Bir*.

BIr is a ſmall city very ſcarſe of all maner of victuals, and nere vnto the walles of the city runneth the riuer of Euphrates. In this city the marchants diuide themſelues into companies, according to their merchandiſe that they haue, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the riuer Euphrates, with charge of a maſter and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: theſe boats are in a maner flat bottomed, yet they be very ſtrong: and for all that they are ſo ſtrong, they will ſerue but for one voyage. They are made according to the ſholdneſſe of the riuer, becauſe that the riuer is in many places full of great ſtones, which greatly hinder and trouble thoſe that goe downe the riuer. Theſe boats ſerue but for one voyage downe the riuer vnto a village called Feluchia, becauſe it is impoſſible to bring them vp the riuer backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats in pieces, or elſe ſell them for a ſmall price, for that at Bir they coſt the marchants forty or fifty chickens a piece, and they ſel them at Feluchia for ſeuen or eight chickens a piece, becauſe that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they haue marchandiſe or goods that oweth cuſtome, then they make their returne in forty dayes thorow the wilderneſſe, paſsing that way with a great deale leſſer charges then the other way. And if they haue not marchandiſe that oweth cuſtome, then they goe by the way of Moſul, where it coſteth them great charges both the Carouan and company.

The riuer Euphrates.

Feluchia a ſmall city on Euphrates.

Moſul.

company. From Bir where the marchants imbarke themſelues to Feluchia ouer againſt Babylon, if the riuer haue good ſtore of water, they ſhall make their voyage in fifteene or eighteene dayes downe the riuer, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes iourney downe, becauſe that when the barks ſtrike on the ſtones that be in the riuer, then they muſt vnlade them, which is great trouble, and then lade them againe when they haue mended them: therefore it is not neceſſary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or three, that if one boat ſplit and be loſt with ſtriking on the ſholdes, they may haue another ready to take in their goods, vntill ſuch time as they haue mended the brokē boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe there to robbe you: and in the riuers euery night, when you make faſt your boat to the banckeſide, you muſt keepe good watch againſt the Arabians which are theeues in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but ſteale & run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons againſt them, for that they ſtand greatly in feare of the ſhot. And as you paſſe the riuer Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certein places which you muſt paſſe by, where you pay cuſtome certaine medines vpon a bale, which cuſtome is belonging to the ſonne of Aboriſe king of the Arabians and of the deſert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the riuer Euphrates.

The Arabian theeues are in number like to Ants.

Feluchia and Babylon.

Feluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe vnbarke themſelues and vnlade their goods, and it is diſtant from Babylon a dayes iourney and an halfe by land: Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of ſtrangers becauſe it is a great thorowfare for Perſia, Turkia, and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carouans into diuers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris, on certaine Zattares or Raffes made of blowen hides or ſkinnes called Vtrij. This riuer Tygris doeth waſh the walles of the city. Theſe Raffes are bound faſt together, and then they lay boards on the aforeſayd blowen ſkinnes, and on the boards they lade the commodities, and ſo come they to Babylon where they vnlade them, and being vnladen, they let out the winde out of the ſkinnes, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is ſituate in the kingdome of Perſia, but now gouerned by the Turks. On the other ſide of the riuer towards Arabia, ouer againſt the city, there is a faire place or towne, and in it a faire Bazarro for marchāts, with very many lodgings, where the greateſt part of the marchants ſtrangers wich come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The paſſing ouer Tygris from Babylon to this Borough is by a long bridge made of boates chained together with great chaines: prouided, that when the riuer waxeth great with the abundance of raine that falleth, then they open the bridge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bridge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the brinks of this Borough, on the other ſide of the riuer: and as long as the bridge is open, they paſſe the riuer in ſmall boats with great danger, becauſe of the ſmalneſſe of the boats, and the ouerlading of them, that with the fierceneſſe of the ſtreame they be ouerthrowen, or els the ſtreame doth cary them away, ſo that by this meanes, many people are loſt and drowned: this thing by proofe I haue many times ſeene.

The olde Babylon hath great trade & marchants ſtill.

A bridge made of boats.

Of the tower of Babylon.

The Tower of Nimrod or Babel is ſituate on that ſide of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine diſtant from Babylon ſeuen or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on euery ſide, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: ſo that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it ſtanding, which is compaſſed and almoſt couered with the aforeſayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of foureſquare Brickes, which Brickes were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in maner and forme following: firſt they layed a lay of Brickes, then a Mat made of Canes, ſquare as the Brickes, and in ſtead of lime, they daubed it with earth: theſe Mats of Canes are at this time ſo ſtrong, that it is a thing woonderfull to beholde, being of ſuch great antiquity: I haue gone round about it, and haue not found any place where there hath bene any doore or entrance: it may be in my iudgement in circuit about a mile, and rather leſſe then more.

These bricks be in thicknes ſix or ſeuen inches, and a foot & a halfe ſquare.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are ſeene afar off, for they ſeeme ſmall, & the more nere a man commeth to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off ſeemeth a very great thing, and the nerer you come to it the leſſer. My iudgement & reaſon of this is, that becauſe the Tower is ſet in a very great plaine, and hath nothing more about to make any ſhew ſauing the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this reſpect deſcrying it a farre off, that piece of the Tower which yet ſtandeth with the mountaine that is made of the ſubſtance that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater ſhew then you ſhall finde comming neere to it.

Babylon and Baſora.

FRom Babylon I departed for Baſora, ſhipping my ſelfe in one of the barks that vſe to go in the riuer Tigris from Babylon to Baſora, and from Baſora to Babylon: which barks are made after the maner of Fuſts or Galliots with a Speron and a couered poope: they haue no pumpe in them becauſe of the great abundance of pitch which they haue to pitch them with all: which pitch they haue in abundance two dayes iourney from Babylon. Nere vnto the riuer Euphrates, there is a city called Heit, nere vnto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very maruellous to beholde, and a thing almoſt incredible, that out of a hole in the earth, which continually throweth out pitch into the aire with continuall ſmoake, this pitch is throwen with ſuch force, that being hot it falleth like as it were ſprinckled ouer all the plaine, in ſuch abundance that the plaine is alwayes full of pitch: the Mores and the Arabians of that place ſay, that that hole is the mouth of hell: and in trueth, it is a thing very notable to be marked: and by this pitch the whole people haue great benefit to pitch their barks, which barks they call Daneck and Saffin. When the riuer of Tygris is well repleniſhed with water, you may paſſe from Babylon to Baſora in eight or nine dayes, and ſometimes more and ſometimes leſſe: we were halfe ſo much more which is 14 or 15 daies, becauſe the waters were low: they may ſaile day & night, and there are ſome places in this way where you pay ſo many medins on a baile: if the waters be lowe, it is 18 dayes iourney.

This hole whereout cōmeth this pitch is moſt true, and the water & pitch runneth into the valley or Iland where the pitch reſteth, & the water runneth into the riuer Euphrates, and it maketh all the riuer to be as it were blackiſh with the ſmell of pitch and brimſtone.

Baſora.

BAſora is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was gouerned by thoſe Arabians called Zizarij, but now it is gouerned by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great charges.

Zizarij, an ancient people.

The Arabians called Zizarij haue the poſſeſſion of a great countrey, and cannot be ouercome of the Turke, becauſe that the ſea hath diuided their countrey into an Iland by channels with the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, and for that cauſe the Turke cannot bring an army againſt them, neither by ſea nor by land, and another reaſon is, the inhabitants of that Iland are very ſtrong and warlike men. A dayes iourney before you come to Baſora, you ſhall haue a little caſtle or fort, which is ſet on that point of the land where the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris meet together, and the caſtle is called Corna: at this point, the two riuers make a monſtrous great riuer, that runneth into the ſea, which is called the gulfe of Perſia, which is towards the South: Baſora is diſtant from the ſea fifteene miles, and it is a city of great trade of ſpices and drugges which come from Ormus. Alſo there is great ſtore of corne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey doth yeeld. I ſhipped my ſelfe in Baſora to go for Ormus, and ſo we ſailed thorow the Perſian ſea ſix hundred miles, which is the diſtance from Baſora to Ormus, and we ſailed in ſmall ſhips made of boards, bound together with ſmall cords or ropes, and in ſtead of calking they lay betweene euery board certaine ſtraw which they haue, and ſo they ſowe board and board together, with the ſtraw betweene; wherethorow there commeth much water, and they are very dangerous. Departing from Baſora we paſſed 200 miles with the ſea on our right hand, along the gulfe, vntil at length we arriued at an Iland called Carichij, fro whēce we ſailed to Ormus in ſight of the Perſian ſhore on the left ſide, and on the right ſide towards Arabia we diſcouered infinite Ilands.

At the caſtle of Corna the riuer Euphrates and Tygris do meet.

Ormus is the barrenneſt Iland in all the world.

Carichij an Iland in yͤ gulfe of Perſia.

Ormus.

ORmus is an Iland in circuit fiue and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barreneſt and moſt drie Iland in all the world, becauſe that in it there is nothing to be had, but ſalt water, and wood, all other things neceſſary for mans life are brought out of Perſia twelue miles off, and out of other Ilands neere thereunto adioyning, in ſuch abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes repleniſhed with all maner of ſtore: there is ſtanding neere vnto the waters ſide a very faire caſtell, in the which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes reſident with a good band of Portugalles, and before this caſtell is a very faire proſpect: in the city dwell the maried men, ſouldiers and marchants of euery nation, amongſt whom there are Moores and Gentiles. In this city there is very great trade for all ſorts of ſpices, drugges, ſilke, cloth of ſilke, brocar-

Ormus is alwayes repleniſhed with abundance of victuall, and yet there is none that groweth in the Iland.

Great trade of merchandiſe in Ormus.

The election of the king of Ormus.

do, and diuers other ſorts of marchandiſe come out of Perſia : and amongſt all other trades of merchandiſe, the trade of Horſes is very great there, which they carry from thence into the Indies. This Iland hath a Moore king of the race of the Perſians, who is created and made king by the Captaine of the caſtle, in the name of the king of Portugall. At the creation of this king I was there, and ſaw the ceremonies that they vſe in it, which are as followeth. The olde King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuſeth another of the blood royall, and maketh this election in the caſtle with great ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine ſweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Gouernour, and then he giueth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feaſting & pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall palace in the city. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath ſufficient reuenues to maintaine himſelfe without troubling of any, becauſe the Captaine of the caſtle doeth mainteine and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a king, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the conſent of the Captaine firſt had : it behoouеth them to doe this, and it is neceſſary, becauſe of the great trade that is in the city : their proper language is the Perſian tongue. There I ſhipped my ſelfe to goe for Goa, a city in the Indies, in a ſhippe that had foureſcore horſes in her. This is to aduertiſe thoſe Marchants that go from Ormus to Goa to ſhippe themſelues in thoſe ſhippes that carry horſes, becauſe euery ſhippe that carrieth twenty horſes or vpwards is priuileged, that all the marchandiſe whatſoeuer they carry ſhall pay no cuſtome, whereas the ſhippes that carry no horſes are bound to pay eight per cento of all the goods they bring.

A priuilege for Marchants.

Goa, Diu, and Cambaia.

Diu.

Cambaietta.

Goa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, where is reſident the Uiceroy with his Court and miniſters of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure ſcore and ten miles diſtance, in which paſſage the firſt city that you come to in the Indies, is called Diu, and is ſituate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greateſt ſtrength that the Portugals haue in all the Indies, yet a ſmall city, but of great trade, becauſe there they lade very many great ſhips for the ſtraights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandiſe, and theſe ſhippes belong to the Moores and Chriſtians, but the Moores can not trade neither ſaile into thoſe ſeas without the licence of the Uiceroy of the king of Portugall, otherwiſe they are taken and made good priſes. The marchandiſe that they lade theſe ſhips withall commeth frõ Cambaietta a port in the kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in ſmall barks, becauſe there can no great ſhippes come thither, by reaſon of the ſholdneſſe of the water thereabouts, and theſe ſholds are an hundred or foureſcore miles about in a ſtraight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much to ſay, as a race of a tide, becauſe the waters there run out of that place without meaſure, ſo that there is no place like to it, vnleſſe it be in the kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force then theſe doe. The principall city in Cambaia is called Amadauar, it is a dayes iourney and an halfe from Cambaietta, it is a very great city and very populous, and for a city of the Gentiles it is very well made and builded with faire houſes and large ſtreets, with a faire place in it with many ſhippes, and in ſhew like to Cairo, but not ſo great : alſo Cambaietta is ſituate on the ſeas ſide, and is a very faire city. The time that I was there, the city was in great calamity & ſcarſeneſſe, ſo that I haue ſeene the men of the countrey that were Gentiles take their children, their ſonnes and their daughters, and haue deſired the Portugals to buy them, and I haue ſeene them ſolde for eight or ten larines a piece, which may be of our money x.s. or xiii.s. iiii.d. For all this, if I had not ſeene it, I could not haue beleeued that there ſhould be ſuch a trade at Cambaietta as there is : for in the time of euery new Moone and euery full Moone, the ſmall barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at thoſe times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. Theſe barkes be laden with all ſorts of ſpices, with ſilke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Ueluets of Vercini, great quantity of Pannina, which commeth from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of golde worth ſeuen ſhillings a piece ſterling, with money, and with diuers ſorts of other marchandize. Alſo theſe barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantity of cloth made of Bumbaſt of all ſorts, as white ſtamped and painted, with great quantity of Indico, dried ginger & conſerued, Myrabolans drie and condite, Boraſo in paſte, great ſtore of ſugar, great quantity of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Aſſa Fetida, Puchio, with many other ſorts of drugges, turbants made in Dui, great ſtones like to Corneolaes, Granats, Agats, Diaſpry, Calcidonij, Hematiſts, and ſome kinde of naturall Diamonds. There is in the city of Cambaietta an order, but no man is bound to keepe it, but they that will;

but all the Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certaine Brokers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and haue euery one of them fifteene or twenty ſeruants, and the Marchants that vſe that countrey haue their Brokers, with which they be ſerued: and they that haue not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what broker they ſhall be ſerued. Now euery fifteene dayes (as aboueſayd) that the fleet of ſmall ſhippes entreth into the port, the Brokers come to the water ſide, and theſe Marchants aſſoone as they are come on land, do giue the cargaſon of all their goods to that Broker that they will haue to do their buſineſſe for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they haue: and the marchant hauing taken on land all his furniture for his houſe, becauſe it is needfull that the Marchants that trade to the Indies cary prouiſion of houſholde with them, becauſe that in euery place where they they come they muſt haue a new houſe, the Broker that hath receiued his cargaſon, commandeth his ſeruants to carry the Marchants furniture for his houſe home, and load it on ſome cart, and carry it into the city, where the Brokers haue diuers empty houſes meet for the lodging of Marchants, furniſhed onely with bedſteds, tables, chaires, and empty iarres for water: then the Broker ſayth to the Marchant, Goe and repoſe your ſelfe, and take your reſt in the city. The Broker tarrieth at the water ſide with the cargaſon, and cauſeth all his goods to be diſcharged out of the ſhip, and payeth the cuſtome, and cauſeth it to be brought into the houſe where the marchant lieth, the Marchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither cuſtome, nor charges. Theſe goods being brought to this paſſe into the houſe of the Marchant, the Broker demandeth of the Marchant if he haue any deſire to ſell his goods or marchandiſe, at the priſes that ſuch wares are worth at that preſent time: And if he hath a deſire to ſell his goods preſently, then at that inſtant the Broker ſelleth them away. After this the Broker ſayth to the Marchant, you haue ſo much of euery ſort of marchandiſe neat and cleare of euery charge, and ſo much ready money. And if the Marchant will imploy his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that ſuch and ſuch commodities will coſt ſo much, put aboord without any maner of charges. The Marchant vnderſtanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy or ſell at the priſes currant, he giueth order to make his marchandiſe away: and if he hath commodity for 20000 duckets, all ſhalbe bartred or ſolde away in fifteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot ſell his goods at the priſe currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be ſolde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the cuſtome: and perchance tarying ſometimes for ſale of their commodity, they make good profit, and ſometimes loſſe: but thoſe marchandiſe that come not ordinarily euery fifteene dayes, in tarying for the ſale of them, there is great profit. The barks that lade in Cambaietta go for Diu to lade the ſhips that go from thence for the ſtreights of Mecca and Ormus, and ſome go to Chaul and Goa: and theſe ſhips be very wel appointed, or els are guarded with the Armada of the Portugals, for that there are many Corſaries or Pyrats which goe courſing alongſt that coaſt, robbing and ſpoiling: and for feare of theſe theeues there is no ſafe ſailing in thoſe ſeas, but with ſhips very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the Portugals, as is aforeſayd. In fine, the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of tyrants, becauſe that at 75 yeeres of age the true king being at the aſſault of Diu, was there ſlaine; whoſe name Sultan Badu. At that time foure or fiue captaines of the army diuided the kingdome amongſt themſelues, and euery one of them ſhewed in his countrey what tyranny he could: but twelue yeeres ago the great Mogol a Moore king of Agra and Delly, forty dayes iourny within the land of Amadauar, became the gouernour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any reſiſtance, becauſe he being of great power and force, deuiſing which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any man that would make him any reſiſtance, although they were tyrants and a beaſtly people, they were ſoone brought vnder obedience. During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta I ſaw very maruellous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Mannij, or bracelets of elephants teeth, of diuers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which haue their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are ſpent euery yeere many thouſands of crownes: the reaſon whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatſoeuer of their kindred, then in ſigne and token of mourning and ſorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and preſently they go and buy new againe, becauſe that they had rather be without their meat then without their bracelets.

Marchants that trauell to the Indies muſt cary their prouiſion of houſhold with thē.

Great ſtore of men of warre and rouers on the coaſt of Cambaia.

A maruellous fond delight in women.

Daman. Baſan. Tana.

Hauing paſſed Diu, I came to the ſecond city that the Portugals haue, called Daman, ſituate in the territory of Cambaia, diſtant from Diu an hundred and twenty miles: it is no towne of merchandiſe, ſaue Rice and corne, and hath many villages vnder it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleaſure, but in time of warre the enemies haue the ſpoile of them; in ſuch wiſe that the Portugals haue little benefit by them. Next vnto Daman you ſhall haue Baſan, which is a filthy place in reſpect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Corne, and Timber to make ſhippes and gallies. And a ſmall diſtance beyond Baſan is a little Iland called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Moores, and Gentiles: theſe haue nothing but Rice, there are many makers of Armeſine, and weauers of girdles of wooll and bumbaſt blacke and redde like to Moocharies.

Tana an Iland whereof Odoricus writeth, pag.41.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

BEyond this Iland you ſhall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Moores: that city which the Portugals haue is ſituate lower then the other, and gouerneth the mouth of the harbour, and is very ſtrongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe diſtant from this is the city of Moores, gouerned by their king Zamalluco. In the time of warres there cannot any great ſhips come to the city of the Moores, becauſe the Portugals with their ordinance will ſincke them, for that they muſt perforce paſſe by the caſtles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the ſea, and are great cities, and haue vnto them great traffique and trade of merchandiſe, of all ſorts of ſpices, drugges, ſilke, cloth of ſilke, Sandols, Marſine, Verſine, Porcelane of China, Veluets and Scarlets that come from Portugall, and from Meca: with many other ſortes of merchandiſe. There come euery yeere from Cochin, and from Cananor tenne or fifteene great ſhippes laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the ſelfe ſame Nuts called Giagra: the tree whereon theſe Nuts doe grow is called the Palmer tree: and thorowout all the Indies, and eſpecially from this place to Goa, there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodneſſe then this tree is, neither doe men reape ſo much benefit of any other tree as they do of this, there is not any part of it but ſerueth for ſome vſe, and none of it is woorthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make ſhippes without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaues thereof they make ſailes, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Nuts, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which wine they gather in the ſpring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquour like vnto water, in that time of the yeere they put a veſſell vnder euery tree, and euery euening and morning they take it away full, and then diſtilling it with fire it maketh a very ſtrong liquour: and then they put it into buts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in ſhort time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Nuts great ſtore of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of boordes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for ſhippes, and, as they ſay, theſe ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the bowes, bedſteds, after the Indies faſhion, and Scauaſches for merchandiſe. The leaues they cut very ſmall, and weaue them, and ſo make ſailes of them, for all maner of ſhipping, or els very fine mats. And then the firſt rinde of the Nut they ſtampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke ſhippes, great and ſmall: and of the hard barke thereof they make ſpoones and other veſſels for meat, in ſuch wiſe that there is no part thereof throwen away or caſt to the fire. When theſe Nuts be greene they are full of an excellent ſweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirſty, with the liquour of one of the Nuts he may ſatiſfie himſelfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coaſts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandiſe that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbaſt white, painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Cotton, Silke of euery ſort, great ſtore of Boraſo in Paſte, great ſtore of Fetida, great ſtore of yron, corne, and other merchandiſe. The Moore king Zamalluco is of great power, as one that at need may command, & hath in his camp, two hundred thouſand men of warre, and hath great ſtore of artillery, ſome of them made in pieces, which for their greatneſſe can not bee carried to and fro: yet although they bee made in pieces, they are ſo commodious that they worke with them maruellous well, whoſe ſhotte is of ſtone, and there hath bene of that ſhot ſent vnto the king of Porrugall for the rarenes of the thing. The city where the king Zamalluco hath his being, is within the land of Chaul ſeuen or eight dayes iourney, which city is called Abneger. Threeſcore and tenne miles from Chaul, towards the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an hauen of the king Zamallaco: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

Great ordinance made in pieces, and yet ſeruiceable.

Goa.

Goa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is reſident, and is in an Iland which may be in circuit fiue and twenty or thirty miles: and the city with the boroughs is reaſonable bigge, and for a citie of the Indies it is reaſonable faire, but the Iland is farre more fairer: for it is as it were full of goodly gardens, repleniſhed with diuers trees and with the Palmer trees as is aforeſayd. This city is of great traffique for all ſorts of marchandiſe which they trade withall in thoſe parts: and the fleet which commeth euery yeere from Portugall, which are fiue or ſixe great ſhippes that come directly for Goa, arriue there ordinarily the ſixth or tenth of September, and there they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one ſhippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall. Cochin is diſtant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is ſituate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Moores, whoſe chiefe city is vp in the countrey eight dayes iourney, and is called Biſapor: this king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to giue aſſault to Goa, being encamped neere vnto it by a riuer ſide with an army of two hundred thouſand men of warre, and he lay at this ſiege foureteene moneths: in which time there was peace concluded, and as report went amongſt his people, there was great calamity and mortality which bred amongſt them in the time of Winter, and alſo killed very many elephants. Then in the yeere of our Lord 1567, I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe city of the kingdome of Narſinga eight dayes iourney from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian horſes to that king: becauſe the horſes of that countrey are of a ſmall ſtature, and they pay well for the Arabian horſes: and it is requiſite that the merchants ſell them well, for that they ſtand them in great charges to bring them out of Perſia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ſhip that bringeth twenty horſes and vpwards payeth no cuſtome, neither ſhip nor goods whatſoeuer; whereas if they bring no horſes, they pay 8 per cento of all their goods: and at the going out of Goa the horſes pay cuſtome, two and forty pagodies for euery horſe, which pagody may be of ſterling money ſixe ſhillings eight pence, they be pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian horſes are of great value in thoſe countreys, as 300, 400, 500 duckets a horſe, and to 1000 duckets a horſe.

The chiefe place the Portugals haue in the Indies.

A very good ſale for horſes.

Bezeneger.

The city of Bezeneger was ſacked in the yeere 1565, by foure kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of theſe foure kings were theſe following, the firſt was called Dialcan, the ſecond Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy: and yet theſe foure kings were not able to ouercome this city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treaſon. This king of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongſt all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and theſe two captaines had either of them in charge threeſcore and ten or foureſcore thouſand men. Theſe two captaines being of one religion with the foure kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The king of Bezeneger eſteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes; and when the armies were ioyned, the battell laſted but a while not the ſpace of foure houres, becauſe the two traitourous captaines, in the chiefeſt of the fight, with their compaines turned their faces againſt their king, and made ſuch diſorder in his army, that as aſtonied they ſet themſelues to flight. Thirty yeeres was this kingdome gouerned by three brethren which were tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull king in priſon, it was their vſe euery yeere once to ſhew him to the people, and they at their pleaſures ruled as they liſted. Theſe brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in priſon, which when he died, left his ſonne very yong, and then they tooke the gouernment to themſelues. The chiefeſt of theſe three was called Ramaragio, and ſate in the royall throne, and was called the king: the ſecond was called Temiragio, and he tooke the gouernment on him: the third was called Bengatre, and he was captaine generall of the army. Theſe three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefeſt and the laſt were neuer heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battel, hauing loſt one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the ouerthrow in the battell, the wiues and children of theſe three tyrants, with their lawfull king (kept priſoner) fled away, ſpoiled as they were, & the foure kings of the Moores entred the city Bezeneger with great triumph, & there they remained ſixe moneths, ſearching vnder houſes & in all places for money & other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their

A moſt vnkind & wicked treaſon againſt their prince: this they haue for giuing credit to ſtrangers, rather then to their owne natiue people.

The ſacking of the city.

owne kingdomes, becauſe they were not able to maintaine ſuch a kingdome as that was, ſo farre diſtant from their owne countrey.

An excellent good policy to intrap men.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and ſent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any horſes, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cauſe the aforeſayd two Merchants that I went in company withall, carried thoſe horſes that they had to Bezeneger. Alſo this Tyrant made an order or lawe, that if any Merchant had any of the horſes that were taken in the aforeſayd battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would giue as much for them as they would: and beſide he gaue generall ſafe conduct to all that ſhould bring them. When by this meanes he ſaw that there were great ſtore of horſes brought thither vnto him, hee gaue the Merchants faire wordes, vntill ſuch time as he ſaw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giuing them any thing for their horſes, which when the poore men ſaw, they were deſperate, and as it were mad with ſorrow and griefe.

A diſcription of the burning place.

Feaſting and dancing when they ſhould mourne.

Mourning when they ſhould reioyce.

I reſted in Bezeneger ſeuen moneths, although in one moneth I might haue diſcharged all my buſineſſe, for it was neceſſary to reſt there vntill the wayes were cleere of theeues, which at that time ranged vp and downe. And in the time I reſted there, I ſaw many ſtrange and beaſtly deeds done by the Gentiles. Firſt, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife muſt burne herſelfe aliue, for the loue of her huſband, and with the body of her huſband: ſo that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leaue, two or three, or as ſhee will, to burne her ſelfe in, and that day being come, wherein ſhee ought to be burnt, that morning ſhee goeth out of her houſe very earely, either on horſebacke or on an eliphant, or elſe is borne by eight men on a ſmal ſtage: in one of theſe orders ſhe goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her ſhoulders, garniſhed with iewels and flowers, according to the eſtate of the party, and they goe with as great ioy as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: ſhee carrieth in her left hand a looking glaſſe, and in her right hand an arrow, and ſingeth thorow the City as ſhe paſſeth, and ſayth, that ſhe goeth to ſleepe with her deere ſpowſe and huſband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends vntill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the City, and going along the riuers ſide called Nigondin, which runneth vnder the walles of the City, vntill they come vnto a place where they vſe to make this burning of women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great ſquare caue, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or fiue ſteppes vp: the foreſayd caue is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to ſee the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and ſhe that ſhall be burned eateth with as great ioy and gladneſſe, as though it were her wedding day: and the feaſt being ended, then they goe to dancing and ſinging a certeine time, according as ſhe will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the ſquare caue where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then preſently ſhe leaueth the feaſt, and taketh the neereſt kinſeman of her huſband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foreſayd riuer, where ſhee putteth off all her iewels and all her clothes, and giueth them to her parents or kinſefolke, and couering herſelfe with a cloth, becauſe ſhe will not be ſeene of the people being naked, ſhe throweth herſelfe into the riuer, ſaying: O wretches, waſh away your ſinnes. Comming out of the water, ſhe rowleth herſelfe into a yellow cloth of foureteene braces long: and againe ſhe taketh her huſbands kinſeman by the hand, and they go both together vp to the pinnacle of the ſquare caue wherein the fire is made. When ſhe is on the pinnacle, ſhee talketh and reaſoneth with the people, recommending vnto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they vſe to ſet a mat, becauſe they ſhall not ſee the fierceneſſe of the fire, yet there are many that will haue them plucked away, ſhewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that ſight. When this ſilly woman hath reaſoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oile, and ſprinckleth it ouer her head, and with the ſame ſhe anoynteth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and preſently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the caue great pieces of wood, ſo by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that ſhe hath with the wood throwen after her, ſhe is quickly dead, and after this there groweth ſuch ſorrow and ſuch lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in ſuch wiſe, that a man could ſcarſe beare the hearing of it. I haue ſeene many burnt in this maner, becauſe my houſe was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any great man, his wife with all his ſlaues with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themſelues together with him. Alſo in this kingdome I haue ſeene amongſt the baſe ſort of people this vſe and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his ſepulchre, and ſetting him as it were vpright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, caſting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and claſping him, vntill ſuch time as the Maſons haue made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behinde the woman and ſtrangleth her: then when ſhe is dead, the workemen finiſh the wall ouer their heads, and ſo they lie buried both together. Beſides theſe, there are an infinite number of beaſtly qualities amongſt them, of which I haue no deſire to write. I was deſirous to know the cauſe why theſe women would ſo wilfully burne themſelues againſt nature and law, and it was tolde mee that this law was of an ancient time, to make prouiſion againſt the ſlaughters which women made of their huſbands. For in thoſe dayes before this law was made, the women for euery little diſpleaſure that their huſbands had done vnto them, would preſently poiſon their huſbands, and take other men, and now by reaſon of this law they are more faithfull vnto their huſbands, and count their liues as deare as their owne, becauſe that after his death her owne followeth preſently.

The cauſe why the women do ſo burne themſelues.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567, for the ill ſutceſſe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their City was ſacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a caſtle eight dayes iourney vp in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Alſo ſixe dayes iourney from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was tolde me that it is a great place, compaſſed with a wall, and that they ſell the earth within the wall, for ſo much a ſquadron, and the limits are ſet how deepe or how low they ſhall digge. Thoſe Diamants that are of a certeine ſiſe and bigger then that ſiſe are all for the king, it is many yeeres agone, ſince they got any there, for the troubles that haue beene in that kingdome. The firſt cauſe of this trouble was, becauſe the ſonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull king which he had in priſon, for which cauſe the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great diuiſion in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether deſtroyed, yet the houſes ſtand ſtill, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygers and other wilde beaſts. The circuit of this city is foure & twentie miles about, and within the walles are certeine mountaines. The houſes ſtand walled with earth, and plaine, all ſauing the three palaces of the three tyrant brethren, and the Pagodes which are idole houſes: theſe are made with lime and fine marble. I haue ſeene many kings Courts, and yet haue I ſeene none in greatneſſe like to this of Bezeneger, I ſay, for the order of his palace, for it hath nine gates or ports. Firſt when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are fiue great ports or gates: theſe are kept with Captaines and ſouldiers: then within theſe there are foure leſſer gates, which are kept with Porters. Without the firſt gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with fiue and twenty ſouldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, wherethorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the firſt, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wiſe are the firſt fiue gates guarded and kept with thoſe Captaines: and then the leſſer gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates ſtand open the greateſt part of the night, becauſe the cuſtome of the Gentiles is to doe their buſineſſe, and make their feaſts in the night, rather then by day. The city is very ſafe from theeues, for the Portugall merchants ſleepe in the ſtreets, or vnder porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they neuer had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to go for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Marchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or little litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to cary the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we vſe to carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and prouiſion, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme them, girts and bridles, and they haue a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight dayes iourney, but we went in the midſt of Winter, in the moneth of Iuly, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the ſea coaſt, ſo in eight dayes I had loſt my two bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I came vnto a riuer where was a little bridge to paſſe ouer, I put my bullocke to ſwimming, and in the middeſt of the riuer there was a little Iland, vnto the which my bullocke went, and finding paſture, there he remained ſtill, and in no wiſe we could come to him: and ſo perforce, I was forced to leaue him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to go ſeuen dayes

Penegonde.

Men ride on bullocks, and trauell with them on the way.

a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our iourney, for that euery day wee were taken priſoners, by reaſon of the great diſſenſion in that kingdome: and euery morning at our departure we muſt pay reſcat foure or fiue pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as wee came into a new gouernours countrey, as euery day we did, although they were al tributary to the king of Bezeneger, yet euery one of them ſtamped a ſeueral coine of Copper, ſo that the money that we tooke this day would not ſerue the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came ſafe to Ancola, which is a country of the queene of Gargopam, tributary to the king of Bezeneger. The marchandiſe that went euery yere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horſes, Veluets, Damaſks, and Sattens, Armeſine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron, and Skarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turky for their commodities, iewels, and Pagodies which be ducats of golde: the apparell that they vſe in Bezeneger is Veluet, Satten, Damaſke, Scarlet, or white Bumbaſt cloth, according to the eſtate of the perſon with long hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Veluet, Satten, Damaſke, or Scarlet, girding themſelues in ſtead of girdles with ſome fine white bombaſt cloth: they haue breeches after the order of the Turks: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aſpergh, and at their eares they haue hanging great plenty of golde.

The marchandiſe that come in and out to Bezeneger euery yere.

The apparell of thoſe people.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in Ancola, one of my companions that had nothing to loſe, tooke a guide, and went to Goa, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other Portugall not being diſpoſed to go, taried in Ancola for that Winter. The Winter in thoſe parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and laſteth vnto the end of October: and as we were in Ancola, there came another Marchant of horſes in a palanchine, and two Portugall ſouldiers which came from Zeilan, and two cariers of letters, which were Chriſtians borne in the Indies: all theſe conſorted to goe to Goa together, and I determined to goe with them, and cauſed a pallanchine to be made for me very poorely of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid priuily all the iewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight Falchines to cary me: and one day about eleuen of the clocke wee ſet forwards on our iourney, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we paſſed a mountaine which diuideth the territory of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behinde my company, was aſſaulted by eight theeues, foure of them had ſwordes and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the Falchines that carried me vnderſtood the noiſe of the aſſault, they let the pallanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: preſently the theeues were on my necke, and rifeling me, they ſtripped me ſtarke naked, and I fained my ſelfe ſicke, becauſe I would not leaue the pallanchine, and I had made me a little bedde of my clothes; the theeues ſought it very narrowly and ſubtilly, and found two purſſes that I had, well bound vp together, wherein I had put my Copper money which I had changed for foure pagodies in Ancola. The theeues thinking it had beene ſo many duckats of golde, ſearched no further: then they threw all my clothes in a buſh, and hied them away, and as God would haue it, at their departure there fell from them an handkercher, and when I ſaw it, I roſe from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it vp, and wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then theſe my Falchines were of ſo good condition, that they returned to ſeeke mee, whereas I thought I ſhould not haue found ſo much goodneſſe in them: becauſe they were payed their mony aforehand, as is the vſe, I had thought to haue ſeene them no more. Before their comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein my iewels were hidden, out of my coutch, and to haue made me a walking ſtaffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that I ſhould haue gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulnes of my Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and ſo in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which time I made hard fare, for the theeues left me neither money, golde, nor ſiluer, and that which I did eat was giuen me of my men for Gods ſake: and after at my comming to Goa I payed them for euery thing royally that I had of them. From Goa I departed for Cochin, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene theſe two cities are many holdes of the Portugals, as Onor, Mangalor, Barzelor, and Cananor. The Holde or Fort that you ſhall haue from Goa to Cochin that belongeth to the Portugals, is called Onor, which is in the kingdome of the queene of Battacella, which is tributary to the king of Bezeneger: there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and company he keepeth there. And paſſing this place, you ſhall come to another ſmall caſtle of the Portugals called Mangalor, and there is very ſmall trade but onely for a little Rice: and from thence you goe to a little fort called Barzelor, there they haue good ſtore of Rice which is carried to Goa: and from thence you ſhall goe to a city called Cananor, which is a harquebuſh ſhot diſtant from the chiefeſt city that yͤ king of Cananor hath in his kingdome being a king of the Gentiles: and he & his are very naughty & malicious people, alwayes hauing delight

Their Winter is our Summer.

Foure ſmall fortes of the Portugals.

to be in warres with the Portugales, and when they are in peace, it is for their intereſt to let their merchandize paſſe: there goeth out of this kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamomũ, great ſtore of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ſhips laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bigneſſe of Nutmegs, which fruite they eate in all thoſe partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Betrell, the which is like vnto our Iuie leafe, but a litle leſſer and thinner: they eate it made in plaiſters with the lime made of Oiſtershels, and thorow the Indies they ſpend great quantitie of money in this compoſition, and it is vſed daily, which thing I would not haue beleeued, if I had not ſeene it: The cuſtomers get great profite by theſe Herbes, for that they haue cuſtome for them. When this people eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their ſpittle to bee red like vnto blood, and they ſay, that it maketh a man to haue a very good ſtomacke and a ſweete breath, but ſure in my iudgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthie luſtes, and of a knauerie, for this Herbe is moyſt and hote, & maketh a very ſtrong expulſion. Frõ Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another ſmal Fort of the Portugales in the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles, and a countrey of ſmall importance, and of an hundreth and twentie miles, full of thieues, being vnder the king of Calicut, a king alſo of the Gentiles, and a great enemie to the Portugales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the neſt and reſting for ſtranger theeues, and thoſe bee called Moores of Carpoſa, becauſe they weare on their heads long red hats, and theſe thieues part the ſpoyles that they take on the Sea with the king of Calicut, for hee giueth leaue vnto all that will goe a rouing, liberally to goe, in ſuch wiſe, that all along that coaſt there is ſuch a number of thieues, that there is no ſailing in thoſe Seas but with great ſhips and very well armed, or els they muſt go in company with the army of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is 15. miles.

Betrell is a very profitable herbe in that countrey.

Enimies to the king of Portugall.

Cochin.

Cochin is, next vnto Goa, the chiefeſt place that the Portugales haue in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, drugges, and all other ſortes of merchandize for the kingdome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugales lade in their ſhippes by bulke, and not in ſackes: the Pepper that goeth for Portugale is not ſo good as that which goeth for Mecca, becauſe that in times paſt the officers of the king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochin, in the name of the king of Portugale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reaſon of that agreement betweene them at that time made, the price can neither riſe nor fall, which is a very lowe and baſe price, and for this cauſe the villaines bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe: The Moores of Mecca that giue a better price, haue it cleane and drie, and better conditioned. All the Spices and drugs that are brought to Mecca, are ſtollen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochin is two cities, one of the Portugales, and another of the king of Cochin: that of the Portugales is ſituate neereſt vnto the Sea, and that of the king of Cochin is a mile and a halfe vp higher in the land, but they are both ſet on the bankes of one riuer which is very great and of a good depth of water, which riuer commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gentiles, in whoſe kingdome are many Chriſtians of ſaint Thomas order: the king of Cochin is alſo a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to thoſe Portugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochin of the Portugales. And by this name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Chriſtians that come out of the Weſt, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines, and all they that marrie in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they haue by the great priuileges which the Citizens haue of that city, becauſe there are two principal commodities that they deale withal in that place, which are theſe. The great ſtore of Silke that commeth from China, and the great ſtore of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any cuſtome for theſe two commodities: for all other commodities they pay 4. per cento cuſtome to the king of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleaſure. Thoſe which are not married and ſtrangers, pay in Cochin to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandiſe. I was in Cochin when the Viceroy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee coulde to breake the priuilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay cuſtome as other did: at which time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ſhips withall that went to Portugale and ſtole the cuſtome in the night. The king of Cochin hauing vnderſtanding of this, would not ſuffer any more Pepper to bee weighed. Then preſently after this, the marchants were licenſed to doe as they did before, and there was no more ſpeach of

Within Cochin is the kingdom of Pepper.

The Pepper that the Portugals bring, is not ſo good as that which goeth for Mecca, which is brought hither by yͤ ſtreights.

Great priuileges that the citizens of Cochin haue.

this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin is of a ſmall power in reſpect of the other kings of the Indies, for hee can make but ſeuentie thouſand men of armes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and ſome are called Nairi: theſe two ſorts of men eſteeme not their liues any thing, ſo that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thruſt themſelues forward in euery danger, although they know they ſhall die. Theſe men goe naked from the girdle vpwardes, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and hauing their haire very long and rolled vp together on the toppe of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their ſwordes naked, theſe Nairi haue their wiues common amongſt themſelues, and when any of them goe into the houſe of any of theſe women, hee leaueth his ſworde and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, there dare not any bee ſo hardie as to come into that houſe. The kings children ſhall not inherite the kingdome after their father, becauſe they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the king their father, but of ſome other man, therefore they accept for their king, one of the ſonnes of the kings ſiſters, or of ſome other woman of the blood roial, for that they be ſure they are of the blood roiall.

A very ſtrange thing hardly to be beleeued.

The Nairi and their wiues vſe for a brauerie to make great holes in their eares, and ſo bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more noble they eſteeme themſelues. I had leaue of one of them to meaſure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme vp to the ſhoulder, clothed as it was, ſo that in effect they are monſtrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for then they open the eare, & hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, & within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they haue for that purpoſe, which maketh the hole ſo great. They lade ſhips in Cochin for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they eaſilie get leaue to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carie them to Ormus or Cambaia, and ſo all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochin properly they cary away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantitie of Ginger dried and conſerued, wild Sinamom, good quantitie of Arecca, great ſtore of Cordage of Cairo, made of the barke of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Hempe, of which they carrie great ſtore into Portugale.

Note the departing of the ſhips from Cochin.

The ſhippes euery yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the fiſt day of December, or the fiſt day of Ianuary. Nowe to follow my voyage for the Indies: from Cochin I went to Coulam, diſtant from Cochin ſeuentie and two miles, which Coulam is a ſmall Fort of the king of Portugales, ſituate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and of ſmall trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ſhip of Pepper, and then ſhe goeth to Cochin to take in the reſt, and from thence to Cao Comori is ſeuentie and two miles, and there endeth the coaſt of the Indies: and alongſt this coaſt, neere to the water ſide, and alſo to Cao Comori, downe to the lowe land of Chilao, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Chriſtian faith: there are alſo Churches of the Friers of S. Pauls order, which Friers doe very much good in thoſe places in turning the people, and in conuerting them, and take great paines in inſtructing them in the law of Chriſt.

The fiſhing for Pearles.

The order how they fiſh for pearles.

THe Sea that lieth betweene the coaſt which deſcendeth from Cao Comori, to the lowe land of Chilao, and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fiſhing of Pearles, which fiſhing they make euery yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it laſteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fiſhe euery yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the ſame ſea. When the time of this fiſhing draweth neere, then they ſend very good Diuers, that goe to diſcouer where the greateſt heapes of Oiſters bee vnder water, and right againſt that place where greateſt ſtore of Oiſters bee, there they make or plant a village with houſes and a Bazaro, all of ſtone, which ſtandeth as long as the fiſhing time laſteth, and it is furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, and nowe and then it is neere vnto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fiſhe. The Fiſhermen are all Chriſtians of the countrey, and who ſo will may goe to fiſhing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paule, which are in that coaſt. All the while that they are fiſhing, there are three or foure Fuſtes armed to defend the Fiſhermen from Rouers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my paſſage, and I ſaw the order that they vſed in fiſhing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make conſort together, which are like to our litle Pilot boates, and a litle leſſe, there goe ſeuen or eight men in a boate: and I haue ſeene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eighteene fadome of water, which is the Ordinarie depth of all that coaſt. When they are at anker, they caſt a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make faſt a great ſtone, and then there is readie a man that hath his noſe and his eares well ſtopped, and annointed with oyle, and a baſket about his necke, or vnder his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as faſt as he can hee filleth the baſket, and when it is full, he ſhaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him vp with the baſket: and in ſuch wiſe they goe one by one vntill they haue laden their barke with oyſters, and at euening they come to the village, and then euery company maketh their mountaine or heape of oyſters one diſtant from another, in ſuch wiſe that you ſhall ſee a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of oyſters, and they are not touched vntill ſuch time as the fiſhing bee ended, and at the ende of the fiſhing euery companie ſitteth round about their mountaine or heape of oyſters, and fall to opening of them, which they may eaſilie doe becauſe they bee dead, drie and brittle: and if euery oyſter had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchaſe, but there are very many that haue no pearles in them: when the fiſhing is ended, then they ſee whether it bee a good gathering or a badde: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chitini, which ſet and make the price of pearles according to their carracts, beautie, and goodneſſe, making foure ſortes of them. The firſt ſort bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, becauſe the Portugales doe buy them. The ſecond ſorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third ſort which are not ſo good as the ſecond, they call Aia of Canara, that is to ſay, the kingdome of Bezeneger. The fourth and laſt ſort, which are the leaſt and worſt ſort, are called Aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being ſet, there are merchants of euery countrey which are readie with their money in their handes, ſo that in a fewe dayes all is bought vp at the priſes ſet according to the goodneſſe and caracts of the pearles.

These pearles are priſed according to the caracts which they weigh, euery caract is 4. graines, and theſe men that priſe thē haue an inſtrument of copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to ſort ỹ perles withall.

In this Sea of the fiſhing of pearles is an Iland called Manar, which is inhabited by Chriſtians of the countrey which firſt were Gentiles, and haue a ſmall hold of the Portugales being ſituate ouer agaynſt Zeilan: and betweene theſe two Ilands there is a chanell, but not very big, and hath but a ſmall depth therein: by reaſon whereof there cannot any great ſhippe paſſe that way, but ſmall ſhips, and with the increaſe of the water which is at the change or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they muſt vnlade them and put their goods into ſmall veſſels to lighten them before they can paſſe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the chanell, and after lade them into their ſhippes to goe for the Indies, and this doe all ſmall ſhippes that paſſe that way, but thoſe ſhippes that goe for the Indies Eaſtwardes, paſſe by the coaſt of Coromandel, on the other ſide by the land of Chilao which is betweene the firme land and the Iland Manor: and going from the Indies to the coaſt of Coromandel, they looſe ſome ſhippes, but they bee emptie, becauſe that the ſhippes that paſſe that way diſcharge their goods at an Iland called Peripatane, and there land their goods into ſmall flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run ouer euery Shold without either danger or loſſe of any thing, for that they tarrie in Peripatane vntill ſuch time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to paſſe the Sholdes, the ſmall ſhippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and when they haue ſailed ſixe and thirtie miles, they arriue at the place where the Sholdes are, and at that place the windes blowe ſo forciblie, that they are forced to goe thorowe, not hauing any other refuge to ſaue themſelues. The flat bottomed boates goe ſafe thorow, where as the ſmall ſhippes if they miſſe the aforeſayd chanell, ſticke faſt on the Sholdes, and by this meanes many are loſt: and comming backe from the Indies, they goe not that way, but paſſe by the chanell of Manar as is aboueſayd, whoſe chanell is Dazie, and if the ſhippes ſticke faſt, it is great chance if there be any danger at all. The reaſon why this chanell is not more ſure to goe thither, is, becauſe the windes that raigne or blowe betweene Zeilan and Manar, make the chanell ſo ſhalow with water, that almoſt there is not any paſſage. From Cao Comori to the Iland of Zeilan is 120. miles ouerthwart.

Zeilan.

ZEilan is an Iland, in my iudgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that ſide towards the Indies lying Weſtward is the citie called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugales, but without walles or enimies. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the lawfull king of that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Chriſtian and maintained by the king of Portugall, being depriued of his kingdome. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdome did belong, was called Madoni, which had two ſonnes, the firſt named Barbinas the prince; and the ſecond Ragine. This king by the pollicie of his yoonger ſonne, was depriued of his kingdome, who becauſe hee had entiſed and done that which pleaſed the armie and ſouldiours, in deſpight of his father and brother being prince, vſurped the kingdome, and became a great warriour. Firſt, this Iland had three kings; the king of Cotta with his conquered priſoners: the king of Candia, which is a part of that Iland, and is ſo called by the name of Candia, which had a reaſonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which ſayd that hee liued ſecretly a Chriſtian; the third was the king of Gianifampatan. In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine gouerned this Iland, he became a great tyrant.

Cairo is a ſtuffe that they make ropes with, the which is the barke of a tree.

The cutting & gathering of Sinamom.

A rar thinge.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great ſtore of Pepper, great ſtore of Nuttes and Arochoe: there they make great ſtore of Cairo to make Cordage: it bringeth foorth great ſtore of Chriſtall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they ſay that they finde there ſome Rubies, but I haue ſold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was deſirous to ſee how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the time that I was there, was the ſeaſon which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the countrey; yet I to ſatisfie my deſire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with mee and went into a wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great ſtore of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees; and this Sinamome tree is a ſmall tree, and not very high, and hath leaues like to our Baie tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the ſappe goeth vp to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wiſe. They cut the barke of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from ioint to ioint, aboue and belowe, and then eaſilie with their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wiſe it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree dieth not, but againſt the next yeere it will haue a new barke, and that which is gathered euery yeere is the beſt Sinamome: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not ſo good as the other is; and in theſe woods groweth much Pepper.

Negapatan.

From the Iland of Zeilan men vſe to goe with ſmall ſhippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and ſeuentie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Chriſtians of the countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a countrey of ſmall trade, neither haue they any trade there, ſaue a good quantitie of Rice, and cloth of Bumbaſt which they carie into diuers partes: it was a very plentifull countrey of victuals, but now it hath a great deale leſſe; and that abundance of victuals cauſed many Portugales to goe thither and build houſes, and dwell there with ſmall charge.

A fooliſh feare of Portugals.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdome of Bezeneger being a Gentile, neuertheleſſe the Portugales and other Chriſtians are well intreated there, and haue their Churches there with a monaſterie of Saint Francis order, with great deuotion and very well accommodated, with houſes round about: yet for all this, they are amongſt tyrants, which alwayes at their pleaſure may doe them ſome harme, as it happened in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand fiue hundred, ſixtie and fiue: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to ſay, the lord of the citie, ſent to the citizens to demaund of them certaine Arabian horſes, and they hauing denied them vnto him, and gaineſayd his demaund, it came to paſſe that this lord had a deſire to ſee the Sea, which when the poore citizens vnderſtood, they doubted ſome euill, to heare a thing which was not woont to bee, they thought that this man would come to ſacke the Citie, and preſently they embarked themſelues the beſt they could with their mooueables, marchandize, iewels, money, and all that they had, and cauſed the ſhippes to put from the ſhore. When this was done, as their euill chance would haue it, the next night following, there came ſuch a great ſtorme that it put all the ſhippes on land perforce, and brake them to pieces, and all the goods that came on land and were ſaued, were taken from them by the ſouldiours and armie of this lord which came downe with him to ſee the Sea, and were attendant at the Sea ſide, not thinking that any ſuch thing would haue happened.

Saint *Thomas* or San *Tome*.

FRom Negapatan following my voyage towards the Eaſt an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the houſe of bleſſed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great deuotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great miracles they haue heard to haue bene done by that bleſſed Apoſtle : neere vnto this Church the Portugals haue builded them a Citie in the countrey ſubiect to the king of Bezeneger, which citie although it bee not very great, yet in my iudgement it is the faireſt in all that part of the Indies : and it hath very faire houſes and faire gardens in vacant places very well accommodated : it hath ſtreetes large and ſtreight, with many Churches of great deuotion, their houſes be ſet cloſe one vnto another, with little doores, euery houſe hath his defence, ſo that by that meanes it is of force ſufficient to defend yͤ Portugals againſt the people of that countrey. The Portugals there haue no other poſſeſſion but their gardens and houſes that are within the citie : the cuſtomes belong to the king of Bezeneger, which are very ſmall and eaſie, for that it is a countrey of great riches and great trade : there come euery yeere two or three great ſhips very rich, beſides many other ſmall ſhips : one of the two great ſhips goeth for Pegu, and the other for Malacca, laden with fine Bumbaſt cloth of euery ſort, painted, which is a rare thing, becauſe thoſe kinde of clothes ſhew as they were gilded with diuers colours, and the more they be waſhed, the liuelier the colours will ſhew. Alſo there is other cloth of Bumbaſt which is wouen with diuers colours, and is of great value : alſo they make in Sant Tome great ſtore of red Yarne, which they die with a roote called Saia, and this colour will neuer waſte, but the more it is waſhed, the more redder it will ſhew : they lade this yarne the greateſt part of it for Pegu, becauſe that there they worke and weaue it to make cloth according to their owne faſhion, and with leſſer charges. It is a maruelous thing to them which haue not ſeene the lading and vnlading of men and merchandize in S. Tome as they do : it is a place ſo dangerous, that a man cannot bee ſerued with ſmall barkes, neither can they doe their buſineſſe with the boates of the ſhippes, becauſe they would be beaten in a thouſand pieces, but they make certaine barkes (of purpoſe) high, which they call Maſadie, they be made of litle boards; one board being ſowed to another with ſmall cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thruſt the boate with her lading into the ſtreame, and with great ſpeed they make haſte all that they are able to rowe out againſt the huge waues of the ſea that are on that ſhore, vntill that they carie them to the ſhips : and in like maner they lade theſe Maſadies at the ſhippes with merchandiſe and men. When they come neere the ſhore, the Barke-men leap out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that ſhe caſt not thwart the ſhore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea ſetteth her lading dry on land without any hurt or danger, and ſometimes there are ſome of them that are ouerthrowen, but there can be no great loſſe, becauſe they lade but a litle at a time. All the marchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, ſo that if it take wet, it can haue no great harme.

S. Thomas his ſepulchre.

A painted kind of cloth & died of diuers colours which thoſe people delight much in, and eſteemé them of great price.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand, fiue hundred, ſixtie and ſixe, I went from Goa vnto Malacca, in a ſhippe or Gallion of the king of Portugal, which went vnto Banda for to lade Nutmegs & Maces: from Goa to Malacca are one thouſand eight hundred miles, we paſſed without the Iland Zeilan, and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or els through the chanell of Sombrero, which is by the middle of the Iland of Sumatra, called in olde time Taprobana : and from Nicubar to Pegu is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wilde people, and they call thoſe Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people ſauage or wilde, becauſe they eate one another : alſo theſe Ilands haue warre one with another, for they haue ſmall Barkes, and with them they take one another, and ſo eate one another : and if by euil chance any ſhip be loſt on thoſe Ilands, as many haue beue, there is not one man of thoſe ſhips loſt there that eſcapeth vneaten or vnſlaine. Theſe people haue not any acquaintance with any other people, neither haue they trade with any, but liue onely of ſuch fruites as thoſe Ilands yeeld : and if any ſhip come neere vnto that place or coaſt as they paſſe that way, as in my voyage it happened as I came from Malacca through the chanell of Sombrero, there came two of their Barkes neere vnto our ſhip laden with fruite, as with Mouces which wee call Adams apples, with freſh Nuts, and with a fruite called Inani, which fruite is like to our Turneps, but is very ſweete and good to eate : they would not come into the ſhippe for any thing that wee could doe : neither would they take any money for their fruite, but they would trucke for olde ſhirtes or pieces of olde linnen breeches, theſe ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke vnto them, and looke

In the Iland of Banda they lade Nutmegs for there they grow.

In the Ilands of Andemaon, they eate one another.

what they thought thoſe things to bee worth, ſo much fruite they would make faſt to the rope and let vs hale it in: and it was told me that at ſometimes a man ſhall haue for an old ſhirt a good piece of Amber.

Sumatra.

This Iland of Sumatra is a great Iland and deuided and gouerned by many kings, and deuided into many chanels, where through there is paſſage: vpon the headland towardes the Weſt is the kingdom of Aſſi gouerned by a Moore king: this king is of great force and ſtrength, as he that beſide his great kingdom, hath many Foiſts and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great ſtore of Pepper, Ginger, Beniamin: he is an vtter enemy to the Portugals, and hath diuers times bene at Malacca to fight againſt it, and hath done great harme to the boroughes thereof, but the citie alway withſtood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great ſpoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

The commodities that grow in the kingdom of Aſſi.

The Citie Malacca.

Malacca is a Citie of marueilous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from diuers partes, becauſe that all the ſhippes that ſaile in theſe ſeas, both great and ſmall, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their cuſtome there, although they vnlade nothing at all, as we doe at Elſinor: and if by night they eſcape away, and pay not their cuſtome, then they fall into a greater danger after: for if they come into the Indies and haue not the ſeale of Malacca, they pay double cuſtome. I haue not paſſed further then Malacca towards the Eaſt, but that which I wil ſpeake of here is by good information of them that haue bene there. The ſailing from Malacca towards the Eaſt is not common for all men, as to China and Iapan, and ſo forwards to go who will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leaue granted vnto them of the king to make ſuch voiages, or to the iuriſdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiages they make from Malacca thither, & theſe are the kings voiages, that euery yere there departeth frō Malacca 2. gallions of the kings, one of thē goeth to yͤ Moluccos to lade Cloues, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Maces. Theſe two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, ſauing the portage of the Mariners and ſouldiers, and for this cauſe they are not voiages for marchants, becauſe that going thither, they ſhal not haue where to lade their goods of returne; and beſides this, the captaine will not cary any marchant for either of theſe two places. There goe ſmall ſhippes of the Moores thither, which come from the coaſt of Iaua, and change or guild their commodities in the kingdom of Aſſa, and theſe be the Maces, Cloues, and Nutmegs, which go for the ſtreights of Mecca. The voiages that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are theſe, of China and Iapan, from China to Iapan, and from Iapan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and euery ſort of Bumbaſt cloth. Sonda is an Iland of the Moores neere to the coaſt of Iaua, and there they lade Pepper for China. The ſhip that goeth euery yeere from the Indies to China, is called the ſhip of Drugs, becauſe ſhe carieth diuers drugs of Cambaia, but the greateſt part of her lading is ſiluer. From Malacca to China is eighteene hundred miles: and from China to Iapan goeth euery yeere a ſhippe of great importance laden with Silke, which for returne of their Silke bringeth barres of ſiluer which they trucke in China. The diſtance betweene China and Iapan is foure and twentie hundred miles, and in this way there are diuers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friers of ſaint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Chriſtians there like to themſelues. From theſe Ilands hitherwards the place is not yet diſcouered for the great ſholdneſſe of Sandes that they find. The Portugals haue made a ſmall citie neere vnto the coaſt of China called Macao, whoſe church and houſes are of wood, and it hath a biſhoprike, but the cuſtoms belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the ſame at a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes iourney and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentiles, and are ſo iealous and fearefull, that they would not haue a ſtranger to put his foote within their land: ſo that when the Portugals go thither to pay their cuſtome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not conſent that they ſhall lie or lodge within the citie, but ſend them forth into the ſuburbes. The countrey of China is neere the kingdom of great Tartaria, and is a very great countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be iudged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleeue there are not better nor in greater quantitie in the whole world beſides.

The great trade that is at Malacca.

At the Moluccos they lade the Cloues.

The kingdome of Aſſa.

The ſhip of drugs, ſo termed of the Portugals.

Ilands not diſcouered.

China is vnder the gouernment of the great Tartar.

Firſt, great ſtore of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in plates like to little ſhippes, and in value three and twentie caracts a peece, very great aboundance of fine ſilke, cloth of damaſke and taffata, great quantitie of muſke, great quantitie of Occam in barres, great quantitie of quickſiluer and of Cinaper, great ſtore of Camfora, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in veſſels of diuerſe ſortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and ſquares, infinite ſtore of the rootes of China: and euery yeere there commeth from China to the Indies, two or three great ſhippes, laden with moſt rich and precious marchandiſe. The Rubarbe commeth from thence ouer lande, by the way of Perſia, becauſe that euery yeere there goeth a great Carouan from Perſia to China, which is in going thither ſixe moneths. The Carouan arriueth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is reſident with his Court. I ſpake with a Perſian that was three yeeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great importance. The voiages of Malacca which are in the iuriſdiction of the Captaine of the caſtle, are theſe: Euery yeere he ſendeth a ſmall ſhippe to Timor to lade white Sandols, for all the beſt commeth from this Iland: there commeth ſome alſo from Solor, but that is not ſo good: alſo he ſendeth another ſmall ſhip euery yere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes commeth from this place, which is in the firme land neere vnto China, and in that kingdome I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any meanes. For that the people of the countrey will not ſuffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandiſe, the people bring that a boord the ſhip in ſmall barkes, ſo that euery day there is a mart kept in the ſhip, vntill ſuch time as ſhe be laden: alſo there goeth another ſhip for the ſaid Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Verzino: all theſe voiages are for the Captaine of the caſtle of Malacca, and when he is not diſpoſed to make theſe voiages, he ſelleth them to another.

A yeerely Carouan from Perſia to China.

A market kept aboord of the ſhips.

The citie of *Sion*, or *Siam*.

Sion was the imperiall ſeat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God one thouſand fiue hundred ſixtie and ſeuen, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by lande foure moneths iourney with an armie of men through his lande, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundreth thouſand men of warre: when hee came to the Citie, he gaue aſſault to it, and beſieged it one and twentie monethes before he could winne it, with great loſſe of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu ſixe moneths after his departure, and ſawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, ſent fiue hundreth thouſand men of warre to furniſh the places of them that were ſlaine and loſt in that aſſault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treaſon againſt the citie, it had not beene loſt: for on a night there was one of the gates ſet open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became gouernour of Sion: and when the Emperour ſawe that he was betrayed, and that his enemie was in the citie, he poyſoned himſelfe: and his wiues and children, friends and noblemen, that were not ſlaine in the firſt affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captiues into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which comming home & returning from the warres was a goodly ſight to behold, to ſee the Elephants come home in a ſquare, laden with golde, ſiluer, iewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken priſoners in that citie.

A prince of a marueilous ſtrength and power.

Now to returne to my voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great ſhippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie ſituate on the coaſt of Coromandel: and becauſe the Captaine of the caſtles of Malacca had vnderſtanding by aduiſe that the king of *Aſſi would come with a great armie and power of men againſt them, therefore vpon this he would not giue licence that any ſhippes ſhould depart: Wherefore in this ſhip wee departed from thence in the night, without making any prouiſion of our water: and wee were in that ſhippe foure hundreth and odde men: we departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the windes were ſo contrary, that they would not ſuffer vs to fetch it, ſo that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the ſea as it were loſt, and we were driuen too and fro, ſo that the firſt lande that we diſcouered, was beyonde Saint Tome, more then fiue hundreth miles which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, neere vnto the kingdome of Oriſa, and ſo wee came to Oriſa with many ſicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were ſicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the ſpace of a yeere after had my throat ſo ſore and hoarſe, that I could neuer ſatiſfie my thirſt in drinking of water: I iudge the reaſon of my hoarſeneſſe to bee with ſoppes that I wet in vineger and oyle, wherewith I ſuſteyned my ſelfe many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey

* Or Achem.

The mountaines of Zerzerline.

are ſo hot that being drunke without water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we beganne to want water, I ſawe certaine Moores that were officers in the ſhip, that ſolde a ſmall diſh full for a duckat, after this I ſawe one that would haue giuen a barre of Pepper, which is two quintalles and a halfe, for a litle meaſure of water, and he could not haue it. Truely I beleeue that I had died with my ſlaue, whom then I had to ſerue mee, which coſt mee verie deare: but to prouide for the daunger at hand, I ſolde my ſlaue for halfe that he was worth, becauſe that I would ſaue his drinke that he drunke, to ſerue my owne purpoſe, and to ſaue my life.

Of the kingdome of *Oriſa*, and the riuer *Ganges*.

The commodities that go out of Oriſa.

This cloth we call Nettle cloth.

The riuer of Ganges.

ORiſa was a faire kingdome and truſtie, through the which a man might haue gone with golde in his hande without any daunger at all, as long as the lawefull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the citie called Catecha, which was within the land ſixe dayes iourney. This king loued ſtrangers marueilous well, eſpecially marchants which had traffique in and out of his kingdome, in ſuch wiſe that hee would take no cuſtome of them, neither any other grieuous thing. Onely the ſhippe that came thither payde a ſmall thing according to her portage, and euery yeere in the port of Oriſa were laden fiue and twentie or thirtie ſhips great and ſmall, with ryce and diuers ſortes of fine white bumbaſte cloth, oyle of Zerzeline which they make of a ſeed, and it is very good to eate and to fry fiſh withal, great ſtore of butter, Lacca, long pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans dry and condite, great ſtore of cloth of herbes, which is a kinde of ſilke which groweth amongſt the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About ſixteene yeeres paſt, this king with his kingdome were deſtroyed by the king of Patane, which was alſo king of the greateſt part of Bengala, and when he had got the kingdome, he ſet cuſtome there twenty pro cento, as Marchants paide in his kingdome: but this tyrant enioyed his kingdome but a ſmall time, but was conquered by another tyrant, which was the great Mogol king of Agra, Delly, and of all Cambaia, without any reſiſtance. I departed from Oriſa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is diſtant from Oriſa towardes the Eaſt a hundred and ſeuentie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongſt the coaſt fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the riuer Ganges: from the mouth of this riuer, to a citie called Satagan, where the marchants gather themſelues together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increaſe of the water: in which riuer it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thamis, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe againſt it, by reaſon of the ſwiftneſſe of the water, yet their barkes be light and armed with oares, like to Foiſtes, yet they cannot preuaile againſt that ſtreame, but for refuge muſt make them faſt to the banke of the riuer vntill the next flowing water, and they call theſe barkes Bazaras and Patuas: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as euer I haue ſeene any. A good tides rowing before you come to Satagan, you ſhall haue a place which is called Buttor, and from thence vpwards the ſhips doe not goe, becauſe that vpwardes the riuer is very ſhallowe, and litle water. Euery yeere at Buttor they make and vnmake a Village, with houſes and ſhoppes made of ſtrawe, and with all things neceſſarie to their vſes, and this village ſtandeth as long as the ſhips ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, euery man goeth to his plot of houſes, and there ſetteth fire on them, which thing made me to maruaile. For as I paſſed vp to Satagan, I ſawe this village ſtanding with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ſhips and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the laſt ſhip, for whom I tarried, I was al amazed to ſee ſuch a place ſo ſoone razed and burnt, & nothing left but the ſigne of the burnt houſes. The ſmall ſhips go to Satagan, and there they lade.

Of the citie of *Satagan*.

The commodities that are laden in Satagan.

IN the port of Satagan euery yeere lade thirtie or fiue and thirtie ſhips great and ſmall, with rice, cloth of Bombaſt of diuerſe ſortes, Lacca, great abundance of ſugar, Mirabolans dried and preſerued, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline, and many other ſorts of marchandiſe. The citie of Satagan is a reaſonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was gouerned by the king of Patane, and now is ſubiect to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdome foure moneths, whereas many marchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefites, and with theſe barkes they goe vp and downe the riuer of Ganges to faires, buying their commoditie with a great aduantage, becauſe that euery day in the weeke they haue a faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I alſo hired a barke and went vp and downe the riuer and did my buſineſſe, and ſo in the night I ſaw many ſtrange things. The kingdome of Bengala in times paſt hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, neuertheleſſe there is great ſtore of Gentiles among them; alwayes whereas I haue ſpoken of Gentiles, is to be vnderſtood Idolaters, and wheras I ſpeak of Moores I meane Mahomets ſect. Thoſe people eſpecially that be within the land doe greatly worſhip the riuer of Ganges: for when any is ſicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the riuer, and there they make him a ſmall cottage of ſtrawe, and euery day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heape of ſtickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone vntill it be halfe roſted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie iarre faſt about his necke, and ſo throw him into the riuer. Theſe things euery night as I paſſed vp and downe the riuer I ſaw for the ſpace of two moneths, as I paſſed to the fayres to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cauſe that the Portugales will not drinke of the water of the riuer Ganges, yet to the ſight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles diſtant. That voyage is woont to be made in fiue and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of three moneths our ſhip was without victuals. The Pilot told vs that wee were by his altitude not farre from a citie called Tanaſaty, in the kingdome of Pegu, and theſe his words were not true, but we were(as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many vninhabited rockes, and there were alſo ſome Portugales that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe alſo where the citie of Tanaſari was.

Moores are of the ſect of Mahomet.

A ceremony of the gentiles when they are dead.

This citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is ſituate on a great riuers ſide, which commeth out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this riuer runneth into the ſea, there is a village called Mirgim, in whoſe harbour euery yeere there lade ſome ſhips with Verzina, Nypa, and Beniamin, a few cloues, nutmegs and maces which come from the coaſt of Sion, but the greateſt marchandiſe there is Verzin and Nypa, which is an excellent wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called Nyper. Whoſe liquour they diſtill, and ſo make an excellent drinke cleare as chriſtall, good to the mouth, and better to the ſtomake, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the french pockes, drinking good ſtore of this, he ſhall be whole againe, and I haue ſeene it proued, becauſe that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whoſe noſe beganne to drop away with that diſeaſe, and he was counſelled of the doctors of phiſicke, that he ſhould goe to Tanaſary at the time of the new wines, and that he ſhould drinke of the nyper wine, night and day, as much as he could before it was diſtilled, which at that time is moſt delicate, but after that it is diſtilled, it is more ſtrong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkenneſſe. This man went thither, and did ſo, and I haue ſeene him after with a good colour and ſound. This wine is very much eſteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought ſo farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, becauſe it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is euery yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpoſe, I ſay, being amongſt theſe rockes, and farre from the land which is ouer againſt Tanaſary, with great ſcarcitie of victuals, and that by the ſaying of the Pylot and two Portugales, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforeſayd harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the ſhippe ſhould ſtay for vs in a place aſſigned. We were twentie and eight perſons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelue of the clocke we went from the ſhip, aſſuring our ſelues to bee in the harbour before night in the aforeſaid port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any ſigne of good landing, and this came to paſſe through the euill counſell of the two Portugales that were with vs.

Marchandiſe comming from Sion.

Niper wine good to cure the French diſeaſe.

For we had ouerſhot the harbour and left it behind vs, in ſuch wiſe that we had loſt the lande inhabited, together with the ſhippe, and we eight and twentie men had no maner of victuall with vs in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a litle rice with him in the boate to barter away for ſome other thing, and it was not ſo much but that three or foure men would haue eaten it at a meale: I tooke the gouernment of this Ryce, promiſing that by the helpe of God that Ryce ſhould be nouriſhment for vs vntil it pleaſed God to ſend vs to ſome place that was inhabited: & when I ſlept I put the ryce into my boſome becauſe they ſhould not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alongſt the coaſt, without finding any thing but countreys vninhabited, & deſert Ilands, where if we had found but graſſe it would haue ſeemed

Great extremitie at ſea.

ſugar vnto vs, but wee could not finde any, yet we found a fewe leaues of a tree, and they were ſo hard that we could not chewe them, we had water and wood ſufficient, and as wee rowed, we could goe but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water, wee made faſt our boat to the banke of one of thoſe Ilandes, and in theſe nine dayes that we rowed, we found a caue or neſt of Tortoiſes egges, wherein were one hundred fortie and foure egges, the which was a great helpe vnto vs: theſe egges are as bigge as a hennes egge, and haue no ſhell about them but a tender ſkinne, euery day we ſodde a kettle full of thoſe egges, with an handfull of rice in the broth thereof: it pleaſed God that at the ende of nine dayes we diſcouered certaine fiſher men, a fiſhing with ſmall barkes, and we rowed towardes them, with a good cheare, for I thinke there were neuer men more glad then we were, for wee were ſo ſore afflicted with penurie, that we could ſcarce ſtande on our legges. Yet according to the order that we ſet for our ryce, when we ſawe thoſe fiſher men, there was left ſufficient for foure dayes. The firſt village that we came to was in the gulfe of Tauay, vnder the king of Pegu, whereas we found great ſtore of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arriuall there, we would eate but litle meate any of vs, and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the moſt part of vs. From Tauay to Martauan, in the kingdome of Pegu, are ſeuentie two miles. We laded our bote with victuals which were aboundantly ſufficient for ſixe moneths, from whence we departed for the port and Citie of Martauan, where in ſhort time we arriued, but we found not our ſhip there as we had thought we ſhould, from whence preſently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and neede of water, being at an anker with a contrary winde, which came very ill to paſſe, becauſe that ſhe wanted her boat a moneth, which ſhould haue made her prouiſion of wood and water, the ſhippe alſo by the grace of God arriued ſafely in the aforeſaid port of Martauan.

Tauay vnder the king of Pegu.

The Citie of *Martauan.*

Martauan a citie vnder the king of Pegu.

WE found in the Citie of Martauan ninetie Portugales of Merchants and other baſe men, which had fallen at difference with the Retor or gouernour of the citie, and all for this cauſe, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugales had ſlaine fiue falchines of the king of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thouſand men to conquere the kingdome of Sion. They haue for cuſtome in this Countrey and kingdome, the king being whereſoeuer his pleaſure is to bee out of his kingdome, that euery fifteene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Carouan of Falchines, with euery one a baſket on his head full of ſome fruites or other delicates of refreſhings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this Carouan paſſing by Martauan, and reſting themſelues there a night, there happened betweene the Portugales and them wordes of deſpight, and from wordes to blowes, and becauſe it was thought that the Portugales had the worſe, the night following, when the Falchines were a ſleepe with their companie, the Portugales went and cut off fiue of their heads. Now there is a lawe in Pegu, that whoſoeuer killeth a man, he ſhall buy the ſhed blood with his money, according to the eſtate of the perſon that is ſlaine, but theſe Falchines being the ſeruants of the king, the Retors durſt not doe any thing in the matter, without the conſent of the king, becauſe it was neceſſarie that the king ſhould knowe of ſuch a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gaue commaundement that the malefactors ſhould be kept vntill his comming home, and then he would duely miniſter iuſtice, but the Captaine of the Portugales would not deliuer thoſe men, but rather ſet himſelfe with all the reſt in armes, and went euery day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and enſignes diſplayd. For at that time the Citie was emptie of men, by reaſon they were gone all to the warres and in buſineſſe of the king: in the middeſt of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a ſtrange thing to ſee the Portugales vſe ſuch inſolencie in another mans Citie. And I ſtoode in doubt of that which came to paſſe, and would not vnlade my goods becauſe that they were more ſure in the ſhippe then on the land, the greateſt part of the lading was the owners of the ſhippe, who was in Malacca, yet there were diuerſe marchants there, but their goods were of ſmall importance, all thoſe marchants tolde me that they would not vnlade any of their goods there, vnleſſe I would vnlade firſt, yet after they left my counſell and followed their owne, and put their goods a lande and loſt euery whit. The Rector with the cuſtomer ſent for mee, and demaunded why I put not my goods a lande, and payed my cuſtome as other men did: To whom I anſwered, that I was a marchant that was newly come thither, and ſeeing ſuch diſorder amongſt the Portugales, I doubted the loſſe of my goods which coſt me very deare, with the ſweate of my face, and for this cauſe I was determined not

A cuſtom that theſe people haue when the king is in the warres.

A law in Pegu for killing of men.

Great pride of the Portugales.

to put my goods on lande, vntill ſuch time as his honour would aſſure me in the name of the king, that I ſhould haue no loſſe, and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods ſhould haue any hurt, becauſe I had neither part nor any difference with them in this tumule: my reaſon ſounded well in the Retors eares, and ſo preſently he ſent for the Bargits, which are as Counſellers of the Citie, and there they promiſed mee on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods ſhould haue any harme, but that we ſhould be ſafe and ſure: of which promiſe there were made publike notes. And then I ſent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my cuſtome, which is in that countrey ten in the hundreth of the ſame goods, and for my more ſecuritie I tooke a houſe right againſt the Retors houſe. The Captaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the ſhippe, had my dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentiles deuiſed to be reuenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution vntill ſuch time as our ſmall ſhippe had diſcharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thouſand ſouldiers with ſome Elephants of warre; and before that they made any tumult in the citie, the Retor ſent, and gaue commaundement to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour or noyſe, that for any thing they ſhould not goe out of their houſes, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyſe of men of warre, with Elephants which threw downe the doores of the ware-houſes of the Portugales, and their houſes of wood and ſtrawe; in the which tumult there were ſome Portugales wounded, and one of them ſlaine; and others without making proofe of their manhoode, which the day before did ſo bragge, at that time put themſelues to flight moſt ſhamefully, and ſaued themſelues aboord of litle ſhippes, that were at an anker in the harbour, and ſome that were in their beds fled away naked, and that night they caried away all the Portugalles goods out of the ſuburbes into the Citie, and thoſe Portugales that had their goods in the ſuburbes alſo. After this the Portugales that were fledde into the ſhippes to ſaue themſelues, tooke a newe courage to themſelues, and came on lande and ſet fire on the houſes in the ſuburbes; which houſes being made of boorde and ſtrawe; and the winde blowing freſh, in ſmall time were burnt and conſumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to haue beene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recouer any part of their goods againe, which goods might amount to the ſumme of ſixteene thouſand duckats, which, if they had not ſet fire to the towne, they might haue had againe without any loſſe at all. Then the Portugales vnderſtanding that this thing was not done by the conſent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Retor of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to bende and ſhoot their ordinance againſt the Citie, which batterie of theirs continued foure dayes, but all was in vaine, for the ſhotte neuer hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a ſmall hill neere vnto it, ſo that the citie had no harme. When the Retor perceiued that the Portugales made battery againſt the Citie, hee tooke one and twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and ſent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to tarry vntill ſuch time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done vnto them. I my ſelfe was alwayes in my houſe with a good guard appointed me by the Retor, that no man ſhould doe me iniurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in ſuch wiſe that hee perfourmed all that he had promiſed me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the comming of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, becauſe I was twenty and one moneths ſequeſtred, that I could not buy nor ſell any kinde of marchandize. Thoſe commodities that I brought thither, were peper, ſandols, and Porcellan of China: ſo when the king was come home, I made my ſupplication vnto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

A reuenge on the Portugales.

From Martauan I departed to goe to the chiefeſt Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is alſo called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by ſea in three or foure daies; they may goe alſo by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandize to goe by ſea and leſſer charge. And in this voyage you ſhall haue a Macareo, which is one of the moſt marueilous things in the world that nature hath wrought, and I neuer ſaw any thing ſo hard to be beleeued as this, to wit, the great increaſing & diminiſhing of the water there at one puſh or inſtant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyſe that the ſaid Macareo maketh where it commeth. We departed from Martauan in barkes, which are like to our Pylot boates, with the increaſe of the water, and they goe as ſwift as an arrowe out of a bow, ſo long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the higheſt, then they drawe themſelues out of the Chanell towardes ſome banke, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminiſhed, then they reſt on dry land:

A thing moſt marueilous, that at the comming of a tide the earth ſhould quake.

and when the barkes reſt dry, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any houſe top is high from the ground. They let their barkes lie ſo high for this reſpect, that if there ſhould any ſhippe reſt or ride in the Chanell, with ſuch force commeth in the water, that it would ouerthrowe ſhippe or barke: yet for all this, that the barkes be ſo farre out of the Chanell, and though the water hath loſt her greateſt ſtrength and furie before it come ſo high, yet they make faſt their prowe to the ſtreme, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anker did not holde her prow vp by ſtrength, ſhee would be ouerthrowen and loſt with men and goods. When the water beginneth to increaſe, it maketh ſuch a noyſe and ſo great that you would thinke it an earthquake, and preſently at the firſt it maketh three waues. So that the firſt waſheth ouer the barke, from ſtemme to ſterne, the ſecond is not ſo furious as the firſt, and the thirde rayſeth the Anker, and then for the ſpace of ſixe houres while the water encreaſeth, they rowe with ſuch ſwiftneſſe that you would thinke they did fly: in theſe tydes there muſt be loſt no iot of time, for if you arriue not at the ſtagions before the tyde be ſpent, you muſt turne backe from whence you came. For there is no ſtaying at any place, but at theſe ſtagions, and there is more daunger at one of theſe places then at another, as they be higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martauan, they goe but halfe the tide at a time, becauſe they will lay their barkes vp aloft on the bankes, for the reaſon aforeſayd. I could neuer gather any reaſon of the noyſe that this water maketh in the increaſe of the tide, and in deminiſhing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in compariſon of this. By the helpe of God we came ſafe to Pegu, which are two cities, the olde and the newe, in the olde citie are the Marchant ſtrangers, and marchantes of the Countrey, for there are the greateſt doings and the greateſt trade. This citie is not very great, but it hath very great ſuburbes. Their houſes be made with canes, and couered with leaues, or with ſtrawe, but the marchants haue all one houſe or Magaſon, which houſe they call Godon which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any value, to ſaue them from the often miſchances that there happen to houſes made of ſuch ſtuffe. In the new citie is the pallace of the king, and his abiding place with all his barons and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finiſhed the building of the new citie: it is a great citie, very plaine and flat, and foure ſquare, walled round about, and with ditches that compaſſe the wals about with water, in which diches are many crocodils, it hath no drawe bridges, yet it hath twentie gates, fiue for euery ſquare on the walles, there are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood and couered or guilt with gold, the ſtreetes thereof are the fayreſt that I haue ſeene, they are as ſtreight as a line from one gate to another, and ſtanding at the one gate you may diſcouer to the other, and they are as broad as 10 or 12 men may ride a breaſt in them: and thoſe ſtreetes that be thwart are faire and large, theſe ſtreetes, both on the one ſide and on the other, are planted at the doores of the houſes, with nut trees of India, which make a very commodious ſhadowe, the houſes be made of wood and couered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very neceſſary for their vſe, the kings palace is in the middle of the citie, made in forme of a walled caſtle, with ditches full of water round about it, the lodgings within are made of wood all ouer gilded, with fine pinacles, and very coſtly worke, couered with plates of golde. Truely it may be a kings houſe: within the gate there is a faire large court, from the one ſide to the other, wherein there are made places for the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt Eliphants appointed for the ſeruice of the kings perſon, and amongſt all other Eliphants, he hath foure that be white, a thing ſo rare that a man ſhall hardly finde another king that hath any ſuch, and if this king knowe any other that hath white Eliphantes, he ſendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrey, and that coſt me ſomething the ſight of them, for that they commaund the marchants to goe to ſee them, and then they muſt giue ſomewhat to the men that bring them: the brokers of the marchants giue for euery man halfe a duckat, which they call a Tanſa, which amounteth to a great ſumme, for the number of merchants that are in that citie; and when they haue payde the aforeſayde Tanſa, they may chuſe whether they will ſee them at that time or no, becauſe that when they are in the kings ſtall, euery man may ſee them that will: but at that time they muſt goe and ſee them, for it is the kings pleaſure it ſhould be ſo. This King amongſt all other his titles, is called the King of the white Eliphants, and it is reported that if this king knewe any other king that had any of theſe white Eliphantes, and would not ſend them vnto him, that he would hazard his whole kingdome to conquer them, he eſteemeth theſe white Eliphants very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meete ſeruice, euery one of them is in a houſe, all guilded ouer, and they haue their meate giuen them in veſſels of ſiluer and golde, there is one blacke Eliphant the greateſt that hath bene ſeene, and he is kept according to his bigneſſe, he is nine cubites high, which is a marueilous thing,

It

This tide is like to the tides in our riuer of Seuerne.

Theſe tides make their iuſt courſe as ours doe.

This Macareo is a tide or a currant.

Houſes made of canes, & couered with leaues of trees.

Godon is a place or houſe for marchants to lay their goods in.

The forme of the building of the new citie of Pegu.

A rich and ſtately palace.

Foure white Eliphants.

This money called Tanſa is halfe a duckat which may be three ſhillings & foure pence.

It is reported that this king hath foure thouſand Elephants of warre, and all haue their teeth, and they vſe to put on their two vppermoſt teeth ſharpe pikes of yron, and make them faſt with rings, becauſe theſe beaſtes fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath alſo very many yong Eliphants that haue not their teeth ſprowted foorth: alſo this king hath a braue deuiſe in hunting to take theſe Eliphants when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire pallace all guilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to ſtande to ſee this hunting: neere vnto this Pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunts-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Eliphants, teaching them in this buſineſſe. Euery hunter carieth out with him fiue or ſixe of theſe feminines, and they ſay that they anoynt the ſecret place with a certaine compoſition that they haue, that when the wilde Eliphant doeth ſmell thereunto, they followe the feminines and cannot leaue them: when the hunts-men haue made prouiſion, & the Eliphant is ſo entangled, they guide the feminines towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a doore which doth open and ſhut with engines, before which doore there is a long ſtreight way with trees on both the ſides, which couereth the way in ſuch wiſe as it is like darkeneſſe in a corner: the wilde Eliphant when he commeth to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At the end of this darke way there is a great field, when the hunters haue gotten this praye, when they firſt come to this field, they ſend preſently to giue knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all ſpeed there go out fiftie or ſixtie men on horſebacke, and doe beſet the fielde rounde about: in the great fielde then the females which are taught in this buſineſſe goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Eliphant is entred in there, the hunters ſhoute and make a great noyſe, as much as is poſſible, to make the wilde Eliphant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and aſſoone as hee is in, the gate is ſhut without any noyſe, and ſo the hunters with the female Eliphants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a ſmall time the females withdraw themſelues away one by one out of the Court, leauing the wilde Eliphant alone: and when he perceiueth that he is left alone, he is ſo madde that for two or three houres to ſee him, it is the greateſt pleaſure in the world: he weepeth, hee flingeth, hee runneth, he iuſtleth, hee thruſteth vnder the places where the people ſtand to ſee him, thinking to kil ſome of them, but the poſts and timber is ſo ſtrong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates; At length when hee is weary and hath laboured his body that hee is all wet with ſweat, then he plucketh in his truncke into his mouth, and then hee throweth out ſo much water out of his belly, that he ſprinckleth it ouer the heades of the lookers on, to the vttermoſt of them, although it bee very high: and then when they ſee him very weary, there goe certaine officers into the Court with long ſharpe canes in their hands, and prick him that they make him to goe into one of the houſes that is made alongſt the Court for the ſame purpoſe: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Eliphant is in, he cannot turne himſelf to go backe againe. And it is requiſite that theſe men ſhould be very wary and ſwift, for although their canes be long, yet the Eliphant would kill them if they were not ſwift to ſaue themſelues: at length when they haue gotten him into one of thoſe houſes, they ſtand ouer him in a loft and get ropes vnder his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him faſt, and ſo let him ſtand foure or fiue dayes, and giue him neither meate nor drinke. At the ende of theſe foure or fiue dayes, they vnlooſe him and put one of the females vnto him, and giue them meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my iudgment there is not a beaſt ſo intellectiue as are theſe Eliphants, nor of more vnderſtanding in al the world: for he wil do all things that his keeper ſaith, ſo that he lacketh nothing but humaine ſpeech.

A warlike policie.

An excellent deuiſe to hunt and take wilde Eliphants.

An excellent paſtime of the Eliphants.

Theſe canes are like to them in Spaine which they call loeo de tore.

A ſtrange thing that a beaſt ſo wilde ſhould in ſo ſhort time be made tame.

It is reported that the greateſt ſtrength that the king of Pegu hath is in theſe Eliphants, for when they goe to battell, they ſet on their backes a Caſtle of wood bound thereto, with bands vnder their bellies: and in euery Caſtle foure men very commodiouſly ſet to fight with hargubuſhes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they ſay that the ſkinne of this Eliphant is ſo hard, that an harquebuſſe will not pierce it, vnleſſe it bee in the eye, temples, or ſome other tender place of his body. And beſides this, they are of great ſtrength, and haue a very excellent order in their battel, as I haue ſeene at their feaſtes which they make in the yeere, in which feaſtes the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing and worthy memorie, that in ſo barbarous a people there ſhould be ſuch goodly orders as they haue in their armies, which be diſtinct in ſquares of Eliphants, of horſemen, of harquebuſhers and pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weake as well the one as the other: they haue very bad pikes, their ſwords are worſe made, like long kniues without points, his harquebuſhes are moſt excellent, and alway in his warres he hath eightie thouſand harquebuſhes, and the number of them encreaſeth dayly. Becauſe the king will haue them

The greateſt ſtrength that the king of Pegu hath.

A goodly order in a barbarous people.

The order of their weapons and number of his men.

26. Crowned kings at his commaund.

Fifteene hundreth thouſand men in one Campe.

Eating of ſerpents.

The riches of the king of Pegu.

The great pompe of the king.

The order of Iuſtice.

No difference of perſons before the King in controuerſies or in iuſtice.

ſhoote euery day at the Plancke, and ſo by continuall exerciſe they become moſt excellent ſhot: alſo hee hath great Ordinance made of very good mettall; to conclude there is not a King on the earth that hath more power or ſtrength then this king of Pegu, becauſe hee hath twentie and ſixe crowned kings at his commaunde. He can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the fielde againſt his enemies. The ſtate of his kingdome and maintenance of his army, is a thing incredible to conſider, & the victuals that ſhould maintaine ſuch a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will eaſily beleeue it. I haue ſeene with mine eyes, that thoſe people and ſouldiers haue eaten of all ſorts of wild beaſts that are on the earth, whether it bee very filthie or otherwiſe all ſerueth for their mouthes: yea, I haue ſeene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, alſo they feed of all kinde of herbes and graſſe. So that if ſuch a great armie want not water and ſalt, they wil maintaine themſelues a long time in a buſh with rootes, flowers and leaues of trees, they cary rice with them for their voyage, & that ſerueth them in ſtead of comfits, it is ſo daintie vnto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army or power by ſea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and ſiluer, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treaſure and ſtrength. This king hath diuers Magaſons ful of treaſure, as gold, & ſiluer, and euery day he encreaſeth it more and more, and it is neuer diminiſhed. Alſo hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Safires & Spinels. Neere vnto his royal pallace there is an ineſtimable treaſure whereof hee maketh no accompt, for that it ſtandeth in ſuch a place that euery one may ſee it, and the place where this treaſure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of ſtone, with two gates which ſtand open euery day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houſes couered with lead, & in euery one of theſe are certaine heatheniſh idoles of a very great valure. In the firſt houſe there is a ſtature of the image of a man of gold very great, & on his head a crowne of gold beſet with moſt rare Rubies and Safires, and round about him are 4. litle children of gold. In the ſecond houſe there is the ſtature of a man of ſiluer, that is ſet as it were ſitting on heapes of money: whoſe ſtature in height, as hee ſitteth, is ſo high, that his highneſſe exceedes the height of any one roofe of an houſe; I meaſured his feete, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the firſt. And in the thirde houſe, there is a ſtature of braſſe of the ſame bigneſſe, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and laſt houſe there is a ſtature of a man as big as the other, which is made of Ganſa, which is the metall they make their money of, & this metall is made of copper & leade mingled together. This ſtature alſo hath a crowne on his head like the firſt: this treaſure being of ſuch a value as it is, ſtandeth in an open place that euery man at his pleaſure may go & ſee it: for the keepers therof neuer forbid any man the ſight thereof. I ſay as I haue ſaid before, that this king euery yere in his feaſtes triumpheth: & becauſe it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write therof, which is as foloweth. The king rideth on a triumphant cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawen by 16. goodly horſes: and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy ouer it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lords & nobles, with euery one a rope in his hand made faſt to the cart for to hold it vpright that it fal not. The king ſitteth in the middle of the cart; & vpon the ſame cart about the king ſtande 4. of his nobles moſt fauored of him, and before this cart wherein the king is, goeth all his army as aforeſaid, and in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, that are in his dominions, a maruellous thing it is to ſee ſo many people, ſuch riches & ſuch good order in a people ſo barbarous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principal wife which is kept in a Serallo, he hath 300 concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath 90. children. This king ſitteth euery day in perſon to heare the ſuites of his ſubiects, but he nor they neuer ſpeake one to another, but by ſupplications made in this order. The king ſitteth vp aloft in a great hall, on a tribunall ſeat, and lower vnder him ſit all his Barons round about, then thoſe that demaund audience enter into a great Court before the king, and there ſet them downe on the ground 40. paces diſtant from the kings perſon, and amongſt thoſe people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but all alike, and there they ſit with their ſupplications in their hands, which are made of long leaues of a tree, theſe leaues are 3. quarters of a yard long, & two fingers broad, which are written with a ſharpe iron made for yͤ purpoſe, & in thoſe leaues are their ſupplications written, & with their ſupplications, they haue in their hands a preſent or gift, according to the waightines of their matter. Then come yͤ ſecretaries downe to read theſe ſupplications, taking them & reading them before the king, & if the king think it good to do to them that fauour or iuſtice that they demaund, then he cōmandeth to take the preſents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not iuſt or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or preſents. In the Indies there is not any marchandiſe that is good to bring to Pegu, vnleſſe it bee at ſome times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if he bring money he ſhall loſe by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely marchandize for that place, which is the great quantity of cloth made there, which they vſe in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombaſt wouen and painted, ſo that the more that kinde of cloth is waſhed, the more liuelie they ſhewe their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made ſuch accompt of this kinde of cloth which is of ſo great importance, that a ſmall bale of it will coſt a thouſand or two thouſand duckets. Alſo from S. Tome they layd great ſtore of red yarne, of bombaſt died with a roote which they call Saia, as aforeſayd, which colour will neuer out. With which marchandiſe euery yeere there goeth a great ſhippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they vſually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 11, or 12. of September, & if ſhe ſtay vntil the twelfth, it is a great hap if ſhe returne not without making of her voiage. Their vſe was to depart the ſixt of September, and then they made ſure voyages, and now becauſe there is a great labour about that kind of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well dried, as alſo the greedineſſe of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his fraight, thinking to haue the wind alwayes to ſerue their turne, they ſtay ſo long, that at ſometimes the winde turneth. For in thoſe parts the windes blow firmely for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the winde in poope, and if they arriue not there before the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they muſt returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coaſt & anker there, then with great labour they may ſaue their voyage. Alſo there goeth another great ſhippe from Bengala euery yeere, laden with fine cloth of bombaſt of all ſorts, which arriueth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ſhip that commeth from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where theſe two ſhips arriue is called Coſmin. From Malaca to Martauan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many ſmall ſhips, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Procellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo, and other marchandiſe. The ſhips that come from Mecca enter into the port of Pegu and Cirion, and thoſe ſhippes bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they loſe, and they bring them becauſe they haue no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they eſteeme not the loſſe of them, for that they make ſuch great gaine of their commodities that they cary from thence out of that kingdome. Alſo the king of Aſſi his ſhips come thither into the ſame port laden with peper; from the coaſt of S. Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundreth miles, and they go it vp the riuer in foure daies, with the encreaſing water, or with the flood, to a City called Coſmin, and there they diſcharge their ſhips, whither the Cuſtomers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of euery man, & take the charge of the goods on them, and conuey them to Pegu, into the kings houſe, wherin they make the cuſtome of the marchandize. When the Cuſtomers haue taken the charge of the goods & put them into barks, the Retor of the City giueth licence to the Marchants to take barke, and goe vp to Pegu with their marchandize; and ſo three or foure of them take a barke and goe vp to Pegu in company. God deliuer euery man that hee giue not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to ſteale any cuſtome: for if they do, for the leaſt trifle that is, he is vtterly vndone, for the king doeth take it for a moſt great affront to bee deceiued of his cuſtome; and therefore they make diligent ſearches, three times at the lading and vnlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this ſearch they make when they goe out of the ſhip for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little roome: for becauſe that all the iewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay cuſtome, but Rubies, Safyres and Spinels pay no cuſtome in nor out: becauſe they are found growing in that Countrey. I haue ſpoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, muſt cary al maner of houſhold ſtuffe with them which is neceſſary for a houſe, becauſe that there is not any lodging nor Innes nor hoſtes, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the firſt thing a man doth when he commeth to any City is to hier a houſe, either by the yeere or by the moneth, or as he meanes to ſtay in thoſe parts.

The commodities that are ventured in Pegu.

Note the departure of the ſhips from S. Tome to Pegu.

Commodities brought into Pegu.

The Chikinos are pieces of gold worth ſterling 7. ſhillings.

Great rigour for the ſtealing of Cuſtomes.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houſes for ſixe moneths. Nowe from Coſmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in ſixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make faſt their boate to the riuer ſide, and there tary vntil the water flow againe. It is a very commodious and pleaſant voyage, hauing on both ſides of the riuers many great villages, which they call Cities: in the which hennes, pigeons, egges, milke, rice, and other things be very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage vp to Macceo, diſtant frõ Pegu twelue miles, & there they diſcharge their goods, & lade them in Carts or waines drawen with oxen, and the Marchants are caried in a cloſet which they call Deling, in the which a man ſhall be very well accommodated, with cuſhions vnder his head, and couered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may ſleepe if he haue wil thereunto: and his foure Falchines cary him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The cuſtome of Pegu and fraight thither, may amount vnto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath more or leſſe ſtolen from him that day they cuſtome the goods. It is requiſite that a man haue his

Deſcription of the fruitfulneſſe of that ſoyle.

Deling is a ſmall litter caried with men as is aforeſaid.

eyes watchfull, and to be carefull, and to haue many friendes, for when they cuſtome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their ſlaues, and theſe gentlemen haue no ſhame that their ſlaues rob ſtrangers: whether it be cloth in ſhewing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, & looke to their goods, they cannot looke therto ſo narrowly but one or other wil rob ſomething, either more or leſſe, according as their marchandiſe is more or leſſe: and yet on this day there is a worſe thing then this: although you haue ſet ſo many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you eſcape vnrobbed of the ſlaues, a man cannot chooſe but that he muſt be robbed of the officers of the cuſtome houſe. For paying the cuſtome with the ſame goods oftentimes they take the beſt that you haue, & not by rate of euery ſort as they ought to do, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be diſpatched out of the cuſtome houſe in this order, the Marchant cauſeth them to be caried to his houſe, and may do with them at his pleaſure.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to ſell all the marchandize which come to Pegu, at the common or the currant price: then if the marchants wil ſell their goods at that price, they ſel them away, and the brokers haue two in the hundreth of euery ſort of marchandiſe, and they are bound to make good the debts of thoſe goods, becauſe they be ſold by their hands or meanes, & on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giueth his goods, yet he cannot loſe any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wiſe to pay him, and if the marchant ſel his goods without the conſent of the broker, yet neuertheleſſe he muſt pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very ſeldom ſeene, becauſe the wife, children, and ſlaues of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and cary him home to his houſe, and ſhut him vp in a Magaſin, whereby preſently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and ſlaues of the debtor, and ſel them, for ſo is the lawe of that kingdome. The currant money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdom is called Ganſa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but euery man may ſtamp it that wil, becauſe it hath his iuſt partition or value: but they make many of them falſe, by putting ouermuch lead into them, and thoſe will not paſſe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or ſiluer, Rubies and Muſke, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongſt them. And Golde, ſiluer and other marchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things be.

A lawe for Banckrupts.

Euery man may ſtampe what money he wil.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, & this name of Byza goeth for yͤ accompt of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat, litle more or leſſe: and albeit that Gold and ſiluer is more or leſſe in price, yet the Byza neuer changeth: euery Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and ſo the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Iewels, if he wil do well, it behoueth him to be a whole yere there to do his buſineſſe. For if ſo be that he would return with the ſhip he came in, he cãnot do any thing ſo cõueniently for the breuitie of the time, becauſe that when they cuſtome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ſhips, it is as it were about Chriſtmas: and when they haue cuſtomed their goods, then muſt they ſell them for their credits ſake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ſhips depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the paiment of their goods, gold, and ſiluer, which is neuer wanting there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all ſatiſfied: alſo they may haue Rubies in paiment, but they make no accompt of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is needfull that they be aduertized, that in the ſale of their goods, they ſpecifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or 3. moneths paiment, & that their paiment ſhalbe in ſo many Ganza, and neither golde nor ſiluer: becauſe that with the Ganza they may buy & ſel euery thing with great aduãtage. And how needful is it to be aduertized, when they wil recouer their paiments, in what order they ſhal receiue their Ganza? Becauſe he that is not experienced may do himſelfe great wrong in the weight of the Ganſa, as alſo in the falſeneſſe of them: in the weight he may be greatly deceiued, becauſe that from place to place it doth riſe and fall greatly: and therefore when any wil receiue money or make paiment, he muſt take a publique wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his buſineſſe, and giue him in paiment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, & to maintaine it for good, for that hee receiueth it and ſeales the bags with his ſeale: and when hee hath receiued any ſtore, then hee cauſeth it to bee brought into the Magaſon of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

How a man may diſpoſe himſelfe for the trade in Pegu.

Good inſtructions.

That money is very weightie, for fourtie Byza is a ſtrong Porters burden; and alſo where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for thoſe goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiueth his money muſt make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the

Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth,receiueth and payeth out his money without loſſe or trouble. The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold,Siluer,Rubies,Saphyres, Spinelles,great ſtore of Beniamin, long peper, Leade, Lacca,rice, wine, ſome ſugar,yet there might be great ſtore of ſugar made in the Countrey, for that they haue aboundance of Canes,but they giue them to Eliphants to eate, and the people conſume great ſtore of them for food,and many more doe they conſume in vaine things,as theſe following. In that kingdome they ſpend many of theſe Sugar canes in making of houſes and tents which they call Varely for their idoles, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great aboundance, great and ſmal,and theſe houſes are made in forme of little hilles, like to Sugar loaues or to Bells,and ſome of theſe houſes are as high as a reaſonable ſteeple,at the foote they are very large, ſome of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The ſaide houſes within are full of earth,and walled round about with brickes and dirt in ſteade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a couering for them with Sugar canes,and plaiſter it with lime all ouer, for otherwiſe they would bee ſpoyled,by the great aboundance of raine that falleth in thoſe Countreys. Alſo they conſume about theſe Varely or idol houſes great ſtore of leafe-gold,for that they ouerlay all the tops of the houſes with gold, and ſome of them are couered with golde from the top to the foote: in couering whereof there is great ſtore of gold ſpent,for that euery 10.yeeres they new ouerlay them with gold,from the top to the foote,ſo that with this vanitie they ſpend great aboundance of golde. For euery 10.yeres the raine doeth conſume the gold from theſe houſes. And by this meanes they make golde dearer in Pegu then it would bee,if they conſumed not ſo much in this vanitie. Alſo it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of iewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge ſhall haue as good iewels, and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wiſe. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or brokers of Jewels. Theſe foure men haue all the Jewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Marchant that wil buy conmeth to one of theſe Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath ſo much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of theſe foure men paſſe all the Rubies: for they haue ſuch quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but ſell them at moſt vile and baſe prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of theſe brokers or Tareghe,they cary him home to one of their Shops,although he hath no knowledge in Jewels: and when the Jewellers perceiue that hee will employ a good round ſumme,they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The vſe generally of this Citie is this; that when any Marchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carieth them home to his houſe, let them be of what value they will,he ſhall haue ſpace to looke on them and peruſe them two or three dayes: and if he hath no knowledge in them,he ſhall alwayes haue many Marchants in that Citie that haue very good knowledge in Jewels; with whom he may alwayes conferre and take counſell,and may ſhew them vnto whom he will; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money well,hee may returne his Jewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any loſſe at all. Which thing is ſuch a ſhame to the Tareghe to haue his Jewels returne,that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it ſhould be thought that he ſolde them ſo deere to haue them returned. For theſe men haue alwayes great care that they afford good peniworths,eſpecially to thoſe that haue no knowledge. This they doe, becauſe they woulde not looſe their credite: and when thoſe Marchants that haue knowledge in Jewels buy any,if they buy them deere,it is their own faults and not the brokers: yet it is good to haue knowledge in Jewels,by reaſon that it may ſomewhat eaſe the price. There is alſo a very good order which they haue in buying of Jewels, which is this; There are many Marchants that ſtand by at the making of the bargaine, and becauſe they ſhall not vnderſtand howe the Jewels be ſolde, the Broker and the Marchants haue their hands vnder a cloth,and by touching of fingers and nipping the ioynts they know what is done, what is bidden,and what is aſked. So that the ſtanders by knowe not what is demaunded for them, although it be for a thouſand or 10.thouſand duckets. For euery ioynt and euery finger hath his ſignification. For if the Marchants that ſtande by ſhould vnderſtand the bargaine, it would breede great controuerſie amongſt them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of Auguſt, in Anno 1569.hauing gotten well by my endeuour, I was deſirous to ſee mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of S.Tome, but then I ſhould tary vntil March.

The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu.

Idol houſes couered with gold.

Rubies exceeding cheape in Pegu.

An honeſt care of heathen people.

Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers vnder a cloth.

In which iourney I was counſailed,yea,and fully reſolued to go by the way of Bengala,with a ſhippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chatigan a great harbour or port,from whence there goe ſmal ſhips to Cochin,before the fleete depart for Portugall,in which ſhips I was fully determined to goe to Liſbon,and ſo to Venice. When I had thus reſolued my ſelfe,I went a boord of the ſhippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon ye are to vnderſtand, that in the Eaſt Indies often times,

This Touffon is an extraordinary ſtorme at Sea.

times,there are not ſtormes as in other countreys; but euery 10,or 12,yeres there are ſuch tempeſts and ſtormes,that it is a thing incredible,but to thoſe that haue ſeene it,neither do they know certainly what yeere they wil come.

The Toufon cōmeth but euery 10.or 12. yeeres.

Vnfortunate are they that are at ſea in that yere and time of the Touffon,becauſe few there are that eſcape that danger.In this yere it was our chance to be at ſea with the like ſtorme, but it happened well vnto vs, for that our ſhip was newly ouer-plancked, and had not any thing in her ſaue victuall and balaſts,Siluer and golde,which from Pegu they cary to Bengala,and no other kinde of Marchandiſe. This Touffon or cruel ſtorme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it caried away our ſailes,yards, and rudder; and becauſe the ſhippe laboured in the Sea,wee cut our maſt ouer boord: which when we had done ſhe laboured a great deale more then before,in ſuch wiſe, that ſhe was almoſt full with water that came ouer the higheſt part of her and ſo went downe: and for the ſpace of three dayes and three nights ſixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wiſe, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place,and twentie in a thirde place: and for all this ſtorme, the ſhippe was ſo good,that ſhee tooke not one iot of water below through her ſides,but all ran downe through the hatches,ſo that thoſe ſixtie men did nothing but caſt the Sea into the Sea. And thus driuing too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke caſt on a ſholde: yet when it was day,we could neither ſee land on one ſide nor other,and knew not where we were. And as it pleaſed the diuine power,there came a great waue of the Sea,which draue vs beyonde the ſhould. And when wee felt the ſhippe aflote, we roſe vp as men reuiued,becauſe the Sea was calme and ſmooth water, and then ſounding we found twelue fadome water, and within a while after wee had but ſixe fadome,and then preſently we came to anker with a ſmall anker that was left vs at the ſterne, for all our other were loſt in the ſtorme: and by and by the ſhippe ſtrooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that ſhe ſhould not ouerthrow.

A manifeſt token of the ebbing and flowing in thoſe Countreis.

This Iſland is called Sondiua.

When it was day the ſhippe was all dry,and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, we diſcouered an Iſland not farre from vs,and we went from the ſhippe on the ſands to ſee what Iſland it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and,to my iudgement,the fertileſt Iſland in all the world, the which is diuided into two parts by a chanell which paſſeth betweene it, & with great trouble we brought our ſhip into the ſame chanel,which parteth the Iſland at flowing water,and there we determined to ſtay 40.dayes to refreſh vs. And when the people of the Iſland ſaw the ſhip,and that we were cōming a land: preſently they made a place of bazar or a market, with ſhops right ouer againſt the ſhip with all maner of prouiſion of victuals to eate,which they brought downe in great abundance,and ſold it ſo good cheape,that we were amazed at the cheapeneſſe thereof. I bought many ſalted kine there,for the prouiſion of the ſhip,for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12,ſhillings ſixe pence, being very good and fat; and 4.wilde hogges ready dreſſed for a Larine; great fat hennes for a Bizze a piece,which is at the moſt a pennie: and the people told vs that we were deceiued the halfe of our money,becauſe we bought things ſo deare. Alſo a ſacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing,and conſequently all other things for humaine ſuſtenance were there in ſuch aboundance,that it is a thing incredible but to them that haue ſeene it. This Iſland is called Sondiua belonging to the kingdome of Bengala,diſtant 120.miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king,for if he had bin a tyrant as others be,he might haue robbed vs of all, becauſe the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes againſt the Retor of that place,& euery day there were ſome ſlaine,at which newes we reſted there with no ſmal feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord euery night as the vſe is,but the gouernour of the towne did comfort vs,and bad vs that we ſhould feare nothing,but that we ſhould repoſe our ſelues ſecurely without any danger,although the Portugales of Chatigan had ſlaine the gouernour of that City, and ſaid that we were not culpable in that fact; and moreouer he did vs euery day what pleaſure he could,which was a thing contrary to our expectations conſidering that they & the people of Chatigan were both ſubiects to one king. We departed from Sondiua, & came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala,at the ſame time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the gouernours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ſhip ſhould depart without any lading: for there were then at that time 18.ſhips of Portugales great and ſmall. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithſtanding contented to depart to his greateſt hinderance, rather then hee would ſeeke to hinder ſo many of his friends as were there,as alſo becauſe the time of the yeere was ſpent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, euery ſhip that had any lading therein, put it aboord of the Captaine to helpe to eaſe his charge and to recompence his courteſies. In this time there came a meſſenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugal Captaine, who ſaide in the behalfe of his king, that hee

had

Sondiua is the fruitfulleſt Countrey in al the world.

Chatigan is a port in Bengala, whither the Portugales go with their ſhips.

The King of Rachim,or Aracam,neighbour to Bengala.

had heard of the courage and valure of him, deſiring him gently that he would vouchſafe to come with the ſhip into his port, and comming thither he ſhould be very wel intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well ſatiſfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his ſeate in the middle coaſt betweene Bengala and Pegu,, and the greateſt enemie he hath is the king of Pegu: which king of Pegu deuiſeth night and day how to make this king of Rachim his ſubiect, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: becauſe the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of *Rachim may arme two hundreth Galleyes or Fuſts by Sea, and by land he hath certaine ſluſes with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleaſure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu ſhould come with his power to hurt him.

*Or, Atacam.

From the great port of Chatigan they cary for the Indies great ſtore of Rice, very great quantitie of Bombaſt cloth of euery ſort, Suger, corne, and money, with other marchandize. And by reaſon of the warres in Chatigan, the Portugall ſhips taried there ſo long, that they arriued not at Cochin ſo ſoone as they were wont to doe other yeeres. For which cauſe the fleete that was at Cochin was departed for Portugal before they arriued there, and I being in one of the ſmall ſhippes before the fleete, in diſcouering of Cochin, we alſo diſcouered the laſt ſhippe of the Fleete that went from Cochin to Portugall, where ſhee made ſaile, for which I was maruellouſly diſcomforted, becauſe that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arriued at Cochin I was fully determined to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was beſieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this aſſault, becauſe they ſuppoſed that it would not continue long. For all this I imbarked my ſelfe in a Galley that went for Goa, meaning there to ſhippe my ſelfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy would not ſuffer any Portugal to depart, by reaſon of the warres. And being in Goa but a ſmall time, I fell ſicke of an infirmitie that helde mee foure moneths: which with phiſicke and diet coſt me eight hundreth duckets, and there I was conſtrained to ſell a ſmal quantitie of Rubies to ſuſtaine my neede: and I ſolde that for fiue hundreth duckets, that was worth a thouſand. And when I beganne to waxe well of my diſeaſe, I had but little of that money left, euery thing was ſo ſcarſe: For euery chicken (and yet not good) coſt mee ſeuen or eight Liuers, which is ſixe ſhillings, or ſixe ſhillings eight pence. Beſide this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no ſmall charge to me. At the ende of ſixe moneths they raiſed the ſiege, and then I beganne to worke, for Iewels were riſen in their prices: for, whereas before I ſold a few of refuſed Rubies, I determined then to ſell the reſt of all my Iewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And forbecauſe that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great requeſt, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round ſumme of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. percels of Opium, which coſt me two thouſand & a hundreth duckets, euery ducket at foure ſhillings two pence. Moreouer I bought three bales of Bombaſt cloth, which coſt me eight hundred duckats, which was a good cõmoditie for Pegu: when I had bought theſe things, the Viceroy commanded that the cuſtome of the Opium ſhould be paide in Goa, and paying cuſtome there I might cary it whither I would. I ſhipped my 3. bales of cloth at Chaul in a ſhippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforeſaid cuſtome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ſhip that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I came to Cochin, I vnderſtood that the ſhip that had my three bales of cloth was caſt away and loſt, ſo that I loſt my 800. Serafins or duckats: and departing from Cochin to goe for S. Tome, in caſting about for the Iſland of Zeilan the Pilote was deceiued, for that the Cape of the Iſland of Zeilan lieth farre out into the ſea, and the Pilot thinking that he might haue paſſed hard aboord the Cape, and paying roomer in the night; when it was morning we were farre within the Cape, and paſt all remedy to go out, by reaſon the winds blew ſo fiercely againſt vs. So that by this meanes we loſt our voyage for that yere, and we went to Manar with the ſhip to winter there, the ſhip hauing loſt her maſtes, and with great diligence we hardly ſaued her, with great loſſes to the Captaine of the ſhip, becauſe he was forced to fraight another ſhip in S. Tome for Pegu with great loſſes and intereſt, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary vs to S. Tome; which thing we did with al the reſt of the marchants; and ariuing at S. Tome I had news through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to go for Pegu that yere, ſo that I was holden of al the marchants there to be very rich: and ſo it would haue proued, if my aduerſe fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ſhip from Cambaya, to the king of Aſſi, with great quantitie of Opium, & there to lade peper: in which voyage there came ſuch a ſtorme, that the ſhip was forced with wether to goe roomer 800. miles,

The commodities that goe from Chatigan to the Indies.

The Portugal ſhips depart toward Portugall out of the harbor of Cochin.

Goa was beſieged.

Opium a good commoditie in Pegu.

and by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arriued a day before mee; ſo that Opium which was before very deare, was now at a baſe price: ſo that which was ſold for fiftie Bizze before, was ſolde for 2. Bizze & an halfe, there was ſuch quantitie came in that ſhip; ſo that I was glad to ſtay two yeres in Pegu vnleſſe I would haue giuen away my commoditie: and at the end of two yeres of my 2100. duckets which I beſtowed in Cambaya, I made but a thouſand duckets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus with great quantitie of Lacca, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochin, and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I loſt occaſion to make me riche, for whereas I might haue brought good ſtore of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this ſmall quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to go for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I tarried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very neceſſary before I ende my voyage, to reaſon ſomewhat, and to ſhewe what fruits the Indies do yeeld and bring forth. Firſt, in the Indies and other Eaſt parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which growweth in all parts of India. And in ſome parts of the Indies, the greateſt quantitie of peper growweth amongſt wilde buſhes, without any maner of labour: ſauing, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper growweth on is like to our Iuie, which runneth vp to the tops of trees whereſoeuer it growweth: and if it ſhould not take holde of ſome tree, it would lie flat and rot on the ground. This peper tree hath his floure and berry like in all parts to our Iuie berry, and thoſe berries be graines of peper: ſo that when they gather them they be greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

Peper tree.

The Ginger growweth in this wiſe: the land is tilled and ſowen, and the herbe is like to Panizzo, and the roote is the ginger. These two ſpices grow in diuers places.

Ginger.

The Cloues come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Iſlands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

Cloues.

The Nutmegs and Maces, which grow both together, are brought from the Iſland of Banda, whoſe tree is like to our walnut tree, but not ſo big.

Nutmegs and Maces.

All the good white Sandol is brought from the Iſland of Timor. Canfora being compound commeth all from China, and all that which growweth in canes commeth from Borneo, & I thinke that this Canfora commeth not into theſe parts: for that in India they conſume great ſtore, and that is very deare. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

White Sandol.
Canfora.

Lignum Aloes.

The Beniamin commeth from the kingdome of Aſſi and Sion.

Beniamin.

Long peper growweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Iaua.

Long peper.

Muſke commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I haue bene told. There is a certaine beaſt in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, which beaſt they take aliue, & beat him to death with ſmall ſtaues yͤ his blood may be ſpread through his whole body, then they cut it in pieces, & take out all the bones, & beat the fleſh with the blood in a morter very ſmal, and dry it, and make purſes to put it in of the ſkin, and theſe be the cods of muſke.

This Muſke the Iewes doe counterfeit and take out halfe the good muſke and beat the fleſh of an aſſe and put in the roome of it.

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are diuers opinions of it, but this is moſt certaine, it is caſt out of the Sea, and throwne on land, and found vpon the ſea bankes.

The Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spinels be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamants come from diuers places; and I know but three ſorts of them. That ſort of Diamants that is called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Thoſe that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Iaua, but the Diamants of Iaua are more waightie then the other. I could neuer vnderſtand from whence they that are called Balaſſi come.

Rubies Saphyres, and Spinels.

The Balaſſi **growe in** Zeilan.

Pearles they fiſh in diuers places, as before in this booke is ſhowne.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodiom which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found many in Pegu, when I made my houſe there, becauſe that (as I haue ſaid before) they make their houſes there of wouen canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade alongſt the coaſt of Melinde in Ethiopia, within the land of Cafraria: on that coaſt are many good harbors kept by the Moores. Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombaſt cloth of a low price, and great ſtore of Paternoſters or beads made of paltrie glaſſe, which they make in Chaul according to the vſe of the Countrey: and from thence they cary Elephants teeth for India, ſlaues called Cafari, and ſome Amber and Gold. On this coaſt the king of Portugall hath his caſtle called Mozambique, which is of as great importance as any caſtle that hee hath in all his Indies vnder his protection, and the Captaine of this caſtle hath certaine voyages to this Cafraria, to which places no Marchants may goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they vſe to goe in ſmall ſhippes, and trade with the Cafars, and their trade in buying and ſelling is without any ſpeach one to the other. In this wiſe the Portugals bring their goods by litle and litle alongſt the Sea coaſt, and lay them downe: and

Spodiom.

On the coaſt of Melynde in Ethiopia, **in the land of** Cafraria, **the great trade that the** Portugals **haue.**

Buying and ſelling without words one to another.

and ſo depart, and the Caſar Marchants come and ſee the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and ſo goe their way and leaue their golde and the goods together, then commeth the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ſhip, and then commeth the Caſar and taketh the goods and carieth them away: and if he finde the golde there ſtill, it is a ſigne that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Caſar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinketh the thing is worth: and the Portugales muſt not ſtand with them too ſtrickt; for if they doe, then they will haue no more trade with them: For they diſdaine to be refuſed, when they thinke that they haue offered ynough, for they be apeeuiſh people, and haue dealt ſo of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Caſtle of Mozambique, which is in an Iſland not farre diſtant from the firme land of Cafraria on the coaſt of Ethiopia, and is diſtant from India 2800. miles. Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Maſter Francis Berettin of Venice, and we fraighted a bark together to goe for Baſora for 70. duckets, and with vs there went other Marchants, which did eaſe our fraight, and very commodiouſly wee came to Baſora and there we ſtayed 40. dayes for prouiding a Carouan of barks to go to Babylon, becauſe they vſe not to goe two or 3. barkes at once, but 25. or 30. becauſe in the night they cannot go, but muſt make them faſt to the banks of the riuer, and then we muſt make a very good & ſtrong guard, and be wel prouided of armor, for reſpect & ſafegard of our goods, becauſe the number of theeues is great that come to ſpoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a litle with our ſaile, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we ſtayed there 4. moneths, vntil the Carouan was ready to go ouer the wildernes, or deſert for Alepo; in this citie we were 6. Marchants that accompanied together, fiue Venetians and a Portugal; whoſe names were as followeth, Meſſer Florinaſa with one of his kinſmen, Meſſer Andrea de Polo, the Portugal & M. Francis Berettin and I, and ſo wee furniſhed our ſelues with victuals and beanes for our horſes for 40. dayes; and wee bought horſes and mules, for that they bee very good cheape there, I my ſelfe bought a horſe there for 11. akens, and ſolde him after in Alepo for 30. duckets. Alſo we bought a Tent which did vs very great pleaſure: we had alſo amongſt vs 32. Camels laden with marchandiſe: for the which we paid 2. duckets for euery camels lading, and for euery 10. camels they made 11, for ſo is their vſe and cuſtome. We take alſo with vs 3. men to ſerue vs in the voyage, which are vſed to goe in thoſe voyages for fiue Dd. a man, and are bound to ſerue vs to Alepo: ſo that we paſſed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to reſt, our pauilion was the firſt that was erected. The Carouan maketh but ſmall iourneis about 20. miles a day, & they ſet forwards euery morning before day two houres, and about two in the after noone they ſit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: For which cauſe we neuer wanted water, but euery day found good water, ſo that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a camel laden alwayes with water for euery good reſpect that might chance in the deſert, ſo that wee had no want neither of one thing, nor other that was to bee had in the countrey. For wee came very well furniſhed of euery thing, and euery day we eat freſh mutton, becauſe there came many ſhepheards with vs wich their flocks, who kept thoſe ſheepe that we bought in Babylon, and euery marchant marked his ſheepe with his owne marke, and we gaue the ſhepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money, for the keeping and feeding our ſheep on the way, and for killing of them. And beſide the Medin they haue the heads, the ſkinnes, and the intrals of euery ſheepe they kil. We ſixe bought 20. ſheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. aliue of them. And in the Carouan they vſe this order, that the marchants doe lende fleſh one to another, becauſe they will not cary raw fleſh with them, but pleaſure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

Golden trade that the Portugals haue.

An order how to prouide to goe ouer the Deſert from Babylon to Alepo.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes iourney, of the which they make 36. dayes ouer the wildernes, in which 36. dayes they neither ſee houſe, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plaine, and no ſigne of any way in the world. The pilots go before, and the Carouan followeth after. And when they ſit downe all the Carouan vnladeth and ſitteth downe, for they know the ſtations where the wells are. I ſay, in 36. dayes we paſſe ouer the wilderneſſe. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we paſſe by villages inhabited vntil we haue paſſed the riuer Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo we haue villages inhabited. In this Carouan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Iuſtice vnto all men: and euery night they keepe watch about the Carouan, and comming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Maſter Florin, and Maſter Andrea Polo, and I, with a Frier, went and hired a barke to goe with vs to Ieruſalem. Departing from Tripolie, we arriued at Iaffa: from which place in a day and halfe we went to Ieruſalem, and we gaue order to our barke to tary for vs vntill our returne. Wee ſtayed in Ieruſalem 14. dayes, to viſite thoſe holy places: from whence we returned to Iaffa, and from Iaffa to Tripolie, and there

36. Dayes iourney ouer the wildernes.

An order how to prouide for the going to Ieruſalem.

The author returneth to Venice 1581.

A very good order that they haue in thoſe Countreys for the recouering of the goods of the dead.

wee ſhipped our ſelues in a ſhip of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the diuine power, we arriued ſafely in Venice the fift of Nouember 1581. If there be any that hath any deſire to goe into thoſe partes of India, let him not be aſtonied at the troubles that I haue paſſed: becauſe I was intangled in many things: for that I went very poore frõ Venice with 1200. duckets imployed in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell ſicke in the houſe of Maſter Regaly Oratio, and this man ſent away my goods with a ſmall Carouan that went from Tripolie to Alepo, and the Carouan was robd, and all my goods loſt ſauing foure cheſts of glaſſes which coſt me 200. duckets, of which glaſſes I found many broken: becauſe the theeues thinking it had bene other marchandize, brake them vp, and ſeeing they were glaſſes they let them all alone. And with this onely ſtocke I aduentured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange, and by diligence in my voyage, God did bleſſe and helpe mee, ſo that I got a good ſtocke. I will not be vnmindfull to put them in remembrance, that haue a deſire to goe into thoſe parts, how they ſhall keepe their goods, and giue them to their heires at the time of their death, and howe this may be done very ſecurely. In all the cities that the Portugales haue in the Indies, there is a houſe called the ſchoole of Sancta miſericordia cõmiſſaria: the gouernours whereof, if you giue them for their paines, will take a copy of your will and Teſtament, which you muſt alwayes cary about you; and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in thoſe voyages alwayes there goeth a Captaine to adminiſter Juſtice to all Chriſtians of the Portugales. Alſo this captaine hath authoritie to recouer the goods of thoſe Marchants that by chance die in thoſe voyages, and they that haue not made their Wills and regiſtred them in the aforeſaide ſchooles, the Captaines will conſume their goods in ſuch wiſe, that litle or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Alſo there goeth in theſe ſame voyages ſome marchants that are commiſſaries of the ſchoole of Sancta miſericordia, that if any Marchant die and haue his Wil made, and hath giuen order that the ſchoole of Miſericordia ſhall haue his goods and ſell them, then they ſende the money by exchange to the ſchoole of Miſericordia in Lisbone, with that copie of his Teſtament, then from Lisbon they giue intelligence thereof, into what part of Chriſtendome ſoeuer it be, and the heires of ſuch a one comming thither, with teſtimoniall that they be heires, they ſhall receiue there the value of his goods: in ſuch wiſe that they ſhall not looſe any thing. But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu looſe the thirde part of their goods by ancient cuſtome of the Countrey, that if any Chriſtian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers reſt heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath neuer bene any deceit or fraude vſed in this matter. I haue knowen many rich men that haue dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they haue deſired to go into their owne Countrey to die there, and haue departed with al their goods and ſubſtance without let or trouble.

Order of apparel in Pegu.

The order of the womens apparel in Pegu.

In Pegu the faſhion of their apparel is all one, as well the Noble man, as the ſimple: the onely difference is in the fines of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombaſt one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wiſe: Firſt, a white Bombaſt cloth which ſerueth for a ſhirt, then they gird another painted bombaſt cloth of fourteene braſes, which they binde vp betwixt their legges, and on their heads they weare a ſmall tock of three braces, made in guize of a myter; and ſome goe without tocks, and cary (as it were) a blue on their heades, which doeth not paſſe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted vp: they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men neuer goe on foote, but are caried by men in a ſeate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leaues of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwiſe they ride on horſebacke with their feete bare in the ſtirops. All ſorts of women whatſoeuer they be, weare a ſmocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foote they weare a cloth of three braſes, open before; ſo ſtraite that they cannot goe, but they muſt ſhewe their ſecret as it were aloft, and in their going they faine to hide it with their hand, but they cãnot by reaſon of the ſtraitnes of their cloth. They ſay that this vſe was inuented by a Queene to be an occaſion that the ſight thereof might remoue from men the vices againſt nature, which they are greatly giuen vnto: which ſight ſhould cauſe them to regard women the more. Alſo the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with hoopes of golde and Jewels: And their fingers full of precious rings, with their haire rolled vp about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their ſhoulders in ſtead of a cloake.

Now to finiſh that which I haue begunne to write, I ſay, that thoſe parts of the Indies are very good, becauſe that a man that hath litle, ſhall make a great deale thereof; alwayes they muſt gouerne themſelues that they be taken for honeſt men. For why? to ſuch there ſhal neuer want helpe to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him tary at home and not go thither, becauſe he ſhall alwayes be a begger, and die a poore man.

A letter

Letters concerning the voyage of *M.Iohn Newbery* and *M. Ralph Fitch*, made by the way of the *Leuant* Sea to *Syria*, and ouerland to *Balſara*, and thence into the Eaſt *Indies*, and beyond, In the yeere 1583.

¶ A letter written from the Queenes Maieſtie, to *Zelabdim Echebar* King of *Cambaia*, and ſent by *Iohn Newbery*. In February Anno 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, &c. To the moſt inuincible, and moſt mightie prince, lord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya. Inuincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our Subiects haue, to viſit the moſt diſtant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatſoeuer they can, by which meanes the mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both ſides may come, is the cauſe that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newbery, ioyntly with thoſe that be in his company, with a curteous and honeſt boldneſſe, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperial Maieſtie through your royal grace, will fauourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our ſake, to make vs greatly beholding to your Maieſtie; wee ſhould more earneſtly, and with more wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the ſingular report that is of your imperial Maieſties humanitie in theſe vttermoſt parts of the world, we are greatly eaſed of that burden, and therefore we vſe the fewer and leſſe words: onely we requeſt that becauſe they are our ſubiects, they may be honeſtly intreated and receiued. And that in reſpect of the hard iourney which they haue vndertaken to places ſo far diſtant, it would pleaſe your Maieſtie with ſome libertie and ſecuritie of voiage to gratifie it, with ſuch priuileges as to you ſhall ſeeme good: which curteſie if your Imperiall maieſtie ſhal to our ſubiects at our requeſts performe, wee, according to our royall honour, wil recompence the ſame with as many deſerts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Maieſtie to farewel.

A letter written by her Maieſtie to the King of *China*, In Februarie 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Moſt Imperial and inuincible prince, our honeſt ſubiect Iohn Newbery the bringer hereof, who with our fauour hath taken in hand the voyage which nowe hee purſueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not truſting vpon any other ground then vpon the fauour of your Imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is mooued to vndertake a thing of ſo much difficultie, being perſwaded that hee hauing entred into ſo many perils, your Maieſtie will not diſlike the ſame, eſpecially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable vnto your royall Maieſtie, and that to your people it will bring ſome profite: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing minde hath prepared himſelfe for his deſtinated voyage vnto vs well liked of. For by this meanes we perceiue, that the profit which by the mutual trade on both ſides, al the princes our neighbors in yͤ West do receiue, your Imperial maieſtie & thoſe that be ſubiect vnder your dominion, to their great ioy and benefit ſhal haue the ſame, which conſiſteth in the tranſporting outward of ſuch things whereof we haue plenty, & in bringing in ſuch things as we ſtand in need of. It cannot otherwiſe be, but that ſeeing we are borne and made to haue need one of another, & that wee are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial Maieſtie wil wel like of it, & by your ſubiects wͭ like indeuor wil be accepted. For the increaſe whereof, if your imperial Maieſtie ſhall adde the ſecuritie of paſſage, with other priuileges moſt neceſſary to vſe the trade with your men, your maieſtie ſhall doe that which belongeth to a moſt honorable & liberal prince, and deſerue ſo much of vs, as by no cõtinuance or length of time ſhalbe forgotten. Which requeſt of ours we do moſt inſtantly deſire to be takẽ in good part of your maieſtie, and ſo great a benefit towards vs & our men, we ſhall endeuor by diligence to requite when time ſhal ſerue thereunto. The God Almighty long preſerue your Imperial maieſtie.

A letter of *M.Iohn Newbery*, written from *Alepo*, to *M.Richard Hakluit* of *Oxford*, the 28. of May, Anno 1583.

RIght welbeloued, and my aſſured good friend, I heartily commend me vnto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we ſet ſaile from Grauesend, which was the 13. day of February laſt, wee remained vpon our coaſt vntill the 11. day of March, and that day we ſet ſaile from Falmouth, and neuer ankered till wee arriued in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the laſt day of April laſt paſt, where wee ſtayed 14. dayes: and the twentie of this preſent we came hither to Alepo, and with Gods helpe, within fiue or ſixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I haue made very earneſt inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Coſmographie of Abilfada Iſmael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some ſay that poſſibly it may be had in Perſia, but notwithſtanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balſara, and if I can finde it in any of theſe places, I wil ſend it you from thence. The letter which you deliuered me for to copy out, that came from M. Thomas Steuens in Goa, as alſo the note you gaue mee of Francis Fernandes the Portugal, I brought thence with me among other writings vnawares; the which I haue ſent you here incloſed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Perſia, and from hence is gone the Baſſa of a towne called Rahemet, and ſhortly after goeth the Baſſa of Tripolis, and the Baſſa of Damaſco, but they haue not all with them aboue 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Aſmerome, which is three dayes iourney from Trapezunde, where they ſhal meete with diuers captaines and ſouldiers that come from Conſtantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Perſia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and ſo hath there euery yeere ſince the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithſtanding, they get of the Perſians, and make caſtles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to maſter Peter Guillame, and maſter Philip Iones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the reſt of our friends. Maſter Fitch hath him heartily commended vnto you: and ſo I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie, who bleſſe and keepe you, and ſend vs a ioyfull meeting. From Alepo, the 28. of May 1583.

Abilfada Iſmael his Coſmographie.

Your louing friend to command in all that I may,
John Newberie.

Another letter of the ſaid *M. Newberie,* written to Maſter *Leonard Poore* of *London,* from *Alepo.*

Right welbeloued, my very heartie commendations vnto you, and the reſt of my friends remembred. My laſt I ſent you was the 25. of February laſt, from Dele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes wee remained vpon our owne coaſt, vntill the 11. day of March, and then wee ſet ſaile from Falmouth, and the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great ſtorme, which continued eight dayes, and in this great ſtorme wee had ſome of our goods wette, but God bee thanked no great hurt done. After which time we ſailed with a faire wind within the Streights, and ſo remained at Sea, and ankered at no place vntil our comming into the roade of Tripolis in Syria, which was the laſt day of April. This was a very good paſſage. God make vs thankfull for it. The foureteenth day of this preſent wee came from Tripolis, and the twentieth day arriued here in Alepo, and with the helpe of God to morrowe or next day, wee beginne our voyage towards Babylon and Balſara, and ſo into India. Our friend Maſter Barret hath him commended to you, who hath ſent you in the Emanuel a ball of Nutmegs for the ſmall trifles you ſent him, which I hope long ſince you haue receiued. Alſo hee hath by his letter certified you in what order hee ſolde thoſe things, whereof I can ſay nothing, becauſe I haue not ſeene the accompt thereof, neither haue demaunded it: for euer ſince our comming hither hee hath bene ſtill buſie about the diſpatch of the ſhippe, and our voyage, and I likewiſe in buying of things here to cary to Balſara, and the Indies. Wee haue bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for foure hundreth ducates, and ſome ſope and broken glaſſe, with all other ſmall trifles, all which things I hope will ſerue very wel for thoſe places that wee ſhall goe vnto. All the reſt of the accompt of the Barke Reinolds was ſent home in the Emanuel, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For maſter Staper rated it but 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, ſo that our part is 200. pound. Beſides ſuch profit as it ſhall pleaſe God to ſende thereof: wherefore you ſhall doe very well to ſpeake to M. Staper for the accompt. And if you would content your ſelfe to trauell for three or foure yeeres, I would wiſh you to come hither or goe to Cairo, if any goe thither. For wee doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like ſo well of the place, that I thinke you would not deſire to returne againe in three or foure yeeres. And, if it ſhould be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would chooſe this before all other that I know. My reaſon is, the place is healthfull and pleaſant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit will bee hereafter better, things being vſed in good order: for there ſhould come in euery ſhip the fourth part of her Cargaſon in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Alſo to haue two very good ſhips to come together, would doe very well: for in ſo doing, the danger of the voyage might be accompted as little as from London to Antwerpe, Maſter Giles

March 11.

The laſt of April.

Currall.
Amber greeſe.
Sope.
Broken glaſſe.

Giles Porter and maſter Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a ſmall barke to Iaffa, the ſame day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this preſent, ſo that no doubt, but long ſince they are in Ieruſalem: God ſend them and vs ſafe returne. At this inſtant I haue receiued the account of M. Barret, and the reſt of the rings, with two and twentie duckats, two medines in readie money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Boſtocke I left certaine ſmall trifles, which I pray you demaund. And ſo once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preſerue vs. From Aleppo the 29 of May 1583.

Yours aſſured, Iohn Newberie.

Another letter of Maſter *Newberie* to the aforeſaide M. *Poore*, written from *Babylon*.

MY laſt I ſent you, was the 29 of May laſt paſt from Aleppo, by George Gill the purſer of the Tiger, which the laſt day of the ſame moneth came from thence, & arriued at Feluge the 19 day of Iune, which Feluge is one dayes iourney from hence. Notwithſtanding ſome of our company came not hither till the laſt day of the laſt moneth, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reaſon of the great heate that is here, Camels are very ſcant to be gotten. And ſince our comming hither we haue found very ſmall ſales, but diuers ſay that in the winter our commodities will be very well ſold, I pray God their words may prooue true. I thinke cloth, kerſies & tinne, haue neuer bene here at ſo low prices as they are now. Notwithſtanding, if I had here ſo much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balſara, and ſo by Gods helpe there will be reaſonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money & halfe commoditie, may be bought here the beſt ſort of ſpices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this inſtant ſmall good to be done. With Gods helpe two dayes hence, I minde to goe from hence to Balſara, and from thence of force I muſt goe to Ormus for want of a man that ſpeaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nazaranies, and one of them hath bene twiſe in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The beſt ſort of ſpices at Babylon.
Balſara.
Ormus.

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here at this inſtant.

Cloues and Maces, the bateman, 5 duckats.
Cynamom 6 duckats, and few to be gotten.
Nutmegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a duckat.
Ginger, 40 medins.
Pepper, 75 medins.
Turbetta, the bateman, 50 medins.
Neel the churle, 70 duckats, and a churle is 27 rottils and a halfe of Aleppo.
Silke, much better then that which commeth from Perſia, 11 duckats and a halfe the bateman, and euery bateman here maketh 7 pound and 5 ounces Engliſh waight. From Babylon the 20 day of Iuly, 1583.

The prices of ſpices at Babylon.

Yours, Iohn Newberie.

Maſter *Newberie* his letter from *Ormus*, to M. *Iohn Eldred* and *William Shals* at *Balſara*.

RIght welbeloued and my aſſured good friends, I heartily cōmend me vnto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed frō you, time wil not permit: but the 4 of this preſent we arriued here, & the 10 day I with the reſt were committed to priſon, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Captaine wil ſend vs all in his ſhip for Goa. The cauſe why we are taken, as they ſay, is, for that I brought letters from Don Antonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the onely cauſe, vpon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we ſhall be delt withall in Goa, and therfore if you can procure our maſters to ſend the king of Spaine his letters for our releaſement, you ſhould doe vs great good: for they cannot with iuſtice put vs to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe vs long in priſon: Gods will be done. All thoſe commodities that I brought hither, had beene very well ſold, if this trouble had not chanced. You ſhall do well to ſend with all ſpeed a meſſenger by land from Balſara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this miſchance, although it coſt thirtie or fortie crownes, for that we may be the ſooner releaſed, and I ſhalbe the better able to recouer this againe which is now like to be loſt: I pray you make my heartie commendations, &c. From out of the priſon in Ormuz, this 21 of September, 1583.

His ſecond Letter to the foreſaid Maſter *Iohn Eldred* and *William Shales.*

THe barke of the Iewes is arriued here two daies paſt, by whom I know you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath ſhewed me here very great courteſie, wherfore I pray you ſhew him what fauor you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke we ſhall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he ſhould not goe, then I pray you diſpatch away a meſſenger with as much ſpeede as poſſible you may. I can ſay no more, but do for me as you would I ſhould do for you in the like cauſe, and ſo with my very heartie commendations, &c. From out of the priſon in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, *Iohn Newberie.*

His third Letter to Maiſter *Leonard Poore,* written from *Goa.*

Michael Stropene an Italian accuſed our men to be ſpies.

MY laſt I ſent you was from Ormuz, wherby I certified you what had happened there vnto me, and the reſt of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arriuall there, we were all committed to priſon, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine neuer examined, onely demaunded what countryman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accuſed vs, had informed the Captaine of him. The firſt day we arriued there, this Stropene accuſed vs that we were ſpies ſent from Don Antonio, beſides diuers other lies: notwithſtanding if we had beene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely haue traded with them. And although we be Engliſhmen, I know no reaſon to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Nazaranies, Turkes and Moores, Iewes & Gentiles, Perſians, Moſcouites, and there is no nation that they ſeeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all iuſtice and reaſon that they ſhould ſuffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid vs. But now I haue as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the countrey, which thing as yet I deſire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I ſhall be deſirous to go from hence, that they wil not deny me licence. Before we might be ſuffered to come out of priſon, I was forced to put in ſuerties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: otherwiſe except this, we haue as much libertie as any other nation, for I haue our goods againe, & haue taken an houſe in the chiefeſt ſtreete in the towne, called the Rue drette, where we ſell our goods.

Two cauſes of our mens impriſonment at Ormus.

There were two cauſes which moued the captaine of Ormus to impriſon vs, & afterwards to ſend vs hither. The firſt was, becauſe Michael Stropene had accuſed vs of many matters, which were moſt falſe. And the ſecond was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, cauſed two pieces of his ordinance to be ſhot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they ſay. But of theſe things I did not know at Ormus: and in the ſhip that we were ſent in came the chiefeſt iuſtice in Ormus, who was called Aueador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, ſo that now his time was expired: which Aueador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormus, who, certaine dayes after our comming from thence, ſent for mee into his chamber, and there beganne to demaund of me many things, to the which I anſwered: and amongſt the reſt, he ſaid, that Maſter Drake was ſent out of England with many ſhips, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloues, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee cauſed two pieces of his greateſt ordinance to be ſhot at the ſame: and ſo perceiuing that this did greatly grieue them, I asked, if they would be reuenged of me for that which M. Drake had done: To the which he anſwered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary.

He ſaid moreouer, that the cauſe why the captaine of Ormus did ſend me for Goa, was; for that the Viceroy would vnderſtand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the beſt that I was ſent hither, the which I truſt in God wil ſo fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleaſed God to put into the minds of the archbiſhop and other two Padres or Ieſuits of S. Pauls colledge to ſtand our friends, we might haue rotted in priſon. The archbiſhop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his ſeruantes, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was borne at Enchuyſen, whoſe name is Iohn Linſcot, who did vs great pleaſure: for by them the archbiſhop was many times put in minde of vs. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who trauelled very much for vs; the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wilſhire in England, and is called ‖Padre Thomas Steuens.

The author of the book of the Eaſt Indies.

‖This is he whoſe letters to his father from Goa are before put downe, and he was ſometimes of New colledge in Oxford.

Alſo I chanced to finde here a young man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the moſt part of his bringing vp hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who alſo hath done me great pleaſure here.

In the priſon at Ormus we remained many dayes, alſo we lay a long time at ſea comming hither, and forthwith at our arriuall here were caried to priſon, and the next day after were ſent for before the Aueador, who is the chiefeſt iuſtice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he preſently ſent vs backe againe to priſon.

And after our being here in priſon 13 daies, Iames Storie went into the monaſtery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

Iames Storie their painter.

And vpon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arriuall here) I came out of priſon, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

They arriued at Goa the 20 of Nouember 1583.

If theſe troubles had not chanced, I had beene in poſſibility to haue made as good a voyage as euer any man made with ſo much money. Many of our things I haue ſolde very well, both here and at Ormus in priſon, notwithſtanding the captaine willed me (if I would) to ſell what I could before we imbarked: & ſo with officers I went diuers times out of the caſtle in the morning, and ſolde things, and at night returned againe to the priſon, and all things that I ſolde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the captain gaue order that I ſhould deliuer all my mony with the goods into the hands of the ſcriuano, or purſer of the ſhip, which I did, and the ſcriuano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my ſelfe and the reſt with money & goods he ſhould deliuer into the hands of the Aueador generall of India: but at our arriuall here, the Aueador would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not proue any thing againſt vs: wherefore the goods remained in the ſhip 9 or 10 daies after our arriuall; and then, for that the ſhip was to ſaile from thence, the ſcriuano ſent the goods on ſhore, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receiue them. In the end they ſuffered this bringer to receiue them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an houſe which he had hired for me, where they remained foure or fiue daies. But afterward when they ſhould deliuer the money, it was concluded by the iuſtice, that both the money and goods ſhould be deliuered into the poſitors hands, where they remained fourteene dayes after my comming out of priſon. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of ſiluer and gilt, ſixe kniues, ſixe ſpoones, and one forke trimmed with corall for fiue and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the ſame twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or here one hundred chekins. Alſo he had fiue emraulds ſet in golde, which were worth fiue hundred or ſixe hundred crownes, and payed for the ſame an hundred pardaos. Alſo he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which coſt in London twenty ſhillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the ſame twelue larines a pike. Alſo he had two pieces of greene Kerſies, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piece, and payd for them ſixteene pardaos a piece: beſides diuers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and ſome for nothing at all. But the cauſe of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormus not worth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thouſand crownes, and he grieueth that any other ſtranger ſhould trade thither but himſelfe. But that ſhall not ſkill, for I truſt in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and ſell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good to be done in diuers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profite to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that haue paſſed ſince my parting from you. But of all the troubles that haue chanced ſince mine arriuall in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you. I mind to ſtay here: wherefore if you will write vnto me, you may ſend your letters to ſome friend at Lisbone, & frõ thence by the ſhips they may be conueyed hither.

Let the direction of your letters be either in Portuguiſe or Spaniſh, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Januarie. 1584.

A Letter written from *Goa* by Maſter *Ralph Fitch* to Maſter *Leonard Poore* aboueſaid.

LOuing friend Maſter Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I haue not written vnto you any letters, by reaſon that at Babylon I was ſicke of the fluxe, and being ſicke, I went from thence for Balſara, which was twelue dayes iourney downe the riuer Tygris, where we had extreame hot weather, which was good for my diſeaſe, ill fare, and worſe lodging, by reaſon our boat was peſtered with people. In eight daies, that which I did eate was very ſmall, ſo that if we had ſtayed two dayes longer vpon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Balſara, preſently I mended, I thanke God. There we ſtayed 14 dayes, and then we imbarked our ſelues for Ormuz, where we arriued the fifth of September, and were put in priſon the ninth of the ſame moneth, where we continued vntill the 11 of October, and then were ſhipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines ſhip, with an 114 horſes, and about 200 men: and paſſing by Diu & Chaul, where we went on land to water the 20 of Nouember, we arriued at Goa the 29 of the ſaid moneth, where for our better intertainment we were preſently put into a faire ſtrong priſon, where we continued vntill the 22 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Engliſhman, the other a Flemming. The Engliſhmans name is Padre Thomas Steuens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. Theſe did ſue for vs vnto the Viceroy and other officers, and ſtood vs in as much ſtead, as our liues and goods were worth: for if they had not ſtucke to vs, if we had eſcaped with our liues, yet we had had long impriſonment.

Diu.
Chaul.

After 14 dayes impriſonment they offered vs, if we could put in ſuerties for 2000 duckats, we ſhould goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the ſaid Padres found ſuerties for vs, that we ſhould not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy. It doth ſpite the Italians to ſee vs abroad: and many maruell at our deliuery. The painter is in the cloiſter of S. Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there very well. While we were in priſon, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and loſt, and we haue beene at great charges in gifts and otherwiſe, ſo that a great deale of our goods is conſumed. There is much of our things which wil ſell very well, & ſome we ſhall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they ſay, to winne a caſtle of the Moores, whoſe returne is thought will be about Eaſter, then we ſhall get our libertie, and our ſuerties diſcharged. Then I thinke it wil be our beſt way, either one or both to returne, becauſe our troubles haue bene ſo great, & ſo much of our goods ſpoyled and loſt. But if it pleaſe God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a braue and pleaſant countrey, and very fruitfull. The ſummer is almoſt all the yeere long, but the chiefeſt at Chriſtmas.

The Italians our great enemies for the trade in the Eaſt.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and marueilous great ſtore of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plentie and good cheape. And here I will paſſe ouer to certifie you of ſtrange things, vntill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who euer preſerue you and vs all. From Goa in the Eaſt Indies the 25 of Januarie 1584.

Yours to command, *Ralph Fitch.*

The voyage of M. *Ralph Fitch* marchant of *London* by the way of *Tripolis* in *Syria*, to *Ormus*, and ſo to *Goa* in the Eaſt *India*, to *Cambaia*, and all the kingdome of *Zelabdim Echebar* the great *Mogor*, to the mighty riuer *Ganges*, and downe to *Bengala*, to *Bacola*, and *Chonderi*, to *Pegu*, to *Iamahay* in the kingdome of *Siam*, and backe to *Pegu*, and from thence to *Malacca*, *Zeilan*, *Cochin*, and all the coaſt of the Eaſt *India*: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherein the ſtrange rites, maners, and cuſtomes of thoſe people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of thoſe countries are faithfully ſet downe and diligently deſcribed, by the aforeſaid M. *Ralph Fitch.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being deſirous to ſee the countreys of the Eaſt India, in the company of M. Iohn Newberie marchant (which had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Ieweller, and Iames Story Painter, being chiefly ſet forth by the right worſhipfull Sir Edward

ward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ſhip my ſelfe in a ſhip of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in ſeuen dayes with the Carouan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an halfe trauaile with Camels.

Birra.

Birra is a little towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the towne runneth the riuer of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a maſter and bargemen, for to go to Babylon. Theſe boats be but for one voiage; for the ſtreame doth runne ſo faſt downewardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there you ſell the boate for a litle money, for that which coſt you fiftie at Birra you ſell there for ſeuen or eight. From Birra to Felugia is ſixteene dayes iourney, it is not good that one boate goe alone, for if it ſhould chance to breake, you ſhould haue much a doe to ſaue your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made faſt, it is neceſſarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theeues, will come ſwimming and ſteale your goods and flee away, againſt which a gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the riuer of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there be certaine places where you pay cuſtome, ſo many Medines for a ſome or Camels lading, and certaine rayſons and ſope, which is for the ſonnes of Aboriſe, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great deſert, and hath ſome villages vpon the riuer. Felugia where you vnlade your goods which come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Felugia.

Babylon.

Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of ſtrangers, for that it is the way to Perſia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carouans for theſe and other places. Here are great ſtore of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris. They are brought vpon raftes made of goates ſkinnes blowne full of winde and bordes layde vpon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babylon, which being diſcharged they open their ſkinnes, and carry them backe by Camels, to ſerue another time. Babylon in times paſt did belong to the kingdome of Perſia, but nowe is ſubiect to the Turke. Ouer againſt Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you paſſe to Babylon vpon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chaine of yron, which is made faſt on either ſide of the riuer. When any boates are to paſſe vp or downe the riuer, they take away certaine of the boates vntill they be paſt.

The tower of Babel.

The Tower of Babel is built on this ſide the riuer Tygris, towardes Arabia from the towne about ſeuen or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all ſides, and with the fall therof hath made as it were a litle mountaine, ſo that it hath no ſhape at all: it was made of brickes dried in the ſonne, and certaine canes and leaues of the palme tree layed betwixt the brickes. There is no entrance to be ſeene to goe into it. It doth ſtand vpon a great plaine betwixt the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris.

Boyling pitch continually iſſuing out of the earth.

By the riuer Euphrates two dayes iourney from Babylon at a place called Ait, in a fielde neere vnto it, is a ſtrange thing to ſee: a mouth that doth continually throwe foorth againſt the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy ſmoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great fielde which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores ſay that it is the mouth of hell. By reaſon of the great quantitie of it, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the out ſide, ſo that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danec. When there is great ſtore of water in Tygris you may goe from Babylon to Baſora in 8 or 9 dayes: if there be ſmall ſtore it will coſt you the more dayes.

Baſora in times paſt was vnder the Arabians, but now is ſubiect to the Turke. But ſome of them the Turke cannot ſubdue, for that they holde certaine Ilandes in the riuer Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theeues all and haue no ſetled dwelling, but remoue from place to place with their Camels, goates, and horſes, wiues and children and all. They haue large blew gownes, their wiues eares and noſes are ringed very full of rings of copper and ſiluer, and they weare rings of copper about their legs.

Baſora ſtandeth neere the gulfe of Perſia, and is a towne of great trade of ſpices and drugges which come from Ormus. Alſo there is great ſtore of wheate, ryce, and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they ſerue Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Baſora to Ormus downe the gulfe of Perſia in a certaine ſhippe made of boordes, and ſowed together with cayro, which is threede made of the huſke of Cocoes, and certaine canes or ſtrawe leaues ſowed vpon the ſeames of the bordes which is the cauſe that they leake very much. And ſo hauing Perſia alwayes on the left hande, and the coaſt of Arabia on the right hande we paſſed many Ilandes, and among others the famous Ilande

Baharim from whence come the beſt pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus.

Ormus is an Iſland in circuit about fiue and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the drieſt Iſland in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely ſalt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things neceſſary come out of Perſia, which is about twelue miles from thence. All the Ilands thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kinde of victuals are ſent vnto Ormus. The Portugales haue a caſtle here which ſtandeth neere vnto the ſea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale hauing vnder him a conuenient number of ſouldiers, whereof ſome part remaine in the caſtle, and ſome in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all ſortes of ſpices, drugs, ſilke, cloth of ſilke, fine tapeſtrie of Perſia, great ſtore of pearles which come from the Iſle of Baharim, and are the beſt pearles of all others, and many horſes of Perſia, which ſerue all India. They haue a Moore to their king which is choſen and gouerned by the Portugales. Their women are very ſtrangely attyred, wearing on their noſes, eares, neckes, armes and legges many rings ſet with iewels, and lockes of ſiluer and golde in their eares, and a long barre of golde vpon the ſide of their noſes. Their eares with the weight of their iewels be worne ſo wide, that a man may thruſt three of his fingers into them. Here very ſhortly after our arriuall wee were put in priſon, and had part of our goods taken from vs by the Captaine of the caſtle, whoſe name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleuenth of October he ſhipped vs and ſent vs for Goa vnto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Franciſco de Maſcarenhas. The ſhippe wherein we were imbarked for Goa belonged to the Captaine, and carried one hundred twentie and foure horſes in it. All marchandiſe carried to Goa in a ſhippe wherein are horſes pay no cuſtome in Goa. The horſes pay cuſtome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ſhip which bringeth no horſes, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods.

Diu.

The firſt citie of India that we arriued at vpon the fift of Nouember, after we had paſſed the coaſt of Zindi, is called Diu, which ſtandeth in an Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the ſtrongeſt towne that the Portugales haue in thoſe partes. It is but litle, but well ſtored with marchandiſe; for here they lade many great ſhippes with diuerſe commodities for the ſtreits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and theſe be ſhippes of the Moores and of Chriſtians. But the Moores cannot paſſe, except they haue a paſſeport from the Portugales. Cambaietta is the chiefe citie of that prouince, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will ſell their children for very little. The laſt king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the ſiege of Diu, and ſhortly after his citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the king of Agra and of Delli, which are fortie dayes iourney from the country of Cambaia. Here the women weare vpon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elepsants teeth, wherein they take ſo much delight, that they had rather be without their meate then without their bracelets.

Daman.

Going from Diu we come to Daman the ſecond towne of the Portugales in the countrey of Cambaia which is diſtant from Diu fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of corne and rice. They haue many villages vnder them which they quietly poſſeſſe in time of peace, but in time of warre the enemie is maiſter of them.

Baſaim.
Tana.
Chaul.

From thence we paſſed by Baſaim, and from Baſaim to Tana, at both which places is ſmall trade but only of corne and rice. The tenth of Nouember we arriued at Chaul which ſtandeth in the firme land. There be two townes, the one belonging to the Portugales, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugales is neereſt to the ſea, and commaundeth the bay, and is walled round about. A little aboue that is the towne of the Moores which is gouerned by a Moore king called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffike for all ſortes of ſpices and drugges, ſilke, and cloth of ſilke, ſandales, Elephants teeth, and much China worke, and much ſugar which is made of the nutte called Gagara: the tree is called the palmer: which is the profitableſt tree in the worlde: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld wine, oyle, ſugar, vineger, cordes, coles, of the leaues are made thatch for the houſes, ſayles for ſhippes, mats to ſit or lie on: of the branches they make their houſes, and broomes to ſweepe, of the tree wood for ſhippes. The wine doeth iſſue out of the toppe of the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and binde it hard, and hange an earthen pot vpon it, which they emptie euery morning and euery euening, and ſtill it and put in certaine dried rayſins, and it becommeth very ſtrong wine in ſhort time. Hither many ſhippes come from all partes of India, Ormus, and many from Mecca: heere be manie Moores and Gentiles. They haue a very ſtrange order among them, they worſhippe a cowe, and eſteeme much of the cowes doung to paint the walles of their houſes. They will kill nothing not ſo much as a louſe: for they holde it a ſinne to kill any thing. They eate no fleſh, but liue by rootes, and ryce, and milke. And when the huſbande dieth his wife is burned with him, if ſhee be aliue: if ſhee will not, her head is ſhauen, and then is neuer any account made of her after. They ſay if they ſhould be buried, it were a great ſinne, for of their bodies there would come many wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were conſumed, thoſe wormes would lacke ſuſtenance, which were a ſinne, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor haue any thing killed: in the towne they haue hoſpitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will giue meat to the Ants.

Goa is the moſt principal citie which the Portugals haue in India, wherin the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It ſtandeth in an Iland, which may be 25. or 30. miles about. It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath ſome villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the Fleete which commeth euery yeere from Portugal, which be foure, fiue, or ſixe great ſhippes, commeth firſt hither. And they come for the moſt part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their Pepper for Portugall. Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the reſt goe to Cochin which is from Goa an hundred leagues ſouthward. Goa ſtandeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey ſixe or ſeuen dayes iourney. His chiefe citie is called Biſapor. At our comming we were caſt into the priſon, and examined before the Iuſtice and demaunded for letters, and were charged to be ſpies, but they could prooue nothing by vs. We continued in priſon vntill the two and twentie of December, and then we were ſet at libertie, putting in ſureties for two thouſand duckats not to depart the towne; which ſureties father Steuens an Engliſh Ieſuite which we found there, & another religious mã a friend of his procured for vs. Our ſureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and ſtill he demaunded more: whereupon we made ſute to the Viceroy and Iuſtice to haue our money againe, conſidering that they had had it in their hands neere fiue moneths and could prooue nothing againſt vs. The Viceroy made vs a very ſharpe anſwere, and ſayd wee ſhould be better ſifted before it were long, and that they had further matter againſt vs. Whereupon we preſently determined rather to ſeeke our liberties, then to bee in danger for euer to be ſlaues in the country, for it was told vs we ſhould haue ẏ ſtrapado. Wherupon preſently, the fift day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being ſet ouer the riuer, we went two dayes on foote not without feare, not knowing the way nor hauing any guide, for we durſt truſt none. One of the firſt townes which we came vnto, is called Bellergan, where there is a great market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other ſoft ſtones. From Bellergan we went to Biſapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court and they bee great idolaters. And they haue their idols ſtanding in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cowe, ſome like a Monkie, ſome like Buffles, ſome like peacockes, and ſome like the deuill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they haue good ſtore of gold and ſiluer: their houſes are of ſtone very faire and high. From hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de laſhach. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan bee the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleaſant, with faire houſes of bricke and timber, it aboundeth with great ſtore of fruites and freſh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles without any more apparell. We found it here very hote.

Goa.

This was the 20. of Nouember.

Bellergan a towne.

Biſapor.

Gulconda.

The winter beginneth here about the laſt of May. In theſe partes is a porte or hauen called Maſulipatan, which ſtandeth eight dayes iourney from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, whether come many ſhippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, ſpices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Seruidore which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Bread. The houſes here bee all thatched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is ſmall religion among them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and ſo to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of ſiluer round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good ſiluer. It is marueilous great and a populous countrey. In their winter which is in Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, there is no paſſing in the ſtreetes but with horſes, the waters be ſo high. The houſes are made of lome and thatched. Here is great ſtore of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great ſtore of corne and Rice. We found mariages great ſtore both in townes and villages in many places where wee paſſed, of boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and girles of fiue or ſix yeeres old. They both do ride vpon one horſe very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, and ſo returne home and eate of a banket made of Rice and fruits, and there they daunce the moſt part of the night and ſo make an end of the marriage. They lie not together vntill they be ten yeeres old. They ſay they marry their children ſo yoong, becauſe it is an order that when the

Maſulipatan.

Seruidore.

Bellapore.

Strange mariages.

Mandoway a very ſtroug town

Vgini.

Agra a great citie.

The great Mogor.

The like is reported of the cities of China.

Wil. Leades ſerued the king of Cambaia.

The ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the Bramanes.

Ganges.

the man dieth, the woman muſt be burned with him: ſo that if the father die, yet they may haue a father in lawe to helpe to bring vp the children which bee maried: and alſo that they will not leaue their ſonnes without wiues, nor their daughters without husbands. From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very ſtrong towne. It was beſieged twelue yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar before hee could winne it. It ſtandeth vpon a very great high rocke as the moſt part of their caſtles doe, and was of a very great circuite. From hence wee went to Vgini and Serringe, where wee ouertooke the ambaſſadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a marueilous great company of men, elephants, and camels. Here is great trade of cotton and cloth made of cotton, and great ſtore of drugs. From thence we went to Agra paſſing many riuers, which by reaſon of the raine were ſo ſwollen, that wee waded and ſwamme oftentimes for our liues. Agra is a very great citie and populous, built with ſtone, hauing faire and large ſtreetes, with a faire riuer running by it, which falleth into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire caſtle and a ſtrong with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar: the people for the moſt part call him The great Mogor. From thence wee went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater then Agra, but the houſes and ſtreetes be not ſo faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1000. elephants, thirtie thouſand horſes, 1400. tame Deere, 800. concubines: ſuch ſtore of Ounces, Tigers, Buffles, Cocks & Haukes, that is very ſtrange to ſee. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater then London and very populous. Betweene Agra and Fatepore are 12. miles, and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were ſtill in a towne, and ſo many people as if a man were in a market. They haue many fine cartes, and many of them carued and gilded with gold, with two wheeles which be drawen with two litle Buls about the bigneſſe of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horſe, and carie two or three men in one of theſe cartes: they are couered with ſilke or very fine cloth, and be vſed here as our Coches be in England. Hither is great reſort of marchants from Perſia and out of India, and very much marchandiſe of ſilke and cloth, and of precious ſtones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a ſhirt tied with ſtrings on the one ſide, and a litle cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his houſe but his eunuches which keepe his women. Here in Fatepore we ſtaied all three vntill the 28. of September 1585. and then maſter Iohn Newberie tooke his iourney toward the citie of Lahor, determining from thence to goe for Perſia and then for Aleppo or Conſtantinople, whether hee could get ſooneſt paſſage vnto, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promiſe me, if it pleaſed God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a ſhippe out of England. I left William Leades the ieweller in ſeruice with the king Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gaue him an houſe and fiue ſlaues, an horſe, and euery day ſixe S. S. in money. I went from Agra to Saragam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and fourescore boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and diuers other commodities downe the riuer Iemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles. In theſe countries they haue many ſtrange ceremonies. The Bramanes which are their prieſts, come to the water and haue a ſtring about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade vp water with both their hands, and turne the ſtring firſt with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be neuer ſo cold, they will waſh themſelues in cold water or in warme. Theſe Gentiles will eate no fleſh nor kill any thing. They liue with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dreſſe their meat & eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat vpon the earth, and riſe vp and turne themſelues about 30. or 40. times, and vſe to heaue vp their hands to the ſunne, & to kiſſe the earth, with their armes and legs ſtretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Euery time they lie downe, they make a ſcore on the ground with their finger to know when their ſtint is finiſhed. The Bramanes marke themſelues in the foreheads, eares and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, & euery morning they do it. And they haue ſome old men which go in the ſtreetes with a boxe of yellow pouder, and marke men on their heads & necks as they meet them. And their wiues do come by 10. 20. & 30. together to the water ſide ſinging, & there do waſh themſelues, & then vſe their ceremonies, & marke themſelues in their foreheds and faces, and cary ſome with them, and ſo depart ſinging. Their daughters be maried, at, or before the age of 10. yeres. The men may haue 7. wiues. They be a kind of craftie people, worſe then the Iewes. When they ſalute one another, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, and ſay Rame, Rame. Frō Agra I came to Prage, where the riuer Iemena entreth into the mightie riuer Ganges, and Iemena looſeth his name. Ganges commeth out of the Northweſt, & runneth Eaſt into the gulfe of Bengala. In thoſe parts there are many Tigers and many partriges & turtle-doues, and much other foule. Here be many beggers in theſe countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Scheſche. Here I ſawe one which was a monſter among the reſt. He would haue nothing vpon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head he couered his priuities. The nailes of ſome of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he ſpeake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne, and they ſpake for him. When any man ſpake to him, he would lay his hand vpon his breſt and bowe himſelfe, but would not ſpeake. Hee would not ſpeake to the king. We went from Prage downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great ſtore of fiſh of ſundry ſorts, & of wild foule, as of ſwannes, geeſe, cranes, and many other things. The countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the moſt part haue their faces ſhauen, and their heads very long, except ſome which bee all ſhauen ſaue the crowne: and ſome of them are as though a man ſhould ſet a diſh on their heads, and ſhaue them round, all but the crowne. In this riuer of Ganges are many Ilands. His water is very ſweete and pleaſant, and the countrey adioyning very fruitfull. From thence wee went to Bannaras which is a great towne, and great ſtore of cloth is made there of cotton, and Shaſhes for the Moores. In this place they be all Gentiles, and be the greateſt idolaters that euer I ſawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys. Here alongſt the waters ſide bee very many faire houſes, and in all of them, or for the moſt part they haue their images ſtanding, which be euill fauoured, made of ſtone and wood, ſome like lions, leopards, and monkeis, ſome like men & women, and pecocks, and ſome like the deuil with foure armes and 4. hands. They ſit croſſe legged, ſome with one thing in their hands, & ſome another, & by breake of day and before, there are men & women which come out of the towne and waſh thēſelues in Ganges. And there are diuers old men which vpon places of earth made for the purpoſe, ſit praying, and they giue the people three or foure ſtrawes, which they take & hold them betweene their fingers when they waſh themſelues: and ſome ſit to marke them in the foreheads, and they haue in a cloth a litle Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they haue waſhed themſelues, they giue to the old men which ſit there praying. Afterwards they go to diuers of their images, & giue them of their ſacrifices. And when they giue, the old men ſay certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in diuers places there ſtandeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they haue diuers great ſtones carued, whereon they poure water, & throw thereupon ſome rice, wheate, barly, and ſome other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreouer, they haue a great place made of ſtone like to a well with ſteppes to goe downe; wherein the water ſtandeth very foule and ſtinketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it, doe make it ſtinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they ſay when they waſh themſelues in it, that their ſinnes be forgiuen them; becauſe God, as they ſay, did waſh himſelfe in that place. They gather vp the ſand in the bottome of it, and ſay it is holy. They neuer pray but in the water, and they waſh themſelues ouerhead, and lade vp water with both their handes, and turne themſelues about, and then they drinke a litle of the water three times, and ſo goe to their gods which is their length, and then will pray vpon the earth with their armes and legges at length out, and will riſe vp and lie downe, and kiſſe the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not ſtirre their right foote. And ſome of them will make their ceremonies with fifteene or ſixteene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bell when they make their mixtures tenne or twelue times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and diuers ſit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they ſay diuers things ouer their pots many times, and when they haue done, they goe to their gods, and ſtrowe their ſacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which ſit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and ſometime an hundred together, to waſh them in this well, and to offer to theſe idols.

Bannaras.

A pilgrimage of the Gentiles.

They haue in ſome of theſe houſes their idoles ſtanding, and one ſitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blowe winde vpon them. And when they ſee any company comming, they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many giue them their almes, but eſpecially thoſe which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke and haue clawes of braſſe with long nayles, and ſome ride vpon peacockes and other foules which be euill fauoured, with long haukes bils, and ſome like one thing and ſome another, but none with a good face. Among the reſt there is one which they make great account of: for they ſay hee giueth them all things both foode and apparell, and one ſitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. Here ſome bee burned to aſhes, ſome ſcorched in the fire and throwen into the water, and dogges and foxes doe preſently eate them. The wiues here doe burne with their huſbands when they die, if they will not, their heads be ſhauen, and neuer any account is made of them afterward.

The people goe all naked ſaue a litle cloth bound about their middle. Their women haue their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of ſiluer, copper, tinne, and with round hoopes made of Iuorie, adorned with amber ſtones, and with many agats, and they are marked with a great ſpot of red in their foreheads, and a ſtroke of red vp to the crowne, and ſo it runneth three maner of wayes. In their Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted gownes of cotton like to our mattraces and quilted caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a ſlit to looke out at, and ſo tied downe beneath their eares. If a man or a woman be ſicke and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that ſhall helpe him or make an ende of him. And if he do not mend that night, his friends will come and ſit with him a litle and cry, and afterwards will cary him to the waters ſide and ſet him vpon a litle raft made of reeds, and ſo let him goe downe the riuer. When they be maried the man and the woman come to the water ſide, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane, that is, a prieſt, a cowe, and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they giue the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a baſket croſſe bound with diuers things in it: the cloth hee laieth vpon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile, and ſaieth certaine wordes: and ſhe hath a copper or a braſſe pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wiues hand by her huſbands, and all haue the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot vpon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade vp water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe, and then they giue ſomewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or prieſt they giue the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to diuers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat vpon the ground and kiſſe it diuers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe idoles bee blacke and euill fauoured, their mouthes monſtrous, their eares gilded, and full of iewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, ſiluer, and glaſſe, ſome hauing one thing in their handes, and ſome another. You may not come into the houſes where they ſtand, with your ſhooes on. They haue continually lampes burning before them. From Bannaras I went to Patenaw downe the riuer of Ganges: where in the way we paſſed many faire townes, and a countrey very fruitfull: and many very great riuers doe enter into Ganges, and ſome of them as great as Ganges, which cauſe Ganges to bee of a great breadth, and ſo broad that in the time of raine you cannot ſee from one ſide to the other. Theſe Indians when they bee ſcorched and throwen into the water, the men ſwimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces vpwards, I thought they tied ſomething to them to cauſe them to doe ſo: but they ſay no. There be very many thieues in this countrey, which be like to the Arabians: for they haue no certaine abode, but are ſometime in one place and ſometime in another. Here the women bee ſo decked with ſiluer and copper, that it is ſtrange to ſee, they vſe no ſhooes by reaſon of the rings of ſiluer and copper which they weare on their toes. Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this maner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and waſh the earth in great bolles, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. Patenaw is a very long and a great towne. In times paſt it was a kingdom, but now it is vnder Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor. The men are tall and ſlender, and haue many old folks among them: the houſes are ſimple, made of earth and couered with ſtrawe, the ſtreetes are very large. In this towne there is a trade of cotton, & cloth of cotton, much ſugar, which they cary from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium & other commodities. He that is chiefe here vnder the king is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patenau I ſaw a diſſembling prophet which ſate vpon an horſe in the market place, and made as though he ſlept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then kiſſed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but ſure he was a laſie lubber. I left him there ſleeping. The people of theſe countries be much giuen to ſuch prating and diſſembling hypocrites.

This tying of new maried folks together by the clothes, was vſed by the Mexicans in old time.

Patenaw.

Gold found.

Tanda in Gouren

From Patanaw I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gouren. It hath in times paſt bene a kingdom, but now is ſubdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton, and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked with a litle cloth bound about their waſte. It ſtandeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many Tigers, wild Bufs, and great ſtore of wilde foule: they are very great idolaters. Tanda ſtandeth from the riuer Ganges a league, becauſe in times paſt the riuer flowing ouer the bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and ſo they do remaine. And the old way which the riuer Ganges was woont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occaſion that the citie doeth ſtand ſo farre from the water. From Agra downe the riuer Iemena, and downe the riuer Ganges, I was fiue moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be ſailed in much ſhorter time.

I went from Bengala into the country of Couche, which lieth 25. dayes iourny Northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counſe: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they ſay they haue pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the countrie is ſet with Bambos or Canes made ſharpe at both the endes & driuen into the earth, and they can let in the water & drowne the ground aboue knee deepe, ſo that mē nor horſes can paſſe. They poiſon all the waters if any wars be. Here they haue much ſilke & muſke, and cloth made of cotton. The people haue eares which be marueilous great of a ſpan long, which they draw out in length by deuiſes when they be yong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kil nothing. They haue hoſpitals for ſheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, & for all other liuing creatures. When they be old & lame, they keepe them vntil they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places & bring it thither, they wil giue him mony for it or other victuals, & keepe it in their hoſpitals or let it go. They wil giue meat to the Ants. Their ſmal mony is almonds, which oftentimes they vſe to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which ſtandeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and ſtandeth a league from Satagan: they cal it Porto Piqueno. We went through the wildernes, becauſe the right way was full of thieues, where we paſſed the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almoſt all wildernes, & ſaw many buffes, ſwine & deere, graſſe longer then a mā, and very many Tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno ſouthweſtward, ſtandeth an hauen which is called Angeli, in the countrey of Orixa. It was a kingdom of it ſelfe, & the king was a great friend to ſtrangers. Afterwards it was taken by the king of Patan which was their neighbour, but he did not enioy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, & Cambaia. Orixa ſtandeth 6. daies iourney from Satagan ſouthweſtward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of cotton, & great ſtore of cloth which is made of graſſe, which they call Yerua, it is like a ſilke. They make good cloth of it which they ſend for India & diuers other places. To this hauen of Angeli come euery yere many ſhips out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and diuers other places; & lade from thence great ſtore of Rice, & much cloth of cotton wooll, much ſugar, & long pepper, great ſtore of butter & other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things. Here in Bengala they haue euery day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they haue many great boats which they cal pericoſe, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: theſe boates haue 24. or 26. oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but haue no couerture. Here the Gentiles haue the water of Ganges in great eſtimation, for hauing good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they haue not ſufficient to drinke, they will ſprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themſelues well. From Satagam I trauelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara or porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen haue almoſt continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be ſtronger then the king of Tippara, ſo that Chatigan or porto Grande is oftentimes vnder the king of Recon.

Couche: this ſeemeth to be Quicheu, accoūted by ſome among the prouinces of China

Pure Gentiliſme.

In Mexico they vſe likewiſe for ſmall money the fruit Cacao which are like almonds.

Hugely.

Porto Angeli.

The like cloth may be made of the long graſſe in Virginia.

Satagam.

Tippara or porto Grande.

There is a country 4. daies iournie from Couche or Quicheu before mentioned, which is called Bottanter and the citie Bottia, the king is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and ſtrong, and there are marchants which come out of China, & they ſay out of Muſcouia or Tartarie. And they come to buy muſke, cambals, agats, ſilke, pepper and ſaffron like the ſaffron of Perſia. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths iourney. There are very high mountains in this countrey, & one of them ſo ſteep that when a man is 6. daies iourney off it, he may ſee it perfectly. Vpon theſe mountains are people which haue eares of a ſpanne long: if their eares be not long, they call them apes. They ſay that when they be vpon the mountaines, they ſee ſhips in the Sea ſayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whether they go. There are marchants which come out of the Eaſt, they ſay, from vnder the ſunne, which is from China, which haue no beards, and they ſay there it is ſomething warme: But thoſe which come from the other ſide of the mountains which is from the North, ſay there it is very cold. Theſe Northren merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hoſen cloſe, and bootes which be of Moſcouia or Tartarie. They report that in their countrey they haue very good horſes, but they be litle: ſome men haue foure, fiue, or ſixe hundred horſes and kine: they liue with milke and fleſhe. They cut the tailes of their kine, and ſell them very deere, for they bee in great requeſt, and much eſteemed in thoſe partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is aboue a ſpanne long: they vſe to hang them for brauerie vpon the heades of their Elephants: they bee much vſed in Pegu and China: they buie and ſell by ſcores vpon the ground. The people be very ſwift on foote.

Bottanter a great Northren country.

Marchants of China, Moſcouia and Tartarie.

Theſe ſeeme to be the mountains of Imaus, called by the people Cumao.

The apparel of the Tartarie marchants.

Cowe tailes in great requeſt.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the king whereof is a Gentile, a man very

Bacola.

very well diſpoſed and delighteth much to ſhoot in a gun. His countrey is very great and fruitful, and hath ſtore of Rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of ſilke. The houſes be very faire and high builded, the ſtreetes large, the people naked, except a litle cloth about their waſte. The women weare great ſtore of ſiluer hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with ſiluer and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

Serrepore.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore which ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Ganges, the king is called Chondery. They be all hereabout rebels againſt their king Zebaldim Echebar: for here are are ſo many riuers & Iſlands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horſemen cannot preuaile againſt them. Great ſtore of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan.

Sinnergan is a towne ſixe leagues from Serrepore, where there is the beſt and fineſt cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chiefe king of all theſe countries is called Iſacan, and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Chriſtians. The houſes here, as they be in the moſt part of India, are very litle, and couered with ſtrawe, and haue a fewe mats round about the wals, and the doore to keepe out the Tygers and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no fleſh, nor kill no beaſt: they liue of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them, and all the reſt of their bodies is naked. Great ſtore of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they ſerue all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

Sundiua Iſland

Negrais.

Coſmin.

Ladders uſed to auoyd the danger of wild beaſts.

Dwelling in boats.

I went from Serrepore the 28. of Nouember 1586. for Pegu in a ſmall ſhip or foiſt of one Albert Carauallos, and ſo paſſing downe Ganges, and paſſing by the Iſland of Sundiua, porto Grande, or the countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon and Mogen, leauing them on our left ſide with a faire wind at Northweſt: our courſe was South & by Eaſt, which brought vs to the barre of Negrais in Pegu: if any contrary wind had come, we had throwen many of our things ouer-boord: for we were ſo peſtered with people & goods, that there was ſcant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 90. leagues. We entred the barre of Negrais, which is a braue barre & hath 4. fadomes water where it hath leaſt. Three dayes after we came to Coſmin, which is a very pretie towne, and ſtandeth very pleaſantly, very well furniſhed with all things. The people be very tall & well diſpoſed; the women white, round faced, with litle eies: the houſes are high built, ſet vpon great high poſtes, & they go vp to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great Figs, Orenges, Cocoes, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall, but after we be entred the barre, it is very lowe and full of riuers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call paroes, and keepe their houſes with wife and children in them.

Medon.

From the barre of Nigrais to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes iourney by the riuers. Wee went from Coſmin to Pegu in Paroes or boates, and paſſing vp the riuers wee came to Medon, which is a prety towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houſes and their markets in them all vpon the water. They rowe too and fro, and haue all their marchandizes in their boates with a great Sombrero or ſhadow ouer their heads to keepe the ſunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaues of the Coco trees and fig trees, and is very light.

Dela.

Cirion.

Macao.

Coches caried on mens ſhoulders.

Pegu.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne, and hath a faire port into the ſea, from whence go many ſhips to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are 18. or 20. very great and long houſes, where they tame and keep many elephants of the kings: for there about in the wilderneſſe they catch the wilde elephants. It is a very fruitfull countrey. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good towne, and hath a faire porte into the ſea, whither come many ſhips from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from diuers other places. And there the ſhips ſtaie and diſcharge, & ſend vp their goods in Paroes to Pegu. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne, where we left our boats or Paroes, & in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coches made of cords & cloth quilted, & caried vpon a ſtang betweene 3. or 4. men: we came to Pegu the ſame day. Pegu is a citie very great, ſtrong, and very faire, with walles of ſtone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the olde towne are all the marchants ſtrangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are ſold in the olde towne which is very great, and hath many ſuburbes round about it, and all the houſes are made of Canes which they call Bambos, and bee couered with ſtrawe. In your houſe you haue a Warehouſe which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or fiue hundred houſes: ſo that if the Godon were not, you ſhould bee in danger to haue all burned, if any winde ſhould riſe, at a trice. In the newe towne is the king, and all his Nobilitie and Gentrie. It is a citie very great and populous, and is made ſquare and with very faire walles, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they bee made of ſtone, for euery ſquare fiue gates. There are alſo many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The ſtreets are the faireſt that euer I ſaw, as ſtraight as a line from one gate to the other, and ſo broad that tenne or twelue men may ride a front thorow them. On both ſides of them at euery mans doore is ſet a palmer tree which is the nut tree, which make a very faire ſhew and a very commodious ſhadow, ſo that a man may walke in the ſhade all day. The houſes be made of wood, and couered with tiles. The kings houſe is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very ſumptuouſly gilded, and great workemanſhip is vpon the forefront, which is likewiſe very coſtly gilded. And the houſe wherein his Pagode or idole ſtandeth is couered with tiles of ſiluer, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the firſt gate of the kings houſe is a great large roome, on both ſides whereof are houſes made for the kings elephants, which be maruellous great and faire, and are brought vp to warres and in ſeruice of the king. And among the reſt he hath foure white elephants, which are very ſtrange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will ſend vnto him for it. When any of theſe white elephants is brought vnto the king, all the merchants in the city are commanded to ſee them, and to giue him a preſent of halfe a ducat, which doth come to a great ſumme: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you haue giuen your preſent you may come and ſee them at your pleaſure, although they ſtand in the kings houſe. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king haue one, and will not ſend it him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather loſe a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great ſeruice vnto theſe white elephants; euery one of them ſtandeth in an houſe gilded with golde, and they doe feede in veſſels of ſiluer and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the riuer to be waſhed, as euery day they do, goeth vnder a canopy of cloth of golde or of ſilke carried ouer him by ſixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drummes, ſhawmes, or other inſtruments: and when he is waſhed and commeth out of the riuer, there is a gentleman which doth waſh his feet in a ſiluer baſin: which is his office giuen him by the king. There is no ſuch account made of any blacke elephant, be he neuer ſo great. And ſurely there be woonderfull faire and great, and ſome be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath aboue fiue thouſand elephants of warre, beſides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It ſtandeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great groue or wood: and there be many huntſmen, which go into the wilderneſſe with ſhe elephants; for without the ſhe they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpoſe: and euery hunter hath fiue or ſixe of them: and they ſay that they anoint the ſhe elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wild elephant doth ſmell, he will not leaue her. When they haue brought the wilde elephant neere vnto the place, they ſend word vnto the towne, and many horſemen and footmen come out and cauſe the ſhe elephant to enter into a ſtrait way which doeth goe to the palace, and the ſhe and he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth ſhut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male ſeeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth againſt the walles, which be made of ſo ſtrong trees, that ſome of them doe breake their teeth with running againſt them. Then they pricke him with ſharpe canes, & cauſe him to go into a ſtrait houſe, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him ſtand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the king is in theſe elephants. And when they go into the warres they ſet a frame of wood vpon their backes, bound with great cordes, wherein ſit foure or ſixe men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons. And they ſay that their ſkinnes are ſo thicke that a pellet of an harquebuſh will ſcarſe pearce them, except it be in ſome tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They haue gunnes, but ſhoot very badly in them, darts and ſwords ſhort without points. The king keepeth a very great ſtate: when he ſitteth abroad as he doth euery day twiſe, all his noble men which they call Shemines ſit on ech ſide, a good diſtance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will ſpeake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heaue vp his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the king: and then he ſitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he ſitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he ſitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very ſtrong. At my being there he went to Odia in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thouſand men, and fiue thouſand elephants. Thirty thouſand men were his guard. Theſe

Foure white elephants.

The king of the white elephants.

Odia a city in Siam.

people do eate roots, herbs, leaues, dogs, cats, rats, ſerpents, and ſnakes; they refuſe almoſt nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes vpon an elephant with a fine caſtle vpon him very fairely gilded with gold; and ſometimes vpon a great frame like an horſliter, which hath a little houſe vpon it couered ouer head, but open on the ſides, which is all gilded with golde, & ſet with many rubies & ſaphires, whereof he hath infinite ſtore in his country, and is caried vpon ſixteene or eighteene mens ſhoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feaſting and triumphing is many times before the king both of men and women. This king hath little force by Sea, becauſe hee hath but very few ſhips. He hath houſes full of golde and ſiluer, and bringeth in often, but ſpendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and ſaphires, and ſpinelles. Neere vnto the palace of the king, there is a treaſure woonderfull rich; the which becauſe it is ſo neere, he doth not account of it: and it ſtandeth open for all men to ſee in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houſes gilded very richly, and couered with leade: in euery one of them are Pagodes or images of huge ſtature and great value. In the firſt is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and ſaphires, and about him there ſtand foure children of golde. In the ſecond houſe is the picture of a man in ſiluer woonderfull great, as high as an houſe; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made ſitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with ſtones. In the third houſe is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of braſſe, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and laſt houſe doth ſtand another, made of braſſe, greater then the other, with a crowne alſo on his head very rich with ſtones. In another court not farre from this ſtand foure other Pagodes or idoles, maruellous great, of copper, made in the ſame place where they do ſtand; for they be ſo great that they be not to be remooued: they ſtand in foure houſes gilded very faire, and are themſelues gilded all ouer ſaue their heads, and they ſhew like a blacke Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are wonderfull. The king hath one wife and aboue three hundred concubines, by which they ſay he hath foureſcore or foureſcore and ten children. He ſitteth in iudgement almoſt euery day. They vſe no ſpeech, but giue vp their ſupplications written in the leaues of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a bodkin. Theſe leaues are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are alſo double. He which giueth in his ſupplication, doth ſtand in a place a little diſtance off with a preſent. If his matter be liked of, the king accepteth of his preſent, and granteth his requeſt: if his ſute be not liked of, he returneth with his preſent; for the king will not take it.

This maner of cariage on mens ſhoulders is vſed in Peru, and in Florida.

Paper of the leaues of a tree.

In India there are few commodities which ſerue for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of S. Thome, or of Maſulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is ſpent there in great quantity. They bring thither alſo much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they call Saia, which will neuer loſe his colour: it is very wel ſolde here, and very much of it commeth yerely to Pegu. By your mony you loſe much. The ſhips which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Maſulipatan, come to the bar of Nigrais and to Coſmin. To Martauan a port of the ſea in the kingdome of Pegu come many ſhips from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a port of Pegu come ſhips from Mecca with woollen cloth, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and ſuch like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to ſell your goods at the price which they be worth, and you giue them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, becauſe you ſell your marchandiſes vpon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your houſe: which is a great ſhame for him. And if he pay you not preſently, you may take his wife and children and his ſlaues, and binde them at your doore, and ſet them in the Sunne; for that is the law of the countrey. Their current money in theſe parts is a kinde of braſſe which they call Ganſa, wherewith you may buy golde, ſiluer, rubies, muſke, and all other things. The golde and ſiluer is marchandiſe, and is worth ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſſe, as other wares be. This braſen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or ſomewhat leſſe. The marchandiſe which be in Pegu, are golde, ſiluer, rubies, ſaphires, ſpinelles, muſke, beniamim or franckincenſe, long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, lacca whereof they make hard ware, rice, and wine made of rice, and ſome ſugar. The elephants doe eate the ſugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they conſume many canes likewiſe in making of their Varellaes or Idole temples, which are in great number both great and ſmall. They be made round like a ſugar loafe, ſome are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, ſome a quarter of a mile in compaſſe: within they be all earth done about with ſtone. They conſume in theſe Varellaes great quantity of golde; for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and euery ten or twelue yeeres they

An excellent colour with a root called Saia.

Woollen cloth and ſcarlets ſolde in Pegu.

The money of Pegu.

The ſeuerall merchandiſes of Pegu.

The forme of their Temples or Varellaes.

muſt be new gilded, becauſe the raine conſumeth off the golde: for they ſtand open abroad. If they did not conſume their golde in theſe vanities, it would be very plentifull and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes iourney from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a woonderfull bigneſſe, and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an houſe by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their Prieſts doe preach. This houſe is fiue and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which ſtand betweene the walks; and it is open on all ſides with a number of ſmall pillars, which be likewiſe gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There are houſes very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in: and many goodly houſes for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded ouer with golde. It is the faireſt place, as I ſuppoſe, that is in the world: it ſtandeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are ſet with trees of fruits, in ſuch wiſe that a man may goe in the ſhade aboue two miles in length. And when their feaſt day is, a man can hardly paſſe by water or by land for the great preſſe of people; for they come from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feaſt. In Pegu they haue many Tallipoies or prieſts, which preach againſt all abuſes. Many men reſort vnto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to ſay, their holy place or temple, at the doore there is a great iarre of water with a cocke or a ladle in it, and there they waſh their feet; and then they enter in, and lift vp their hands to their heads firſt to their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and ſo ſit downe. The Tallipoies go very ſtrangely apparelled with one camboline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times vpon their ſhoulder: and thoſe two be girded to them with a broad girdle: and they haue a ſkinne of leather hanging on a ſtring about their necks, whereupon they ſit, bare headed & bare footed; for none of them weareth ſhooes; with their right armes bare and a great broad ſombrero or ſhadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies or prieſts take their Orders, firſt they go to ſchoole vntill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpoſe, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefeſt and moſt learned, and he oppoſeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leaue their friends, and the company of all women, and take vpon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth vpon an horſe about the ſtreets very richly apparelled, with drummes and pipes, to ſhew that he leaueth the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is caried vpon a thing like an horſliter, which they call a ſerion, vpon ten or twelue mens ſhoulders in the apparell of a Tallipoie, with pipes and drummes, and many Tallipoies with him, and al his friends, and ſo they go with him to his houſe, which ſtandeth without the towne, and there they leaue him. Euery one of them hath his houſe, which is very little, ſet vpon ſix or eight poſts, and they go vp to them with a ladder of twelue or fourteene ſtaues. Their houſes be for the moſt part by the hie wayes ſide, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and couered, tied with a broad girdle vpon their ſhoulder, which commeth vnder their arme, wherewith they go to begge their victuals which they eate, which is rice, fiſh, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people preſently doe giue them, ſome one thing, and ſome another: and they put all together in their potte: for they ſay they muſt eate of their almes, and therewith content themſelues. They keepe their feaſts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greateſt feaſt: and then the people ſend rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that Church, and eate the victuals which are ſent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the people cary them gifts into the pulpit where they ſit and preach. And there is one which ſitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is diuided among them. They haue none other ceremonies nor ſeruice that I could ſee, but onely preaching.

The Tallipoies or Prieſts of Pegu.

The apparell of their prieſts.

Obſeruation of new moones.

I went from Pegu to Iamahey, which is in the countrey of the Langeiannes, whom we call Iangomes; it is fiue and twenty dayes iourney Northeaſt from Pegu. In which iourney I paſſed many fruitfull and pleaſant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire riuers. The houſes are very bad, made of canes, and couered with ſtraw. Heere are many wilde buffes and elephants. Iamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houſes of ſtone, well peopled, the ſtreets are very large, the men very well ſet and ſtrong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all theſe countreys they weare no ſhooes. The women be much fairer then thoſe of Pegu. Heere in all theſe countreys they haue no wheat. They make ſome cakes of rice. Hither to Iamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great ſtore of muſke, golde, ſiluer, and many other things of China worke. Here is great ſtore of victuals: they haue ſuch plenty that they will not milke the buffles, as they doe in all other places.

Iamahey fiue & twenty dayes iourny Northeaſtward from Pegu.

Here is great ſtore of copper and beniamin. In theſe countreys when the people be ſicke they make a vow to offer meat vnto the diuell, if they eſcape: and when they be recouered they make a banket with many pipes & drummes and other inſtruments, and danſing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocos, figges, arrecaes, and other fruits, and with great dauncing and reioycing they offer to the diuell, and ſay, they giue the diuel to eat, and driue him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry & hallow very loud; and in this ſort they ſay they driue him away. And when they be ſicke a Tallipoy or two euery night doth ſit by them & ſing, to pleaſe the diuell that he ſhould not hurt them. And if any die he is caried vpon a great frame made like a tower, with a couering all gilded with golde made of canes caried with foureteene or ſixteene men, with drummes and pipes and other inſtruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours all men: and they giue to the tallipoies or prieſts many mats and cloth: and then they returne to the houſe and there make a feaſt for two dayes: and then the wife with all the neighbours wiues & her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they ſit a certaine time and cry and gather the pieces of bones which be left vnburned and bury them, and then returne to their houſes and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do ſhaue their heads, which they do not vſe except it be for the death of a friend: for they much eſteeme of their haire.

They burne their dead.

Caplan is the place where the rubies and other precious ſtones are found.

Caplan is the place where they finde the rubies, ſaphires, and ſpinelles: it ſtandeth ſixe dayes iourney from Aua in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high hilles out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely thoſe which digge them.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Aua, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches or little round balles in their priuy members: ſome of them weare two and ſome three. They cut the ſkin and ſo put them in, one into one ſide and another into the other ſide; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleaſure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be maried the huſband is for euery child which his wife hath to put in one vntill he come to three and then no more: for they ſay the women doe deſire them. They were inuented becauſe they ſhould not abuſe the male ſexe. For in times paſt all thoſe countries were ſo giuen to that villany, that they were very ſcarſe of people. It was alſo ordained that the women ſhould not haue paſt three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they binde about them; which are ſo ſtrait, that when they go in the ſtreets, they ſhew one ſide of the leg bare aboue the knee. The bunches aforeſayd be of diuers ſorts: the leaſt be as big as a litle walnut, and very round: the greateſt are as big as a litle hennes egge: ſome are of braſſe and ſome of ſiluer: but thoſe of ſiluer be for the king and his noble men. Theſe are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a litle bell. There are ſome made of leade, which they call Selwy becauſe they ring but litle: and theſe be of leſſer price for the poorer ſort. The king ſometimes taketh his out, and giueth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and becauſe he hath vſed them, they eſteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale vp the place in ſeuen or eight dayes.

Anthony Galuano writeth of theſe bals.

The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the king is a Brama) haue their legs or bellies, or ſome part of their body, as they thinke good themſelues, made black with certaine things which they haue: they vſe to pricke the ſkinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but none may haue it but the Bramas which are of the kings kinred.

The people of Pegu weare no beards.

Theſe people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinſons made for that purpoſe. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haires grow together, ſome in one place of his face and ſome in another, and pulleth out all the reſt: for he carieth his pinſons alwayes with him to pull the haires out aſſoone as they appeare. If they ſee a man with a beard they wonder at him. They haue their teeth blacked both men and women, for they ſay a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues if they haue a ſute in the law which is ſo doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there ſit men to iudge, and they both do diue vnder the water, and he which remaineth longeſt vnder the water doth winne the ſute.

Malacca.

The 10 of Ianuary I went from Pegu to Malacca, paſſing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martauan, the Iland of Taui, from whence commeth great ſtore of tinne which ſerueth all India, the Ilands of Tanaſeri, Iunſalaon, and many others; and ſo came to Malacca the 8 of February, where the Portugals haue a caſtle which ſtandeth nere the ſea. And the countrey faſt without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their middle, and a litle roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ſhips from China & from the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Ilands of the Iauas, which bring great ſtore of ſpices and drugs, and diamants and other iewels. The voyages into many of theſe Ilands belong vnto the captaine of Malacca: ſo that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great ſummes of money euery yeere. The Portugals heere haue often times warres with the king of Achem which ſtandeth in the Iland of Sumatra; from whence commeth great ſtore of pepper and other ſpices euery yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red ſea, and other places.

The voyage to Iapan.

Eight hundred thouſand cruſadoes in ſiluer imployed yeerely by the Portugals in China.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Iapan, they carry much white ſilke, golde, muſke, and porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but ſiluer. They haue a great caracke which goeth thither euery yere, and ſhe bringeth from thence euery yere aboue ſixe hundred thouſand cruſadoes: and all this ſiluer of Iapan, and two hundred thouſand cruſadoes more in ſiluer which they bring yeerely out of India, they imploy to their great aduantage in China: and they bring from thence golde, muſke, ſilke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very coſtly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffike, they muſt remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the city, they muſt enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they muſt put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but muſt lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are euill vſed and impriſoned. The Chinians are very ſuſpitious, and doe not truſt ſtrangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any ſtrangers come into his countrey. And further it is credibly reported that the common people ſee their king very ſeldome or not at all, nor may not looke vp to that place where he ſitteth. And when he rideth abroad he is caried vpon a great chaire or ſerrion gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little houſe with a latiſe to looke out at: ſo that he may ſee them, but they may not looke vp at him: and all the time that he paſſeth by them, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, & lay their heads on the ground, and looke not vp vntill he be paſſed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they weare white thread ſhoes, and hats of ſtraw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her huſband three yeeres: the ſonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the houſe, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined: and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleaſure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Iaponians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine penſill made of dogs or cats haire.

The writing of the people of China &c.

Laban.

Diamants.

Laban is an Iland among the Iauas from whence come the diamants of the New water. And they finde them in the riuers: for the king will not ſuffer them to digge the rocke.

Iamba.

Golde.

Iamba is an Iland among the Iauas alſo, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a maſſe of earth which is golde; it groweth in the middle of a riuer: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This maſſe of earth doth appeare but once in a yere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of April.

Bima.

Bima is another Iland among the Iauas, where the women trauell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe houſe and go where they will.

He returneth from Malacca.

Bengala.

Ceylon.

The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martauan, and ſo to Pegu, where I remained the ſecond time vntill the 17 of September, and then I went to Coſmin, and there tooke ſhipping; and paſſing many dangers by reaſon of contrary windes, it pleaſed God that we arriued in Bengala in Nouember following: where I ſtayed for want of paſſage vntill the third of February 1589, and then I ſhipped my ſelfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of freſh water: for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and paſſengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleaſed God that we arriued in Ceylon the ſixth of March, where we ſtayed fiue dayes to water, and to furniſh our ſelues with other neceſſary prouiſion. This Ceylon is a braue Iland, very fruitfull & faire; but by reaſon of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare: for he will not ſuffer any thing to be brought to the caſtle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times they haue great want of victuals. Their prouiſion of victuals commeth out of Bengala euery yere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force; for he commeth to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals haue their fort, with an hundred thouſand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them be good with their pieces which be muſkets. When the king talketh with any man, he ſtandeth vpon one legge, and ſetteth the other foot vpon his knee with his ſword in his hand: it is not their order for the king to ſit but to ſtand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound vp with a little fine cloth about his head: all the reſt of his body is naked. His guard are a thouſand men, which ſtand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the reſt come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they ſay are the beſt kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a ſpanne long. The wood which they burne is Cinamom wood, and it ſmelleth very ſweet. There is great ſtore of rubies, ſaphires, and ſpinelles in this Iland: the beſt kinde of all be here; but the king will not ſuffer the inhabitants to digge for them, leſt his enemies ſhould know of them, and make warres againſt him, and ſo driue him out of his countrey for them. They haue no horſes in all the countrey. The elephants be not ſo great as thoſe of Pegu, which be monſtrous huge: but they ſay all other elephants do feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very ſmall. Their women haue a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the reſt is bare.

Blacke people.

All of them be blacke and but little, both men and women. Their houſes are very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and couered with the leaues of the ſame tree.

Cape de Comori.

The eleuenth of March we ſailed from Ceylon, and ſo doubled the cape of Comori. Not far from thence, betweene Ceylon and the maine land of Negapatan, they fiſh for pearles. And there is fiſhed euery yere very much; which doth ſerue all India, Cambaia, and Bengala; it is not ſo orient as the pearle of Baharim in the gulfe of Perſia. From cape de Comori we paſſed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great ſtore of pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugall. Thus paſſing the coaſt we arriued in Cochin the 22 of March, where we found the weather warme, but ſcarſity of victuals: for here groweth neither corne nor rice: and the greateſt part commeth from Bengala. They haue here very bad water, for the riuer is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them haue their legs ſwollen as bigge as a man in the waſte, & many of them are ſcant able to go. Theſe people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. Theſe haue their heads very full of haire, and bound vp with a ſtring: and there doth appeare a buſh without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and ſtrong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their beſt weapon: yet there be ſome caliuers among them, but they handle them badly.

Coulam.

Cochin.

People with ſwollen legges mentioned alſo by Ioh. Huygen.

How pepper groweth.

Heere groweth the pepper; and it ſpringeth vp by a tree or a pole, and is like our iuy berry, but ſomething longer like the wheat eare: and at the firſt the bunches are greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much leſſer then the iuy leafe and thinner. All the inhabitants here haue very little houſes couered with the leaues of the coco-trees. The men be of a reaſonable ſtature; the women litle; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes: all the reſt of their bodies be naked: they haue horrible great eares with many rings ſet with pearles and ſtones in them. The king goeth incached, as they do all; he doth not remaine in a place aboue fiue or ſixe dayes: he hath many houſes, but they be but litle: his guard is but ſmall: he remooueth from one houſe to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and courſe cinamom groweth here in this countrey. The beſt cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine yoong trees. Here are very many palmer or coco trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other neceſſary things, as I haue declared before.

Blacke people.

|| Or Calicut, or Cananor.

The Naires which be vnder the king of || Samorin, which be Malabars, haue alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the ſea to robbe & ſteale. Their chiefe captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three caſtles vnder him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he ſayth he doth not ſend them out: but he conſenteth that they go. They range all the coaſt from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or fiue parowes or boats together; and haue in euery one of them fifty or threeſcore men, and boord preſently. They do much harme on that coaſt, and take euery yere many foiſts and boats of the Portugals. Many of theſe people be Moores. This kings countrey beginneth twelue leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere vnto Goa. I remained in Cochin vntill the ſecond of Nouember, which was eight moneths; for that there was no paſſage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes ſooner I had found a paſſage preſently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochin to Goa is an hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threeſcore leagues, where I remained three and twenty dayes: and there making my prouiſion of things neceſſary for the ſhippe, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I ſtayed for a paſſage to Balſara fifty dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

Goa.

Chaul.

Ormus.

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare ſome things which India and the countrey farther Eaſtward do bring forth.

The pepper tree.

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, eſpecially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the buſhes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The ſhrubbe is like vnto our ivy tree: and if it did not run about ſome tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they firſt gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becommeth blacke.

Ginger.

The ginger groweth like vnto our garlike, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

Cloues.

The cloues doe come from the Iles of the Moluccoes, which be diuers Ilands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

Nutmegs & maces.

The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the Iſle of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but ſomewhat leſſer.

The white ſandol is wood very ſweet & in great requeſt among the Indians; for they grinde it with a litle water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Iſle of Timor.

Camphora.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is ſolde dearer then golde. I thinke none of it commeth for Chriſtendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the beſt, commeth from the great Iſle of Borneo.

Lignum Aloes.

Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The beniamin commeth out of the countreys of Siam and Iangomes.

Long pepper.

The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Iauas.

Muſke.

The muſke commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the marchants which bring it to Pegu to ſell; In Tartarie there is a little beaſt like vnto a yong roe, which they take in ſnares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the fleſh with the blood very ſmall, and fill the ſkin with it: and hereof commeth the muſke.

Amber.

Of the amber they holde diuers opinions; but moſt men ſay it commeth out of the ſea, and that they finde it vpon the ſhores ſide.

Rubies, ſaphires and ſpinels.

The rubies, ſaphires, and ſpinelles are found in Pegu.

Diamants.

The diamants are found in diuers places, as in Biſnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Iauas.

The beſt pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Perſian ſea, the woorſer from the Piſcaria neere the Iſle of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermoſt coaſt of China.

Spodium.

Spodium and many other kindes of drugs come from Cambaia.

Baſora. Babylon. Moſul. Merdin. Orfa. Bir. Aleppo. Tripolis.

Now to returne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balſara or Baſora, and from Baſora to Babylon: and we paſſed the moſt part of the way by the ſtrength of men by halling the boat vp the riuer with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Moſul, which ſtandeth nere to Niniue, which is all ruinated and deſtroyed; it ſtandeth faſt by the riuer of Tigris. From Moſul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine ful of fiſh; where the Moores hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they ſay he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, & ſo paſſed the riuer of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I ſtayed certaine moneths for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding Engliſh ſhipping, I came with a proſperous voyage to London, where by Gods aſſiſtance I ſafely arriued the 29 of April 1591, hauing bene eight yeeres out of my natiue countrey.

The report of *Iohn Huighen van Linſchoten* concerning M. *Newberies* and M. *Fitches* impriſonment, and of their eſcape, which happened while he was in *Goa*.

IN the moneth of December, Anno 1583, there arriued in the towne and Iland of Ormus foure Engliſh men, which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, hauing ſailed out of England, & paſſed thorow the ſtraights of Gibraltar to Tripoli a towne and hauen lying on the coaſt of Syria, where all the ſhips diſcharge their wares & marchandiſes, & from thence are caried by land vnto Aleppo, which is nine dayes iourny. In Aleppo there are reſident diuers marchants & factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, Engliſh men, Armenians, Turks and Moores, euery man hauing his religion apart, paying tribute vnto the great Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence euery yeere twiſe, there trauell two Caffyls, that is, companies of people and camels, which trauell vnto India, Perſia, Arabia, and all the countreys bordering on the ſame, and deale in all ſorts of mar-

John Newbery had beene in Ormus before. Anno.1581.

chandiſe, both to and from thoſe countreys, as I in another place haue already declared. Three of the ſayd Engliſh men aforeſayd, were ſent by the company of Engliſh men that are reſident in Aleppo, to ſee if in Ormus they might keepe any factours, and ſo traffique in that place, like as alſo the Italians do, that is to ſay, the Venetians which in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca haue their factours, and traffique there, aſwell for ſtones and pearles, as for other wares and ſpices of thoſe countreyes, which from thence are caried ouer land into Venice. One of theſe Engliſh men had bene once before in the ſayd towne of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade, and vpon his aduiſe and aduertiſement, the other were as then come thither with him, bringing great ſtore of marchandiſes with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of drinking glaſſes, and Haberdaſhers wares, as looking glaſſes, kniues, and ſuch like ſtuffe: and to conclude, brought with them all kinde of ſmall wares that may be deuiſed. And although thoſe wares amounted vnto great ſummes of money, notwithſtanding it was but onely a ſhadow or colour, thereby to giue no occaſion to be miſtruſted, or ſeene into: for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious ſtones, as Diamants, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which end they brought with them a great ſumme of money and golde, and that very ſecretly, not to be deceiued or robbed thereof, or to runne into any danger for the ſame. They being thus arriued in Ormus, hired a ſhoppe, and beganne to ſell their wares: which the Italians perceiuing, whoſe factours continue there (as I ſayd before) and fearing that thoſe Engliſh men finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be reſident therein, and ſo dayly increaſe, which would be no ſmall loſſe and hinderance vnto them, did preſently inuent all the ſubtile meanes they could to hinder them: and to that end they went vnto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonſalo de Meneſes, telling him that there were certaine Engliſh men come into Ormus, that were ſent onely to ſpie the countrey; and ſayd further, that they were heretikes: and therefore they ſayd it was conuenient they ſhould not be ſuffered ſo to depart, without being examined, and puniſhed as enemies, to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend vnto the Engliſh men, by reaſon that one of them which had bene there before, had giuen him certaine preſents, would not be perſwaded to trouble them, but ſhipped them with all their wares in a ſhippe that was to ſaile for Goa, and ſent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trie them, as he thought good: where when they were arriued, they were caſt into priſon, and firſt examined whether they were good Chriſtians or no: and becauſe they could ſpeake but badde Portugall, onely two of them ſpake good Dutch, as hauing bene certaine yeres in the Low countreyes, and there traffiked, there was a Dutch Ieſuite borne in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, that had bene reſident in the Indies for the ſpace of thirty yers, ſent vnto them, to vndermine and examine them: wherein they behaued themſelues ſo well, that they were holden and eſteemed for good and Catholicke Chriſtians: yet ſtill ſuſpected, becauſe they were ſtrangers, and ſpecially Engliſh men. The Ieſuites ſtill tolde them that they ſhould be ſent priſoners into Portugall, wiſhing them to leaue off their trade of marchandiſe, and to become Ieſuites, promiſing them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cauſe why they ſayd ſo, and perſwaded them in that earneſt maner, was, for that the Dutch Ieſuite had ſecretly bene aduertiſed of great ſummes of money which they had about them, and ſought to get the ſame into their fingers, for that the firſt vowe and promiſe they make at their entrance into their Order, is, to procure the welfare of their ſayd Order, by what meanes ſoeuer it be. But although the Engliſh men denied them, and refuſed the Order, ſaying, that they were vnfit for ſuch places, neuertheleſſe they proceeded ſo farre, that one of them, being a Painter (that came with the other three for company, to ſee the countreys, and to ſeeke his fortune, and was not ſent thither by the Engliſh marchants) partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieue himſelfe, promiſed them to become a Ieſuite: and although they knew and well perceiued he was not any of thoſe that had the treaſure, yet becauſe he was a Painter, whereof there are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their Church, which otherwiſe would coſt them great charges, to bring one from Portugall, they were very glad thereof, hoping in time to get the reſt of them with all their money into their fellowſhip: ſo that to conclude, they made this Painter a Ieſuite, where he continued certaine dayes, giuing him good ſtore of worke to doe, and entertaining him with all the fauour and friendſhip they could deuiſe, and all to winne the reſt, to be a pray for them: but the other three continued ſtill in priſon, being in great feare, becauſe they vnderſtood no man that came to them, nor any man almoſt knew what they ſayd: till in the end it was tolde them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbiſhops houſe, and counſell giuen them to ſend vnto them, whereat they much reioyced, and ſent to me and another Dutch man, deſiring vs once to come and ſpeake with them, which we preſently did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint vnto vs of their hard vſage, ſhewing vs from point to point (as it is ſayd before) why they were come into the countrey, withall deſiring vs for Gods cauſe, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be ſet at liberty vpon ſureties, being ready to endure what iuſtice ſhould ordaine for them, ſaying, that if it were found contrary, and that they were other then trauelling marchants, and ſought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be puniſhed. With that we departed from them, promiſing them to do our beſt: and in the end we obtained ſo much of the Archbiſhop, that he went vnto the Viceroy to deliuer our petition, and perſwaded him ſo well, that he was content to ſet them at libertie, and that their goods ſhould be deliuered vnto them againe, vpon condition they ſhould put in ſureties for two thouſand pardawes, not to depart the countrey before other order ſhould be taken with them. Thereupon they preſently found a Citizen of the towne that was their ſurety for two thouſand pardawes, to whom they payed in hand one thouſand and three hundred pardawes, and becauſe they ſayd they had no more ready money, he gaue them credit, ſeeing what ſtore of marchandiſe they had, whereby at all times if need were, he might be ſatiſfied: and by that meanes they were deliuered out of priſon, and hired themſelues an houſe, and beganne to ſet open ſhoppe: ſo that they vttered much ware, and were preſently well knowen among all the marchants, becauſe they alwayes reſpected gentlemen, ſpecially ſuch as bought their wares, ſhewing great courteſie and honour vnto them, whereby they woon much credit, and were beloued of all men, ſo that euery man fauoured them, and was willing to doe them pleaſure. To vs they ſhewed great friendſhip, for whoſe ſake the Archbiſhop fauoured them much, and ſhewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increaſe, by offering him many preſents, although he would not receiue them, neither would euer take gift or preſent at any mans hands. Likewiſe they behaued themſelues ſo diſcreetly that no man caried an euill eye, no, nor an euill thought towards them. Which liked not the Ieſuites, becauſe it hindered them from that they hoped for, ſo that they ceaſed not ſtill by this Dutch Ieſuite to put them in feare, that they ſhould be ſent into Portugall to the King, counſelling them to yeeld themſelues Ieſuites into their Cloiſter, which if they did, he ſayd they would defend them from all troubles, ſaying further, that he counſelled them therin as a friend, & one that knew for certaine that it was ſo determined by the Viceroyes Priuy councell: which to effect he ſayd they ſtayed but for ſhipping that ſhould ſaile for Portugall, with diuers other perſwaſions, to put them in ſome feare, and ſo to effect their purpoſe. The Engliſh men to the contrary, durſt not ſay any thing to them, but anſwered, that as yet they would ſtay a while, and conſider thereof, thereby putting the Ieſuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called Iohn Newbery) complained vnto me often times, ſaying that he knew not what to ſay or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of thoſe troubles: but in the end they determined with themſelues to depart from thence, and ſecretly by meanes of other friendes they imployed their money in precious ſtones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Ieweller, and for the ſame purpoſe came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durſt not make knowen to any man, neither did they credite vs ſo much, as to ſhew vs their mindes therein, although they tolde vs all whatſoeuer they knew. But on a Whitſunday they went abroad to ſport themſelues about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the riuer in a countrey called Bardes, hauing with them good ſtore of meate and drinke. And becauſe they ſhould not be ſuſpected, they left their houſe and ſhoppe, with ſome wares therein vnſolde, in cuſtody of a Dutch boy, by vs prouided for them, that looked vnto it. This boy was in the houſe not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar, which is one of the Indian poſtes, which in the Winter times carieth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and becauſe that betweene Bardes and the firme land there is but a little riuer, in a maner halfe drie, they paſſed ouer it on foot, and ſo trauelled by land, being neuer heard of againe: but it is thought they arriued in Aleppo, as ſome ſay, but they know not certainely. Their greateſt hope was that Iohn Newbery could ſpeake the Arabian tongue, which is vſed in all thoſe countreys, or at the leaſt vnderſtood; for it is very common in all places there abouts, as French with vs. Newes being come to Goa, there was a great ſtirre and murmuring among the people, and we much woondered at it: for many were of opinion, that we had giuen them counſell ſo to do; and preſently their ſurety ſeiſed vpon the goods remaining, which might amount vnto aboue two hundred pardawes; and with that and the money he had receiued of the Engliſh men, he went vnto the Viceroy, and deliuered it vnto him: which the Viceroy hauing receiued, forgaue him the reſt. This flight of the Engliſh men grieued the Ieſuites moſt, becauſe they had loſt ſuch a praye, which they made ſure account of; wherupon the Dutch Ieſuite came to vs to aſke vs if we knew thereof, ſaying, that if he had ſuſpected ſo much, he would haue dealt otherwiſe, for that he ſayd, he once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thouſand veneſeanders (ech veneſeander

The Arabian tongue generall in the Eaſt.

being two pardawes) which was when they were in priſon. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort to accompliſh his deſire: vpon the which promiſe he gaue them their money againe, which otherwiſe they ſhould not ſo lightly haue come by, or peraduenture neuer, as he openly ſayd: and in the end he called them hereticks, and ſpies, with a thouſand other railing ſpeeches, which he vttered againſt them. The Engliſh man that was become a Ieſuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiuing that the Ieſuites ſhewed him not ſo great fauour, neither vſed him ſo well as they did at the firſt, repented himſelfe; and ſeeing he had not as then made any ſolemne promiſe, and being counſelled to leaue the houſe, and tolde that he could not want a liuing in the towne, as alſo that the Ieſuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to ſtay, ſo they could not accuſe him of any thing, he tolde them flatly that he had no deſire to ſtay within the Cloiſter. And although they vſed all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet he would not ſtay, but hired an houſe without the Cloiſter, and opened ſhoppe, where he had good ſtore of worke: and in the end married a Meſtizos daughter of the towne, ſo that he made his account to ſtay there while he liued. By this Engliſh man I was inſtructed of all the wayes, trades, and voyages of the countrey, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and of all the ordinances and common cuſtomes which they vſually holde during their voyage ouer the land, as alſo of the places and townes where they paſſed. And ſince thoſe Engliſh mens departures from Goa, there neuer arriued any ſtrangers, either Engliſh or others, by land, in the ſayd countreys, but onely Italians which dayly traffique ouer land, and vſe continuall trade going and comming that way.

The voyage of M. *Iohn Eldred* to *Trypolis* in *Syria* by ſea, and from thence by land and riuer to *Babylon* and *Balſara*. 1583.

The deſcription of Tripolis in Syria.

Store of white ſilke.

The city of Hammah.
Cotton wooll.
Gall trees.

Aleppo.

I Departed out of London in the ſhip called the Tiger, in the company of M. Iohn Newbery, M. Ralph Fitch, and ſixe or ſeuen other honeſt marchants vpon Shroue munday 1583, and arriued in Tripolis of Syria the firſt day of May next inſuing: at our landing we went on Maying vpon S. Georges Iland, a place where Chriſtians dying aboord the ſhips, are woont to be buried. In this city our Engliſh marchants haue a Conſull, and our nation abide together in one houſe with him, called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of ſtone, ſquare, in maner like a Cloiſter, & euery man hath his ſeuerall chamber, as it is the vſe of all other Chriſtians of ſeuerall nations. This towne ſtandeth vnder a part of the mountaine of Libanus two Engliſh miles diſtant from the port: on the ſide of which port, trending in forme of an halfe Moone, ſtand fiue blockehouſes or ſmall forts, wherein is ſome very good artillery, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Ianiſaries. Right before this towne from the ſeaward is a banke of mouing ſand, which gathereth and increaſeth with the Weſterne winds, in ſuch ſort, that, according to an olde propheſie among them, this banke is like to ſwallow vp & ouerwhelme the towne: for euery yere it increaſeth and eateth vp many gardens, although they vſe all policy to diminiſh the ſame, and to make it firme ground. The city is about the bigneſſe of Biſtow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe ſtrength of the place is in a Citadell, which ſtandeth on the South ſide within the walles, and ouerlooketh the whole towne, and is ſtrongly kept with two hundred Ianiſaries and good artillery. A riuer paſſeth thorow the midſt of the city, wherewith they water their gardens and mulbery trees, on which there grow abundance of ſilke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white ſilke, which is the chiefeſt naturall commodity to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Chriſtian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marſilians, Sicilians, Raguſes, and lately with Engliſh men, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a carauan, paſſing three dayes ouer the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arriued in a city called Hammah, which ſtandeth on a goodly plaine repleniſhed with corne & cotton wooll. On theſe mountaines which we paſſed grow great quantity of gall trees, which are ſomewhat like our okes, but leſſer and more crooked: on the beſt tree a man ſhall not finde aboue a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day there is ſcarſe one halfe of the wall ſtanding, which hath bene very ſtrong and faire: but becauſe it coſt many mens liues to win it, the Turke will not haue it repaired; and hath written in the Arabian tongue ouer the caſtle gate, which ſtandeth in the midſt of the towne, theſe words: Curſed be the father and the ſonne that ſhall lay their hands to the repairing hereof. Refreſhing our ſelues one day here, we paſſed forward with camels three dayes more vntill we came to Aleppo, where we arriued the 21 of May. This is the greateſt place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all thoſe parts: for hither reſort Iewes, Tartarians, Perſians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many ſorts of Chriſtians, and inioy freedome of their conſciences, and bring thither many kinds of rich marchandiſes. In the middeſt of this towne alſo ſtandeth a goodly caſtle raiſed on high, with a gariſon of foure or fiue hundred Ianiſaries. Within foure miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere vnto the riuers ſide, which is but ſmall; the walles are about three Engliſh miles in compaſſe, but the ſuburbs are almoſt as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence with our camels the laſt of May with M. Iohn Newbery and his company, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a ſmall towne ſituated vpon the riuer Euphrates, where it beginneth firſt to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifolde branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name which ſignifieth a thouſand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, whereof we all furniſhed our ſelues for a long iourney downe the aforeſayd riuer. And according to the maner of thoſe that trauell downe by water, we prepared a ſmall barke for the conueyance of our ſelues and of our goods. Theſe boats are flat bottomed, becauſe the riuer is ſhallow in many places: and when men trauell in the moneth of Iuly, Auguſt, and September, the water being then at the loweſt, they are conſtrained to cary with them a ſpare boat or two to lighten their owne boats, if they chance to fall on the ſholds. We were eight and twenty dayes vpon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we diſimbarked our ſelues and our goods. Euery night after the Sun ſetteth, we tie our barke to a ſtake, go on land to gather ſticks, and ſet on our pot with rice or bruſed wheat, and hauing ſupped, the marchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners vpon the ſhores ſide as nere as they can vnto the ſame. In many places vpon the riuers ſide we met with troops of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gaue them in barter, (for they care not for money) glaſſes, combes, corall, amber, to hang about their armes and necks, and for churned milke we gaue them bread and pomgranat peeles; wherewith they vſe to tanne their goats ſkinnes which they churne withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to thoſe vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore haue gone about in England. Their women all without exception weare a great round ring in one of their noſtrels, of golde, ſiluer, or yron, according to their ability, and about their armes and ſmalles of their legs they haue hoops of golde, ſiluer or yron. All of them aſwel women and children as men, are very great ſwimmers, and often times ſwimming they brought vs milke to our barke in veſſels vpon their heads. Theſe people are very theeuiſh, which I proued to my coſt: for they ſtole a caſket of mine, with things of good value in the ſame, from vnder my mans head as he was aſleepe: and therefore trauellers keepe good watch as they paſſe downe the riuer. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in ſome places narrower, in ſome broader: it runneth very ſwiftly, almoſt as faſt as the riuer of Trent: it hath diuers ſorts of fiſh in it, but all are ſcaled, ſome as bigge as ſalmons, like barbils. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of Iune, where we made our abode ſeuen dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is ſuch in thoſe parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to trauell. This Felugia is a village of ſome hundred houſes, and a place appointed for diſcharging of ſuch goods as come downe the riuer: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were conſtrained to vnlade our goods, and hired an hundred aſſes to cary our Engliſh marchandiſes onely to New Babylon ouer a ſhort deſert, in croſſing whereof we ſpent eighteene houres trauelling by night, and part of the morning, to auoid the great heat.

Birrah.

Euphrates ſhallow.

Eight & twenty dayes iourney by riuer.

Arabians vpon the riuer of Euphrates.

The Arabian women weare golde rings in their noſtrels.

Euphrates deſcribed.

Felugia.

In this place which we croſſed ouer, ſtood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines whereof are eaſily to be ſeene by day-light, which I Iohn Eldred haue often beheld at my good leaſure, hauing made three voyages betweene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo ouer this deſert. Here alſo are yet ſtanding the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being vpon a plaine groũd ſeemeth a farre off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the leſſer and leſſer it appeareth: ſundry times I haue gone thither to ſee it, and found the remnants yet ſtanding aboue a quarter of a mile in compaſſe, and almoſt as high as the ſtone-worke of Pauls ſteeple in London, but it ſheweth much bigger. The bricks remaining in this moſt ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene euery courſe of bricks there lieth a courſe of mattes made of canes, which remaine ſound and not periſhed, as though they had beene layed within one yeere. The city of New Babylon ioyneth vpon the aforſayd ſmall deſert where the Olde city was, and the riuer of Tigris runneth cloſe vnder the wall, and they may if they will open a ſluce, and let the water of the ſame runne round about the towne. It is aboue two Engliſh miles in compaſſe, and the inhabitants generally ſpeake three languages, to wit, the Perſian, Arabian and Turkiſh tongues: the people are of the Spaniards complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the griſtles of their noſes a ring like a

The ruines of olde Babylon.

New Babylon.

The riuer Tigris.

wedding ring, but ſomewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkiſh ſtone ſet therein: and this they do be they neuer ſo poore.

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thorowfare from the Eaſt Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furniſhed with victuals which come downe the riuer of Tigris from Moſul which was called Niniue in olde time. They bring theſe victuals and diuers ſorts of marchandiſes vpon rafts borne vpon goats ſkins blowen vp ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they haue diſcharged their goods, they ſel the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats ſkins, and cary them home againe vpon their aſſes by land, to make other voyages downe the riuer. The building here is moſt of bricke dried in the Sun, and very litle or no ſtone is to be found: their houſes are all flat-roofed and low. They haue no raine for eight moneths together, nor almoſt any clouds in the ſkie, night nor day. Their Winter is in Nouember, December, Ianuary and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, becauſe my abode at ſeuerall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the leaſt the ſpace of two yeres. As we come to the city, we paſſe ouer the riuer of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more ſtrong & greater then thoſe of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes alſo in paſſing downe this riuer to Balſara, but we might haue done it in eighteene or leſſe, if the water had bene higher. Vpon the waters ſide ſtand by the way diuers townes reſembling much the names of the olde prophets: the firſt towne they call Ozeah, & another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balſara by one dayes iourney, the two riuers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there ſtandeth a caſtle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a ſmall cuſtome. Here the two riuers ioyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here alſo it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water ouerflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of corne, rice, pulſe, and dates. The towne of Balſara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, caſtle and wals are made of bricke dried in the Sun. The Turke hath here fiue hundred Ianiſaries, beſides other ſouldiers continually in gariſon and pay, but his chiefe ſtrength is of gallies which are about fiue and twenty or thirty very faire and furniſhed with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balſara come monethly diuers ſhips from Ormuz, laden with all ſorts of Indian marchandiſe, as ſpices, drugs, Indico, and Calecut cloth. Theſe ſhips are vſually from forty to threeſcore tunnes, hauing their planks ſowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees, and in ſtead of Occam they vſe the ſhiuerings of the barke of the ſayd trees, and of the ſame they alſo make their tackling. They haue no kinde of yron worke belonging to theſe veſſels, ſaue only their ankers. From this place ſix dayes ſailing downe the gulfe, they go to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus; there they fiſh for pearles foure moneths in the yere, to wit, in Iune, Iuly, Auguſt, and September. My abode in Balſara was iuſt ſixe moneths, during which time I receiued diuers letters from M. Iohn Newbery from Ormus, who as he paſſed that way with her Maieſties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, & vnto the mighty emperour of China, was traiterouſly there arreſted, and all his company, by the Portugals, and afterward ſent priſoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell impriſonment he and his companions were deliuered vpon ſureties, not to depart the towne without leaue, at the ſute of one father Thomas Steuens an Engliſh religious man, which they found there: but ſhortly after three of them eſcaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is ſince come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called Iohn Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we vnderſtood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales hauing diſpatched our buſineſſe at Balſara, imbarked our ſelues in company of ſeuenty barks all laden with marchandiſe, hauing euery barke 14 men to draw them, like our Weſterne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes comming vp againſt the ſtreame to Babylon, where arriuing and paying our cuſtome, we with all other ſorts of marchants bought vs camels, hired vs men to lade and driue them, furniſhed our ſelues with rice, butter, biſket, hony made of dates, onions and dates: and euery marchant bought a proportion of liue muttons, and hired certaine ſhepheards to driue them with vs: we alſo bought vs tents to lie in, and to put our goods vnder: and in this our carauan were foure thouſand camels laden with ſpices and other rich marchandiſes. Theſe camels will liue very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on thiſtles, wormewood, magnalene, and other ſtrong weeds which they finde vpon the way. The gouernment and deciding of all quarels and dueties to be payed, the whole carauan committeth to one ſpeciall rich marchant of the company, of whoſe honeſty they conceiue beſt. In paſſing from Babylon to Aleppo, we ſpent forty dayes, trauelling twenty, or foure and twenty miles a day, reſting ourſelues cōmonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, vntil three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our iourney. Eight dayes iourney from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere vnto a towne

Rafts borne vpon bladders of goats ſkins.

Seldome rain.

Eight & twenty dayes iourney more by riuer, from Babylon to Balſara.

Curna caſtle.

Balſara.

Ships made without yron in the Perſian gulfe.

Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia.

He returneth from Balſara to Aleppo.

Their prouiſion of victuals.

A Carauan of foure thouſand Camels.

towne called Heit, as we croſſe the riuer Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many ſprings throwing out abundantly at great mouths, a kind of blacke ſubſtance like vnto tarre, which ſerueth all the countrey to make ſtanch their barkes and boates: euery one of theſe ſprings maketh a noiſe like vnto a Smiths forge in the blowing & puffing out of this matter, which neuer ceaſeth night nor day, and the noiſe may be heard a mile off continually. This vale ſwaloweth vp all heauie things that come vpon it. The people of the countrey cal it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to ſay, Hell doore. As we paſſed through theſe deſerts, we ſaw certaine wild beaſts, as wild aſſes all white, Roebucks, wolfes, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chaſed and killed many. Aboriſe the king of the wandring Arabians in theſe deſerts, hath a dutie of 40. s. ſterling, vpon euery Camels lode, which he ſendeth his officers to receiue of the Carauans, and in conſideration hereof, he taketh vpon him to conduct the ſayd Carauans if they need his helpe, and to defend them againſt certaine prowling thieues. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Carauan the eleuenth of Iune, 1584. where we were ioyfully receiued 20. miles diſtant from the towne by M. William Barret our Conſull, accompanied with his people and Ianiſſaries, who fell ſicke immediately and departed this life within 8. dayes after, and elected before his death M. Anthonie Bate Conſul of our Engliſh nation in his place, who laudably ſupplied the ſame roome 3. yeeres. In which meane time, I made two voyages more vnto Babylon, and returned by the way aforeſayd, ouer the deſerts of Arabia. And afterwards, as one deſirous to ſee other parts of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence 60. Engliſh miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboord a ſmall veſſell, I arriued at Ioppe, and trauelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Ieruſalem, Bethleem, to the riuer of Iordan, and the ſea or lake of Zodome, and returned backe to Ioppe, & from thence by ſea to Tripolis, of which places becauſe many others haue publiſhed large diſcourſes, I ſurceaſe to write. Within few dayes after imbarking my ſelfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arriued (God be thanked) in ſafety here in the riuer of Thames with diuers Engliſh marchāts, the 26. of March, 1588. in the Hercules of London, which was the richeſt ſhip of Engliſh marchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret Conſul in Aleppo.

M. Wil. Barret.

Two voiages more made to Babylon.

The money and meaſures of *Babylon*, *Balſara*, and the *Indies*, with the cuſtomes, &c. written from *Aleppo* in *Syria*, *An.* 1584. by M. *Will. Barret.*

BABYLON:

The weight, meaſure, and money currant there, and the cuſtomes of merchandize.

A Mana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and three ſeuenth parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and ſo much is the ſayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by ſo much the mana, and in the ſayd place they bate the tare in all ſorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The meaſure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in yͤ 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, ſo that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very litle leſſe.

The currant mony of Babylon are Saies, which Say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8 Saies make a duckat currant, and 47 medines paſſe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the beſt ſort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are ſold by the 100 drams at priſe, according as they be in requeſt: but amongſt the marchants they bargaine by the 100 metrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 ſingle roials of plate: but in the mint or caſtle, they take thē by the 100 drams, which is 90 roials of plate, and thoſe of the mint giue 5 medines leſſe in each 100 drams then they are woorth to be ſold among the marchants, and make paiment at the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The cuſtome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Coral and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, Engliſh cloth, Kerſies, Mockairs, Chamblets, Silks, Veluets, Damaſks, Sattins & ſuch like at 5 per 100: & they rate the goods without reaſon as they luſt themſelues. The Toafo, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay preſently in ready mony, according to the cuſtome and vſe of the emperor.

To the Ermin of the mint yͤ ordinarie vſe is to giue 30 Saies in curteſie, otherwiſe he would by authoritie of his office come aboord, & for deſpight make ſuch ſearch in the barke, that he would turne all things topſie turuie.

BALSARA:

The weight, meaſure, and money in the citie of Balſara.

A Mana of Balſara anſwereth 5 roues 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, & 19 manas and one 4 part of Balſara, anſwereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 roues, 8 ounces Engliſh, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balſara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8 oūces, and ſo much is the ſayd quintall, but the marchants bargaine at ſo much the mana or wolſene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in euery mana, as the ſort of ſpice is, and the order taken therefore in that place.

The meaſure of Balſara is called a pike, which is iuſt as the meaſure of Babylon, to ſay, 100 pikes of Balſara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, vt ſupra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balſara is as foloweth. There is a ſort of fluſſes of copper called Eſtiui, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the ſaid mamedine is of ſiluer, hauing the Moreſco ſtampe on both ſides, and two of theſe make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The ſaid danine is of ſiluer, hauing the Turkeſco ſtampe on both ſides, & 2 and a halfe of theſe make a Saie, which is in value as the Saie of Aleppo.

The ſaid Saie is of the ſimilitude and ſtampe of Aleppo, being (as appeares) 60 eſtiues. Alſo one Say and 20 eſtiues make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The ſayd larine is a ſtrange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Chriſtianitie, but is a ſmall rod of ſiluer of the greatneſſe of the pen of a gooſe feather, wherewith we vſe to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wreſted, ſo that the two ends meet at the iuſt halfe part, and in the head thereof is a ſtampe Turkeſco, and theſe be the beſt currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of theſe larines make a duckat, which is 40 medines or eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duckat of gold is woorth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 drams of Aleppo, vt ſupra.

The roials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, & albeit among the marchants they ſel by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or caſtle, they ſel by the 100 drams, hauing there leſſe then the worth 5 medines in each hundred drams, and haue their paiment in 40 dayes made them in Saies or larines.

The cuſtome of the ſaid places, aſwell inward as outward, are alike of all ſorts of goods, to ſay 6 by the 100, and Toaſo, Boabo, & ſcriuan medines 6 by the bale inward & outward, to ſay, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who ſo leaueth his goods in the cuſtome houſe paieth nothing, where otherwiſe at the taking thereof away, he ſhould pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the ſaid goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to paſſe whē the cuſtomers eſteeme the goods too high. For in ſuch a caſe they may be driuen to take ſo much commoditie as the cuſtome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for ſuch is the order from the Grand Signior.

Hauing paid the cuſtome, it behoueth to haue a quittance or cocket ſealed and firmed with the cuſtomers hand, in confirmatiō of the diſpatch and clearing, and before departure thence, to cauſe the ſayd cuſtomer to cauſe ſearch to be made, to the end that at the voiages returne there be no cauillation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balſara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe ſottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, vt ſupra.

The fraight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balſara, I would ſay from Balſara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatneſſe thereof. To ſay, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, thoſe of 15 cares 270 larines, thoſe of 20 cares 360 larines, thoſe of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a cara is 4 quintals of Balſara. They pay alſo to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one care, and to all the reſt of the mariners amongſt them 3 cares fraight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the aboueſayd priſes and fraights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requiſite that the ſame be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotilo more then the fraight, vnder paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and beſides that to pay the fraight of that which they haue laden.

And in this accord it behoueth to deale warilie, and in the preſence of the Ermin or ſome other honeſt man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worſt people in all Arabia. And this diligence muſt be put in executiō, to the end the barks may not be ouerladen, becauſe they are to paſſe many ſands betwixt Balſara and Ormuz.

ORMVZ:

The weight, meaſure, and money currant in the kingdom of Ormuz:

Spices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of euery ſort of goods the weight is different. To ſay, of ſome drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other ſome 4 quintals 25 rotiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well great as litle, is 20 fraſoli, and euery fraſoll is 10 manas, and euery mana 23 chianſi, and euery chianſo 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that euery quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and euery roue 32 rotiloes, & euery rotilo 16 ounces, and euery ounce 7 meticals, ſo that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rotiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. engliſh weight. And contrarywiſe yͤ quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiloes 8 ounces engliſh) maketh 477 rotiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiloes and a halfe.

What a rotilo is.

Note that there are bars of diuers weights, vt ſupra, of which they bargaine ſimply, according to the ſort of commoditie, but if they bargaine of the great barre, the ſame is 7 quintals and 24 rotiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargaine in marchandize at ſo many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Aſaries, and maketh larines 100 & a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38, & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One aſarie is ſadines 10, and euery ſadine is 100. danarie.

The larine is worth 5 ſadines and one fourth part, ſo that the ſadine is worth of Aleppo mony 1 medine and 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Balſara worth of Aleppo mony 6 medines & a half.

The pardao is 5 larines of Balſara.

There is alſo ſtamped in Ormuz a ſeraphine of gold, which is litle and round, and is worth 24 ſadines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian mony is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100 meticals, & the roials are worth larines 86 leſſe one ſadine, which is euery thouſand meticals, 382 aſures: but thoſe that will not ſel them, vſe to melt them, and make them ſo many larines in the king of Ormuz his mint, whereby they cleare 2 per 100, and ſomewhat more: and this they doe becauſe neither Venetian money nor roials run as currant in Ormuz, per aduiſe.

The meaſure of Ormuz is of 2 ſorts, the one called codo which increaſeth vpon the meaſure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Alſo theſe meaſures of Ormuz increaſe vpon thoſe of Balſara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: for bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable wares from Balſara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other meaſure is called a vare, which was ſent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they ſell things of ſmall value, which meaſure is of 5 palmes or ſpans, and is one code and two third parts, ſo that buying 100 codes of any meaſurable wares, and returning to meaſure it by the ſayd vare, there are found but 60 vares, contrarywiſe 100 vares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that al ſuch ſhips as lade horſes in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 horſes or vpwards, in what places ſoeuer the ſaid horſes be taken a ſhore in the India, the marchãdize which is to be diſcharged out of that ſhip wherein the ſaid horſes come, are bound to pay no cuſtome at all, but if they lade one horſe leſſe then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole cuſtome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently foreſeene, whither all thoſe horſes laden be bound to pay the king his cuſtome: for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is fauour ſhewed to the king of Cochin his brother in armes, ſo that his horſes that come in the ſame ſhip, are not to anſwere cuſtome. As for example: If there were 4 horſes laden in one ſhip, all which were to pay cuſtome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any cuſtome, the ſame cauſeth all the marchandize of that ſhip to be ſubiect to pay cuſtome, per aduiſe. But if they lade ten horſes vpon purpoſe to pay the king his cuſtome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them ſhould die in that caſe, if they bring the taile of the dead horſe to the cuſtome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all cuſtome, becauſe they were laden in Ormuz to pay cuſtome in Goa. Moreouer, if the horſes ſhould die before the midſt of the voyage, they pay no cuſtome at all, and if they die in the mids of the voyage, then they pay halfe cuſtome, but if any horſe die after the mid voiage, they pay cuſtome no leſſe then if they arriue ſafe. Notwithſtanding, the merchandize (whether the ſaid horſes die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voiage) are free from all cuſtome.

The cuſtome of Ormuz is eleuen in the 100, to ſay, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the foiſts: but for ſmall wares as glaſſes, and looking glaſſes of all ſorts, and ſuch like, made for apparell, pay no cuſtome. But cloth of Wooll, Karſies, Mockaires, Chamlets, and all ſortes of

Silke, Saffron, and ſuch like, pay cuſtome, being eſteemed reaſonably.

There is alſo another cuſtome, which they call caida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormuz, with purpoſe to ſend yͤ ſame further into India, the ſame are boũd to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this cuſtome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Iewes: for the Portugals and Venetians pay nothing thereof.

Note yͤ in Ormuz they abate tare of all ſorts of commodities, by an order obſerued of cuſtome.

The fraight from Ormuz to Chaul, Goa, and Cochin, is as foloweth: Mokaires larines 6 per table of 60 pikes. Aquarioſa 8 larines by ordinarie chiſt, raiſins 10 by chiſt, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruuia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glaſſes larines 8 per chiſt, of 4 foote and a halfe, glaſſes in great chiſts 14 & 15 larines by chiſt. Small wares larines 12 by chiſt of fiue foot. Tamari for Maſchat ſadines 2 and a half, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaul 4 ſadines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugs and things which come from Perſia pay according to the greatneſſe of the bales.

The fraight mentioned, they pay as appeareth, when they ſhip the ſayd goods in ſhips where horſes goe: otherwiſe, not hauing horſes, they pay ſomewhat leſſe, becauſe of the cuſtom which they are to pay.

The vſe of the India ſhips is, that the patrones thereof are not at any charge neither with any paſſenger, nor yet with any mariner in the ſhip, but that euery one at the beginning of the voyage doe furniſh to maintaine his owne table (if he will eate) and for drinke they haue a great iarre of water, which is garded with great cuſtodie.

GOA.

The weight, meaſure, and money currant in Goa.

The quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotilos, ſo that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and euery rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Venice weight 1 li. and a halfe, ſo that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. ſotile Venice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. Engliſh, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the marchandize, ſpices and drugs, are ſold by this quintal, except ſome drugs, as lignũ de China, Galanga, & others, whereof they bargaine at ſo much per candill, aduertiſing that there be two ſorts of candill, one of 16 manas, the other of 20 manas, that of 16 manas commeth to be iuſt 3 quintals, and that of 20 manas, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz.

Note that 4 roues make a quintall.

There is alſo another weight which they call Marco, which is eight ounces or halfe a rotilo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Venice ſotile: with this they weigh amber, corall, muſke, ambracan, ciuet, and other fine wares.

There is alſo another ſort of weight called Mangiallino, which is 5 graines of Venice weight and therewith they weigh diamants and other iewels.

Note that in Goa they vſe not to abate any tare of any goods, except of ſacks or wraps, & therfore it requireth great aduiſement in buying of the goods, eſpecially in the muſke of Tartaria which commeth by way of China in bladders, and ſo weigh it without any tare rebating.

Muſke of Tartaria by yͤ way of China.

The meaſure of Goa is called a tode, which encreaſeth vpon the meaſure of Babylon & Balſara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, ſo that bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa, there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is alſo the vare in Goa, which is iuſt as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they meaſure onely things that are of ſmall value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kind of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and ſtamped on the one ſide with the ſpheare or globe of the world, and on the other ſide two arrowes & 5 rounds: and this kind of mony is called Baſaruchi, and 15 of theſe make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of baſe money: ſo that the tanga of baſe mony is 60 baſaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 baſaruchies, & 5 tangas make a ſeraphine of gold, which in marchandize is worth 5 tangas good money: but if one would change them into baſaruchies, he may haue 5 tangas, and 16 baſaruchies, which ouerplus they cal cerafagio, & when they bargain of the pardaw of gold, each pardaw is ment to be 6 tangas good mony, but in marchandize they vſe not to demaund pardawes of gold in Goa, except it be for iewels and horſes, for all the reſt they take of ſeraphins of ſiluer, per aduiſo.

The roials of plate, I ſay, the roial of 8 are worth per cuſtome & commandement of the king of Portugall 400 reies, and euery rey is one baſaruchie & one fourth part, which maketh tangas 6, and 53 baſaruchies as their iuſt value, but for that the ſaid rotals are excellent ſiluer and currant in diuers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, whē the ſhips are to depart at their due times (called Monſons) euery one to haue the ſaid rotals pay more then they are worth, & the ouerplus, as is aboueſaid they call ſeraſagio. And firſt they giue yͤ iuſt value of the 100 roials of 8, at 5 tangas 50 baſaruchies a piece, which done, they giue ſeraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, vntill 22 by the 100, according as they are in requeſt.

The duckat of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not ſtable in price, for that when the ſhips depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the moſt that they are woorth.

The larines are woorth by iuſt value baſaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a ſeraphine of ſiluer, which is 5 tangas of good money, and theſe alſo haue ſeraſagion of 6, 7, 8, 10, vntill 16, by the 100, for when the ſhips depart for the North, to ſay, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Baſſaim, all cary of the ſame, becauſe it is money more currant then any other.

There is alſo a ſort of ſeraphins of gold of the ſtampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but fewe in Goa, but being there, they are woorth fiue larines and ſomewhat more, according as they are in requeſt.

There is alſo another litle ſort of mony, round, hauing on the one ſide a croſſe, and on the other ſide a crowne, which is woorth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the ſame ſtampe leſſe then that which they call Imitiuo de buona moneda, which is worth 18 baſaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargaine in marchandize, it behoooueth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is vnderſtood to be baſe money of 60 baſaruches, which wanteth of the good money vt ſupra.

The cuſtome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inward, and as much outward, and the goods are eſteemed iuſtly rather to the marchants aduantage then the kings. The cuſtome they pay in this order. Comming with a ſhip from Ormuz to Goa without horſes, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they ſell part or all, but if they would carie of the ſayd marchandiſe to any other place, they pay none other cuſtome, except others buy it and carie it foorth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one hauing paied the cuſtome ſhould ſell to another with compoſition to paſſe it forth as for his proper accounts to ſaue the cuſtome, this may not be, becauſe the ſeller is put to his oth, whether he ſend the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that haue bought the ſame, and being found to the contrary, they pay cuſtome as aboueſaid. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horſes, they are not ſubiect to pay any cuſtome inward, notwithſtanding if they ſend all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the cuſtome outward, although they could not ſell.

They vſe alſo in Goa amongſt the common ſort to bargaine for coales, wood, lime & ſuch like, at ſo many braganines, accounting 24 baſaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no ſuch mony ſtamped. The cuſtome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what condition or ſtate ſoeuer he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe ſet a ſeale vpon the arme, hauing thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they haue the ſaid licence or no.

COCHIN.

The weight, meaſure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandiſe which they ſell or buy within the ſayd citie, they bargaine for it at ſo many ſerafines per quintal, which is 128. rotilos of iuſt weight with yͤ quintall & rotilo of Goa and Ormuz: aduertiſing that there are diuers ſorts of bars according to the ſorts of commodities, and in trafficquing, they reaſon at ſo much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals & 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a vſed tare of all marchandize, according to the ſort of goods, and order taken for the ſame.

The meaſure of Goa and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the ſame ſorts which are currant in Goa, but the duckat of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The cuſtome of Cochin as wel inward as outward for all ſtrangers, is eight in the hundred, but thoſe that haue bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per aduiſo.

MALACCA.

The weight, meaſure, and money of Malacca.

FOr the marchandiſe bought and sold in the citie they reckon at ſo much the barre, which barre is of diuers ſorts, great and ſmall, according to the ancient cuſtome of the ſaid citie, & diuerſitie of the goods. But for the cloues they bargaine at ſo much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 roues and 10 rotilos. As I haue abouesaid, all kind of drugs haue their ſorts of barres limited. Note that euery quintal is 4 roues, and euery roue 32 rotilos, which is 128 rotilos the quintall, the which anſwereth to Aleppo 95 rotilos, and to London 472 li. per quintal.

The meaſures of Malacca are as the meaſures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their diſtinction and agreement, for that there is no iuſt tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the leaſt money currant is of tinne ſtamped with the armes of Portugall, and 12 of theſe make a Chazza.

The Chazza is alſo of tinne with the ſaid armes, and 2 of theſe make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the ſaid armes, and 40 of theſe make a tanga of Goa good money, but not ſtamped in Malacca.

There is alſo a ſort of ſiluer money which they call Patachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reyes, and is ſtamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one ſide, and the armes of Portugall on the other ſide.

There is alſo a kind of mony called cruzados ſtamped with the armes of Portugall, & is worth 6 tangas good mony, the larines are euery 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good money, and theſe larines be of thoſe which are ſtamped in Balſara and Ormuz.

The roials of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The cuſtome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as outward, and thoſe which pay the cuſtome inwards, if in caſe they ſend the ſame goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no cuſtome for the ſame.

A note of charges from *Aleppo* to *Goa*, as foloweth.

*Or, by the Camels burden.

FOr camels from Aleppo to Birrha,	Medines 60 per * ſomme.
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med. 45. per ſomme.
For cuſtome at Birrha,	med. 10. per ſomme.
For Auania of the Cady at Birrha,	med. 200.
For 4 diſhes raiſins, and 20 pounds ſope,	med. 35.
For a preſent to the Ermine the ſumme of	med. 400.
For a barke of 30 or 35 ſommes. Duc. 60 is	med. 2400. per barke.
For meat for the men the ſumme of	med. 200.
For cuſtome at Racca the ſumme of	med. 5. per ſomme.
For 3 platters of raiſins, and 15 pounds of ſope.	med. 25.
For cuſtome to king Aboriſſei, Duc. 20. is	med. 800.
For cuſtome at Dea the ſumme of	med. 230. per barke.
For 4 diſhes raiſins, and 20. pounds of ſope.	med. 35.
For cuſtome at Boſara, the ſumme of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 diſhes raiſins, and 10 pound of ſope,	med. 17.
For cuſtome in Anna, in 10 per ſumme,	med. 10. per ſomme.
For 4 diſhes of raiſins, and 20 pound of ſope,	med. 35.
For cuſtome in Adite, medines 10 per barke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 diſhes raiſins, and 10 pound of ſope,	med. 17.
For cuſtome at Gweke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 diſhes raiſins, and 20 pound of ſope,	med. 17.
For cuſtome in Iſt,	med. 10. per ſomme.
For 4 platters raiſins, and 20 pound of ſope,	med. 35.
Charges of preſents at Felugia,	med. 30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med. 30. per ſomme.
For cuſtome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth.	
For a barke from Babylon to Balſara,	med. 900.
For cuſtome of ſmall wares, at Corno,	med. 20. per ſomme.
For cuſtome of clothes at Corno, the ſumme of	med. per ſomme.
For 3 diſhes raiſins, and 20 pound of ſope,	med. 26.

For fraight from Balſara to Ormus, according to the greatneſſe, as in this booke appeareth.
For cuſtome in Ormus, as is aboueſaid in this booke.
For fraight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke ſhewed.
For cuſtome in Goa, as is aboueſaid.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods ſubſcribed doe come.

Cloues, from Maluco, Tarenate, Amboina, by way of Iaua.
Nutmegs, from Banda.
Maces from Banda, Iaua, and Malacca.
Pepper Gawrie, from Cochin.
Pepper common, from Malabar.
Sinnamon, from Seilan.
Tinne, from Malacca.
Sandals wilde, from Cochin.
Sandales domeſtick, from Malacca.
Verzini, from S. Thomas, and from China,
Spicknard, from Zindi, and Lahor.
Quickſiluer, from China.
Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Iſtria & Syria.
Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.
Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia,
Ginger Mordaſſi, frõ Mordas within Cambaia.
Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
Mirabolans of all ſorts, from Cambaia.
White ſucket from Zindi, Cambaia and China
Corcunia, from diuers places of India.
Corall of Leuant, from Malabar.
Chomin, from Balſara.
Requitria, from Arabia Felix,
Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Zedoari, from diuers places of India.
Cubeb, from China.
Amonium, from China.
Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
Coſto dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
Aſa fetida, from Lahor.
Waxe, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Perſia.
Caſſia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to ſay, from Aneda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
Tutia, from Perſia.
Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiua.
Ruuia to die withall, from Chalangi.
Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Conſtantinople.
Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.
Oppopanax, from Perſia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galange, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Balaguate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Alemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Perſia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum ſmall, from Barcelona.
Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Balſara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Pat.
Safran, from Balſara, and Perſia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Perſia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
Nux vomica, from Malabar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra,
Armoniago, from Perſia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Balaguate.
Muſke from Tartarie, by way of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Moſambique.
Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
Lacton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayro.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
Caſtorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the red ſea.
Maſticke, from Sio.
Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.
Calamus Aromaticus, from Conſtantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria,
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Perſia.

Lapis Zudaſſi, from Zaffetto.
Lapis Spongij is found in ſponges.
Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.
Manna, from Perſia.
Auripigmentum, from manie places of Turkie.
Pilatro, from Barbaria.
Piſtaches, from Doria.
Worme-ſeede, from Perſia.
Sumack, from Cyprus.
Sebeſten, from Cyprus.
Galbanum, from Perſia.
Dente d' Abolio, from Melinde, and Moſambique.
Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
Diaſprum viride, from Cambaia.
Petra Bezzuar, from Tartaria.
Sarcacolla, from Perſia.
Melleghete, from the Weſt parts.
Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.
Chochenillo, from the Weſt India.
Rubarbe, from Perſia, and China.

The times or ſeaſonable windes called *Monſons*, wherein the ſhips depart from place to place in the Eaſt *Indies*.

NOte, that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the 15 of May with very great raine, and ſo continueth till the firſt of Auguſt, ſo that during that ſpace, no ſhippe can paſſe ouer the barre of Goa, becauſe through the continuall ſhoures of raine all the ſandes ioyne together neere vnto a mountaine called Oghane, and all theſe ſandes being ioyned together, runne into the ſhoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can haue no other iſſue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is ſhut vp vntill the firſt of Auguſt, but at the 10 of Auguſt it openeth by reaſon of the raine which ceaſeth, and the ſea doeth then ſcoure the ſands away againe.

The monſon from Goa to the Northward, to ſay, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Baſaim, and other places.

The ſhips depart betwixt the tenth and 24 of Auguſt, for the Northward places aboueſayde, and to theſe places they may ſaile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times aboueſaid.

The monſon from the North parts, for Goa.

The ſhips depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The firſt monſon from Diu for the ſtraight of Mecca.

The ſhips depart from Diu about the 15 of Januarie, and returne from the ſtraights to Diu in the moneth of Auguſt.

The ſecond monſon from Diu for the ſtraight of Mecca.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 25 and firſt of September, and returne from the ſtraights to Diu, the firſt and 15 of May.

The monſon from Secutra for Ormus.

The ſhips depart about the tenth of Auguſt for Ormus: albeit Secutra is an Iſland and hath but few ſhips, which depart as aboueſaid.

The monſon wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balaguate, Bezenegar, as alſo from Sudalcan, and other places.

The monſon wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of Nouember. Note that by going for the North is ment the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Baſaim, Ghaſſain, and other places vnto Zindi: and by the South is vnderſtood, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coaſt vnto Cape Comori.

The firſt monſon from Goa for Ormus.

The ſhippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, paſſing with Eaſterly windes along the coaſt of Perſia.

The ſecond monſon from Goa to Ormus.

The ſhips depart about the 20 of Januarie paſſing by the like nauigation and windes as in the firſt monſon, and this is called of the Portugals and Indians Entremonſon.

The third monſon from Goa to Ormus.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of Aprill, hauing Eaſterly windes, till they paſſe Secutra, and then they find Weſterly windes, and therfore they ſet their courſe ouer for the coaſt of Arabia, till they come to Cape Raſalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monſon is moſt troubleſome of all: for they make two nauigations in the heigth of Seylan, which is 6 degrees and ſomewhat lower.

The firſt monſon from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ſhips depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North, and Northeaſt windes.

The ſecond monſon from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ſecond monſon is betwixt the fiue and twentie and laſt of December, with like winds as the former monſon.

The third monſon from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa.

The third monſon the ſhips depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the firſt and 15 of April, and they ſaile with Southeaſt windes, Eaſt and Northeaſt windes, coaſting vpon the Arabia ſide from Cape Moſandon vnto Cape Raſalgate, and hauing loſt the ſight of Cape Raſalgate, they haue Weſterly windes, and ſo come for Chaul and Goa, and if the ſaid ſhips depart not before the 25 of April, they are not then to depart that monſon, but to winter in Ormus becauſe of the winter.

The firſt monſon from Ormus for Zindi.

The ſhips depart for Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of April.

The ſecond monſon from Ormus for Zindi.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monſon from Ormus for the red ſea.

The ſhips depart from Ormus betwixt the firſt and laſt of Januarie.

Hitherto I haue noted the monſons of the ſhips departing from *Goa* to the Northward: Now follow the monſons wherein the ſhips depart from *Goa* to the Southward.

¶ The monſon from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coaſt.

The ſhips depart from thoſe places betwixt the 1 and 15 of Auguſt, and there they find it nauigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforeſaid, from the 15 of May till the 10 of Auguſt. In like maner the ſhips come from theſe places for Goa at euery time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the beſt time is to come in Nouember, December and January.

Note.

The firſt monſon from Goa, for Pegu.

The ſhips depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5 of Auguſt, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The ſecond monſon from Goa for Pegu.

The ſhips depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of Auguſt, going ſtraight for Pegu, and if they paſſe the 24 of Auguſt, they cannot paſſe that monſon, neither is there any more monſons till April as is aforeſaid. Note that the chiefeſt trade is, to take money of S. Thomas rials, and parechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other marchandiſe are not good for that place except ſome dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, ſiluer, and Rubies, there is ſufficient ſtore in Pegu.

Marchandize good for Pegu.

The monſon from Pegu for the Indies.

The ſhips depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the 25 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it paſſe the 10 of May before the ſayde ſhips be arriued in Goa, they cannot come thither that monſon, and if they haue not then ſet the coaſt of India, they ſhall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The firſt monſon from Goa for Malacca.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 15 and laſt of September, and arriue in Malacca about the end of October.

The ſecond monſon from Goa to Malacca.

The ſhips depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arriue in Malacca about the 15 of June.

The firſt monſon from Malacca to Goa.

The ſhips depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The ſecond monſon from Malacca to Goa.

The ſhips depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of

March. But if the ſaid ſhips ſhould ſtay till the 10 of May, they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time alſo they ſhould not be arriued at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, becauſe the winter and contrary windes then come vpon them.

The monſon from Goa for China.

The ſhips depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The monſon from China for Goa.

The ſhips depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arriued, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.

The monſon from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ſhips depart about the 10 or 15 of May, which time being paſt, the ſhippes can not paſſe ouer the barre of Goa for the cauſe aboueſaid.

The monſon of the ſhips of the Moluccaes arriuall in Goa.

The ſhips which come from the Moluccaes arriue vpon the bar of Goa about the 15 of April.

The monſons of the Portingall ſhips for the Indies.

The ſhips which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth & fifteenth of March, comming the ſtraight way during the moneth of Iuly to the coaſt of Melinde, and Moſambique, and from thence goe ſtraight for Goa, and if in the moneth of Iuly they ſhould not be at the coaſt of Melinde, they can in no wiſe that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Iſle of Saint Helena, and ſo are not able, that time being paſt, to fetch the coaſt of India, and to come ſtraight for Goa. Therefore (as is aboueſaid) they returne to the Iſland of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the ſaid Iſland, then they runne as loſt vpon the coaſt of Guinea: but if the ſaid ſhips be arriued in time vpon the coaſt of Melinde, they ſet forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they ſee they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Moſambique to winter there vpon the ſayd coaſt. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580 there arriued the ſhip called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull ſore ſea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene ſeene before.

Note.

Note.

The monſon from India for Portugall.

The ſhippes depart from Cochin betweene the fifteenth and laſt of January, going on till they haue ſight of Capo de buona ſperanza, and the Iſle of Saint Helena, which Iſlande is about the midway, being in ſixteene degrees to the South. And it is a litle Iſland being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great ſtore of fruit: and this Iſland is a great ſuccour to the ſhipping which returne for Portugall. And not long ſince the ſaid Iſland was found by the Portugales, and was diſcouered by a ſhippe that came from the Indies in a great ſtorme, in which they found ſuch abundance of wilde beaſtes, and boares, and all ſort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore ſhip which had beene foure moneths at ſea, refreſhed themſelues both with water and meate very well, and this Iſland they called S. Helena, becauſe it was diſcouered vpon S. Helens day. And vndoubtedly this Iſland is a great ſuccour, and ſo great an ayde to the ſhips of Portugall, that many would ſurely periſh if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portugall cauſed a Church to be made there for deuotion of S. Helena: where there are onely reſident Eremites, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commandement, to the ende that the ſhips may be the more ſufficiently furniſhed with victuals, becauſe the ſhips which come frō India come but ſlenderly victualled, becauſe there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ſhips which come from Portugall to the Indies touch not in the ſayd Iſland, becauſe they ſet out being ſufficiently furniſhed with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites aboueſaid, cannot inhabite this Iſland, except ſome ſicke man that may be ſet there a ſhore to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recouery.

Note.

The monſon from Goa to Moſambique.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of Januarie.

The monſon from Moſambique to Goa.

The ſhips depart betweene the 8 and laſt of Auguſt, and arriue in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of Nouember.

The monſon from Ormus to Bengala.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of June, and goe to winter at Teue and depart thence about the 15 of Auguſt for Bengala.

The voyage paſſed by ſea into *Aegypt*, by *Iohn Eueſham* Gentleman. *Anno 1586.*

The 5 of December 1586 we departed from Grauesend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Maſter vnder God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Iſle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, ſo that on the 27 day wee came in ſight of the rocke of Lisbone, and ſo ſayling along we came in ſight of the South Cape, the 29 of the ſame, and on the morrowe with a Weſterly winde we entred the ſtraights: and the ſecond of Ianuary being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier. And the 4 day we arriued at the port of Argier aforeſaid, where we ſtaied till the firſt of March. At which time we ſet ſaile towardes a place called Funis, to the Eaſtward of Argier 100 leagues, where we arriued the 8 of the ſame. This Tunis is a ſmall citie vp 12 miles from the ſea, and at the port or rode where ſhipping doe ride, is a caſtle or fort called Goletta, ſometimes in the handes of the Chriſtians, but now of the Turkes: at which place we remained till the third of Aprill: at which time wee ſet ſaile towardes Alexandria, and hauing ſometime faire windes, ſometime contrary, we paſſed on the 12 day betweene Sicilia and Malta (where neere adioyning hath beene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and ſo the 19 day we fell with the Iſle of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arriued the 27 of April, and there continued till the 5 of October.

Tunis.

The deſcription of Alexandria.

The ſaid citie of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, hauing bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vauted vnderneath for prouiſion of freſh water, which water commeth thither but once euery yeere, out of one of the foure riuers of paradiſe (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth neere eighteene foote vpright higher then his accuſtomed manner, and ſo the banke being cut, as it were a ſluce, about thirty miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Roſſetto, it doth ſo come to the ſaide Citie, with ſuch aboundance, that barkes of twelue tunne doe come vpon the ſame water, which water doth fill all the vauts, ceſternes, and wels in the ſaid Citie, with very good water, and doth ſo continue good, till the next yeere following: for they haue there very litle raine or none at all, yet haue they exceeding great dewes. Alſo they haue very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, eſpecially in the moneths of Auguſt, September, and October. Alſo within the ſaide Citie there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaoes needle, & it is foure ſquare, euery ſquare is twelue foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Alſo there is without the wals of the ſaid Citie, about twentie ſcore paces, another marble pillar, being round, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar ſtandeth vpon a great ſquare ſtone, euery ſquare is fifteene foote, and the ſame ſtone is fifteene foote high, and the compaſſe of the pillar is 37 foote, and the heigth of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how euer it was poſſible to ſet the ſaid pillar vpon the ſaid ſquare ſtone. The port of the ſaid Citie is ſtrongly fortified with two ſtrong Caſtles, and one other Caſtle within the citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eaſtward of this Citie, about three dayes iourney the citie of Grand Cayro, otherwiſe called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the regiſters bookes which we did ſee, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes iourney about the wals, which was iourneyed by one of our Marriners for triall thereof. Alſo neere to the ſaide citie there is a place called the Pyramides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, ſeuen ſeuerall places of flint and marble ſtone, foure ſquare, the wals thereof are ſeuen yards thicke in thoſe places that we did ſee: the ſquarenes is in length about twentie ſcore euery ſquare, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and ſmall or narrow at the toppe: the heigth of them, to our iudgement, doth ſurmount twiſe the heigth of Paules ſteeple: within the ſaide Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they haue no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and ſo we went in there, hauing torch-light with vs, for that it hath no light to it, and within the ſame, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a coſtly tombe, which tombe they ſay, was made for king Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red ſea: alſo there are certaine vauts or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe vnder thoſe Pyramides with faire ſtaires, but no man dare venter to goe downe into them, by reaſon that they can cary no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red ſea is but three daies iourney from this place, and Ieruſalem about ſeuen dayes iourney from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Caſtle wherin is the houſe that Pharaoes wiues were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof ſtande 55 marble pillars, in ſuch order, as our Exchange ſtandeth in London: the ſaid pillars are in heigth 60 foote, and in compaſſe 14

Cayro.

foote: alſo in the ſaid Citie is the caſtle where Ioſeph was in priſon, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would haue any ſumme of money of them: there are ſeuen gates to the ſayd priſon, and it goeth neere fiftie yardes downe right: alſo, the water that ſerueth this caſtle, commeth out of the foreſaide riuer of Nilus, vpon a wall made with arches, fiue miles long, and it is twelue foote thicke. Alſo there are in old Cayro two Monaſteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the houſe of king Pharao. In this Citie is great ſtore of marchandize, eſpecially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the Eaſt India: and it is very plentifull of all maner of victuals, eſpecially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eaſtwards of Cayro, there is a Well, fiue miles off, called Matria, and as they ſay, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Ægypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to ſuſtaine them, by the prouidence of God, an Angell came from heauen, and ſtrake the ground with his wings, where preſently iſſued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Iſraelites did hide themſelues, which fountaine or well is walled foure ſquare till this day. Alſo we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and deſtroyed, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee ſeene, one ſtreete three mile long, to which Citie freſh water was brought vpon arches (as afore) aboue 25 miles, of which arches ſome are ſtanding to this day. Alſo we were at diuers other places on the coaſt, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities we ſaw but few. The towne of Argier which was our firſt and laſt port, within the ſtreights ſtandeth vpon the ſide of an hill, cloſe vpon the ſea ſhore: it is very ſtrong both by ſea and land, and it is very well victualed with all manner of fruites, bread and fiſh good ſtore, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes, and ſo are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Chriſtian captiues, whereof there are of Engliſhmen onely fifteene, from which port we ſet ſayle towardes England, the ſeuenth of Ianuarie, Anno 1587, and the 30 day of the ſayd moneth, we arriued at Dartmouth on the coaſt of England.

Carthage.

Argier.

The ſecond voyage of M. *Laurence Alderſey*, to the Cities of *Alexandria*, and *Cayro* in *Aegypt. Anno 1586.*

I Embarked my ſelfe at Briſtoll, in the Hercules, a good ſhip of London, and ſet ſaile the 21 day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, hauing a merry winde: but the 23 day, there aroſe a very great ſtorme, and in the mids of it we deſcried a ſmall boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Maſter made towardes them, and tooke them into our ſhip, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepſtow, to runne a drift. The ſame night about midnight aroſe another great ſtorme, but the winde was large with vs, vntill the 27 of the ſame moneth, which then grew ſome what contrary: yet notwithſtanding we held on our courſe, and the tenth day of March, we deſcried a ſaile about Cape Sprat, which is a litle on this ſide the ſtreight of Gibraltare, but we ſpake not with her. The next day we deſcried twelue ſayle more, with whom we thought to haue ſpoken, to haue learned what they were, but they made very faſt away, and we gaue them ouer.

Thurſday the 16 of March, we had ſight of the ſtreights, and of the coaſt of Barbary. The 18 day we paſſed them, and ſailed towards Patras. Vpon the 23 of March, we met with the Centurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we ſent letters to England, and the foure men alſo which we tooke in, vpon the coaſt of England, before mentioned.

Goleta. The 29 of March we came to Goleta a ſmall Iland, and had ſight of two ſhippes, which we iudged to be of England.

Malta. Tueſday the fourth of Aprill, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Maiſter cauſed the two ſhip boates to be had out, and they towed the ſhip, till we were out of ſight of the Caſtle of Malta. Zante. The 9 day of Aprill we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, ſeruant to Maſter Thomas Cordall of London, came aboord vs, with whom our Maſter and twelue more of our company, thought to haue gone on ſhoare, but they could not be permitted: ſo we all came aboord againe, Patras. and went to Patras, where we arriued vpon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainement at the Engliſh houſe, where was the Conſull Maſter Grimes, Ralph Aſhley, and Iohn Doddington, who very kindly went with vs, and ſhewed vs the pleaſures of the towne.

They brought vs to the houſe of the Cady, who was made then to vnderſtand of the 20 Turks that wee had aboord, which were to goe to Conſtantinople, being redeemed out of captiuitie, by ſir Francis Drake in the Weſt Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the Queenes Maieſtie ſent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commaunded them to be brought before him, that he might ſee them: and when he had talked with them, and vnderſtood howe ſtrangely they were deliuered, hee marueiled much, and admired the Queenes Maieſtie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithſtanding of ſuch power and renowne amongſt all the princes of Chriſtendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Maieſtie. So he tooke the names of thoſe 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memory. After this, our foreſaid countreymen brought mee to the Chappel of S. Andrew, where his tombe or ſepulchre is, and the boord vpon which hee was beheaded, which boord is now ſo rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought ſome of it away with me.

Upon Tueſday in Eaſter weeke, wee ſet out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with much adoe, wee were all permitted to come on ſhoare, and I was caried to the Engliſh houſe in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currans and oyle: the ſituation of the Towne is vnder a very great hill, vpon which ſtandeth a very ſtrong Caſtle, which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante we tooke in a Captaine and 16. ſouldiers, with other paſſengers. Wee departed from Zante vpon Tueſday the 15. of April, and the next day we ankered at a ſmall Iſland, called Striualia, which is deſolate of people, ſauing a fewe religious men, who entertained vs well, without taking any money: but of courteſie we beſtowed ſomewhat vpon them for their maintenance, and then they gaue vs a couple of leane ſheepe, which we caried aboord. The laſt day of Aprill, wee arriued at Candie, at a Caſtle, called Sowday, where wee ſet the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners aſhoare, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage.

Striualia.

Candie.

The ſecond day of May wee ſet ſaile againe, and the fourth day came to the Iſlands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in ſuch neceſſaries as we wanted. The Iſlands are in my iudgement a hundred in number, and all within the compaſſe of a hundred miles.

May.
The Iſlands of Milo, in ol
time called Sporades.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greateſt man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water ſide, which they ſaide one of our ſhippe had done, and imputed it to mee, becauſe I was ſeene goe into it three dayes before, came to vs, and made much adoe, ſo that we were faine to come out of our ſhippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the brabling was ended, and we came to our ſhippe. This day wee alſo ſet ſaile, and the next day paſſed by the Caſtle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and ſtandeth vnder a hils ſide.

The 13. day, we paſſed by the Iſland of Paris, and the Iſland of the bankes of Helicon, and the Iſland called Ditter, where are many boares, and the women bee witches. The ſame day alſo wee paſſed by the Caſtle of Tino, ſtanding vpon a very high mountaine, and neere vnto it is the Iſland of Diana.

The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I ſtayed thirtie and three dayes. In it is a very proper Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are ciuil: and while we were here, there came in ſixe Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admiral, had a Prince of the Moores priſoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to preſent him to the Turke. The towne ſtandeth in a valley, and a long the water ſide pleaſantly. There are about 26. winde-mils about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, maſtike, and ſome other drugs.

Sio.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controuerſie betweene the mariners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the Towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Viue el Re Philippe: whereupon our men beate the boyes, and threwe ſtones, and ſo a broile beganne, and ſome of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houſes, and manacled together with yrons, and threatned to the Gallies: about fourtie of them were ſent to the priſon, and what became of them, when we were gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of Iune.

The 20. day wee paſſed by the Iſland of Singonina, an Iſland riſen by the caſting of ſtones in that place: the ſubſtance of the ground there is brimſtone, and burneth ſometimes ſo much, that it bloweth vp the rockes.

Singonina.

The 24. of Iune wee came to Cyprus, and had ſight in the way of the aforeſaide ſixe Gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came vnto vs, and required a preſent for himſelfe, and for two of the other Gallies, which we for quietneſſe ſake gaue them.

The 27. of Iune, wee came to Tripolie, where I ſtayed till the fift of Iuly, and then tooke paſſage in a ſmal barke called a Caramuſalin, which was a paſſage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this ſide Alexandria, which boate was fraighted with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes.

The 20. day of Iuly, this barke which I paſſed in ranne vpon a rocke, and was in very great danger, ſo that we all began ſome to be ready to ſwimme, ſome to leape into the ſhippe boate, but it pleaſed God to ſet vs quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

Bichieri.

The 28. of Iuly I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Iewe which was the Cuſtomer there, giuing me Muſkadine, and drinking water himſelfe: hauing broken my faſt with him, he prouided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride vpon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to ſee mee ſafe in the Engliſh houſe, whither I came, but found no Engliſhmen there: but then my guide brought mee aboord a ſhip of Alderman Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well receiued of the Maſter of the ſaid ſhip, whoſe name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The Engliſh houſe in Alexandria.

The ſaid Maſter hauing made me good cheere, and made me alſo to drinke of the water of Nilus, hauing the keyes of the Engliſh houſe, went thither with me himſelfe, & appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to prouide me all things that I needed, and euery day came himſelfe to me, and caried me into the City, and ſhewed me the monuments thereof, which be theſe.

The monuments of Alexandria.

He brought mee firſt to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of gray marble, and all of one ſtone, in height by eſtimation aboue 52. yards, and the compaſſe about ſixe fadome.

The City hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the thirde of Roſſetto.

He brought me to a ſtone in the ſtreete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katherine died, hauing there hid herſelfe, becauſe ſhe would not marry: alſo to the Bath of S. Katherine.

I ſaw there alſo Pharaos needle, which is a thing in height almoſt equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compaſſe fiue fadome, and a halfe, and all of one ſtone.

I was brought alſo to a moſt braue and daintie Bath, where we waſhed our ſelues: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workemanſhip.

The Citie ſtandeth vpon great arches, or vawtes, like vnto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde vp the foundation: which arches are built to receiue the water of the riuer of Nilus, which is for the vſe of the Citie. It hath three Caſtles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is deſtroyed of it, is ſixe times more then that part which ſtandeth.

Roſſetto.

The laſt day of Iuly, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a paſſage boate, wherein firſt I went to Roſſetto, ſtanding by the riuer ſide, hauing 13, or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of ſtone and bricke, but as for lodging, there is litle, except we bring it with vs.

From Roſſetto wee paſſed along the riuer of Nilus, which is ſo famous in the world, twiſe as broad as the Thames at London: on both ſides grow date trees in great abundance. The people be rude, inſomuch that a man cannot traueile without a Ianizary to conduct him.

The Turkes Lent.

The time that I ſtayed in Ægypt was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they haue three Lents in the yere: during which time they neither eate nor drink in the day time, but all the night they do nothing elſe.

Betwixt Roſſetto and Cayro there are along the water ſide three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not aboue three hundred miles.

Cayro.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the fift day of Auguſt, where I found M. William Alday, and William Cæſar, who intertained me in very good ſort. M. Cæſar brought mee to ſee the Pyramides which are three in number, one whereof king Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it ſelfe is almoſt in the top of it: the monuments bee high and in forme 4. ſquare, and euery of the ſquares is as long as a man may ſhoote a rouing arrowe, and as high as a Church. I ſawe alſo the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by thoſe Pyramides.

The houſe of Ioſeph is yet ſtanding in Cayro, which is a ſumptuous thing, hauing a place to walke in of 56. mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I ſaw it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of Auguſt the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the riuer of Nilus, which was done with great ioy and triumph.

The 12. of Auguſt I ſet from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of Auguſt. The 26. day there was kept a great feaſt of the Turkes and Moores, which laſted two dayes, and for a day they neuer ceaſed ſhooting off of great Ordinance.

The Engliſh Conſul at Argier.

From Alexandria I ſailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Conſull of the Engliſh nation, who vſed me moſt kindly, and at his owne charge. Hee brought mee to the kings Court, and into the preſence of the King, to ſee him, and the maners of the Court: the King doeth onely beare the name of a King, but the greateſt gouernment is in the hands of the ſouldiers.

The king of Potanca is priſoner in Argier, who comming to Conſtantinople, to acknowledge a duety to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that hee went onely as a ſpy, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of ſeuen Gallies that were at that time caſt away at a towne called Formentera: three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Chriſtians.

We found here alſo 13. Engliſhmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill vſed by the Moores, who forced them to leaue their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redreſſe and remedy for the iniurie. They were all belonging to the ſhippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Maſter Birde is owner. The Maſter was Stephen Haſelwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinneſſe called the Mooneſhine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke vpon the coaſt of Spaine, laden with ſugar, hides, and ginger: the pinneſſe alſo belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made ſale both of ſhippe and goods, where wee left them at our comming away, which was the ſeuenth day of Ianuarie: and the firſt day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the ſeuenth day came to London, with humble thankes to Almightie God, for my ſafe arriuall.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from *Turkie*, by fiue Ships of *London*, againſt 11. Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at *Pantalarea* within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by *Philip Iones.*

THe Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turky trade, hauing receiued intelligences, and aduertiſements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the proſperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arreſted al Engliſh ſhips, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but alſo maligning the quiet trafique which they vſed to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had giuen order to the Captaines of his gallies in the Leuant, to hinder the paſſage of all Engliſh ſhips, and to endeuour by their beſt meanes, to intercept, take, and ſpoile them, their perſons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their beſt courſe to ſet out their fleete for Turkie, in ſuch ſtrength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpoſe of their Spaniſh [illegible]emie might the better be preuented, and the voyage acompliſhed with greater ſecuritie to the men and ſhippes. For which cauſe, fiue tall, and ſtoute ſhippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were prouided and furniſhed with all things belonging to the Seas; The names whereof were theſe:

1. The Marchant Royall, a very brau[illegible]nd good ſhippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonauenture.
4. The William, and Iohn.
5. The Suſan.

Theſe fiue departing from the coaſt of England, in the moneth of Nouember 1585. kept together as one fleete, til they came as high as the Iſle of Sicile, within the Leuant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each ſhippe began to take leaue of the reſt, and to ſeparate himſelfe, ſetting his courſe for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Conſtantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, ſituated vpon the coaſt of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the reſt to thoſe places, whereunto they were priuatly appointed. But before they deuided themſelues, they altogether conſulted, of and about a certaine and ſpeciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their ſeuerall portes. And in concluſion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Iſland neere to the maine continent of the Weſt part of Morea, well knowen of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fitteſt place of their Rendeuous. Concerning which meeting, it was alſo couenanted on eche ſide, and promiſed, that whatſoeuer ſhip of theſe 5. ſhould firſt arriue at Zante, ſhould there ſtay and expect the comming of the reſt of the fleete, for the ſpace of twentie dayes. This being done, ech man made his beſt haſt according as winde and wether woulde ſerue him to fulfill his courſe, and to diſpatch his buſineſſe; and no neede was there to admoniſh or incourage any man, ſeeing no time was ill ſpent, nor opportunitie omitted on any ſide, in the performance of ech mans duetie, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Conſtantinople had made ſuch good ſpeede, and gotten ſuch good weather, that ſhe firſt of al the reſt came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former concluſion, did there caſt ancre, attending the arriuall of the reſt of the fleete, which accordingly (their buſines firſt performed) failed not to keepe promiſe. The firſt next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and Iohn came from Tripolie in Syria, and arriued at Zante within the compaſſe of the foreſaide time limitted. Theſe ſhips in token of the ioy on all parts conceiued for their happy meeting, ſpared not the diſcharging of their Ordinance, the ſounding of drums & trumpets, the ſpreading of Enſignes with other warlike and ioyfull behauiours, expreſſing by theſe outward ſignes, the inward gladneſſe of their mindes, being all as ready to ioyne together in mutuall conſent to reſiſt the cruel enemie, as now in ſporting maner they made myrth and paſtime among themſelues. Theſe three had not bene long in the hauen, but the Edward Bonauenture alſo, together with the Suſan her conſort, were come from Venice with their lading, the ſight of whom increaſed the ioy of the reſt, and they no leſſe glad of the preſence of the others, ſaluted them in moſt friendly and kinde ſort, according to the maner of the Seas: and whereas ſome of theſe ſhips ſtoode at that inſtant in ſome want of victuals, they were all content to ſtay in the port, till the neceſſities of ech ſhippe were ſupplied, and nothing wanted to ſet out for their returne.

In this port of Zante the newes was freſh and currant, of two ſeuerall armies and fleetes prouided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one conſiſting of 30. ſtrong Gallies, ſo well appointed in all reſpects for the warre, that no neceſſary thing wanted: and this fleete houered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20. Gallies, whereof ſome were of Sicilie, and ſome of the Iſland of Malta, vnder the charge and gouernment of Iohn Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name ſeruing the king of Spaine. Theſe two diuers and ſtrong fleetes waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the Engliſh ſhippes, and no doubt made their accompt and ſure reckoning that not a ſhippe ſhould eſcape their furie. And the opinion alſo of the inhabitants of the Iſle of Zante was, that in reſpect of the number of Gallies in both theſe armies, hauing receiued ſuch ſtreight commandement from the king, our ſhips and men being but few, and little in compariſon of them, it was a thing in humane reaſon impoſſible, that wee ſhould paſſe either without ſpoiling, if we reſiſted, or without compoſition at the leaſt, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spaniſh king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of theſe armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing elſe, that could daunt or diſmay the courages of our men, who grounding themſelues vpon the goodneſſe of their cauſe, and the promiſe of God, to bee deliuered from ſuch as without reaſon ſought their deſtruction, caried reſolute mindes, notwithſtanding all impediments to aduenture through the Seas, and to finiſh their Nauigation, maugre the beards of the Spaniſh ſouldiers. But leaſt they ſhould ſeeme too careleſſe, and too ſecure of their eſtate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their ſafetie vpon Gods prouidence, ſhould fooliſhly preſume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counſell among themſelues, and to deliberate aduiſedly for their beſt defence. And in the end with generall conſent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whoſe orders the reſt promiſed to be directed, and ech ſhippe vowed not to breake from another, whatſoeuer extremitie ſhould fall out, but to ſtand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the fruſtrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Caſtle of Græcia, and committed themſelues againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their courſe and voyage in quietnes, without ſight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Iſland ſo called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coaſt of Africke: into ſight whereof they came the 13. day of Iuly 1586. And the ſame day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they deſcried 13. ſailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpoſe for them, in and about that place. As ſoone as the Engliſh ſhips had ſpied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themſelues ready for a fight, layed out their Ordinance, ſcoured, charged, and primed them, diſplayed their enſignes, and left nothing vndone to arme themſelues throughly. In the meane time, the Gallies more and more approched the ſhips, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Iſles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the ſeruice and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the Gallies ſent from ech of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our Engliſh ſhips, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat firſt hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were: They anſwered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the ſaide frigat expoſtulated with them, and aſked why they delayed to ſende or come with their Captaines and purſers to Don Pedro de Leiua their Generall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name of the Spaniſh king, Lord of thoſe ſeas? Our men replied, and ſaid, that they owed no ſuch duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigat to depart with that anſwere, and not to ſtay longer a brabling, vpon her perill. With that away ſhe went, and vp comes toward them the other frigat of Malta, and ſhee in like ſort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Engliſhmen in the Admirall, not diſdaining an anſwere, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this caſe, they alſo demaunded of the frigat whence ſhe and the reſt of the Gallies were: the meſſenger anſwered, we are of Malta, and for mine owne part my name is Cauallero. Theſe Gallies are in ſeruice and pay to the king of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiua a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this preſent force and armie, of purpoſe to intercept you. You ſhall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him, to know his pleaſure, he is a noble man of good behauiour and courteſie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the Engliſh Admiral, whoſe name was M. Edward Wilkinſon, replied and ſaid. We purpoſe not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courteſie, whereof we are ſuſpitious and doubtful, and not without good cauſe: vſing withall good words to the meſſenger, and willing him to come aboord him, promiſing ſecuritie and good vſage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon he in deed left his frigat, and came aboord him, whom hee intertained in friendly ſort, and cauſed a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reuerend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, ſpeaking very honourably of her Maieſtie, and giuing good ſpeeches of the courteous vſage and interteinement that he himſelfe had receiued in London, at the time that the duke of Alenſon, brother to the late French king was laſt in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leaue, ſpeaking well of the ſufficiencie and goodneſſe of our ſhippes, and eſpecially of the Marchant Royal, which he confeſſed to haue ſeene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no ſooner come to Don Pedro de Leiua the Spaniſh general, but he was ſent off againe, and returned to the Engliſh Admirall, ſaying that the pleaſure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Maſters and Purſers ſhould come to him with ſpeed, or elſe hee would ſet vpon them, and either take them or ſinke them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinſon aforeſaid, that not a man ſhould come to him: and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spaniſh brauado that ſhould make them yeeld a iot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make reſiſtance, as he to offer an iniurie. Whereupon Cauallero the meſſenger left bragging, and began to perſwade them in quiet ſort, and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpoſe, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, ſo his perſwaſion did nothing mooue them to doe that which hee required. At the laſt he intreated to haue the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a meſſenger to the Generall, that ſo he might be ſatiſfied, and aſſured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinſon would agree to no ſuch thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himſelfe ſeemed willing to bee imployed in that meſſage, and laboured by reaſonable perſwaſions to induce M. Wilkinſon to graunt it, as hoping to be an occaſion by his preſence and diſcreet anſweres to ſatiſfie the Generall, and thereby to ſaue the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, if it ſhould grow to a battel. And he ſeemed ſo much the more willing to be ſent, by how much deeper the othes and proteſtations of this Cauallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a ſouldier) deliuer him backe againe in ſafetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinſon, which by his long experience had receiued ſufficient triall of Spaniſh inconſtancie and periurie, wiſhed him in no caſe to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spaniards othe. But at laſt, vpon much intreatie, hee yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good ſpeeches and anſweres of reaſon would haue contented him, whereas otherwiſe refuſall to do ſo, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more diſcontentment.

M. Rowit therefore paſſing to the Spaniſh Generall, the reſt of the Gallies hauing eſpied him, thought in deed that the Engliſh were rather determined to yeelde, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigat, euery man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, Haue theſe Engliſh men yeelded? the frigat anſwered, Not ſo, they neither haue, nor purpoſe to yeeld, onely they haue ſent a man of their company to ſpeake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he ſhewed himſelfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of ſouldiers attending vpon him in armour alſo, and began to ſpeake very proudly in this ſort: Thou Engliſhman, from whence is your fleete, why ſtand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whoſe perſon I here repreſent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, paſports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in theſe ſeas to be in vaine, or my perſon to no purpoſe? Let al theſe things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further diſpleaſure and the ſpoyle of you all: Theſe wordes of the Spaniſh Generall were not ſo outragiouſly pronounced, as they were mildly anſwered by M. Rowit, who tolde him that they were al Marchantmen, vſing trafique in honeſt ſort, and ſeeking to paſſe quietly, if they were not vrged further then reaſon. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his ſoueraigne the Queene of England, ſo that neither he nor his officers ſhould goe about to offer any ſuch iniurie to Engliſh Marchants, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, ſo they would be loath to take an abuſe at the handes of any, or ſit downe to their loſſe, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforeſaide, for the acknowledging of dutie, in ſuch particular ſort, he told him, that where there was no dutie owing, there none ſhould be performed, aſſuring him that their whole company and ſhippes in generall, ſtood reſolutely vpon the negatiue, and would not yeeld to any ſuch vnreaſonable demaund, ioyned with ſuch imperious and abſolute maner of commanding. Why then, ſaid he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor ſhew obedience to me in the name of my king, I wil either ſinke them or bring them to harbor, and ſo tell them from me. With that the frigat came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboord the Engliſh Admiral againe according to promiſe: who was no ſooner entred in, but by and by defiance was ſounded on both ſides: the Spaniards hewed off the noſes of the Gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the ſhot, and the Engliſh on the other ſide couragiouſly prepared themſelues to the combat, euery man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was diſcharged from the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onſet of the fight, was preſently anſwered by the Engliſh Admiral with a Culuering: ſo the ſkirmiſh began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor ſhot ſpared: ech Engliſh ſhip matched it ſelfe in good order againſt two Spaniſh Gallies, beſides the inequalitie of the frigats on the Spaniards ſide: and although our men performed their parts with ſingular valure, according to their ſtrength, inſomuch that the enemie as amaſed therewith would oftentimes pauſe and ſtay, and conſult what was beſt to be done, yet they ceaſed not in the midſt of their buſineſſe to make prayer to Almighty God the reuenger of al euils, and the giuer of victories, that it would pleaſe him to aſſiſt them in that good quarell of theirs, in defending themſelues againſt ſo proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion, which the inſolent enemie ſought ſo much to ouerthrowe. Contrarily, the fooliſh Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) ſaying, O Lady helpe, O bleſſed Lady giue vs the victory, and the honor thereof ſhalbe thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on both ſides the fight continued furious and ſharpe, and doubtful a long time to which part the victory would incline: til at the laſt the Admiral of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde vp her ſide for feare of ſinking, and after her went alſo two others in like caſe, whom al the ſort of them incloſed, labouring by all their meanes to keepe them aboue water, being ready by the force of Engliſh ſhot which they had receiued, to periſh in the ſeas: & what ſlaughter was done among the Spaniards themſelues, the Engliſh were vncertaine, but by a probable coniecture apparant afar off, they ſuppoſed their loſſe was ſo great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with ſhame and diſhonor, after 5. houres ſpent in the battel, they withdrew themſelues: and the Engliſh contented in reſpect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chaſe, ceaſed from further blowes, with the loſſe onely of two men ſlaine amongſt them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinſon with his good words and friendly promiſes did ſo comfort, that he nothing eſteemed the ſmart of his wound in reſpect of the honour of the victory, and the ſhamefull repulſe of the enemy.

A fight of fiue houres.

Thus with duetiful thankes to the mercy of God for his gracious aſſiſtance in that danger, the Engliſh ſhips proceeded in their Nauigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port towne vpon the coaſt of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpoſe to refreſh themſelues after their wearineſſe, and to take in ſuch ſupply of freſh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no ſooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof ſent a meſſenger to the ſhips to knowe what they were, with which meſſenger the chiefe maſter of ech ſhippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the ſtate of their ſhips, in reſpect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had paſſed with the Spaniſh Gallies, reporting euery particular circumſtance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the ſaid king ſhewed himſelfe marueilous glad, interteining them in the beſt ſort, and promiſing abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city vpon paine of death, that no man of what degree or ſtate ſoeuer he were, ſhould preſume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of iniury in body or goods. By vertue whereof they diſpatched al things in excellent good ſort, with al fauor & peaceableneſſe: only ſuch priſoners and captiues of the Spaniards as were in the Citie, ſeeing the good vſage which they receiued, and hearing alſo what ſeruice they had performed againſt the foreſaide Gallies, grudged exceedingly againſt them, and ſought as much as they could to practiſe ſome miſchiefe againſt them: and one amongſt the reſt ſeeing an Engliſhman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came vpon him ſuddenly, and with his knife thruſt him in the ſide, yet made no ſuch great wound, but that it was eaſily recouered. The Engliſh company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly ſent both for the party that had receiued the wound, and the offender alſo, and cauſed an executioner in the preſence of himſelfe and the Engliſh, to chaſtiſe the ſlaue euen to death, which was performed to the ende that no man ſhould preſume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The Engliſh hauing receiued this good iuſtice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or could craue for the furniſhing of their ſhippes, tooke their leaue of him, and of the reſt of their friendes, that were reſident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the ſecond army of the Spaniſh king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of neceſſitie to paſſe. But comming neere to the ſaid Streight, it pleaſed God to raiſe at that inſtant a very darke and miſtie fogge, ſo that one ſhip coulde not diſcerne another, if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Eaſterne winds that then blewe moſt fit for their courſe, they paſſed with great ſpeed through the Streight, and might haue paſſed with that good gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withſtand them, and the aire neuer ſo cleare for euery ſhip to be ſeene. But yet the Spaniſh Gallies had a ſight of them when they were come within 3. Engliſh miles of the towne, and made after them in all poſſible haſte, and although they ſaw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and fooliſh pride, they ſhot off their Ordinance, and made a ſtirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midſt of them, which vanitie of theirs miniſtred to our men notable matter of pleaſure and mirth, ſeeing men to fight with ſhadowes, and to take ſo great paines to ſo ſmall purpoſe.

The ſecond Spaniſh fleete lying in waite for the Engliſh.

But thus it pleaſed God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spaniſh king, which he had prouided of purpoſe to diſtreſſe the Engliſh, who notwithſtanding paſſed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the iuſt commendation of ech mans ſeruice performed in that voyage.

The returne of Maſter *VVilliam Harborne* from *Conſtantinople* ouer land to *London*, 1588.

I Departed from Conſtantinople with 30. perſons of my ſuit and family the 3. of Auguſt. Paſſing through the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia & Moldauia, where ariuing the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteouſly interteined by Peter his poſitiue prince, a Greeke by profeſſion, with whom was concluded that her Maieſties ſubiects there trafiquing ſhould pay but three vpon the hundreth, which as well his owne Subiects as all other nations anſwere: whoſe letters to her Maieſtie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chanceler ſent for mee the 27. of the ſame moneth. And after moſt honorable intertainment imparted with me in ſecret maner the late paſſed and preſent occurrents of that kingdome, & alſo he writ to her Maieſtie.

The letters of the Prince of Moldauia to the Queene.

Letters of the Chanceler of Poland to the Queene.

Thence I haſted vnto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was moſt friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and iudge to be faithfully deuoted to her Maieſties ſeruice, whoſe letters likewiſe vnto the ſame were preſented me. No leſſe at Dantzik the 27. of that moneth I was courteouſly receiued by one of the Buroughmaſters accompanied with two others of the Senate, & a Ciuil doctor their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I reſted one day at Stetin, where, for that yͤ duke was abſent, nothing enſued. At Roſtoke I paſſed through the Citie without any ſtay, and at Wiſmar receiued like friendly greeting as in the other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not viſited. At Hamburg the 19. of Nouember, and at Stoad the ninth of December in like maner I was ſaluted by a Boroughmaſter and the Secretarie, and in all theſe places they preſented mee ſundry ſorts of their beſt wine and freſh fiſh, euery of them with a long diſcourſe, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Maieſties victory ouer the Spaniard, and my ſafe returne, concluding with offer of their ready ſeruice to her future diſpoſing. Yet the Dantziks after my departure thence cauſed the Marchants to pay cuſtome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Chriſtians on yͤ way euer demanded. And notwithſtanding the premiſſes, I was moſt certainly informed of ſundry of our nation there reſident that moſt of the Hanſe-towns vpon the ſea coaſts, eſpecially Dantzik, Lubeck, and Hamborough haue laden and were ſhipping for Spaine, great prouiſion of corne, cables, ropes, powder, ſaltpeter, hargubuſſes, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all other munition ſeruing for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained courteſie proceeded rather for feare then of any good affection vnto her Maieſties ſeruice, Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of ductie for their commoditie I eſteemed well affected.

The priuilege of *Peter* the Prince of *Moldauia* graunted to the Engliſh Marchants.

PEtrus Dei gratia princeps Valachiæ & Moldauiæ; ſignificamus præſentibus, vniuerſis & ſingulis quorum intereſt ac intererit, quòd cum magnifico domino Guilielmo Hareborne oratore Sereniſsimæ ac potentiſsimæ dominæ, dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiberniæ Reginæ apud Sereniſsimum ac potentiſsimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc conſtitutionem fecerimus: Nimirùm vt dehinc ſuę Serenitatis ſubditis, omnibuſqúe mercatoribus integrum ſit hìc in prouincia noſtra commorandi, conuerſandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendíque, imo omnia exercendi, quæ mercaturæ ac vitæ humanæ ſocietas vſuſqúe requirit, ſine vlla alicuius contradictione, aut inhibitione: ſaluo ac integro tamen iure Telonij noſtri; hoc eſt, vt a ſingulis rebus centum ducatorum pretij, tres numerent. Quod ratum ac firmum conſtitutione noſtra haberi volumus. In cuius rei firmius teſtimonium, ſigillum noſtrum appreſſum eſt. Actum in caſtris noſtris die 27, menſis Auguſti, anno Domini 1588.

The ſame in Engliſh.

PEter by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldauia; we ſignifie by theſe preſents to all and ſinguler perſons, whom it doth or ſhall concerne, that we haue made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambaſſador of the right high and mighty prince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the moſt puiſſant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from hencefoorth it ſhalbe lawfull for her highneſſe ſubiects and all her Marchants, to remaine, conuerſe, buy, ſel, bargaine and exerciſe all ſuch things, as the trade of marchandiſe, and humane ſocietie and vſe requireth, without any hinderance or let: the right of our Cuſtome alwayes reſerued; That is, that they pay three ducats vpon all ſuch things as amount to the price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be ſurely and firmely obſerued; For the more aſſured teſtimony whereof, our ſeale is hereunto annexed. Giuen in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of Auguſt in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

A briefe extract ſpecifying the certaine dayly paiments, anſwered quarterly in time of peace, by the *Grand Signior*, out of his Treaſurie, to the Officers of his *Seraglio* or Court, ſucceſsiuely in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall ſumme, as followeth.

FOr his owne diet euery day, one thouſand and one aſpers, according to a former cuſtome receiued from his anceſtors: notwithſtanding that otherwiſe his diurnall expence is very much, and not certainly knowen, which ſumme maketh ſterling money by the yere, two thouſand, one hundred, 92. pounds, three ſhillings, eight pence.

The fiue and fourtie thouſand Ianizaries diſperſed in ſundry places of his dominions, at ſixe aſpers the day, amounteth by the yeere to fiue hundreth, foureſcore and eleuen thouſand, and three hundreth pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre ſurmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Chriſtians, from whom betweene the yeeres of ſixe and twelue, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I ſuppoſe thoſe in ſeruice may be equall in number with the Ianizaries aboueſaid, at three aſpers a day, one with another, which is two hundred, foureſcore and fifteene thouſand, ſixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Baſſas, whereof the Viceroy is ſupreme, at one thouſand aſpers the day, beſides their yerely reuenues, amounteth ſterling by the yeere to ten thouſand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Beglerbegs, chiefe preſidents of Greece, Hungary and Sclauonia, being in Europe, in Natolia, and Caramania of Aſia, at one thouſande aſpers the day: as alſo to eighteene other gouernours of Prouinces, at fiue hundred aſpers the day, amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thouſand ſixe hundred, and threeſcore pounds.

The Baſſa, Admirall of the Sea, one thouſand aſpers the day, two thouſand, one hundred, foure ſcore and ten thouſand pounds.

The Aga of the Ianizaries, generall of the footemen, fiue hundred aſpers the day, and maketh by the yeere in ſterling money, one thouſand, fourеſcore and fifteene pounds.

The Imbrahur Baſſa, Maſter of his horſe, one hundred and fiftie aſpers the day, is ſterling money, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Eſquire vnder him, one hundred and fiftie aſpers, is three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The Agas of the Spahi, Captaines of the horſemen, ſixe, at one hundred and fiftie aſpers to either of them, maketh ſterling, one thouſand, nine hundred, three ſcore and eleuen pounds.

The Capagi Baſſas head porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aſpers to ech, and maketh out in ſterling money by the yeere, one thouſand, three hundred, and foureteene pounds.

The Siſinghir Baſſa, Controller of the houſholde, one hundred and twentie aſpers the day, and maketh out in ſterling money by the yeere, two hundred, threeſcore and two poundes, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Chaus Baſſa, Captaine of the Penſioners, one hundred and twentie aſpers the day, and amounteth to by the yeere in ſterling money, two hundred, threeſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Capigilar Caiaſi, Captaine of his Barge, one hundreth and twentie aſpers the day, and maketh out by the yeere in ſterling money, two hundred, three ſcore and two poundes, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Solach Baſſi, Captaine of his guard, one hundred and twentie aſpers, two hundred, three ſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Giebrigi Baſſi, maſter of the armoury, one hundred and twenty aſpers, two hundred, three ſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Topagi Baſſi, Maſter of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aſpers, two hundred, three ſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Echim Baſſi, Phiſition to his perſon, one hundred and twentie aſpers, two hundred, three ſcore and two pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

To fourtie Phiſitions vnder him, to ech fourtie aſpers, is three thouſand, eight hundred, three ſcore and ſixe pounds, ſixteene ſhillings.

The Muſtafaracas ſpearemen, attending on his perſon, in number fiue hundred, to either three ſcore aſpers, and maketh ſterling, threeſcore and fiue thouſand, and ſeuen hundred pounds.

The Ciſingeri, gentlemen, attending vpon his diet, fourtie, at fourtie aſpers ech of them, and amounteth to ſterling by the yeere, three thouſand, fiue hundred and foure pounds.

The Chauſi Penſioners, foure hundred and fourtie, at thirtie aſpers, twenty eight thouſand, nine hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and City, foure hundred, at eight aſpers, and maketh ſterling money by the yeere, ſeuen thouſand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his guard, three hundreth and twenty, at nine aſpers, and commeth vnto in Engliſh money, the ſumme of ſixe thouſand, three hundred and ſixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the City, ten thouſand, at twenty fiue aſpers, and maketh of Engliſh money, fiue hundred, forty and ſeuen thouſand, and fiue hundred pounds.

The Ianizaires ſixteene thouſand, at ſix aſpers, is two hundred and ten thouſand, and two hundred and forty pounds.

The Giebegi furbuſhers of armor, one thouſand, fiue hundred, at ſixe aſpers, and amounteth to ſterling money, nineteene thouſand, ſeuen hundred, and foureſcore pounds.

The Seieſir, ſeruitors in his Equier or ſtable, fiue hundred, at two aſpers, and maketh ſterling money, two thouſand, one hundred, foureſcore and ten pounds.

The Saceſi, Sadlers and bit makers, fiue hundred, at ſeuen aſpers, ſeuen thouſand, ſix hundred, threeſcore and fiue pounds.

The Catergi, Carriers vpon Mules, two hundred, at fiue aſpers, two thouſand, one hundred, foureſcore and ten pounds.

The Cinegi, Carriers vpon Camels, one thouſand, fiue hundred, at eight aſpers, and amounteth in ſterling money, to twenty ſixe thouſand, two hundred, and foureſcore pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aſpers, and amounteth in Engliſh money by the yeere, the ſumme of ſixe thouſand, fiue hundred, threeſcore and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Maſters of the ſaid Gallies, three hundred, at ſeuen aſpers, foure thouſand, fiue hundred, foureſcore and nineteene pounds.

The Getti, Boateſwaines thereof, three hundred, at ſixe aſpers, is three thouſande, nine hundred, fourty and two pounds.

The Oda Baſsi, Purſers, three hundred, at fiue aſpers, maketh three thouſand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Azappi ſouldiers two thouſand ſixe hundred at foure Aſpers, whereof the ſix hundred do continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thouſand, ſeuen hundred fourſcore and ſix pounds.

The Mariers Baſsi maſters ouer the ſhipwrights and kalkers of the nauie, nine, at 20. Aſpers the piece, amounteth to three thouſand foureſcore and foure pound, foure ſhillings.

The Maſter Daſsi ſhipwrights & kalkers, one thouſand at fourteene aſpers, which amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thouſand, ſixe hundred threeſcore pound.

Summa totalis of dayly paiments amounteth by the yeere ſterling, one million, nine hundred threeſcore eight thouſand, ſeuen hundred thirty fiue pounds, nineteene ſhillings eight pence, anſwered quarterly without default, with the ſumme of foure hundred foureſcore twelue thouſand, one hundred foureſcore and foure pounds foure ſhillings eleuen pence, and is for euery day fiue thouſand three hundred foureſcore and thirteene pounds, fifteene ſhillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands neuer improoued, fiue times more in value then their ſummes mentioned, giuen by the ſaide *Grand Signior*, as followeth.

To the Uiceroy for his Timar or annuitie 60. thouſand golde ducats.
To the ſecond Baſſa for his annuitie 50. thouſand ducats.
To the third Baſſa for his annuitie 40. thouſand ducats.
To the fourth Baſſa for his annuitie 30. thouſand ducats.
To the fifth Baſſa for his annuitie 20. thouſand ducats.
To the Captaine of the Ianizaries 20. thouſand ducats.
To the Ieu Merhorbaſsi maſter of his horſe 15. thouſand ducats.
To the Captaine of the penſioners 10. thouſand ducats.
To the Captaine of his guard 5. thouſand ducats.

Summa totalis 90. thouſand li. ſterling.

Beſide theſe aboue ſpecified, be ſundry other annuities giuen to diuers others of his aforeſaid officers, as alſo to certaine called Sahims, diminiſhing from three thouſand to two hundreth ducats, eſteemed treble to ſurmount the annuitie aboueſaid.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

The Uiceroy is high Treaſurer, notwithſtanding that vnder him be three ſubtreaſurers called Teſtadars, which bee accomptable to him of the receipts out of Europe, Aſia and Africa, ſaue their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The Lord Chancellor is called Niſſangi Baſſa, who ſealeth with a certaine proper character ſuch licences, ſafe conducts, paſſeports, eſpeciall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithſtanding all letters to forreine princes ſo firmed be after incloſed in a bagge, and ſealed by the Grand Signior, with a ſignet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to haue bene of ancient appertayning to king Salomon the wiſe.

The Admirall giueth his voyce in the election of all Begs, Captaines of Iſlandes, to whom hee giueth their charge, as alſo appointeth the Subbaſſas, Bayliffes or Conſtables ouer Cities and Townes vpon the Sea coaſtes about Conſtantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof hee reapeth great profit.

The Subbaſsi of Pera payeth him yeerely fifteene thouſande ducats, and ſo likewiſe either of the others according as they are placed.

The Reſsiſtop ſerueth in office to the Uiceroy and Chancellor, as Secretary, and ſo likewiſe doeth the Cogie Maſter of the Rolls, before which two, paſſe all writings preſented to, or granted by the ſaid Uiceroy and Chancellor, offices of eſpeciall credite and like profite, moreouer rewarded with annuities of lands.

There are alſo two chiefe Iudges named Cadi Leſker, the one ouer Europe, and the other ouer Aſia and Africa, which in Court doe ſit on the Bench at the left hand of the Baſſas. Theſe ſell all offices to the vnder Iudges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in euery Citie or towne, before whom all matters in controuerſie are by iudgement decided, as alſo penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed vpon the offenders by the Subbaſſi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending vpon the *Beglerbegs* the gouernours of Prouinces and *Saniacks*, and their petie Captaines mainteined of theſe Prouinces.

The *Beglerbegs* Of
Græcia, fourtie thouſand
Buda, fifteene thouſand
Sclauonia, fifteene thouſand
Natolia, fifteene thouſand
Caramania, fifteene thouſand
Armenia, eighteene thouſand
Perſia, twentie thouſand
Vſdrum, fifteene thouſand
Chiruſta, fifteene thouſand
Caraemiti, thirtie thouſand
Gierſul, two and thirtie thouſand
perſons.

The *Beglerbegs* Of
Bagdat, fiue and twentie thouſand
Balſara, two and twenty thouſand
Laſſaija, ſeuenteene thouſand
Alepo, fiue and twentie thouſand
Damaſco, ſeuenteene thouſand
Cayro, twelue thouſand
Abes, twelue thouſand
Mecca, eight thouſand
Cyprus, eighteene thouſand
Tunis in Barbary, eight thouſand
Tripolis in Syria, eight thouſand
Alger, fourtie thouſand
perſons.

Whoſe Sangiacks and petie Captaines be three hundred ſixtie eight, euery of which retaining continually in pay from fiue hundreth, to two hundreth Souldiers, may be one with another at the leaſt, three hundreth thouſand perſons.

Chiefe officers in his *Seraglio* about his perſon

Be theſe
Capiaga, High porter.
Alnader Baſsi, Treaſurer.
Oda Baſsi, Chamberlaine.
Killergi Baſsi, Steward.
Saraiaga, Comptroller.
Peskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
Edoſtoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
Choataraga, he that carieth his riding cloake.
Ebietaraga, Groome of the ſtoole.

There be many other maner Officers, which I eſteeme ſuperfluous to write.

The *Turkes* yeerely reuenue.

The Grand Signiors annual reuenue is ſaid to be foureteene Millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is ſterling fiue millions, eight ſcore thouſand pounds.

The tribute payd by the Chriſtians his Subiects is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of euery head, which may amount vnto not ſo litle as one Million of golden ducats, which is ſterling three hundred threeſcore thouſand pounds.

Moreouer, in time of warre he exacteth manifolde ſummes for maintenance of his Armie and Nauie of the ſaid Chriſtians.

The Emperour payeth him yeerely tribute for Hungary, threeſcore thouſand dollers, which is ſterling thirteene thouſand pound, beſides preſents to the Viceroy and Baſſas, which are ſaid to ſurmount to twentie thouſand dollers.

Ambaſſadors allowances.

The Ambaſſadour of the Emperor is allowed one thouſand Aſpers the day.

The Ambaſſadour of the French king heretofore enioyed the like: but of late yeeres by meanes of diſpleaſure conceiued by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to ſixe crownes the day, beſide the prouiſion of his Eſquier of his ſtable.

The Ambaſſadours of Poland, and for the ſtate of Venice are not Ligiers as theſe two aboueſaid. The ſaid Polack is allowed 12. French crownes the day during his abode, which may be for a moneth. Very ſeldome do the ſtate of Venice ſend any Ambaſſador otherwiſe, then enforced of vrgent neceſſity: but in ſtead thereof keepe there their Agent, preſident ouer other Marchants, of them termed a bailiffe, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port & ſtate is in maner as magnifical as the other aforeſaid ambaſſadors. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador was equall with others in Ianizaries: but for ſo much as he would not according to cuſtome follow the liſt of other ambaſſadors in making preſents to yͤ Grand Signior, he had none alowance. His abode there was 3. yeres, at the end wherof, hauing cōcluded a truce for 6. yeres, taking place frō his firſt comming in Nouember laſt paſt 1580. he was not admitted to the preſence of the Grand Signior.

The letters of *Sinan Baſſa* chiefe counſellour to *Sultan Murad Can* the *Grand Signior*, to the ſacred Maieſtie of *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, ſhewing that vpon her requeſt, and for her ſake eſpecially, hee graunted peace vnto the King and kingdome of *Poland*.

Gloriosiſſima & ſplendore fulgidiſſima fœminarum, ſelectiſſima Princeps magnanimorum IESVM ſectantium, regni inclyti Angliæ Regina Sereniſſima Elizabetha, moderatrix rerum & negotiorum omnium plebis & familiæ Nazarenorum ſapientiſſima; Origo ſplendoris & gloriæ dulciſſima; nubes pluuiarum gratiſſima, hęres & domina beatitudinis & gloriæ regni inclyti Anglię; ad quam omnes ſupplices confugiunt, incrementum omnium rerum & actionum Serenitatis veſtræ beatiſſimum, exituſque fœliciſſimos à Creatore omnipotente optantes, mutuáque & perpetua familiaritate noſtra digna vota & laudes ſempiternas offerentes: Significamus Ser. veſtræ amiciſsimè; Quia ſunt anni aliquot, à quibus annis potentiſsima Cęſarea celſitudo bella ineffabilia cū Caſul-bas, Principe nempe Perſarum geſsit; ratione quorum bellorum in partes alias bellū mouere noluit, ob eamque cauſam in partibus Polonię latrones quidam Coſaci nuncupati, & alij facinoroſi in partibus illis exiſtentes, ſubditos Cęſaris potentiſsimi turbare & infeſtare non deſierunt. Nunc autem partibus Perſicis compoſitis & abſolutis, in partibus Polonię & alijs partibus exurgentes facinoroſos punire conſtituens, Beglerbego Gręciæ exercitu aliquo adiuncto, & Principi Tartarorum mandato Cęſaris miſſo, anno proximè pręterito pars aliqua Regni Poloniæ infeſtata, turbata & deuaſtata fuit, & Coſaci alijq; facinoroſi iuxta merita ſua puniti fuerunt. Quo rex Polonię viſo duos legatos ad Cęſareā celſitudinē mittens, quòd facinoroſos exquirere, & pœna perfecta punire, & ab annis multis ad portam Cęſareę celſitudinis miſſum munus augere vellet, ſignificauit. Cęſarea autem celſitudo (cui Creator omnipotens tantam ſuppeditauit potentiam, & quæ omnes ſupplices exaudire dignata eſt) ſupplicatione Regis Polonię non accepta, iterùm in regem Polonię exercitum ſuum mittere, & Creatoris omnipotentis auxilio regnum eius ſubuertere conſtituerat. Verum Legato Serenitatis veſtrę in porta beata & fulgida Cæſareæ celſitudinis reſidente ſeſe interponente, Et quòd Serenitati veſtrę ex partibus Poloniæ, fruges, puluis, arbores nauiū, tormenta, & alia neceſſaria ſuppeditarentur ſignificante, & pacem pro regno & rege Poloniæ petente, neuè regnum Poloniæ ex parte Cæſareæ celſitudinis turbaretur vel infeſtaretur intercedente, Serenitatiſque veſtræ hanc ſingularem eſſe voluntatem exponente, Legati ſerenitatis veſtræ ſignificatio & interceſsio cum Cæſareę celſitudini ſignificata fuiſſet, In fauorem ſerenitatis veſtræ, cui omnis honos & gratia debetur, iuxta modum pręd1ctum, vt Coſaci facinoroſi exquirantur & pœna perfecta puniantur, aut ratione muneris aliquantuli eorum delicta cōdonentur, hac inquam conditione literæ Cęſareæ celſitudinis ad Regem Poloniæ ſunt datæ. Si autem ex parte Serenitatis veſtrę fœdus & pax ſollicitata non fuiſſet, nulla ratione Cæſarea celſitudo fœdus cum regno Polonię inijſſet. In fauorem autem Serenitatis veſtræ regno & Regi Poloniæ ſingularem gratiam Cæſarea celſitudo exhibuit. Quod tàm Serenitas veſtra, quàm etiam Rex & regnum Polonię ſibi certò perſuadere debent. Serenitatem veſtram benè fœliciſsiméque valere cupimus. Datum Conſtantinopoli in fine menſis Sabaum nuncupati, Anno prophetæ noſtri ſacrati Mahumedi nongenteſimo, nonageſimo, octauo, IESV vero Anno milleſimo quingenteſimo nonageſimo, die duodecimo menſis Iunij.

The ſame in Engliſh.

MOſt glorious, and the moſt reſplendent of women, moſt ſelect Princeſſe, moſt gratious Elizabeth Queene of the valiant followers of Ieſus in the famous kingdom of England, moſt wiſe gouerneſſe of all the affaires and buſineſſes of the people and family of the Nazarens, moſt ſweet fountaine of brightneſſe and glory, moſt acceptable cloud of raine, inheritreſſe & Ladie of the bleſſednesse and glory of the renowmed kingdome of England, to whom in humble wiſe all men offer their petitions: wiſhing of the almightie Creator moſt happie increaſe and proſperous ſucceſſe vnto all your Maieſties affaires and actions, and offering vp mutuall & perpetuall vowes worthy of our familiarity, with eternall prayſes: In moſt friendly manner we ſignifie vnto your princely Highneſſe, that certaine yeeres paſt the moſt mightie Ceſarlike maieſtie of the Grand Signor waged vnſpeakeable warres with Caſul-bas the Prince of the Perſians, in regarde of which warres he would not goe in battell againſt any other places; and for that cauſe certaine theeues in the partes of Polonia called Coſacks, and other notorious perſons liuing in the ſame partes ceaſed not to trouble and moleſt the ſubiects of our moſt mightie Emperour. But now hauing finiſhed and brought to ſome good iſſue his affaires in Perſia, determining to puniſh the ſaide malefactors of Poland, and for that purpoſe committing an army vnto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere laſt paſt, ſending his imperiall commaundement vnto the Prince of the Tartars, he hath forraged, moleſted, and layed waſte ſome part of the kingdome of Poland, and the Coſacks and other notorious offenders haue receiued condigne puniſhment. Which the king of Poland perceiuing ſent two Embaſſadours to his imperiall Highneſſe ſignifying, that he would hunt out the ſaid malefactors, and inflict moſt ſeuere puniſhments vpon them, and alſo that he would better his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore ordinarily ſent vnto the porch of his imperiall Highneſſe. Howbeit his imperiall maieſtie (vpon whom the almightie creator hath beſtowed ſo great power, and who vouchſafeth to giue eare vnto all humble ſuppliants) reiecting the ſupplication of the King of Poland, determined againe to ſend his armie againſt the ſaid king, and by the helpe of the Almightie creator, vtterly to ſubuert and ouerthrowe his kingdome. But your Maieſties Embaſſadour reſident in the bleſſed and glorious porch of his imperiall Highneſſe interpoſing himſelfe as a mediatour, ſignifying that from the partes of Poland you were furniſhed with corne, gun-powder, maſtes of ſhips, guns, and other neceſſaries, and crauing peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of Poland, and making interceſſion, that the ſaid king might not be moleſted nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signor, & declaring that this was your Maieſties moſt earneſt deſire; ſo ſoone as the report and interceſſion of your Maieſties Embaſſadour was ſignified vnto the Grand Signor, for your ſake, vnto whom all honour and fauourable regard is due, vpon the condition aforeſaid, namely, that the wicked Coſacks might be ſought out and grieuouſly puniſhed, or that their offences might be remitted for the value of ſome ſmall gift, vpon this condition (I ſay) the letters of his imperiall Highneſſe were ſent vnto the king of Poland. Howbeit had not this concluſion of league and amitie beene ſollicited on the behalfe of your Maieſtie, his imperiall Highneſſe would neuer haue vouchſafed the ſame vnto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Maieſties ſake his imperiall Highneſſe hath exhibited this ſo ſingular a fauour vnto the ſaid king and kingdome of Poland. And hereof your Maieſtie and the king of Poland ought certainely to be perſwaded. We wiſh your Maieſtie moſt happily and well to fare. Giuen at Conſtantinople in the ende of the moneth called Sabaũ, in the yeare of our ſacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the yeere of Ieſus 1590, the 12 of Iune.

The ſecond letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Maieſtie to the Right worſhipfull companie of the Engliſh Marchants for the Leuant, the ſeuenth of Ianuarie 1592.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, miniſters and ſubiects, and to all other people aſwell within this our Realme of England, as elſe where vnder our obeyſance and iuriſdiction or otherwiſe vnto whom theſe our letters ſhalbe ſeene, ſhewed, or read, greeting,

Where our welbeloued ſubiects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne Eſquire, and Richard Staper of our ſaide citie Marchant, haue by great aduenture and induſtrie with their great coſt and charges

ges by the ſpace of ſundry late yeeres trauelled, and cauſed trauell to be taken aſwell by ſecrete and good meanes, as by daungerous wayes and paſſages both by lande and ſea to finde out and ſet open a trade of marchandize and traffike into the landes, Ilandes, Dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signor, not before that time in the memorie of any man now liuing knowen to be commonly vſed and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other ſubiectes of vs or our progenitors: And alſo haue by their like good meanes and induſtrie and great charges procured of the ſayde Grand Signor in our name, amitie, ſafetie and freedome for trade and traffike of marchandize to be vſed and continued by our ſubiects within his ſayd dominions, whereby we perceiue and finde that both many good actions haue beene done and performed, and hereafter are likely continually to be done and performed for the peace of Chriſtendome: Namely by the reliefe and diſcharge of many Chriſtians which haue beene, and which hereafter may happen to be in thraldome and bondage vnder the ſayde Grand Signor and his vaſſals or ſubiects. And alſo good and profitable vent and vtterance of the commodities of our Realme, and ſundrie other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour and dignitie Royall, the maintenance of our Nauie, the encreaſe of our cuſtomes, and the reuenues of our Crowne, and generally the great wealth of our whole Realme.

And whereas we are enformed of the ſayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne, and Richard Staper, that George Barne, Richard Martine, Iohn Harte knights, and other marchants of our ſayd Citie of London haue by the ſpace of eight or nine yeeres paſt ioyned themſelues in companie, trade and traffike with them the ſayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne and Richard Staper, into the ſayde dominions of the ſayd great Turke, to the furtherance thereof and the good of the Realme.

And whereas further it is made knowen vnto vs, that within fewe yeeres now paſt our louing and good ſubiects Thomas Cordall, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway and Paul Banning, and ſundry other marchants of our ſaid Citie of London, haue likewiſe at their great coſtes and charges, builded and furniſhed diuerſe good and ſeruiceable ſhippes and therewith to their like coſts and charges haue traded and frequented, and from time to time doe trade and frequent and traffike by ſea with the commodities of our Realme to Venice, Zante, Candie, and Zephalonia and other the dominions of the Segniorie and State of Venice, and thereby haue made and mainteyned, and doe make and continually maintaine diuers good ſhippes with mariners ſkilfull and fitte and neceſſarie for our ſeruice: and doe vent out of our Realme into thoſe partes diuerſe commodities of our Realme, and returne hither into our ſayde Realme many good and neceſſarie commodities for the common wealth thereof: All which traffike, as well inward as outward vntill it hath beene otherwiſe brought to paſſe by the ſayde endeuours, coſts, and charges of our ſayde ſubiects, was in effect by our ſubiectes wholy diſcontinued.

The marchāts aboue named be made a fellowſhip and companie for 12 yeeres by the name of the Gouernor and companie of the marchants of the Leuant.

Knowe yee, that hereupon we greatly tendring the wealth of our people and the encouragement of them and other our louing ſubiects in their good enterpriſes for the aduancement of lawfull traffike to the benefite of our common wealth, haue of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heyres, and ſucceſſours, doe giue and graunt vnto our ſayd truſtie and welbeloued ſubiectes Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Harte knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Maſſam, Iohn Spencer, Richard Saltonſtall, Nicholas Moſley Aldermen of our ſayde Citie of London, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough Eſquires, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderſon, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, Iames Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Iackſon, Edmund Anſell, Ralph Aſhley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darſall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington, that they and euery of them by the name of Gouernour and company of Marchants of the Leuant ſhall from hence foorth for the terme of twelue yeeres next enſuing the date hereof bee one bodie, fellowſhippe and companie of themſelues both in deede and in name: And them by the name of Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant wee doe ordayne, incorporate, name, and declare by theſe preſentes, and that the ſame fellowſhippe and companie from hence foorth ſhall and may haue one Gouernour. And in conſideration that the ſayde Edwarde Osborne Knight hath beene of the chiefe ſetters foorth and actors in the opening and putting in practiſe of the ſayde trade to the dominions of the ſayde Gand Signor: Wee doe therefore ſpecially make, ordaine, and conſtitute the ſayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, to bee nowe Gouernour during the time of one whole yeere nowe next following, if hee ſo long ſhall liue: And after the expiration of the ſayde yeere, or deceaſe of the ſayde Edward Osborne the choyſe of the next Gouernour, and ſo of euery Gouernour from time to time during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres to be at the election of the ſayde fellowſhippe or companie of marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them yeerely to be choſen, and that they the ſayde Sir Edwarde Osborne, and all the reſidue of the ſayde fellowſhippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant and euerie of them, and all the ſonnes of them and of euery of them, and all ſuch their apprentiſes and ſeruants of them and of euery of them, which haue beene or hereafter ſhall be imployed in the ſayde trade by the ſpace of foure yeeres or vpwardes by themſelues, their ſeruantes, factors or deputies, ſhall and may by the ſpace of twelue yeeres from the day of the date of theſe our letters Patents freely traffike, and vſe the trade of Marchandize as well by ſea as by lande into and from the dominions of the ſayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zephalonia, and other the dominions of the Signiorie and State of Venice, and alſo by lande through the Countries of the ſayde Grand Signor into and from the Eaſt India, lately diſcouered by Iohn Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and Iames Storie, ſent with our letters to that purpoſe at the proper coſts and charge of the ſayde Marchants or ſome of them: and into and from euerie of them in ſuch order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intentes and purpoſes as ſhall be betweene them of the ſayde fellowſhippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwiſe, without any moleſtation, impeachment, or diſturbance; any lawe, ſtatute, vſage, or diuerſitie of Religion or faith, or any other cauſe or matter whatſoeuer to the contrarie notwithſtanding.

Sir Edward Oſborne appointed the firſt Gouernour.

A priuiledge for the Eaſt Indies.

And that the ſayde Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them for the better gouernement of the ſayde fellowſhippe and companie, ſhall and may within fortie dayes next and immediatly following after the date heereof, and ſo from thence foorth yeerely during the continuance of this our graunt, aſſemble themſelues in ſome conuenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being ſo aſſembled, ſhall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelue diſcreete and honeſt perſons of the ſayde companie to be aſſiſtants to the ſayde Gouernour, and to continue in the ſayde office of aſſiſtants, vntill they ſhall die or bee remooued by the ſayde Gouernour and companie or the greater part of them. And if it happen the ſayde aſſiſtantes or any of them to die, or be remooued from their ſayde office at anie time during the continuance of this our graunt: that then and ſo often it ſhall and may bee lawfull to and for the ſayde Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them to elect and chuſe one or more other perſons of the ſayd companie into the place or places of euery ſuch perſon or perſons ſo dying or happening to be remooued, as is aforeſayde. And wee will and ordaine that the ſame perſon or perſons ſo as is aforeſayde to be elected ſhall be of the ſayd number of aſſiſtants of the ſayde companie. And this to be done ſo often as the caſe ſhall ſo require. And that it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Hart knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Maſſam, Iohn Spencer, Richard Saltonſtall, Nicholas Moſley, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderſon, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, Iames Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Iackſon, Edmund Anſell, Ralph Aſhley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darſall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington aforeſayde, or any of them to aſſemble themſelues for or about any the matters, cauſes or affaires or buſineſſes of the ſayde trade in any place or places for the ſame conuenient from time to time during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres within our dominions or elſe where. And that alſo it ſhall and may bee lawfull for them or the more part of them to make, ordaine and conſtitute reaſonable lawes and orders for the good gouernement of the ſayde companie, and for the better aduauncement and continuance of the ſayde trade and traffike: the ſame lawes and ordinances not being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, ſtatutes or cuſtomes of our Realme: And the ſame lawes and ordinances ſo made to put in vre, and execute accordingly, and at their pleaſures to reuoke and alter the ſame lawes and ordinances or any of them as occaſion ſhall require.

And we doe alſo for vs, our heyres and ſucceſſors of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion graunt to and with the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that when and as often at any time during the ſayde terme and ſpace of twelue yeeres as any cuſtome, pondage, ſubſidie or other duetie ſhall be due and payable vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors for any goods or marchandize whatſoeuer, to be carried or tranſported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforeſayde, or out of or from any the ſayde dominions vnto our ſayde port of London, that our Cuſtomers, and all other our Officers for receites of cuſtome, pondage, ſubſidie or other duetie vnto whom it ſhall appertaine, ſhall vpon the requeſt of the ſayde Gouernour for the time being, giue vnto the ſayde companie three monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other three monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their ſayde cuſtome, pondage, or other ſubſidie or duetie for the ſame, receiuing good and ſufficient bonde and ſecuritie to our vſe for the payment of the ſame accordingly. And vpon receipt of the ſayde bonde to giue them out their cockets or other warrants to lade out and receiue in the ſame their goods by vertue hereof without any diſturbance. And that alſo as often as at any time during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres any goods or marchandize of any of the ſayde companie laden from this our port of London in any the dominions beforeſayde ſhall happen to miſcarie before their ſafe diſcharge in the partes for and to the which they be ſent: That then and ſo often ſo much cuſtome, pondage, and other ſubſidie as they anſwered vs for the ſame, ſhall after due proofe made before the Treaſurour of England for the time being of the ſayde loſſe, and the iuſt quantitie thereof, be by the vertue hereof allowed vnto them, by warrant of the ſayde Treaſurour to the ſayde Cuſtomers in the next marchandize that they ſhall or may ſhippe for thoſe partes, according to the true rates of the cuſtomes, pondage, or ſubſidies heretofore payde for the goods ſo loſt or any part or parcell thereof.

And for that the ſayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of forren commodities from the forren Countreyes, places, or territories aforeſaide, then here can be ſpent for the neceſſarie vſe of the ſame, which of neceſſitie muſt be tranſported into other countreyes, and there vented, we for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion doe graunt to and with the ſayd Gouernour and companie that at all times from time to time during the ſpace of thirteene moneths next after the diſcharge of any the ſayde goods ſo brought in, and the ſubſidies, pondage, cuſtomes and other duties for the ſame being before hande payde or compounded for as aforeſayd, it ſhall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer being naturall ſubiects of the Realme which may or ſhall buy the ſame of them or any of them to tranſport the ſame in Engliſh bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further cuſtome, pondage, or other ſubſidie to vs, our heires or ſucceſſors for the ſame, whereof the ſayde ſubſidies, pondage, or cuſtomes or other duties ſhall be ſo formerly payde and compounded for, as aforeſayd, and ſo proued. And the ſayd cuſtomer by vertue hereof ſhall vpon due and ſufficient proofe thereof made in the cuſtome houſe giue them ſufficient cocket or certificate for the ſafe paſſing out thereof accordingly. And to the ende no deceipt be vſed herein to vs our heires, and ſucceſſors, certificate ſhall be brought from our collector of cuſtome inwardes to our cuſtomer outwardes that the ſayd marchandizes haue within the time limited aunſwered their due cuſtome, ſubſidie, pondage and other duties for the ſame inwards.

And furthermore we of our ample and aboundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge haue graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs our heyres and ſucceſſours doe graunt vnto the ſaid Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that they and ſuch onely as be and ſhall be of that companie, ſhall for the ſayd terme of twelue yeeres haue, vſe, and enioy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, vſe, and priuiledge of trading and traffiking, and vſing feate of marchandiſe by and through the Leuant ſeas otherwiſe called the Mediterran ſeas into and from the ſayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and dominions of the ſtate of Venice; and by and through the ſayd Grand Signiors dominions to and from ſuch other places in the Eaſt Indies diſcouered as aforeſayd. And that they the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant and euery particular and ſeuerall perſon of that companie their and euery one of their ſeruants, factors, and deputies ſhall haue full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and trafficke by and through the ſayd Leuant ſeas into and from all and euery the ſayd dominions of the ſayde Grand Signor, and the dominions of the ſtate of Venice, and the ſayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occaſion of the ſayd trade they ſhall happen to arriue or come, whither they be Chriſtians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the ſayd Leuant ſeas into and from all other ſeas, riuers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coaſtes and places with their ſhips, barkes, pinaſes and other veſſels, and with ſuch mariners and men as they will leade or haue with them, or ſende for the ſayde trade as they ſhall thinke good at their owne proper coſtes and expenſes.

And for that the ſhippes ſayling into the ſayde Countreyes muſt take their due and proper times to procede in theſe voyages, which otherwiſe as wee well perceiue can not be performed in the reſt of the yeere following: Therefore we of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion for vs our heyres and ſucceſſors doe graunt to and with the ſayd Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, that foure good ſhippes well furniſhed with ordinance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred marriners Engliſh men to guide and ſayle in the ſame foure ſhippes at all times during the ſayde twelue yeeres ſhall quietly bee permitted and ſuffered to depart and goe in the ſayde voyages, according to the purport of theſe preſents, without any ſtay or contradiction by vs our heyres and ſucceſſors, or by the Lord high Admirall or any other officer or ſubiect of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours in any wiſe: Any reſtraint, lawe, ſtatute, vſage or matter whatſoeuer to the contrarie notwithſtanding.

Prouided neuertheleſſe, that if wee ſhall at any time within the ſayde twelue yeeres haue iuſt cauſe to arme our Nauie in warrelike manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it ſhall be founde needefull and conuenient for vs to ioyne to our Nauie the ſhippes of our ſubiects to be alſo armed for warres to ſuch number as cannot bee ſupplied if the ſayd foure ſhippes ſhould be permitted to depart as aboue is mentioned; then vpon knowledge giuen by vs or our Admirall to the ſayde Gouernour or companie about the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, or three monethes before the ſaide companie ſhall beginne to make readie the ſame foure ſhippes that we may not ſpare the ſayd foure ſhips and the marriners requiſite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Nauie ſhall be vpon the ſeas, that then the ſayde companie ſhall forbeare to ſend ſuch foure ſhippes for their trade of marchandiſe vntill that we ſhall retake our ſayd Nauie from the ſayd ſeruice.

And further our will and pleaſure is, and wee doe by theſe preſentes graunt that it ſhall be lawfull to and for the ſayd Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant to haue and vſe in and about the affaires of the ſayde companie a common ſeale for matters concerning the ſayde companie and trade. And that alſo it ſhall be lawfull for the Marchants, Mariners, and Sea-men, which ſhall be vſed and imployed in the ſayde trade and voyage to ſet and place in the toppes of their ſhips or other veſſels the Armes of England with the redde-croſſe in white ouer the ſame as heretofore they haue vſed.

And we of our further Royall fauour and of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue graunted and by theſe preſents for vs our heyres and ſucceſſors doe graunt to the ſayd Gouernour and companie of Marchants of the Leuant, that the ſayde landes, territories, and dominions of the ſayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the ſayde Leuant or Mediterran ſeas ſhall not be viſited, frequented, or haunted by the ſayde Leuant ſea by way of marchandize by any other our ſubiects during the ſaide terme of twelue yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of theſe preſentes. And by vertue of our prerogatiue Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe haue argued or brought in queſtion, wee ſtraightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for vs our heyres and ſucceſſours all our ſubiects of what degree or qualitie ſoeuer they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe viſite, haunt, frequent, trade, trafike or aduenture by way of marchandiſe into or from any of the ſayd dominions of the ſayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the ſaide Segniorie of Venice, by or through the ſayde Leuant ſea other then the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and ſuch particular perſons as be or ſhall be of that companie, their factors, agents, ſeruants and aſſignes. And further for that wee plainely vnderſtande that the States and Gouernours of the citie and Segniorie of Venice haue of late time ſet and rayſed a newe impoſt and charge ouer and beſides their auncient impoſt, cuſtome, and charge of and vpon all manner of marchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and alſo of and vpon all marchandiſe caried or laden from their ſayd Countrey or dominions by our ſubiects or in the ſhips or bottoms of any of our ſubiectes to the great and intollerable charge and hinderance of our ſayd ſubiects trading thither, wee therefore minding the redreſſe thereof, doe alſo by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors further ſtraightly prohibite and forbid not onely the ſubiects of the ſayde State and Segniorie of Venice, but alſo of all other Nations or Countries whatſoeuer other then the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and ſuch onely as be or ſhall be of that companie, their factors, agents, ſeruantes, and aſſignes: That they or any of them during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres, ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into this our Realme of Englande, or any part thereof anie manner of ſmall fruites called corrants, being the rayſins of Corinth, or wine of Candie, vnleſſe it be by and with the licence, conſent, and agreement of the ſayde Gouernour and companie in writing vnder their ſayd common ſeale firſt had and obteyned vpon paine vnto euery ſuch perſon and perſons that ſhall trade and traffike into any the ſayde dominions of the State and Segniorie of Venice by ſea, or that ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into our ſaide Realme any of the ſaid corrants being the rayſins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, other then the ſayd companie in paine of our indignation, and of forfaiture and loſſe aſwell of the ſhippe and ſhips with the furniture thereof, as alſo of the goods, marchandize, and thinges whatſoeuer they be of thoſe which ſhall attempt or preſume tp commit or doe any matter or thing contrarie to the prohibition aforeſayd. The one halfe of all the ſaide forfeitures to be to vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, and the other halfe of all and euery the ſayde forfeitures we doe by theſe preſents, of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion clearely and wholie for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt vnto the ſaide Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant.

And further all and euery the ſayde offendours for their ſayde contempt to ſuffer impriſonment during our pleaſures, and ſuch other puniſhment as to vs for ſo high a contempt ſhall ſeeme meete and conuenient, and not to be in any wiſe deliuered vntill they and euery of them ſhall be come bounde vnto the ſayd Gouernour for the time being in the ſumme of one thouſand poundes or leſſe at no time, then after to ſayle or traffike by ſea into any the dominions aforeſaide, or to bring or cauſe to be brought from any the places aforeſayde any corrants, rayſins of Corinth, or wines of Candia contrarie to our expreſſe commaundement in that behalfe herein ſet downe and publiſhed.

Prouided alwayes, and our expreſſe will is notwithſtanding the premiſſes that if our ſayde ſubiectes ſhall at any time hereafter be recompenſed of and for all ſuch newe impoſtes and charges as they and euery of them ſhall pay, and likewiſe be freely diſcharged of and from the payment of all manner of newe impoſte or taxe for any of their marchandiſe which they hereafter ſhall bring into or from any the dominions of the ſayde State or Segniorie of Venice, and from all bondes and other aſſurances by them or any of them to be made for or in that behalfe, that then immediatly from and after ſuch recompence and diſcharge made as aforeſayde our ſayde prohibition and reſtraint in theſe preſentes mentioned, ſhall not be of any ſtrength or force againſt the ſayde Citie or State of Venice, or any the ſubiects thereof, but for and during ſuch time onely and in ſuch caſe when hereafter the ſayde State of Venice ſhall againe beginne to taxe or leuie any manner of newe impoſte within the ſayde dominions vpon any the goods or marchandizes of our ſayde ſubiectes heereafter to be brought into any the dominions of the ſaid State or Segniorie of Venice. Any thing in theſe our letters Patents contayned to the contrarie thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And further wee ſtraightly charge and commaunde, and by theſe preſentes prohibite all and ſingular Cuſtomers and Collectors of our Cuſtomes, pondage, and ſubſidies, and all other Officers within our Porte and Citie of London and elſe where, to whom it ſhall appertaine and euery of them, That they or any of them by themſelues, their clarkes, or ſubſtitutes ſhall not receiue or take, or ſuffer to be receiued or taken for vs or in our name, or to our vſe, or in the name, or vnto the vſe of our heires or ſucceſſors of any perſon or perſons, any ſumme or ſummes of money, or other conſideration during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres for any cuſtome, pondage, taxe or ſubſidie of any corrants, rayſins of Corinth, or wines of Candie aforeſayd ſaue onely of and in the name of the ſayde Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or of ſome of that companie without the conſent of the ſayde Gouernour and companie in writing vnder their ſayd common ſeale, firſt had and obteyned, and vnto them ſhewed for the teſtifying their ſayd conſent. And for the better and more ſure obſeruation thereof wee will and graunt for vs, our heires or ſucceſſors by theſe preſentes, that our Treaſurour and Barons of the Exchequer for the time being by force of theſe preſentes, and the inrollment thereof in the ſayde Court of our Exchequour, at all and euery time and times during the ſayde terme of twelue yeeres, at and vpon the requeſt of the ſayde Gouernour and companie, their Attourney or Attourneys, Deputies or aſſignes, ſhall and may make and direct vnder the ſeale of the ſayde Court one or more ſufficient writte or writtes cloſe or patent, vnto euery or any of the ſayd Cuſtomers or other Officers to whom it ſhall appertaine, commaunding them and euery of them thereby, that neither they nor any of them at any time or times during the ſayd ſpace of twelue yeeres ſhall take entrie of any corants, raiſins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, or take or make any agreement for any cuſtome, pondage, or other ſubſidie for any of the ſayd corants, raiſins of Corinth, or wines of Candie, with any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, other then with, or in the name and by the priuitie of the ſayd gouernour and company or ſome of the ſame company.

And further of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condeſcended and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs our heires and ſucceſſours doe condeſcend and graunt to the ſayd Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant, that wee our heires and ſucceſſours, during the ſayd terme, will not graunt libertie, licence, or power to any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer contrary to the tenour of theſe our letters patents, to ſaile, paſſe, trade, or traffique by the ſayde Leuant Sea, into, or from the ſayde dominions of the ſayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of theſe preſents, without the conſent of the ſayd Gouernour and Companie or the moſt part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet haue not yet aſſented to bee incorporated into the ſayd ſocietie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, neuertheleſſe ſithence, as we be informed, they haue bene traders that way heretofore; our will and pleaſure is, and we doe hereby expreſſely commaund and charge that if it happen at any time within two monethes next following after the date hereof, the ſayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, to ſubmit themſelues to be of the ſayd companie, and doe giue ſuch aſſurance as the ſayd Gouernour and companie, or the more part of them ſhall allow of, to beare, pay, and performe ſuch orders, conſtitutions, paiments and contributions, as other of the ſayd company ſhall be ordered to beare, pay, and performe, that then euery of the ſayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet ſo doing and ſubmitting himſelfe, ſhall vpon his or their requeſt vnto the ſayd Gouernour bee admitted into the ſayd companie and corporation of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, and haue and enioy the ſame, and as great liberties, priuileges, and preheminences, as the reſt of the ſayde corporation or companie may, or ought to haue by vertue of this our graunt. Any thing in theſe preſents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And our will and pleaſure is, and hereby wee doe alſo ordaine that it ſhall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the ſayde Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant or the more part of them, to admit into, and to be of the ſayd companie, any ſuch as haue bene or ſhall bee employed as ſeruants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandiſe by the ſayd Leuant ſeas, into any the countries, dominions or territories of the ſayd Grand Sighior or Signiorie or State of Venice, according as they or the moſt part of them ſhall thinke requiſite.

And where Anthony Ratcliffe, Steuen Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the ſaide Citie of London, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirſte, Cæſar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Stile and Nicolas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and ſufficiencies haue bene thought fit to be alſo of the ſayd Company of the ſaide gouernour and Company of Marchants of Leuant: Our will and pleaſure and expreſſe commaundement is, and wee doe hereby eſtabliſh and ordeine, that euery ſuch of the ſame Anthony Radcliffe, Steuen Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Midleton, Robert Coxe, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirſt, Cæſar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Style, and Nicolas Style, as ſhall pay vnto the ſaide Gouernour and company of Marchants of Leuante the ſumme of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull Engliſh money within two monethes next after the date hereof towards the charges that the ſame Company haue already bene at in and about the eſtabliſhing of the ſayde trades ſhall from thenceforth bee of the ſame company of Marchants of Leuant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that ſocietie or Company.

Prouided alſo, that wee our heires and ſucceſſours at any time during the ſayd twelue yeeres may lawfully appoynt and authorize two other perſons exerciſing the lawfull trade of marchandize, and being fit men to bee of the ſayd companie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, ſo that the ſayd perſons to bee nominated or authorized, ſhall aide, doe, beare, and paie ſuch payments and charges touching and concerning the ſame trade and Companie of marchants of Leuant, ratablie as other of the ſayd Companie of marchants of Leuant ſhall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay: and doe alſo performe and obſerue the orders of the ſayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the ſame doe or ought to doe. And that ſuch two perſons ſo to bee appoynted by vs our heires or ſucceſſours, ſhall and may with the ſayd Company vſe the trade and feate of marchandiſe aforeſayd, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of theſe our letters patents, any thing in theſe our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that if any of the marchants before by theſe preſents named or incorporated, to bee of the ſayd fellowſhip of Gouernour and companie of the merchants of Leuant, ſhall not bee willing to continue or bee of the ſame Companie, and doe giue notice thereof, or make the ſame knowen to the ſayd Gouernour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then ſuch perſon ſo giuing notice, ſhall no further or any longer be of that companie, or haue trade into thoſe parties, nor be at any time after that of the ſame corporation or companie, or vſe trade into any the territories or countries aforeſayd.

Prouided alwayes neuertheleſſe, that euery ſuch perſon ſo giuing notice and hauing at this preſent any goods or marchandiſes in any the Territories or countreys of the ſayd Grand Signior, or Segniorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the ſpace of eighteene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to returne the ſame or the value thereof into this Realme, without vſing any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, anſwering, and performing all ſuch charges, dueties and ſummes of money ratably as other of the ſame corporation or company doe or ſhall pay, beare, anſwere, or performe for the like.

Prouided alſo, that if any of the perſons before by theſe preſents named or incorporated to bee of the ſayd fellowſhip of Gouernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant, or which hereafter ſhall bee admitted to bee of the ſayde Corporation or Companie, ſhall at any time or times hereafter refuſe to bee of the ſayd Corporation or Companie, or to beare, pay, or be contributorie to, or not beare and pay ſuch ratable charges and allowances, or to obſerue or performe ſuch ordinances to bee made as is aforeſayd, as other of the ſame company are, or ſhall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it ſhall and may bee lawfull for the reſt of the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, preſently to expell, remooue, and diſplace euery ſuch perſon ſo refuſing, or not bearing or paying out, of, and from the ſayd Corporation and companie, and from all priuilege, libertie, and preheminence which any ſuch perſon ſhould, or might claime, or haue by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exerciſing the lawfull trade of marchandiſe to bee of the ſayd Companie. And that euery ſuch perſon ſo expelled, remooued, or diſplaced by conſent of the ſayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, or the more part of them, ſhall bee from thenceforth vtterly diſabled to take any benefite by vertue of this priuilege, or any time after to bee admitted or receiued againe into the ſame, any thing in theſe preſents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alwayes, that if it ſhall hereafter appeare to vs our heires and ſucceſſours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, ſhall not bee profitable to vs our heires and ſucceſſours, or to this our realme, that then and from thenceforth, vpon and after eighteene moneths warning to bee giuen to the ſayd companie by vs our heires and ſucceſſours, this preſent graunt ſhall ceaſe, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, conſtructions and purpoſes.

And further of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee haue condeſcended and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs our heires and ſucceſſours, doe condeſcend and graunt to the ſayde Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, that if at the ende of the ſayd terme of twelue yeeres it ſhall ſeeme meete and conuenient to the ſayde Gouernour and Companie, or any the parties aforeſayd, that this preſent graunt ſhall bee continued: And if that alſo it ſhall appeare vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, that the continuance thereof ſhall not bee preiudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee ſhall finde the further continuance thereof profitable for vs our heires and ſucceſſours and for our realme with ſuch conditions as are herein mentioned, or with ſome alteration or qualification thereof, that then wee our heires and ſucceſſours at the inſtance and humble petition of the ſayde Gouernour and Companie, or any of them ſo ſuing for the ſame, and ſuch other perſon and perſons our ſubiectes as they ſhall nominate and appoint, or ſhall bee by vs, our heires and ſucceſſours newly nominated, not exceeding in number twelue, new letters patents vnder the great ſeale of

England in due forme of lawe with like couenants, graunts, clauſes, and articles, as in theſe preſents are contained, or with addition of other neceſſarie articles or changing of theſe in ſome partes, for, and during the full terme of twelue yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and ſtreightly commaunding and charging all and ſingular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Iuſtices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Bailiffes, and all and ſingular other our Officers, Miniſters, Liege men and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to bee ayding, fauouring, helping, and aſſiſting vnto the ſayd Companie and their ſucceſſours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, ſeruaunts, aſſignes and miniſters, and euery of them, in executing and enioying the premiſſes as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, & at all times when you or any of you ſhal thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Prouiſo, Proclamation or reſtraint heretofore had, made, ſet foorth, ordained or prouided, or any other matter, cauſe or thing whatſoeuer to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Although expreſſe mention of the true yeerely value or certaintie of the premiſſes, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by vs, or any of our progenitours to the ſayde Gouernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant before this time made, in theſe preſents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, prouiſion, proclamation or reſtraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or prouided, or any other matter, thing or cauſe whatſoeuer, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witneſſe whereof wee haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the ſeuenth day of Ianuarie in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breue de priuato Sigillo.
Bailie.

To the Worſhipfull and his very louing Vncle M. Rowland Hewiſh *Eſquier*, *at* Sand *in* Deuonſhire.

SIr, conſidering the goodneſſe of your Nature which is woont kindely to accept from a friend, euen of meane things being giuen with a good heart, I haue preſumed to trouble you with the reading of this rude diſcourſe of my trauailes into Turkie, and of the deliuerie of the preſent with ſuch other occurrents as there happened woorthie the obſeruation: of all which proceedings I was an eie-witneſſe, it pleaſing the Ambaſſadour to take mee in with him to the *Grand Signior*. If for lacke of time to put it in order I haue not performed it ſo well as it ought, I craue pardon, aſſuring you that to my knowledge I haue not miſſed in the trueth of any thing. If you aske mee what in my trauels I haue learned, I anſwere as a noble man of France did to the like demaund, *Hoc vnum didici, mundi contemptum:* and ſo concluding with the wiſe man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie, and one thing onely is neceſſarie, I take my leaue and commit you to the Almightie. From London the 16. March 1597.

Your louing Nephew
Richard Wrag.

A deſcription of a Voiage to *Conſtantinople* and *Syria*, begun the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of Auguſt, 1595. wherein is ſhewed the order of deliuering the ſecond Preſent by Maſter *Edward Barton* her maieſties Ambaſſador, which was ſent from her Maieſtie to *Sultan Murad Can*, Emperour of Turkie.

WEe ſet ſaile in the Aſcenſion of London, a new ſhippe very well appointed, of two hundred and three ſcore tunnes (whereof was maſter one William Broadbanke, a prouident and ſkilfull man in his facultie) from Graueſend the one and twentie of March 1593. And vpon the eight of April folowing wee paſſed the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and with a ſmall Weſterne gale, the 24. of the ſame, we arriued at Zante an Iland vnder the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arriued at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane ſea, a roade ſome 25. miles diſtant from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee ſent for Aleppo.

Candie.

The Aſcenſion arriued at the 7 towers.

The ſhip ſaluteth the grand Signior.

From thence wee ſet ſaile the fift of Iune, and by contrary windes were driuen vpon the coaſt of Caramania into a road neere a litle Iland where a caſtle ſtandeth, called Caſtle Roſſo, ſome thirtie leagues to the Eaſtwards of the Rhodes, where after long ſearch for freſh water, we could finde none, vntil certaine poore Greekes of the Iland brought vs to a well where we had 5 or 6 tuns. That part of the country next the ſea is very barren & full of mountains, yet found we there an olde tombe of marble, with an epitaph of an ancient Greeke caracter, by antiquity neere worne out and paſt reading; which to the beholders ſeemed a monument of the greatneſſe of the Grecian monarchy. From thence we went to the Rhodes, and by contrary windes were driuen into a port of Candy, called Sittia: this Iland is vnder the Venetians, who haue there 600 ſouldiers, beſide certaine Greeks, continually in pay. Here with contrary winds we ſtayed ſix weeks, and in the end, hauing the winde proſperous, we ſailed by Nicaria, Pharos, Delos, and Andros, with ſight of many other Ilands in the Archipelago, and arriued at the two caſtles in Helleſpont the 24 of Auguſt. Within few dayes after we came to Galipoli ſome thirty miles from this place, where foure of vs tooke a Parma or boat of that place, with two water men, which rowed vs along the Thracian ſhore to Conſtantinople, which ſometime ſailing and ſometime rowing, in foure dayes they performed. The firſt of September we arriued at the famous port of the Grand Signior, where we were not a little welcome to M. Edward Barton vntill then her Maieſties Agent, who (with many other great perſons) had for many dayes expected the preſent. Fiue or ſixe dayes after the ſhippe arriued neere the Seuen towers, which is a very ſtrong hold, and ſo called of ſo many turrets, which it hath, ſtanding neere the ſea ſide, being the firſt part of the city that we came vnto. Heere the Agent appointed the maſter of the Aſcenſion to ſtay with the ſhippe vntill a fitte winde and opportunity ſerued to bring her about the Seraglio to ſalute the Grand Signior in his moskyta or church: for you ſhall vnderſtand that he hath built one neere the wall of his Seraglio or pallace adioyning to the Sea ſide; whereunto twiſe or thriſe a weeke hee reſorteth to performe ſuch religious rites as their law requireth: where hee being within few dayes after, our ſhippe ſet out in their beſt maner with flagges, ſtreamers and pendants of diuers coloured ſilke, with all the mariners, together with moſt of the Ambaſſadours men, hauing the winde faire, and came within two cables length of this his moskita, where (hee to his great content beholding the ſhippe in ſuch brauery) they diſcharged firſt two volies of ſmall ſhot, and then all the great ordinance twiſe ouer, there being ſeuen and twentie or eight and twentie pieces in the ſhip. Which performed, he appointed the Buſtangi-Baſſa or captaine of the great and ſpacious garden or parke, to giue our men thankes, with requeſt that ſome other day they would ſhew him the like ſporte when hee would haue the Sultana or Empreſſe a beholder thereof, which few dayes after at the ſhippes going to the Cuſtome-houſe they performed.

The cauſe of ſtaying the Preſent.

An Arz to the grand Signior.

The grand Signiors ſalutation thus ended, the maſter brought the ſhip to an anker at Rapamat neere the ambaſſadors houſe, where hee likewiſe ſaluted him with all his great ordinance once ouer, and where he landed the Preſent, the deliuerie whereof for a time was ſtaied: the cauſe of which ſtaie it ſhall neither be diſhonorable for our nation, or that worthie man the ambaſſador to ſhew you. At the departure of Sinan Baſſa the chiefe Vizir, and our ambaſſadors great friend toward the warres of Hungarie there was another Baſſa appointed in his place, a churliſh and harſh natured man, who vpon occaſion of certaine Genouezes, eſcaping out of the caſtles ſtanding toward the Euxine Sea, nowe called the blacke Sea, there impriſoned, apprehended and threatened to execute one of our Engliſhmen called Iohn Field, for that hee was taken thereabouts, and knowen not many dayes before to haue brought a letter to one of them: vpon the ſolliciting of whoſe libertie there fell a iarre betweene the Baſſa (being nowe chiefe Vizir) and our ambaſſador, and in choler he gaue her maieſties ambaſſador ſuch words, as without ſuſtaining ſome great indignitie hee could not put vp. Whereupon after the arriuall of the Preſent, he made an Arz, that is, a bill of Complaint to the grand Signior againſt him, the maner in exhibiting whereof is thus performed.

The plaintifes expect the grand Signiors going abroad from his pallace, either to Santa Sophia or to his church by the ſea ſide, whither, with a Perma (that is one of their vſuall whirries) they approch within ſome two or three ſcore yards, where the plaintife ſtandeth vp, and holdeth his petition ouer his forehead in ſight of the grand Signior (for his church is open to the Sea ſide) the reſt ſitting ſtill in the boat, who appointeth one of his Dwarfes to receiue them, and to bring them to him. A Dwarfe, one of the Ambaſſadors fauorites, ſo ſoone as he was diſcerned, beckned him to the ſhore ſide, tooke his Arz, and with ſpeed caried it to the grand Signior. Now the effect of it was this; that except his highneſſe would redreſſe this ſo great an indignitie, which the Vizir his ſlaue had offered him and her maieſtie in his perſon, he was purpoſed to detaine the Preſent vntill ſuch time as he might by letters ouer-land from her maieſtie bee certified, whither ſhe would put vp ſo great an iniurie as it was. Whereupon he preſently returned anſwere, requeſting the ambaſſador within an houre after to goe to the Douan of the Vizir, vnto whom himſelfe of his charge would ſend a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publikely to put it vpon him, and with kind entertainment to embrace him in ſigne of reconciliation. Whereupon our ambaſſador returning home, tooke his horſe, accompanied with his mē, and came to the Vizirs court, where, according to the grand Signiors command, he with all ſhew of kindneſſe embraced the ambaſſador, and with curteous ſpeeches reconciled himſelfe, and with his own hands put the gowne of cloth of gold vpon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the no ſmall admiration of all Chriſtians that heard of it, eſpecially of the French and Venetian ambaſſadors, who neuer in the like caſe againſt the ſecond perſon of the Turkiſh Empire durſt haue attempted ſo bold an enterpriſe with hope of ſo friendly audience, and with ſo ſpeedie redreſſe. This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambaſſador prepared himſelfe for the deliuerie of the Preſent, which vpon the 7 of October 1593, in this maner he performed.

The great hall of Iuſtice.

Reconciliation with the Vizir made.

The Aſcenſion with her flags and ſtreamers, as aforeſaid, repaired nigh vnto the place where the ambaſſador ſhould land to go vp to the Seraglio: for you muſt vnderſtand that all Chriſtian ambaſſadors haue their dwelling in Pera where moſt Chriſtians abide, from which place, except you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot by land go to Conſtantinople, whereas by Sea it is litle broder then the Thames. Our Ambaſſador likewiſe apparelled in a ſute of cloth of ſiluer, with an vpper gowne of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in coſtly ſutes of Sattin, with 40 other of his men very well apparelled, and all in one liuerie of ſad French ruſſet cloth gownes, at his houſe tooke boate: at whoſe landing the ſhip diſcharged all her ordinance, where likewiſe attended 2 Baſſas, with 40 or 50 Chauſes to accompany yͤ ambaſſador to the court, & alſo horſes for the ambaſſador & his gentlemen, very richly furniſhed, with Turkiſh ſeruants attendāt to take the horſes whē they ſhould light. The ambaſſador thus honorably accompanied, the Chauſes foremoſt, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himſelfe laſt with his Chauſe and Drugaman or Interpreter, and 4 Ianiſſaries, which he doeth vſually entertaine in his houſe to accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an Engliſh mile from the water ſide, where firſt hee paſſed a great gate into a large court (much like the ſpace before White hall gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horſes. From hence they paſſed into another ſtately court, being about 6 ſcore in bredth, and ſome 10 ſcore yards long, with many trees in it; where all the court was with great pompe ſet in order to entertaine our ambaſſador. Vpon the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched ouer, and borne vp with ſtone pillars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where ſtood *moſt of his guard in rankes from the one end to the other in coſtly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt ouer, with a great plume of fethers ſomewhat like a long bruſh ſtanding vp before. On the left hand ſtood the Cappagies or porters, and the Chauſes. All theſe courtiers being about the number of 2000. (as I might well geſſe) moſt of them apparelled in cloth of gold, ſiluer, veluet, ſattin and ſcarlet, did together with bowing their bodies, laying their hands vpon their breſts in curteous maner of ſalutation, entertain the Ambaſſador: who likewiſe paſſing between them, & turning himſelf ſomtime to the right hand and ſometime to the left, anſwered them with the like. As he thus paſſed along, certaine Chauſes conducted him to the Douan, which is the ſeat of Iuſtice, where certaine dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-lesker or lord chiefe Iuſtice, & the Mufti or high prieſt do ſit to determine vpon ſuch cauſes as be brought before them, which place is vpon the left ſide of this great court, whither the ambaſſador with his gentlemen came, where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforeſayd, who with great ſhew of kindnes receiued him: and after receit of her maieſties letters, & conference had of the Preſent, of her maieſties health, of the ſtate of England, and ſuch other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in thoſe parts: dinner being prepared was by many of yͤ Courtiers brought into another inner roome next adioining, which conſiſted of an hundred diſhes or therabouts, moſt boiled & roſted, where the ambaſſador accompanied wͭ the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewiſe with the reſt of his men hauing a dinner with the like varietie prepared vpon yͤ ſame ſide of the court, by thēſelues ſate downe to their meat, 40 or 50 Chauſes ſtanding at the vpper end attending vpon the gentlemē to ſee them ſerued in good order; their drinke was water mingled with roſe water & ſugar brought in a Luthro (that is a goates ſkinne) which a man carieth at his backe, and vnder his arme letteth it run out at a ſpout into cups as men wil call for it. The dinner thus with good order brought in, and for halfe an houre with great ſobrietie and ſilence performed, was not ſo orderly taken vp; for certaine Moglans officers of the kitchin (like her maieſties blacke guard) came in diſordered maner and tooke away the diſhes, and he whoſe hungry eie one diſh could not ſatiſfie, turned two or three one into the other, and thus of a ſudden was a cleane riddance made of all. The ambaſſador

The ambaſſador goeth to the court with the preſent.

The Ambaſſ. came to the Seraglio.

*All theſe are captaines of hundreds and of fifties.

The ambaſſador receiued by the Vizir with all kindneſſe.

Diner brought in.

Diner taken away.

after dinner with his gentlemen, by certaine officers were placed at the vpper ende vpon the left ſide of the court, nere vnto a great gate which gaue entrance to a third court being but litle paued with ſtone. In the midſt whereof was a litle houſe built of marble, as I take it, within which ſate the grand Signor, according to whoſe commandement giuen there were gownes of cloth of gold brought out of the wardrope, and put vpon the ambaſſador and 7 of his gentlemen, the ambaſſador himſelfe hauing 2, one of gold, and the other of crimoſin veluet, all the reſt one a piece.

Gownes of cloth of gold for the ambaſſador and his gentlemen.

The Preſent.

Then certaine Cappagies had the Preſent, which was in trunks there ready, deliuered them by the ambaſſadors men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine Engliſh cloth of al colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of ſattin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value; al which were caried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very neere 100 parcels, and ſo 2 and 2 going round that all might ſee it, to the greater glory of the preſent, and of him to whom it was giuen:

The Preſent viewed.

they went into the innermoſt court paſſing by the window of that roome, where the grand Signior ſate, who, as it went by to be laid vp in certaine roomes adioining, tooke view of all. Preſently after the preſent followed the ambaſſador with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court ſtoode 20 or 30 Agaus which be eunuchs. Within the court yard were the Turkes Dwarfes and Dumbe men, being moſt of them youths. At the doore of his roome ſtood the Buſtangi-baſſa, with another Baſſa to lead the ambaſſador and his folowers to the grand Signior who ſate in a chaire of eſtate, apparelled in a gowne of cloth of ſiluer. The floore vnder his feete, which part was a foote higher then the reſt, was couered with a carpet of green ſattin embrodered moſt richly with ſiluer, orient perles & great Turkeſes; yͤ other part of the houſe was couered with a carpet of Carnation ſattin imbrodered wͭ gold, none were in the roome with him, but a Baſſa who ſtood next the wall ouer againſt him hanging down his head, & looking ſubmiſſely vpon the ground as all his ſubiects doe in his preſence.

The ambaſſador kiſſeth the grand Signiors hand.

The ambaſſador thus betwixt two which ſtood at the doore being led in, either of them taking an arme, kiſſed his hand; and ſo backward with his face to the Turke they brought him nigh the dore againe, where he ſtood vntill they had likewiſe done ſo with all the reſt of his gentlemen. Which ended, the ambaſſador, according as it is the cuſtome when any preſent is deliuered, made his three demaunds, ſuch as he thought moſt expedient for her maieſties honor, & the peaceable traffique of our natiõ into his dominions: whereunto he anſwered in one word, Nolo, which is in Turkiſh as much as, it ſhal be done: for it is not the maner of the Turkiſh emperor familiarly to confer with any Chriſtian ambaſſador, but he appointeth his Vizir in his perſon to graunt their demaunds if they be to his liking;

The ambaſſadors demands granted.

as to our ambaſſador he granted all his demands, & gaue order that his daily allowance for his houſe of mony, fleſh, wood, & haie, ſhould be augmented with halfe as much more as it had bene before. Hereupon the ambaſſador taking his leaue, departed with his gentlemen the ſame way he came, the whole court ſaluting him as they did at his comming in; & comming to the ſecond court to take our horſes, after we were mounted, we ſtaied halfe an houre, vntil the captain of the guard with 2000 horſmen at the leaſt paſſed before, after whom folowed 40 or 50 Chauſes next before the ambaſſador to accompany him to his houſe. And as before at his landing, ſo now at his taking boat, the ſhip diſcharged all her great ordinance, where arriuing, he likewiſe had a great banquet prepared to entertaine thoſe which came to bring him home. The pompe & ſolemnitie of the Preſent, with the day thus ended, he ſhortly after preſented the Sultana or empreſſe who (by reaſon that ſhe is mother to him which was heire to the crown Imperial) is had in far greater reuerence then any of his other Queens or concubines.

The Sultanas preſent.

The Preſent ſent her in her maieſties name was a iewel of her maieſties picture, ſet with ſome rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine caſe of glaſſe bottles ſiluer & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland, which ſo gratefully ſhe accepted, as that ſhe ſent to know of the ambaſſador what preſent he thought ſhe might return yͭ would moſt delight her maieſtie; who ſent word that a ſute of princely attire being after the Turkiſh faſhion would for the rareneſſe thereof be acceptable in England.

The Sultanas preſent to the Queene.

Whereupon ſhe ſent an vpper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an vnder gowne of cloth of ſiluer, and a girdle of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification, which for the rareneſſe of the ſtile, becauſe you may be acquainted with it, I haue at the ende of this diſcourſe hereunto annexed;

Letters ſent for England.

which letter and preſent, with one from the grand Signor, was ſent by M. Edward Buſhell, and M. William Aldridge ouer-land the 20 of March, who paſſed through Valachia and Moldauia, & ſo through Poland, where Michael prince of Valachia, and Aron Voiuoda prince of Moldauia receiuing letters from the ambaſſador, entertained thẽ with al curteſie, through whoſe meanes by the great fauour which his lordſhip had with the grand Signior, they had not long before both of them bene aduanced to their princely dignities.

The other Vizirs preſented.

Hee likewiſe preſented Sigala the Admirall of the Seas, with Abrim Baſſa, who maried the great Turkes daughter, and all the other Vizirs with diuers pieces of plate, fine Engliſh cloth & other coſtly things: the particulars whereof, to auoid tediouſneſſe, I omit. All the preſents thus ended, the ſhip ſhooting ten pieces of ordinance at the Seraglio point, as a laſt farewell, departed on her iourney for England the firſt of Nouember, my ſelfe continuing in Conſtantinople vntill the laſt of Iuly after. This yere in the ſpring there was great preparation for the Hungarian wars; and the great Turke threatened to goe himſelfe in perſon: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more ſeruiceable to Venus then to Mars, he ſtayed at home. Yet a great army was diſpatched this yere; who, as they came out of Aſia to goe for Hungary, did ſo peſter the ſtreets of Conſtantinople for the ſpace of two moneths in the ſpring time, as ſcarſe either Chriſtian or Iew could without danger of loſing his money paſſe vp and downe the city. What inſolencies, murders and robberies were committed not onely vpon Chriſtians but alſo vpon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in England the like may neuer be ſeene: and yet I could wiſh, that ſuch amongſt vs as haue inioyed the Goſpel with ſuch great and admirable peace and proſperity vnder her Maieſties gouernment this forty yeeres, and haue not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and thankfulneſſe to her Maieſty, were there but a ſhort time to beholde the miſerable condition both of Chriſtians and others liuing vnder ſuch an infidell prince, who not onely are wrapped in moſt palpable & groſſe ignorance of mind, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of God: I doubt not but the ſight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would ſtirre them vp to more thankefulneſſe to God, that euer they were borne in ſo happy a time, and vnder ſo wiſe and godly a prince profeſſing the true religion of Chriſt.

The Aſcenſion departeth.

Great preparation for the Hungarian warres.

The number of ſouldiours which went to the warres of Hungary this yere were 470000, as by the particulars giuen by the Admirall to the Ambaſſadour hereunder do appeare. Although all theſe were appointed and ſuppoſed to goe, yet the victories which the Chriſtians in the ſpring had againſt the Turks ſtrooke ſuch a terrour in many of the Turkiſh ſouldiours, as by report diuers vpon the way thither left their Captaines and ſtole away.

The number of Turkiſh ſouldiers which were appointed to goe into *Hungary* againſt the Chriſtian Emperour. May 1594.

SInan Baſſa generall, with the Saniacke maſould, that is, out of office, with the other Saniacks in office or of degree, 40000.
Achmigi, that is, Aduenturers, 50000.
The Agha or Captaine with his Ianiſaries, and his Giebegies, 20000.
The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Saniacks, 40000.
The company of Spaheis or horſemen, 10000.
The company of Silitari, 6000.
The company of Sagbulue and of Solbulue both together, 8000.

The Baſſa of Belgrad,
The Baſſa of Temiſwar.
The Baſſa of Boſna.
The Baſſa of Buda.
The Saniack of Gerſech.
} 80000.

Out of *Aſia*.

The Baſſa of Caramania.
The Baſſa of Laras.
The Baſſa of Damaſco.
The Baſſa of Suas.
The Baſſa of Van or Nan.
The Baſſa of Vſdrum.
} 120000.

Of Tartars there be about 100000.

Thus you may ſee that the great Turke maketh warre with no ſmall numbers. And in anno 1597, when Sultan Mahomet himſelfe went in perſon into Hungary, if a man may beleeue reports, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Conſtantinople you ſhall vnderſtand that it is matchable with any city in Europe, aſwell in bigneſſe as for the pleaſant ſituation thereof, and commodious traffike and bringing of all maner of neceſſary prouiſion of victuals, and whatſoeuer els mans life for the ſuſtentation thereof ſhall require, being ſeated vpon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus vpon the Northeaſt, and to Propontis on the Southweſt, by which two ſeas by ſhipping is brought

great ſtore of all maner of victuals. The city it ſelfe in forme repreſenteth a triangular figure, the
ſea waſhing the walles vpon two ſides thereof, the other ſide faceth the continent of Thracia; the
grand Signiors ſeraglio ſtandeth vpon that point which looketh into the ſea, being cut off from
the city by a wall; ſo that yͤ wall of his pallace conteineth in circuit about two Engliſh miles: the
ſeuen towers ſpoken of before ſtand at another corner, & Conſtantines olde pallace to the North
at the third corner. The city hath a threefolde wall about it; the innermoſt very high, the next
lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten Engliſh miles: it hath
foure and twenty gates: and when the empire was remooued out of the Weſt into the Eaſt, it
was inriched with many ſpoiles of olde Rome by Veſpaſian and other emperours, hauing many
monuments and pillars in it worthy the obſeruation; amongſt the reſt in the midſt of Conſtantinople
ſtandeth one of white marble called Veſpaſians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath
from the baſe to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horſebacke: it is likewiſe adorned
with diuers goodly buildings & ſtately Meſquitas, whereof the biggeſt is Sultan Solimans
Santa Sophia. a great warriour, which liued in the time of Charles the fifth; but the faireſt is Santa Sophia,
which in the time of the Chriſtian emperours was the chiefe cathedrall church, and is ſtill in greateſt
account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greekiſh churches, the pauements
and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of diuers coloured marble of admirable
heigth and bigneſſe, which ſtand vpon great round feet of braſſe, much greater then the
pillars, and of a great heigth, ſome ten yards diſtant from the wall: from which vnto theſe pillars
is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and vpon the outſide of the gallery
ſtand 66 marble pillars which beare vp the round roofe being the top of the church: it hath
three pulpits or preaching places, and about 2000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewiſe
vpon one ſide in the top is the picture of Chriſt with the 12 Apoſtles, but their faces are defaced,
with two or three ancient tombs of Chriſtians: to the Weſt ſticketh an arrow in the toppe of the
church, which, as the Turks report, Sultan Mahomet ſhot when he firſt tooke the city. Neere
adioyning be two chapels of marble; where lie buried moſt of the emperours with their children
& ſultanas. The 16 of July, accompanied with ſome other of our nation we went by water
to the Blacke ſea, being 16 miles diſtant frō Conſtantinople, the ſea al the way thither being little
broader then the Thames; both ſides of the ſhore are beautified with faire & goodly buildings.
At the mouth of this Boſphorus lieth a rocke ſome foureſcore yards from the maine land, whereupon
Pompeys pillar. ſtandeth a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the ſhadow whereof was 23 foote
long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: ouer againſt it is a turret of ſtone vpon the maine land
120 ſteps high, hauing a great glaſſe-lanthorne in the toppe foure yards in diamiter and three in
heigth, with a great copper pan in the midſt to holde oile, with twenty lights in it, and it ſerueth
to giue paſſage into this ſtraight in the night to ſuch ſhips as come from all parts of thoſe ſeas to
Conſtantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to yͤ end hath pay of the grand Signior.
And thus hauing ſpent eleuen moneths in Conſtantinople, accompanied with a chauſe, & carying
certaine mandates from the grand Signior to the Baſſa of Aleppo for the kinde vſage of our
nation in thoſe parts, the 30 of July I tooke paſſage in a Turkiſh carmoſale or ſhippe bound for
Sidon; and paſſing thorow Propōtis, hauing Salimbria with Heraclia moſt pleaſantly ſituated on
Gallipoly. the right hand, and Proconeſus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and ſo
by Helleſpont, betweene the two caſtles before named called Seſtos and Abydos, famous for the
paſſages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Aſia,
and ſo by the Sigean Promontory, now called Cape Ianitzary, at the mouth of Helleſpont vpon
Troy. Aſia ſide, where Troy ſtood, where are yet ruines of olde walles to be ſeeene, with two hils
riſing in a piramidall forme, not vnlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Aiax. From thence we
ſailed along, hauing Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Troian fields on the left:
Zio. at length we came to Mitylen and Sio long time inhabited by the Genoueſes, but now vnder the
Turke. The Iland is beautified with goodly buildings and pleaſant gardens, and aboundeth
with fruits, wine, and the gum maſticke. From thence ſailing alongſt the gulfe of Epheſus with
Patmos. Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. Iohn wrote
the Reuelation. The Iland is but ſmall, not aboue fiue miles in compaſſe: the chiefe thing it
yeeldeth is corn: it hath a port for ſhipping, and in it is a monaſtery of Greekiſh Caloieros. From
Cos. thence by Cos (now called Lango) where Hipocrates was borne: & paſſing many other Ilands
Rhodes. and rocks, we arriued at Rhodes, one of the ſtrongeſt and faireſt cities of the Eaſt: here we ſtayed
three or foure dayes; and by reaſon of a By which went in the ſhip to Paphos in Cyprus, who
vſed me with all kindneſſe, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is ſtill
with all the houſes and walles thereof maintained in the ſame order as they tooke it from the
Rhodian knights. Ouer the doores of many of the houſes, which be ſtrongly built of ſtone, do re-

maine vndefaced, the armes of England, France, Spaine, and many other Chriſtian knights, as though the Turkes in the view thereof gloried in the taking of all Chriſtendome, whoſe armes there they beholde. From thence we ſailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne ſtanding vpon the Weſterne part of Cyprus, where S.Paul in the Acts conuerted the gouernor. Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turks called Saytoſa, within tenne or twelue miles of the place where Tirus ſtood, which now being eaten in by the ſea, is, as Ezekiel propheſied, a place for the ſpreading out of a net. Sidon is ſituated in a ſmall bay at the foot of mount Libanus, vpon the ſide of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a caſtle nigh to the ſea, and one toward the land which is ruinated, but the walle thereof ſtandeth. Some halfe mile vp toward the mountaine be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for three dayes we were kindly entertained of the captaine of the caſtle: and in a ſmall barke we ſailed from hence along the ſhore to Tripoli, & ſo to Alexandretta, where the 24 of Auguſt we arriued. From thence with a Venetian carauan we went by land to Aleppo, paſſing by Antioch, which is ſeated vpon the ſide of an hill, whoſe walles ſtill ſtand with 360 turrets vpon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth the name of the city, thorow which runneth the riuer Orontes, in Scripture called Farfar. In Aleppo I ſtayed vntill February following; in this city, as at a mart, meete many nations out of Aſia with the people of Europe, hauing continuall traffike and interchangeable courſe of marchandiſe one with another: the ſtate and trade of which place, becauſe it is ſo well knowen to moſt of our nation, I omitte to write of. The 27 of February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarked my ſelfe at Alexandretta in a great ſhip of Venice called the Nana Ferra, to come for England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ſhip ſtaying many dayes to lade cotton wooll and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barret my countrey man, the maſter of the ſhip a Greeke, and others, we tooke occaſion to ſee Nicoſia, the chiefe city of this Iland, which was ſome twenty miles frō this place, which is ſituated at the foot of an hill: to the Eaſt is a great plaine, extending it ſelfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no ſuch ſtrength as Famaguſta (another city in this Iland neere the Sea ſide) whoſe walles are cut out of the maine rocke. In this city be many ſumptuous and goodly buildings of ſtone, but vninhabited; the cauſe whereof doth giue me iuſt occaſion to ſhew you of a rare iudgement of God vpon the owners ſometime of theſe houſes, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot a marchant of good wealth in this city. Before it came in ſubiection to the Turks, while it was vnder the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cipriots, who partly by vſurping more ſuperiority ouer the common people then they ought, and partly through their great reuenues which yeerely came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew ſo inſolent and proud, and withall ſo impiouſly wicked, as that they would at their pleaſure command both the wiues and children of their poore tenants to ſerue their vncleane luſts, & holding them in ſuch ſlauery as though they had beene no better then dogges, would wage them againſt a grayhound or ſpaniell, and he who woon the wager ſhould euer after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to do with them as he liſted, being Chriſtians aſwell as themſelues, if they may deſerue ſo good a name. As they behaued themſelues moſt vnchriſtianly toward their brethren, ſo and much more vngodly (which I ſhould haue put in the firſt place) did they towards God; for as though they were too great, ſtanding on foot or kneeling to ſerue God, they would come riding on horſebacke into the church to heare their maſſe: which church now is made a publike baſiſtane or market place for the Turkes to ſell commodities in: but beholde the iudgement of the righteous God, who payeth the ſinner meaſure for meaſure. The Turkes the yeere before the ouerthrowe giuen them at Lepanto by Don Iohn tooke Cyprus. Theſe mighty Nimrods fled ſome into holes & ſome into mountaines to hide themſelues; whereupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themſelues, they would reſtore them to their former reuenues and dignities: who not miſtruſting the miſchieuous pretenſe of the Turkes, aſſembled together to make themſelues knowen; whom after the Turkes had in poſſeſſion, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wiues and children all to the ſword, pretending thereby to cut off all future rebellion, ſo that at this day is not one of the noble race knowen aliue in the Iland, onely two or three remaine in Venice but of litle wealth, which in the time of the warres eſcaped. After we had ſtayed in this Iland ſome thirty dayes, we ſet ſaile in the foreſayd ſhippe being about the burthen of 900 tunnes, hauing in her paſſingers of diuers nations, as Tartars, Perſians, Iewes, and ſundry Chriſtians. Amongſt all which I had often conference with a Iew, who by reaſon of his many yeeres education at Safet a place in Iudea neere Ieruſalem, where they ſtudy the Rabbines with ſome other arts as they thinke good, as alſo for his trauels into Perſia and Ormus, he ſeemed to be of good experience in matters abroad, who related vnto me ſuch conference as he had

with

Sidon.

Ezek.26.5.

Antioch.

Aleppo.

Nicoſia.

A great iudgement of God vpon the noble men of Cyprus.

Indians ſkilfull in Aſtronomy.

The ſeuen precepts of Banianes.

with a Baniane at Ormus, being one of the Indians inhabiting the countrey of Cambaia. This Baniane being a Gentile had ſkill in Aſtronomie, as many of that nation haue, who by his books written in his owne tongue and Characters, could tell the time of Eclipſes both of Sunne and Moone, with the Change and Full, and by iudgement in Aſtrologie gaue anſwere to any queſtion demanded. Being aſked concerning his opinion in religion, what he thought of God: He made anſwere, that they held no other god but the ſun, (to which planet they pray both at the riſing and ſetting) as I haue ſeene ſundry doe in Aleppo: his reaſon was drawen from the effects which it worketh in giuing light to the moone & other ſtarres, and cauſing all things to grow and encreaſe vpon the earth: anſwere was made, that it did mooue with the reſt, as the wheeles of a clocke, and therefore of force muſt haue a moouer. Likewiſe in the Eclipſe being darkened it is manifeſtly prooued that it is not god, for God is altogether goodneſſe and brightneſſe, which can neither be darkened nor receiue detriment or hurt: but the Sun receiueth both in the Eclipſe, as it is apparant: to which hee could not anſwere; but ſo they had receiued from their anceſtors, that it was without beginning or ende, as in any Orbicular or round body neither beginning or end could be found. He likewiſe ſayd, that there were other Gentiles in yͤ Indies which worſhip the moone as chiefe, and their reaſon is. The moone when ſhe riſeth goeth with thouſands of ſtarres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chiefe: but the Sunne goeth alone, and therefore not ſo great. Againſt whom the Banianes reaſon, that it is not true, becauſe the Moone and ſtarres receiue their light from the Sunne, neither doth the Sunne vouchſafe them his company but when he liſt, and therefore like a mighty prince goeth alone, yet they acknowledge the Moone as Queene or Viceroy. Law they hold none, but onely ſeuen precepts which they ſay were giuen them from their father Noe, not knowing Abraham or any other. Firſt, to honor father and mother; ſecondly, not to ſteale; thirdly, not to commit adultery; fourthly, not to kill any thing liuing; fiftly, not to eate any thing liuing; ſixtly, not to cut their haire; ſeuenthly, to go barefoot in their churches. Theſe they hold moſt ſtrictly, & by no meanes will breake them: but he that breaketh one is puniſhed with twenty ſtripes: but for the greateſt fault they will kill none, neither by a ſhort death nor a long, onely he is kept ſome time in priſon with very little meat, and hath at the moſt not aboue twenty or fiue & twenty ſtripes. In the yere they haue 16 feaſts, and then they go to their church, where is pictured in a broad table the Sun, as we vſe to paint it, the face of a man with beames round about, not hauing any thing els in it. At their feaſt they ſpot their faces in diuers parts with ſaffron all yellow, and ſo walke vp and downe the ſtreets; and this they doe as a cuſtome. They hold, there ſhalbe a reſurrection, and all ſhall come to iudgement, but the account ſhalbe moſt ſtreight, inſomuch that but one of 10000 ſhalbe receiued to fauor, and thoſe ſhall liue againe in this world in great happineſſe: the reſt ſhalbe tormented. And becauſe they will eſcape this iudgement, when any man dieth, he and his wife be both burnt together euen to aſhes, and then they are throwen into a riuer, and ſo diſperſed as though they had neuer bene. If the wife will not burne with her dead huſband, ſhee is holden euer after as a whore. And by this meanes they hope to eſcape the iudgement to come. As for the ſoule, that goeth to the place from whence it came, but where the place is they know not. That the body ſhould not be made againe, they reaſon wᵗ the phyloſophers, ſaying, that of nothing nothing can be made (not knowing that God made the whole world and their god the Sun of nothing) but beholding the courſe of nature, that nothing is made but by a meanes, as by the ſeed of a man is made another, and by corne caſt into the ground there commeth vp new corne: ſo, ſay they, man cannot be made except ſome part of him be left, and therefore they burne the whole: for if he were buried in the earth, they ſay there is a ſmall bone in the necke which would neuer be conſumed: or if he were eaten by a beaſt, that bone would not conſume, but of that bone would come another man; and then the ſoule being reſtored againe, he ſhould come into iudgement, whereas now, the body being deſtroyed, the ſoule ſhall not be iudged: for their opinion is, that both body and ſoule muſt be vnited together, as they haue ſinned together, to receiue iudgement; and therfore the ſoule alone cannot. Their ſeuen precepts which they keepe ſo ſtrictly are not for any hope of reward they haue after this life, but onely that they may be bleſſed in this world, for they thinke that he which breaketh them ſhall haue ill ſucceſſe in all his buſineſſe.

They ſay, the three chiefe religions in the world be of the Chriſtians, Iewes, & Turks, & yet but one of them true: but being in doubt which is the trueſt of the three, they will be of none: for they hold that all theſe three ſhall be iudged, and but few of them which be of the true ſhall be ſaued, the examination ſhall be ſo ſtraight: and therefore, as I haue ſayd before, to preuent this iudgement, they burne their bodies to aſhes. They ſay, theſe three religions haue too many precepts to keepe them all wel, & therfore wonderful hard it wil be to make account, becauſe ſo few doe obſerue all their religion aright. And thus paſſing the time for the ſpace of three moneths in this ſea voyage, we arriued at Venice the tenth of Iune: and after I had ſeene Padua, with other Engliſh men, I came the ordinary way ouer the Alpes, by Auguſta, Noremberg, and ſo for England; where to the praiſe of God I ſafely arriued the ninth of Auguſt 1595.

A letter written by the moſt high and mighty Empreſſe the wife of the Grand Signior *Sultan Murad Can* to the Queenes Maieſty of *England*, in the yeere of our Lord,

1594.

IL principio del ragionamento noſtro ſia ſcrittura perfetta nelle quatro parte del mondo, in nomè di quello che ha creato indifferentemente tante infinite creature, che non haueuano anima ni perſona, & di quello che fa girar gli noue cieli, & che la terra ſette volte vna ſopra l' altra fa firmar; Signor & Re ſenza vicere, & che non ha comparacion alla ſua creatione ne opera, & vno ſenza precio, adorato incomparabilmente, l' altiſſimo Dio creatore; che non ha ſimilitudine, ſi come e deſcrito dalli propheti: a la cui grandeſſa non ſi arriue, & alla perfettione ſua compiuta non ſi oppone, & quel omnipotente creatore & cooperatore; alla grandeſſa del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior & che ha ottenuto gracia, horto del paradiſo, ragi dal ſole, amato del altiſſimo Dio è Mahomet Muſtaffa, al qual & ſuoi adherenti & imitatori ſia perpetua pace: alla cui ſepultura odorifera ſi fa ogni honore. Quello che è imperator de ſette climati, & delle quatro parti del mondo, inuincibile Re di Gracia, Agiamia, Vngeria, Tartaria, Valachia, Roſſia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abeſſis, Gionaſir, Situan, Barbaria, Algieri, Franchia, Cornacia, Belgrado, &c. ſempre feliciſſimo, & de dodeci Auoli poſſeſſor della corona, & della ſtirpe di Adam, fin hora Imperator, figliolo del' Imperatore, conſeruato de la diuina prouidenza, Re di ogni dignita & honore, Sultan Murat, che Il Signor Dio ſempre augmenti le ſue forze, & padre di quello a cui aſpetta la corona imperiale, horto & cypreſſo mirabile, degno della ſedia regale, & vero herede del cōmando imperiale, digniſſimo Mehemet Can, filiol de Sultan Murat Can, che dio compiſca li ſuoi diſſegni, & alonga li ſuoi giorni felici: Dalla parte della madre del qual ſi ſcriue la preſente alla ſereniſſima & glorioſiſſima fra le prudentiſſime Donne, & eletta fra li triomfanti ſotto il ſtandardo di Ieſu Chriſto, potentiſſima & ricchiſſima regitrice, & al mondo ſingulariſſima fra il feminil ſeſſo, la ſereniſſima Regina d' Ingilterra, che ſegue le veſtigie de Maria virgine, il fine della quale ſia con bene & perfettione, ſecondo il ſuo deſiderio. Le mando vna ſalutacion di pace, coſi honorata, che non baſta tutta la copia di roſignoli con le loro muſiche ariuare, non che con queſta carta: l' amore ſingulare che e conciputo fra noi, e ſimile a vn' horto di Vccelli vagi; che il Signor Dio la faci degna di ſaluacione, & il fine ſuo ſia tale, che in queſto mondo & nel' futuro ſia con pace. Doppo comparſi li ſuoi honorati preſenti da la ſedia de la Serenita voſtra, ſapera che ſono capitati in vna hora che ogni punto e ſtato vna conſolation di lungo tempo, per occaſione del Ambaſſadore di voſtra ſerenita venuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, con tanto noſtro contento, quanto ſi poſſo deſiderare, & con quello vna lettera di voſtra ſerenetà, che ci e ſtata preſentata dalli noſtri Eunuchi con gran honore; la carta de la quale odoraua di camfora & ambracano, & l' inchioſtro di muſco perfetto, & quella peruenuta in noſtro mano tutta la continenza di eſſa a parte a parte ho aſcoltato intentamente. Quello che hora ſi conuiene e, che correſpondente alla noſtra affecione, in tutto quello che ſi aſpetta alle coſe attenente alli paeſi che ſono ſotto il commando di voſtra ſerenità, lei non manchi di ſempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorerà, Io poſſi compiacerla; de quello che fra le noſtre ſerenità e conueniente, accioche quelle coſe che ſi interprenderano, habino il deſiderato buon fine; perche Io ſaro ſempre ricordeuole al altiſſimo Imperatore delle occorenze di voſtra ſerenita, per che ſia in ogni occaſione compiaciuta. La pace ſia con voſtra ſerenita, & con quelli che ſeguitano dretamente la via di Dio. Scritta all primi dell luna di Rabie Liuol, anno del profeta 1002, & di Ieſu 1594.

The ſame in Engliſh.

LEt the beginning of our diſcourſe be a perfect writing in the foure parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created ſuch infinite numbers of creatures, which had neither ſoule nor body, and of him which mooueth the nine heauens, and ſtabliſheth the earth ſeuen times one aboue another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no compariſon to his creation and worke, and is one ineſtimable, worſhipped without all compariſon, the moſt high God, the creator, which hath nothing like vnto him, according as he is deſcribed by the Prophets, to whoſe power no man can attaine, and whoſe abſolute perfection no man may controll; and that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worker, to whoſe Maieſty all the Prophets ſubmit themſelues, among whom the greateſt, and which hath obtained greateſt fauour, the garden of Paradiſe, the beame of the Sunne, the beloued of the moſt high God is Mahomet Muſtaffa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whoſe fragrant ſepulture all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the ſeuen climats and of the foure parts of the world, the inuincible king of Græcia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Roſſia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abeſſis, Giouaſir, Siruan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Coruacia, Belgrade, &c. alwayes moſt happy, and poſſeſſour of the crowne from twelue of his anceſtours; and of the ſeed of Adam, at this preſent emperour, the ſonne of an emperour, preſerued by the diuine prouidence, a king woorthy of all glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whoſe forces the Lord God alwayes increaſe, and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to deſcend, the paradiſe and woonderfull tall cypreſſe, worthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, moſt woorthy Mehemet Can, the ſonne of Sultan Murad Can, whoſe enterpriſes God vouchſafe to accompliſh, and to prolong his happy dayes; on the behalfe of whoſe mother this preſent letter is written to the moſt gracious and moſt glorious, the wiſeſt among women, and choſen among thoſe which triumph vnder the ſtandard of Ieſus Chriſt, the moſt mighty and moſt rich gouernour, and moſt rare among womankinde in the world, the moſt gracious Queene of England, which follow the ſteps of the virgine Mary, whoſe end be proſperous and perfect, according to your hearts deſire. I ſend your Maieſty ſo honorable and ſweet a ſalutation of peace, that al the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to yͤ like, much leſſe this ſimple letter of mine. The ſingular loue which we haue conceiued one toward the other is like to a garden of pleaſant birds: and the Lord God vouchſafe to ſaue and keepe you, and ſend your Maieſty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arriuall of your honourable preſents from the Court of your Maieſty, your Highneſſe ſhall vnderſtand that they came in ſuch a ſeaſon that euery minute miniſtred occaſion of long cõſolation by reaſon of the comming of your Maieſties Ambaſſadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our ſo great contentment as we could poſſibly wiſh, who brought a letter from your Maieſty, which with great honour was preſented vnto vs by our eunuks, the paper whereof did ſmell moſt fragrantly of camfor and ambargrieſe, and the incke of perfect muſke; the contents whereof we haue heard very attentiuely from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatſoeuer may concerne the countreys which are ſubiect to your Maieſty, I neuer faile, hauing information giuen vnto me, in whatſoeuer occaſion ſhall be miniſtred, to gratifie your Maieſty to my power in any reaſonable and conuenient matter, that all your ſubiects buſineſſes and affaires may haue a wiſhed and happy end. For I will alwayes be a ſollicitour to the moſt mighty Emperour for your Maieſties affaires, that your Maieſty at all times may be fully ſatiſfied. Peace be to your Maieſty, and to all ſuch as follow rightly the way of God. Written the firſt day of the Moone of Rabie Liuol in the yere of the Prophet,

1002.

This Sultana is mother to Mehemet which now reigneth as Emperor.

Ann. Dom. 1594.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS Second volume containing the principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the South and Southeaſt quarters of the world without the Straights of *Gibraltar*, namely to the Ilands of *Madera*, and of the *Canaries*, to the kingdome of *Barbarie*, to the Iles of *Capo Verde*, to the riuer of *Senega*, to the coaſt of *Ghinea* and *Benin*, about the cape of *Buona Eſperanſa*, and ſo to *Goa* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and likewiſe beyond cape *Comori* to the Iles of *Nicubar*, to *Sumatra*, to the chanell of *Sincapura* ouer againſt the city of *Malacca*, and to diuers other places.

The voyage of *Macham* an Engliſh man, wherein he firſt of any man diſcouered the Iland of *Madera*, recorded *verbatim* in the Portugall hiſtory, written by *Antonio Galuano*.

IN the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of Madera, ſtanding in 32 degrees, was diſcouered by an Engliſh man, which was named Macham, who ſailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had ſtollen, arriued by tempeſt in that Iland, and did caſt anker in that hauen or bay, which now is called Machico after the name of Macham. And becauſe his louer was ſea-ſicke, he went on land with ſome of his company, and the ſhippe with a good winde made ſaile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loued her dearely, built a chapell, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Ieſus, and cauſed his name and hers to be written or grauen vpon the ſtone of her tombe, and the occaſion of their arriuall there. And afterward he ordeined a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compaſſe about) and went to ſea in it, with thoſe men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coaſt of Afrike, without ſaile or oare. And the Moores which ſaw it tooke it to be a maruellous thing, and preſented him vnto the king of that countrey for a woonder, and that king alſo ſent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the king of Caſtile.

Madera firſt diſcouered by one Macham an Engliſhman.

Macham made there a chapel, naming it Ieſus chapell.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Caſtile, the information which Macham gaue of this Iland, and alſo the ſhip of his company, mooued many of France and Caſtile to go and diſcouer it, and alſo the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King Iohn the ſecond reigning in Caſtile, and his mother Lady Katherine being Regent, one Monſieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conqueſt of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinſman of his named Monſieur Iohn Betancourt, after that the Queene had giuen him them, and holpen him, he departed from Siuil with a good army. And they affirme alſo, that the principall cauſe which moued him to this, was to diſcouer the Iland of Madera, which Macham had found, &c. ibidem pag.2. of Anthonio Galuano.

This note following, concerning the ayde and aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Marchants, giuen to King *Iohn* the firſt of *Portugall*, for the winning of *Ceuta* in *Barbarie*, which was the firſt occaſion of all the Portugall diſcoueries, is taken out of *Thomas Walſingham* his Latine Chronicle. *Anno 1415.*

HOc anno Ioannes primus Rex Portugalliæ fretus auxilio Mercatorum Angliæ quàm maximè, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Betinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Cereris deſtinatis: cepitque ciuitatem eorum quàm ampliſſimam ſupra mare ſitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua.

The ſame in Engliſh.

This yere Iohn the firſt king of Portugall, being principally aſſiſted by the helpe of the Engliſh Marchants, and Almaines, ouercame the Moores in the dominion of the king of Barbary, putting many thouſands of them to the ſword, and he tooke their city which was very mighty, ſeated vpon the ſea, which is called Ceuta in their language.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem *Angliæ Eduardum* quartum, & *Ioannem* ſecundum Regem *Portugalliæ*, datarum in oppido montis Maioris 8 Februarij, & apud *Weſtmonaſterium* 12 Septembris, 1482, anno regni 22 Regis *Edwardi* quarti, lingua Luſitanica ex opere ſequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de *Garcia* de *Reſende*, que tracta da vida è feitos del *Rey dom* Iohan *ſecundo.*

Embaixada que el Rey mandou à el Rey d' *Inglaterra*, cap. 33.

E Da qui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixàdores à el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Souſa peſſoa principal è de muyto bon ſaber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiaua, é ho dontor Ioam d' Eluas, é Fernam de Pina por ſecretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del Rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condiſan dellus ho nouo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera moſtrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no ſenhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de viſto el rey d' Inglaterra defendeſſe em todos ſeus reynos, que ninguen armaſſe nem podeſſe mandar à Guinee: é aſſi mandaſſe desfazer huna armada, que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam é hum Guilherme Fabiam Ingreſes. Com ha qual embaixada el rey d' Inglaterra moſtrou receber grande contentamento, é foy delle com muyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido. De que elles trouxeran || autenticas eſcrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones fizeram: é aſſi as prouiſones das aprouaſones que eran neceſſarias: é com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey ſe vieram.

|| Theſe writings are in the Tower.

The Ambaſſage which king *Iohn* the ſecond, king of *Portugall*, ſent to *Edward* the fourth king of *England*, which in part was to ſtay one *Iohn Tintam*, and one *William Fabian* Engliſh men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for *Guinea*, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of *Gracias* de *Reſende*, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don *Iohn* the ſecond, king of *Portugall.* Chap. 33.

AND afterwards the king ſent as Ambaſſadours from the towne of Monte maior to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Souſa, a principall perſon, and a man of great wiſedome and eſtimation, and in whom the king repoſed great truſt, with doctor Iohn d'Eluas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as ſecretarie. And they made their voyage by ſea very honourably, being very well accompanied. Theſe men were ſent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, ſhould be bound to ſend to confirme the olde leagues. And likewiſe they had order to ſhew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the ſegneury of Ginnee, to the intent that after the king of England had ſeene the ſame, he ſhould giue charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man ſhould arme or ſet foorth ſhips to Ginnee: and alſo to requeſt him, that it would pleaſe him to giue commandement to diſſolue a certaine fleet, which one Iohn Tintam and one William Fabian, Engliſh men, were making, by commandement of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforeſayd parts of Ginnee. With which ambaſſage the king of England ſeemed to be very well pleaſed, and they were receiued of him with very great honour, and he condeſcended vnto all that the ambaſſadours required of him, at whoſe hands they receiued authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds: and alſo prouiſoes of thoſe confirmations which were neceſſary. And hauing diſpatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

The firſt cauſe of this ambaſſage.

The ſecond cauſe.

The third cauſe.

A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the Engliſh Marchants to the *Canarie-ilands*, gathered out of an olde ligier booke of M. *Nicolas Thorne* the elder a worſhipfull marchant of the city of *Briſtoll*.

IT appeareth euidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the cuſtody of me Richard Hakluyt, written by M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a principall marchant of Briſtoll, to his friend and factour Thomas Midnall and his owne ſeruant William Ballard at that time reſident at S. Lucar in Andeluzia; that in the yeere of our Lord 1526 (and by all circumſtances and probabilities long before) certaine Engliſh marchants, and among the reſt himſelfe with one Thomas Spacheford exerciſed vſuall and ordinary trade of marchandiſe vnto the Canarie Ilands. For by the ſayd letter notice was giuen to Thomas Midnall and William Ballard aforeſayd, that a certaine ſhip called The Chriſtopher of Cadiz bound for the Weſt Indies had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both courſe and fine, broad and narrow of diuers ſorts and colours, ſome arouas of packthreed, ſixe cerons or bagges of ſope with other goods of M. Nicolas Thorne, to be deliuered at Santa Cruz the chiefe towne in Tenerifa one of the ſeuen Canary-ilands. All which commodities the ſayd Thomas and William were authoriſed by the owner in the letter before mentioned to barter & ſell away at Santa Cruz. And in lieu of ſuch mony as ſhould ariſe of the ſale of thoſe goods they were appointed to returne backe into England good ſtore of Orchell (which is a certaine kinde of moſſe growing vpon high rocks, in thoſe dayes much vſed to die withall) ſome quantity of ſugar, and certaine hundreds of kid-ſkinnes. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the beſt and firſt hand the ſayd Thomas and William were to make their abode at Santa Cruz, and to remaine there as factours for the aboueſayd M. Nicolas Thorne.

The Engliſh had an ordinary trade to the Canaries 1526.

And here alſo I thought good to ſignifie, that in the ſayd letters mention is made of one Thomas Tiſon an Engliſh man, who before the foreſayd yere 1526 had found the way to the Weſt Indies, and was there reſident, vnto whom the ſayd M. Nicolas Thorne ſent certaine armour and other commodities ſpecified in the letter aforeſayd.

A deſcription of the fortunate Ilands, otherwiſe called the Ilands of *Canaria*, with their ſtrange fruits and commodities: compoſed by *Thomas Nicols* Engliſh man, who remained there the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres together.

MIne intent is particularly to ſpeake of the Canaria Ilands, which are ſeuen in number, wherein I dwelt the ſpace of ſeuen yeres and more, becauſe I finde ſuch variety in ſundry writers, and eſpecially great vntruths, in a booke called The New found world Antarctike, ſet out by a French man called Andrew Theuet, the which his booke he dedicated to the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the great ſeale of France.

It appeareth by the ſayd booke that he had read the works of ſundry Phyloſophers, Aſtronomers, and Coſmographers, whoſe opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne trauell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the iudgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for mine owne part I write of theſe Canaria Ilands, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

The Iland of *Canaria*.

THe Iland of Canaria is almoſt equal in length and bredth, containing 12 leagues in length, touching the which as principall and the reſidue, the Spanyards holde opinion, that they diſcouered the ſame in their nauigation toward America, but the Portugals ſay, that their nation firſt found the ſayd Ilands in their nauigation toward Aethiopia and the Eaſt Indies.

But truth it is that the Spanyards firſt conquered theſe Ilands, with diuers Engliſh gentlemen in their company, whoſe poſterity this preſent day inioyeth them. Some write that this Iland was named Canaria by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for example, Andrew Theuet ſayth, that one Iuba carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I neuer learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I haue talked with many in my time, and with many of their children. For trueth it is, that there were dogs, but ſuch as are in all the Northweſt lands, and ſome part of the Weſt India, which ſerued the people in ſtead of ſheepe for victuall. But of ſome of the conquerors of thoſe Ilands I haue heard ſay that the reaſon why they were called the Canaria Ilands is, becauſe there grow generally in them all foureſquare canes in great multitude together, which being touched will caſt out a liquour as white

Engliſh men at the firſt conqueſt of the Canaries.

as milke, which liquor is ranke poiſon, and at the firſt entry into theſe Ilands ſome of the diſcouerers were therewith poiſoned: for many yeeres after that conqueſt the inhabitants began to plant both wine and ſugar, ſo that Canaria was not ſo called by ſugar canes.

The people which firſt inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat ſkinnes made like vnto a looſe caſſocke, they dwelt in caues in the rocks, in great amity and brotherly loue. They ſpake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt dogges, goates, and goates milke, their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they vſe at this day, and thereof I haue eaten diuers times, for it is accounted exceeding holeſome.

Touching the originall of theſe people ſome holde opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, aſwell men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blaſphemy againſt the Romane gods. But howſoeuer it were, their language was ſpeciall, and not mixed with Romane ſpeech or Arabian.

This Iland is now the principalleſt of all the reſt, not in fertility, but by reaſon it is the ſeat of iuſtice and gouernment of all the reſidue. This Iland hath a ſpeciall Gouernour for the Iland onely, yet notwithſtanding there are three Iudges called Auditours, who are ſuperiour Iudges, and all in one ioyntly proceed as the Lord Chanceller of any realme.

Ciuitas Palmarum.

To this city from all the other Ilands come all ſuch by appeale, as haue ſuſtained any wrong, and theſe good Iudges do remedy the ſame. The city is called Ciuitas Palmarum, it hath a beautifull Cathedrall church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Iland there are ſundry Aldermen of great authority, who haue a councell houſe by themſelues. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Veluet ſlippers, becauſe the ground is ſandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde.

They reape wheat in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as ſnow. This Iland hath in it other three townes, the one called Telde, the ſecond Galder, and the third Guia. It hath alſo twelue ſugar houſes called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good ſugar.

The planting and growth of ſugar canes.

The maner of the growth of ſugar is in this ſort, a good ground giueth foorth fruit nine times in 18 yere: that is to ſay, the firſt is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, ſo that the water of a ſluce may come ouer euery roote being couered with earth: this root bringeth foorth ſundry canes, and ſo conſequently all the reſt. It groweth two yeeres before the yeelding of profit, and not ſixe moneths, as Andrew Theuet the French man writeth.

The making of ſugar.

Then are they cut euen with the ground, and the tops & leaues called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and ſo are caried to the ſugar houſe called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the iuyce thereof conueyed by a conduct to a great veſſell made for the purpoſe, where it is boiled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a fornace of earthen pots of the molde of a ſugar loafe, and then is it carried to another houſe, called a purging houſe where it is placed to purge the blackneſſe with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a ſecond ſort called Eſcumas, and of the purging liquor that droppeth from the white ſugar is made a third ſort, and the remainder is called Panela or Netas, the refuſe of all the purging is called Remiel or Malaſſes: and thereof is made another ſort called Refinado.

When this firſt fruit is in this ſort gathered, called Planta, then the Cane-field where it grew is burned ouer with ſugar ſtraw to the ſtumps of the firſt canes, and being huſbanded, watred and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the ſecond fruit called Zoca. The third fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and ſo orderly the reſt, til age cauſeth the olde Canes to be planted againe.

Wine.

Plantano.

This Iland hath ſingular good wine, eſpecially in the towne of Telde, and ſundry ſorts of good fruits, as Batatas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Orenges, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs, Peaches of diuers ſorts, and many other fruits; but eſpecially the Plantano which groweth neere brooke ſides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly vpward with the body, hauing maruelous thicke leaues, and euery leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almoſt halfe a yard broad. The tree neuer yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whoſe place ſpringeth another, and ſo ſtill continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and euery tree yeeldeth two or three of thoſe branches, which beare ſome more and ſome leſſe, as ſome forty and ſome thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating more delicate then any conſerue.

This Iland is ſufficiently prouided of Oxen, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Hens, Ducks, and Pidgeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that moſt wanteth: and becauſe I haue particularly to intreat of the other ſixe Ilands, I leaue further inlarging of Canaria, which ſtandeth in 27 degrees diſtant from the Equator.

The Ile of *Tenerif.*

THe Iland of Tenerif ſtandeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is diſtant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Iland containeth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of ſowen land in ſome part of England, and in the midſt of the ſayd place ſtandeth a round hill called Pico Deteithe; ſituated in this ſort. The top of this pike conteineth of heigth directly vpward 15 leagues & more, which is 45 Engliſh miles, out of the which often times proceedeth fire and brimſtone, and it may be about halfe a mile in compaſſe: the ſayd top is in forme or likeneſſe of a caldron. But within two miles of the top is nothing but aſhes & pumiſh ſtones: yet beneath that two miles is the colde region couered all the yere with ſnow, and ſomwhat lower are mighty huge trees growing, called Vinatico, which are exceeding heauy, and will not rot in any water, although they lie a thouſand yeeres therein. Alſo there is a wood called Barbuſano, of like vertue, with many Sauine trees and Pine trees. And beneath theſe ſorts of trees are woods of Bay trees of 10 & 12 miles long, which is a pleaſant thing to trauell thorow, among the which are great numbers of ſmall birds, which ſing exceeding ſweet, but eſpecially one ſort that are very litle, and of colour in all reſpects like a Swallow, ſauing that he hath a litle blacke ſpot on his breaſt as broad as a peny. He ſingeth more ſweetly then all the reſt, but if he be taken and impriſoned in a cage, he liueth but a ſmall while. This Iland bringeth foorth all ſorts of fruits, as Canaria doth: and alſo all the other Ilands in generall bring foorth ſhrubs or buſhes, out of the which iſſueth a iuice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out wareth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the buſh is called Taybayba. This Iland alſo bringeth foorth another tree called Drago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by inciſion at the foot of the tree iſſueth out a liquor like blood, which is a commō drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly eſteemed, becauſe if any ſword or dagger hit thereon, they ſticke ſo faſt that it is hard plucking them out. Lime.

This is the moſt fruitfull Iland of all the reſt for corne, and in that reſpect is a mother or nurſe to all the others in time of need. There groweth alſo a certaine moſſe vpon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 ſugar houſes called Ingenios, which make great quantity of ſugar. There is alſo one league of ground which ſtandeth between two townes, the one called Larotaua, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reaſon is, that this one league of ground produceth ſweet water out of the cliffes or rocky mountaines, corne of all ſortes, fruites of all ſortes, and excellent good ſilke, flaxe, waxe, and hony, and very good wines in abundance, with great ſtore of ſugar and fire-wood. Out of this Iland is laden great quantity of wines for the Weſt India, and other countreys. The beſt groweth on a hill ſide called the Ramble.

Orchel good for dying.

There is in that Iland a faire city, ſtanding three leagues from the ſea, nere vnto a lake called Laguna, wherein are two faire pariſh churches, there dwelleth the gouernour who ruleth all that Iland with iuſtice. There are alſo aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the moſt of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and huſband men.

There are other foure townes called Santa Cruz, Larotaua, Rialeio, and Garachico. Santa Cruz.

In this Iland before the conqueſt dwelt ſeuen kings, who with all their people dwelt in caues, and were clothed in goat ſkinnes, as the Canaria people were, and vſed ſuch like order of diet as they had. Their order of buriall was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great caue, where he was propped vp againſt the wall ſtanding on his feet. But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a ſtaffe in his hand, and a veſſell of milke ſtanding by him. I haue ſeene caues of 300 of theſe corpſes together, the fleſh being dried vp, the body remained as light as parchment. Theſe people were called Guanches, naturally they ſpake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and ſo conſequently euery Iland ſpake a ſeuerall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Iland of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the king of Spaine, vnto whom they pay fifty thouſand duckats yeerely for cuſtome and other profits. All theſe Ilands ioyntly are one biſhopricke, which pay to the biſhop twelue thouſand duckats yeerely. And thus I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which ſtandeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I haue before declared.

Gomera.

THe Iland of Gomera ſtandeth Weſtward from Tenerif, in diſtance ſixe leagues: this is but a ſmall Iland conteining eight leagues in length. It is an Earledome, & the Lord thereof is called the earle of Gomera. But in caſe of any controuerſie the vaſſals may appeale to the kings ſuperior Iudges which reſide in Canaria.

This Iland hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port or harbour for ſhips, where often times the Indian fleete take refreſhing for their voyage.

There is alſo ſufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themſelues.

There is one Ingenio or Sugar-houſe, with great plenty of wine and other ſorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif hath.

This Iland yeeldeth no other commodity but onely orchell; it ſtandeth in 27 degrees diſtant from the Equator toward the pole Arcticke.

The Ile of *Palma*.

THe Ile of Palma ſtandeth twelue leagues diſtant from the Ile of Gomera Northweſtward. This Iland is fruitfull of wine and ſugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the Weſt India & other places. This city hath one faire church, and a gouernour, and aldermen to maintaine and execute iuſtice. It hath alſo another prety towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath alſo foure Ingenios which make excellent ſugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Taſſacort.

This Iland yeeldeth but little bread-corne; but rather is thereof prouided from Tenerif and other places.

Their beſt wines grow in a ſoile called the Brenia, where yerely is gathered twelue thouſand buts of wine like vnto Malmſies. This Iland ſtandeth round, and containeth in circuit neere fiue and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all ſorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif haue, it ſtandeth in twenty ſeuen degrees and a halfe.

The Iland of Yron, called *Hierro*.

THis Iland ſtandeth ten leagues diſtant from the Iland of Palma Weſtward: it is but a little Iland, which containeth ſixe leagues in circuit, and hath but ſmall extenſion. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chiefeſt commodity of this Iland is goats fleſh and orchell. There is no wine in all that Iland, but onely one vineyard that an Engliſh man of Taunton in the Weſt countrey planted among rocks, his name was Iohn Hill.

The only vineyard in Hierro planted by Ioh. Hill of Taunton.

This Iland hath no kind of freſh water, but onely in the middle of the Iland groweth a great tree with leaues like an Oliue tree, which hath a great ciſterne at the foot of the ſayd tree. This tree continually is couered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaues of the ſayd tree continually drop water, very ſweet, into the ſayd ciſterne, which commeth to the ſayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water ſufficeth the Iland for all neceſſities, aſwell for the cattell, as for the inhabitants. It ſtandeth in 27 degrees.

The Iland of *Lanzarota*.

THe Iland of Lanzarota ſtandeth eighteene leagues diſtant from grand Canaria Southeaſtward. The onely commodity of this Iland is goats fleſh and orchell. It is an earledome, and doth appertaine to Don Auguſtine de Herrera, with title of earle of Fortauentura and Lanzarota. But the vaſſals of theſe earledomes may in any cauſe of wrong appeale to the Kings Iudges, which reſide in Canaria, as I haue ſayd before: becauſe although the king hath reſerued to himſelfe but onely the three fruitfull Ilands, called Canaria, Tenerif, and Palma, yet he alſo reſerued the rod of iuſtice to himſelfe, becauſe otherwiſe the vaſſals might be euill intreated of their Lords.

From this Iland do weekly reſort to Canaria, Tenerif, & Palma, boats laden with dried goats fleſh, called Tuſsinetta, which ſerueth in ſtead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Iland ſtandeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelue leagues.

The Ile of *Forteuentura*.

THe Ile of Forteuentura ſtandeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure & twenty leagues diſtant from Canaria Eſtward. This Iland doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reaſonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and alſo of kine, goats, and orchel: this Ile is fifteene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North ſide it hath a little Iland about one league diſtant from the maine Iland, betweene both of the which it is nauigable for any ſhips, and is called Gracioſa.

Both Forteuentura and Lanzarota haue very little wine of the growth of thoſe Ilands. It ſtandeth in 27 degrees.

Thus much haue I written of theſe ſeuen Ilands by experience, becauſe I was a dweller there, as I haue ſayd before, the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres in the affaires of maſter Thomas Locke, maſter Anthonie Hickman, and maſter Edward Caſtelin, who in thoſe dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

A deſcription of the Iland of *Madera*.

THe Iland of Madera ſtandeth in 32 degrees diſtant from the equinoctinall line, and ſeuentie leagues from the Iſle of Tenerif Northeaſtward and Southweſt from Hercules pillars: This Iland was firſt diſcouered by one Macham an Engliſhman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was firſt called the Iland of Madera, by reaſon of the great wilderneſſe of ſundry ſortes of trees that there did growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypres, Vinatico, Barbuzano, Pine trees, and diuers others, and therefore the ſayd Iland continueth ſtill with the ſame name. Howbeit they hold opinion, that betweene the ſayd Iland and the Iſle of Palma is an Iland not yet diſcouered, which is the true Iland Madera called ſaint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great ſumme of money to the king of Portugall yeerely: it hath one faire citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for ſhippes, and a ſtrong bulwarke, and a faire Cathedrall church, with a biſhop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is alſo iuſtice and gouernment according to the Portugall vſe. But cauſes of appellation are remitted to the citie of Lisbone in Portugall to the kings ſuperior iudges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath likewiſe a good road for ſhips, which towne and road were ſo called after the name of Macham the Engliſhman, who firſt diſcouered the ſame. There are alſo ſixteene ſugar houſes called Ingenios, which make excellent good ſugar.

There is beſides the goodly timber before declared, great ſtore of diuers ſortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of diuers ſortes, Mellons, Batatas, Orenges, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, ſuch as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this land produceth great quantitie of ſingular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North ſide of this land three leagues diſtant from the maine Iland ſtandeth another litle Iland called Porto ſanto: the people thereof liueth by huſbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but litle corne, but rather is thereof prouided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the Eaſt ſide of the Iſle of Madera ſixe leagues diſtant ſtandeth another litle Iland called the Deſert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nouriſheth a great number of Goates, for the prouiſion of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great heigth where the foreſayd trees growe. It is woonder to ſee the conueyance of the water to the Ingenios by Mines through the mountaines.

In the mid way betweene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera ſtandeth a litle ſolitarie Iland called the Saluages, which may bee about one league in compaſſe, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for Goates.

The orginall of the firſt voyage for traffique into the kingdom of *Marocco* in *Barbarie*, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ſhip called the *Lion* of *London*, whereof went as captaine Maſter *Thomas Windam*, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of *Iames Aldaie*, to the worſhipfull maſter *Michael Locke*, which *Aldaie* profeſſeth himſelfe to haue bene the firſt inuenter of this trade.

WOrſhipfull Sir, hauing lately bene acquainted with your intent to proſecute the olde intermitted diſcouerie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, trauell or induſtrie I may doe you ſeruice, I am readie to doe it, and therein to aduenture my life to the vttermoſt point. Trueth it is, that I haue bene by ſome men (not my friends) euill ſpoken of at London, ſaying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Nauigation and Coſmographie, and that I haue bene the inuenter of ſome voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet ſay they maliciouſly and without iuſt cauſe, that I haue not bene willing at any ſeaſon to proceed in thoſe voyages that I haue taken in hand, taking example eſpecially of two voyages. The one was when I was maſter in the great Barke Aucher for the Leuant, in which voyage I went not, but the cauſes they did not know of my let from the ſame, nor of the other. But firſt the very trueth is, that I was from the ſame voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Maſter Sebaſtian Gabota had obtained for that purpoſe, to my great griefe. And as touching the ſecond voyage which I inuented for the trade of Barbarie, the liuing God knoweth that I ſay moſt true, that when the great ſweate was, (whereon the chiefe of thoſe with whom I ioyned in that voyage died, that is to ſay, Sir Iohn Lutterell, Iohn Fletcher, Henry Oſtrich and others) I my ſelfe was alſo taken with the ſame ſweate in London, and after it, whether with euill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was caſt into ſuch an extreame feuer, as I was neither able to ride nor goe: and the ſhippe being at Porteſmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to ſtand vpon my legges, by whom I loſt at that inſtant fourescore pound. Beſides I was appointed by them that died (if they had liued) to haue had the whole gouernment both of ſhippe and goods, becauſe I was to them the ſole inuenter of that trade.

In the firſt voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noble men, whereof one was of the Kings blood, conuayed by the ſaid Maſter Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England.

Yours humble at your commandement,
Iames Alday.

The ſecond voyage to *Barbary* in the yeere 1552. Set foorth by the right worſhipfull Sir *Iohn Yorke*, Sir *William Gerard*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Maſter *Frances Lambert*, Maſter *Cole*, and others; Written by the relation of Maſter *Iames Thomas* then Page to Maſter *Thomas Windham* chiefe Captaine of this voyage.

THe ſhippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the Riuer of Thames, That is to ſay, the Lyon of London, whereof Maſter Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred & fiftie tunnes: The other was the Buttolfe about fourescore tunnes, and a Portugall Carauel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and fraighted for this voyage, of ſumme ſixtie tunnes. The number of men in the Fleete were an hundred and twentie. The Maſter of the Lyon was one Iohn Kerry of Mynhed in Somerſetſhire, his Mate was Dauid Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this ſmall Fleete was Maſter Thomas Windham a Norffolke gentleman borne, but dwelling at Marſhfield-parke in Somerſet ſhire. This Fleete departed out of King-rode neere Briſtoll about the beginning of May 1552. being on a Munday in the morning: and the Munday fortnight next enſuing in the euening came to an ancker at their firſt port in the roade of Zafia, or Aſafi on the coaſt of Barbarie, ſtanding in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our marchandiſe to be conueied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and hauing refreſhed our ſelues with victuals and water, we went to the ſecond port called Santa Cruz, where we diſcharged the reſt of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, Iet, and diuers other things well accepted of the Moores. In which road we found a French ſhip, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drewe her ſelfe as neere vnder the towne wals as ſhe could poſſible, crauing aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which in deed ſeeing vs draw neere, ſhot at vs a piece from the wals, which came ouer the Lion our Admirall, between the maine maſte & her foremaſt. Whereupon we comming to an anker, preſently came a pinnes aboord vs to know what we were, who vnderſtanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leaue of their king in marchant wiſe, were fully ſatiſfied, and gaue vs good leaue to bring our goods peaceably on ſhore, where the Viceroy, whoſe name was Sibill Manache, within ſhort time after came to viſite vs, and vſed vs with all curteſie. But by diuers occaſions we ſpent here very neere three moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malaſſos or ſugar Syrrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer, yet none of our company periſhed by ſickneſſe. Our ſhips being laden, wee drew into the Sea for a Weſterne wind for England. But being at ſea, a great leake fell vpon the Lion, ſo that we were driuen to Lancerota, and Forteuentura, where, betweene the two Iſlands, we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our ſayd ſhip 70. cheſtes of Sugar vpon Lancerota, with ſome dozen or ſixteene of our company, where the inhabitants ſuppoſing we had made a wrongfull prize of our carauell, ſuddenly came with force vpon our people, among whom I my ſelfe was one, tooke vs priſoners, and ſpoiled the ſugars: which thing being perceiued from our ſhips, they manned out three boates, thinking

Aſafi.

Santa Cruz.

The Engliſh were at Santa Cruz the yeere before being 1551.

to reſcue vs, and draue the Spaniards to flight, whereof they ſlew eighteene, and tooke their gouernour of the Iland priſoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70. yeeres of age. But chaſing the enemie ſo farre, for our recouerie, as pouder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiuing this, returned, and in our mens retire they ſlew ſixe of them. Then a Parle grew, in the which it was agreed, that we the priſoners ſhould be by them reſtored, and they receiue their olde gouernour, giuing vs a teſtimonie vnder his and their hands, what damages wee had there receiued, the which damages were here reſtored, and made good by the king of Spaine his marchants vpon our returne into England. After wee had ſearched and mended our leake, being returned aboord, we came vnder ſaile, and as wee were going to the ſea on the one ſide of the Iland, the Cacafuego and other ſhips of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and ſhot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee vnderſtood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as alſo in this they gaue out in England by their marchants, that if they tooke vs in thoſe partes, they would vſe vs as their mortall enemies, with great threates and menaces. But by God and good prouidence wee eſcaped their handes. From this Iland ſhaping our courſe for England, we were ſeuen or eight weekes before we could reach the coaſt of England. The firſt port wee entered into was the hauen of Plimmouth, from whence within ſhort time wee came into the Thames, and lauded our marchandiſe at London, about the ende of the moneth of October, 1552.

A voiage made out of *England* vnto *Guinea* and *Benin* in *Affrike*, at the charges of certaine marchants Aduenturers of of the Citie of *London*, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.

I Was deſired by certaine of my friends to make ſome mention of this Voiage, that ſome memorie thereof might remaine to our poſteritie, if either iniquitie of time conſuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarouſneſſe and contempt of knowledge ſhould hereafter bury in obliuion ſo woorthie attempts, ſo much the greatlier to bee eſteemed, as before neuer enterpriſed by Engliſhmen, or at the leaſt ſo frequented, as at this preſent they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the ſame be not hindered by the ambition of ſuch, as for the conquering of fortie or fiftie miles here and there, and erecting of certaine fortreſſes, thinke to be Lordes of halfe the world, enuying that other ſhould enioy the commodities, which they themſelues cannot wholy poſſeſſe. And although ſuch as haue bene at charges in the diſcouering and conquering of ſuch landes ought by good reaſon to haue certaine priuileges, preheminences, and tributes for the ſame, yet (to ſpeake vnder correction) it may ſeeme ſomewhat rigorous, and agaynſt good reaſon and conſcience, or rather agaynſt the charitie that ought to be among Chriſtian men, that ſuch as inuade the dominions of other ſhould not permit other friendly to vſe the trade of marchandiſe in places neerer, or ſeldome frequented of them, whereby their trade is not hindered in ſuch places, where they themſelues haue at their owne election appointed the Martes of their traffike. But foraſmuch as at this preſent it is not my intent to accuſe or defend, approoue or improoue, I will ceaſe to ſpeake any further hereof, and proceed to the deſcription of the firſt voyage, as briefly and faithfully as I was aduertiſed of the ſame, by the information of ſuch credible perſons, as made diligent inquiſition to know the trueth thereof, as much as ſhall be requiſite, omitting to ſpeake of many particular things, not greatly neceſſarie to be knowen: which neuertheleſſe, with alſo the exact courſe of the nauigation, ſhall be more fully declared in the ſecond voiage. And if herein fauour or friendſhip ſhall perhaps cauſe ſome to thinke that ſome haue bene ſharply touched, let them lay apart fauour and friendſhip, and giue place to trueth, that honeſt men may receiue prayſe for well doing, and lewd perſons reproch, as the iuſt ſtipend of their euill deſertes, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honeſt attempts.

But that theſe voyages may be more plainly vnderſtood of all men, I haue thought good for this purpoſe, before I intreat hereof, to make a briefe deſcription of Africa, being that great part of the world, on whoſe Weſt ſide beginneth the coaſt of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelue degrees in latitude, on this ſide the Equinoctiall line, and two degrees in longitude from the meaſuring line, ſo running from the North to the South, and by Eaſt in ſome places, within 5, 4, and 3 degrees and a halfe vnto the Equinoctiall, and ſo forth in maner directly Eaſt and by North, for the ſpace of 36 degrees or thereabout, in longitude from the Weſt to the Eaſt, as ſhall more plainly appeare in the deſcription of the ſecond voyage.

A briefe deſcription of *Afrike* gathered by *Richard Eden.*

Tunis.
Bugia.
Tripoli.
Numidia.

IN Africa the leſſe are theſe kingdoms: the kingdom of Tunis and Conſtantina, which is at this day vnder Tunis, and alſo the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Afrike is very barren by reaſon of the great deſerts, as the deſerts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports of the kingdome of Tunis are theſe: Goletta, Bizerta, Potoſarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunis are Conſtantina and Bona, with diuers other. Vnder this kingdom are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoſo, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this preſent is the great maſter of the Rhodes. Vnder the South of this kingdom are the great deſerts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the leſſe are of the ſect of Mahomet, and a ruſticall people, liuing ſcattred in villages. The beſt of this part of Afrike is Barbaria lying on the coaſt of the ſea Mediterraneum.

Ilands of Tunis.
Malta.
The deſers of Lybia.
Barbarie.

Mauritania.
The kingdom of Fes & Marocco.

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is diuided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæſarienſis. Mauritania Tingitana is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Feſſa: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Tremiſen.
Oram.
Merſalquiber.
Sala.

Mauritania Cæſarienſis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremiſen, with alſo the citie called Tremiſen or Telenſin. This region is full of deſerts, and reacheth to the Sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Merſalquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth vnto the Ocean Sea, from the Weſt to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the ſayd kingdom is called Sala.

Azamor.
The Ilands of Canaria.
Guinea.
Aethiopians.

The kingdom of Marocco is alſo extended aboue the Ocean Sea, vnto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are vpon the Ocean Sea, toward the Weſt of the ſayd kingdom. Nere Mauritania Tingitana (that is to ſay, by the two kingdoms of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Ialofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the Blacke Moores, called Aethiopians or Negros, all which are watered with the riuer Negro called in old time Niger. In the ſayd regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plaſtered with chalke, and couered with ſtrawe. In theſe regions are alſo very great deſerts.

Marocco.
Fes.
Tremiſen.
Guinea.

The kingdom of Marocco hath vnder it theſe ſeuen kingdoms: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocco, Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temeſne, Azgar, Elabath, Errif, Garet, and Elcair. The kingdom of Tremiſen hath theſe regions: Tremiſen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are Machometiſts. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profeſſion of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Africa ẏ great.
Africa the leſſe.
Carthage.

Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowen in old time, and ſeuered from Aſia, on the Eaſt by the riuer Nilus, on the Weſt from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Lybia and Aethiopia. Afrike the leſſe is in this wiſe bounded. On the Weſt it hath Numidia: On the Eaſt Cyrenaica: On the North, the ſea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble city of Carthage.

Preſter Iohn.
Cape de Bona Speranza.
Alcair.

In the Eaſt ſide of Afrike beneath the red ſea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour and Chriſtian king Preſter Iohn, well knowen to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on euery ſide: and hath vnder him many other Kings both chriſtian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called Dauid the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugall ſendeth him yeerely eight ſhips laden with marchandize. His kingdom confineth with the red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Aegypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the Sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other ſide with the ſea of ſand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous ſea lying betweene ẏ great citie of Alcair, or Cairo in Aegypt, and the country of Aethiopia: In the which way are many vnhabitable deſerts, continuing for the ſpace of fiue dayes iourney. And they affirme, that if the ſayd Chriſtian Emperor were not hindered by thoſe deſerts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, & eſpecially of water) he would or now haue inuaded the kingdom of Egypt, and the citie of Alcair. The chiefe city of Ethiopia, where this great emperor is reſident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whoſe inhabitants are of the colour of an Oliue. There are alſo many other cities, as the city of Saua vpon the riuer of Nilus, where the Emperour is accuſtomed to remaine in the Sommer ſeaſon. There is likewiſe a great city named Barbaregaf, and Aſcon, from whence it is ſaid that the Queene of Saba came to Hieruſalem to heare the wiſedom of Salomon. This citie is but litle, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiope. In this prouince are many exceeding high mountains, vpon the which is ſaid to be the earthly paradiſe: and ſome ſay that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can paſſe thither by reaſon of great deſerts of an hundred daies iourney. Alſo beyond theſe mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to haue ſaid thus much of Afrike it may ſuffice.

Amacaiz.

From whence the Queene of Saba came.

The earthly Paradiſe.

The trees of the Sunne and the Moone.

The firſt voiage to *Guinea* and *Benin*.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of Auguſt, ſailed from Portſmouth two goodly ſhips, the Primeroſe and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furniſhed aſwell with men of the luſtieſt ſort, to the number of ſeuen ſcore, as alſo with ordinance and victuals requiſite to ſuch a voiage: hauing alſo two captaines, the one a ſtranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portugall, borne in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wiſe, diſcreet, and ſober man, who for his cunning in ſailing, being as well an expert Pilot as a politike captaine, was ſometime in great fauour with the king of Portugall, and to whom the coaſts of Braſile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the Sea in thoſe parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his maſters houſe. But as fortune in maner neuer fauoureth but flattereth, neuer promiſeth but deceiueth, neuer raiſeth but caſteth downe againe: and as great wealth & fauour haue alwaies companions, emulation and enuie, he was after many aduerſities & quarels made againſt him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was euil matched with an vnequal companion, and vnlike match of moſt ſundry qualities & conditions, with vertues few or none adorned. Thus departed theſe noble ſhips vnder ſaile on their voyage: But firſt captaine Windam putting forth of his ſhip at Portſmouth a kinſman of one of the head marchants, and ſhewing herein a muſter of the tragicall partes hee had conceiued in his braine, and with ſuch ſmall beginnings nouriſhed ſo monſtrous a birth, that more happy, yea and bleſſed was that yong man being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as ſome do wiſh he had done the like by theirs. Thus ſailed they on their voyage, vntill they came to the Iland of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the ſtore of their ſhips, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At theſe Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordinance: yet ſuch as could not haue preuailes if it had attempted to withſtand or reſiſt our ſhips, for the which cauſe it was ſet foorth, not onely to let and interrupt theſe our ſhippes of their purpoſed voiage, but al other that ſhould attempt the like: yet chiefly to fruſtrate our voiage. For the king of Portugall was ſiniſterly informed, that our ſhips were armed to his caſtle of Mina in thoſe parties, whereas nothing leſſe was ment.

Pinteado.

Braſile. Guinea.

The Ilands of Madera.

The caſtle of Mina.

After that our ſhips departed from the Iland of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados ſorow, as a man tormented with the cōpany of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattred with him, & made him a faire countenance and ſhew of loue. Then did he take vpō him to command all alone, ſetting nought both by captain Pinteado, and the reſt of the marchants factors, ſometimes with opprobrious words, and ſomtimes with threatnings moſt ſhamfully abuſing them, taking from Pinteado the ſeruice of the boies and certain mariners that were aſſigned him by the order and direction of the worſhipful merchants, and leauing him as a commō mariner, which is the greateſt deſpite and grief that can be to a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminiſhed of their honor, which they eſteem aboue all riches. Thus ſailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Ilands of Canarie, continuing their courſe frō thence vntil they arriued at the Iland of S. Nicholas, where they victualled thēſelues with freſh meat, of the fleſh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that Iland, & in maner of nothing els. From hence folowing on their courſe and tarying here & there at the deſert Ilands in the way, becauſe they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarying ſomwhat too long (for what can be well miniſtred in a commō wealth, where inequalitie with tyrannie wil rule alone) they came at the length to the firſt land of the country of Guinea, where they fel with the great riuer of Seſto, where they

The Ilands of Canarie.

The Iland of S. Nicholas.

The riuer of Seſto.

might

Graines.

The thirſt of gold.

The caſtle of Mina.

The quantitie of gold.

Furie admitteth no counſel

The Roſſia.

Rotting heat.

Benin.

Franciſco.

Nich. Lambart.

The king of Benin his court

might for their marchandizes haue laden their ſhips with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruit, and much like vnto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of ſmall ſeeds, ſo is the ſaid fruit full of graines, which are looſe within the cod, hauing in the mids thereof a hole on euery ſide. This kind of ſpice is much vſed in cold countries, & may there be ſold for great aduantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perſwaſion or rather inforcement of this tragicall captaine, not regarding and ſetting light by that commoditie, in compariſon of yͤ fine gold they thirſted, ſailed an hundred leagues further, vntil they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come neere the caſtle pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was within the riuer of Mina, they made ſale of their ware only on this ſide & beyond it, for the gold of that cōtry, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, there being in caſe that they might haue diſpatched all their ware for gold, if the vntame braine of Windam had, or could haue giuen eare to the counſell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Windam not ſatiſfied with the gold which he had, and more might haue had if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the ſaid Pinteado (for ſo he tooke vpon him) to lead the ſhips to Benin, being vnder the Equinoctial line, and an hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to haue their ſhips laden with pepper: and being counſelled of the ſaid Pinteado, conſidering the late time of the yeere, for that time to go no further, but to make ſale of their wares ſuch as they had for gold, wherby they might haue bene great gainers: Windam not aſſenting hereunto, fell into a ſudden rage, reuiling the ſayd Pinteado, calling him Iew, with other opprobrious words, ſaying, This whoreſon Iew hath promiſed to bring vs to ſuch places as are not, or as he cannot bring vs vnto: but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and naile them to the maſte. Pinteado gaue the foreſaid counſell to go no further for the ſafegard of the men and their liues, which they ſhould put in danger if they came too late, for the Roſſia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for ſmothering heate, with cloſe and cloudie aire and ſtorming weather, of ſuch putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates of their backs: or els for comming to ſoone for the ſcorching heat of the ſunne, which cauſed them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will brought he the ſhips before the riuer of Benin, where riding at an Anker, they ſent their pinnas vp into the riuer 50 or 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with captaine Pinteado, Franciſco a Portugale, Nicholas Lambart gentleman, and other marchants were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from the riuer ſide, whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the preſence of the king, who being a blacke Moore (although not ſo blacke as the reſt) ſate in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth without windowes, the roofe of thin boords, open in ſundry places, like vnto louers to let in the aire.

Reuerence toward the king.

And here to ſpeake of the great reuerence they giue to their king, it is ſuch, that if we would giue as much to our Sauior Chriſt, we ſhould remooue from our heads many plagues which we daily deſerue for our contempt and impietie.

So it is therfore, that when his noble men are in his preſence, they neuer looke him in the face, but ſit cowring, as we vpon our knees, ſo they vpon their buttocks, with their elbowes vpon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking vp vntil the king command them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they do ſee him, they do ſhew ſuch reuerence, ſitting on the ground with their faces couered as before. Likewiſe when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reuerence.

The communication betweene the king of Benin and our men.

Pepper.

The kings gentlenes towards our men.

And now to ſpeake ſomewhat of the communication that was betweene the king and our men, you ſhall firſt vnderſtand that he himſelfe could ſpeake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefore after he had commanded our men to ſtand vp, and demanded of them the cauſe of their comming into that countrey, they anſwered by Pinteado, that they were marchants traueiling into thoſe parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought from their countries, being ſuch as ſhould be no leſſe commodious for him and his people. The king thē hauing of old lying in a certaine ſtore-houſe 30 or 40 kintals of Pepper (euery kintall being an hundred weight) willed them to looke vpon the ſame, and againe to bring him a ſight of ſuch merchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon ſent with the captaine and the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters ſide, with other to bring the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares ſeen, the king grew to this ende with the merchants to prouide in 30 dayes the lading of al their ſhips with pepper. And in caſe their merchandizes would not extend to the value of ſo much pepper, he promiſed to credite them to their next returne, and thereupon ſent the country round about to gather pepper, cauſing the ſame to be brought to the court: So that within the ſpace of 30 dayes they had gathered fourescore tunne of pepper.

In the meane ſeaſon our men partly hauing no rule of themſelues, but eating without meaſure of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the ſame, and in ſuch extreme heate running continually into the water, not vſed before to ſuch ſudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into ſwellings and agues: inſomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on, cauſed them to die ſometimes three & ſometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Windam perceiuing the time of the 30 daies to be expired, and his men dying ſo faſt, ſent to the court in poſt to Captaine Pinteado, & the reſt to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the reſt, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had alreadie gathered & looked daily for much more: deſiring him furthermore to remēber the great praiſe and name they ſhould win, if they came home proſperouſly, and what ſhame of the contrary. With which anſwere Windam not ſatiſfied, and many of their men dying dayly, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leaue them behinde. When Pinteado heard this anſwere, thinking to perſwade him with reaſon, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ſhips, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

In the meane ſeaſon Windam all raging, brake vp Pinteados Cabin, brake open his cheſtes, ſpoiled ſuch prouiſion of cold ſtilled waters and ſuckets as he had prouided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his inſtruments to ſaile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane time falling ſicke, himſelfe died alſo. Whoſe death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the deereſt friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did ſpit in his face, ſome calling him Iewe, ſaying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and ſome drawing their ſwords at him, making a ſhew to ſlay him. Then he perceiuing that they would needs away, deſired them to tary that he might fetch the reſt of the marchants that were left at the court, but they would not grant this requeſt. Then deſired he them to giue him the ſhipboate, with as much of an old ſaile as might ſerue for the ſame, promiſing them therwith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the reſt into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter, and promiſing them if God would lend him life to returne with all haſte to fetch thē. And thus was Pinteado kept a ſhipboord againſt his will, thruſt among the boyes of the ſhip, not vſed like a man, nor yet like an honeſt boy, but glad to find fauour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leauing one of their ſhips behind them, which they ſunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes ſayling, dyed alſo Pinteado for very penſiueneſſe & thought that ſtroke him to the heart. A man worthy to ſerue any prince, and moſt vilely vſed. And of ſeuenſcore men came home to Plimmouth ſcarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man ſhould ſuſpect theſe words which I haue ſaide in commendation of Pinteado, to be ſpoken vpon fauour otherwiſe then trueth, I haue thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote vnto him to reconcile him, at ſuch time as vpon the king his maſters diſpleaſure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the ſaid letters) he was only for pouertie inforced to come into England, where he firſt perſwaded our marchants to attempt the ſaid voyages to Guinea. But as the king of Portugall too late repented him that he had ſo puniſhed Pinteado, vpon malicious informations of ſuch as enuied the mans good fortune: euen ſo may it hereby appeare that in ſome caſes euen Lions themſelues may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the help of the poore miſe, according vnto the fable of Eſope.

The death of Windam. Pinteado euill vſed of the mariners.

This Lambert was a Londiner borne, whoſe father had bin Lord Maior of London.

The death of Pinteado.

Pinteado firſt perſwaded our men to the voiage of Guinea.

The copie of *Anthonie Anes Pinteado* his letters patents, whereby the king of *Portugall* made him knight of his houſe, after all his troubles and impriſonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had ſuſteined of long time, being at the laſt deliuered, his cauſe knowen and manifeſted to the king by a gray Frier the kings Confeſſor.

I The king doe giue you to vnderſtand lord Francis Deſſeaſo, one of my counſell and ouerſeer of my houſe, that in cōſideration of the good ſeruice which Anthony Anes Pinteado, the ſonne of Iohn Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done vnto me, my will and pleaſure is, to make him knight of my houſe, allowing to him in penſion ſeuen hundred reis monethly, and euery day one alcapre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horſe, & to be paid according to the ordinãce of my houſe. Prouiding alwaies that he ſhall receiue but one marriage gift. And this alſo in ſuch cōdition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding ſuch men to marry for getting ſuch children as might ſucceede them in this allowance, which is 6 yeres after the making of this patent, ſhalbe firſt expired before he do marry. I therfore command you to cauſe this to be entred in the booke called the Matricula of our houſhold, vnder the title of knights. And when it is ſo entred,

Seuen hundred reis are ten ſhillings. Alcapre is halfe a buſhell.

let the clarke of the Matricula, for the certeintie therof, write on the backſide of this Aluala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing vnto the ſaid Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques haue written this in Almarin the two and twentie day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this beneuolence the king gaue vnto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the fiue and twentie day of Iuly this preſent yeere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration vvritten vnder the kings grant.

YOur Maieſtie hath vouchſafed, in reſpect and conſideration of the good ſeruice of Athony Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and ſonne of Iohn Anes, to make him knight of your houſe, with ordinarie allowance, of ſeuen hundred reis penſion by the moneth, and one alcaire of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horſe: and to be paide according to the ordinance of your houſe, with condition that hee ſhall haue but one marriage gift: and that not within the ſpace of ſixe yeres after the making of theſe letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Franciſco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of *Don Lewes* the infant, and brother to the king of *Portugall*, ſent into *England* to *Anthonie Anes Pinteado*.

ANthony Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, haue me heartily commended vnto you. Peter Gonſalues is gone to ſeeke you, deſiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpoſe he hath with him a ſafe cōduct for you, granted by the king, that therby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and ſtormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Maieſtie hath giuen you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the ſame to paſſe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But foraſmuch as Peter Gonſalues will make further declaration hereof vnto you, I ſay no more at this preſent. Written in Lisbone, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant *Don Lewes*.

ALl theſe foreſaid writings I ſaw vnder ſeale, in the houſe of my friend Nicholas Lieſe, with whom Pinteado left them, at his vnfortunate departing to Guinea. But, notwithſtanding all theſe friendly letters and faire promiſes, Pinteado durſt not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the preſence of other: foraſmuch as he had ſecrete admonitions that they intended to ſlay him, if time and place might haue ſerued their wicked intent.

The ſecond voyage to *Guinea* ſet out by Sir *George Barne*, Sir *Iohn Yorke*, *Thomas Lok*, *Anthonie Hickman* and *Edward Caſtelin*, in the yere 1554.

The Captaine whereof was M. *Iohn Lok*.

AS in the firſt voiage I haue declared rather the order of the hiſtory, then the courſe of the nauigation, whereof at that time I could haue no perfect information: ſo in the deſcription of this ſecond voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to ſhew the courſe of the ſame, according to the obſeruation and ordinarie cuſtome of the mariners, and as I receiued it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who alſo with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the ſame, as he found and tried all things, not by coniecture, but by the art of ſayling, and inſtruments perteining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore aſſuming to my ſelfe the commendations due vnto other, neither ſo bold as in any part to change or otherwiſe diſpoſe the order of this voyage ſo well obſerued by art and experience, I haue thought good to ſet forth the ſame, in ſuch ſort and phraſe of ſpeech as is commonly vſed among them, and as I receiued it of the ſaid Pilot, as I haue ſaid. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554 the eleuenth day of October, we departed the riuer of Thames with three goodly ſhips, the one called the Trinitie, a ſhip of the burden of ſeuenſcore tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ſhip of the burden of ninetie, the third was the Iohn Euangeliſt, a ſhip of ſeuen ſcore tunne. With the ſayd ſhips and two pinneſſes (whereof the one was drowned on the coaſt of England) we went forward on our voyage, and ſtayed at Douer fourteene dayes. We ſtaied alſo at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreouer laſt of all we touched at Dartmouth.

Robert Gainſh was maſter of the Iohn Euangeliſt.

The firſt day of Nouember at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coaſt of England, we ſet off the Start, bearing Southweſt all that night in the ſea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, vntill the third day of the ſaid moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne threeſcore leagues.

The 17 day in the morning we had ſight of the Ile of Madera, which doth riſe to him that commeth in the Northnortheaſt part vpright land in the weſt part of it, and very high: and to the Southſoutheaſt a low long land, and a long point, with a ſaddle thorow the middeſt of it, ſtanding in two and thirtie degrees: and in the Weſt part, many ſprings of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like vnto corne fields, & ſome white houſes to the Southeaſt part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine ſheweth very ragged, if you may ſee it, and in the Northeaſt part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Alſo in the ſaid part, there is a rocke a little diſtance from the ſhoare, and ouer the ſayd bight you ſhall ſee a great gappe in the mountaine.

The Ile of Madera.

The 19 day at twelue of the clocke we had ſight of the iſle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The Ile of Palme riſeth round, & lieth Southeaſt and Northweſt, and the Northweſt part is loweſt. In the South is a round hill ouer the head land, and another round hill aboue that in the land. There are betweene the Southeaſt part of the Ile of Madera & the Northweſt part of the Iſle of Palme ſeuen and fifty leagues. This Iſle of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And our courſe from Madera to the Ile of Palme was South and South and by Weſt, ſo that we had ſight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeaſt part of the Ile of the Palme, & the Northnortheaſt of Teneriffa lie Southeaſt and Northweſt, and betweene them are 20 leagues. Teneriffa and the great Canary called Gran Canaria, and the Weſt part of Forteuentura ſtande in ſeuen and twenty degrees and a halfe. Gomera is a faire Iſland but very ragged, & lieth Weſtſouthweſt off Teneriffa. And whoſoeuer wil come betweene them two Ilands muſt come South and by Eaſt, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the ſaid part of the Iland: and it ſtandeth in ſeuen and twentie degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, with a great high pike like a ſugar loafe, and vpon the ſaid pike is ſnow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reaſon of that pike it may be knowen aboue all other Ilands, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of Nouember, from ſixe of the clocke in the morning, vntill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

The Ile of Palmes.
Teneriffa.
The Canaries.

From Madera to the Ile of Palmes.

Gran Canaria.
Forteuentura.
The Iland of Gomera.

Teneriffa.
Snow.

The two and twentieth day of Nouember, vnder the Tropike of Cancer the Sunne goeth downe Weſt and by South. Vpon the coaſt of Barbarie fiue and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke, at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes and good ſhelly ground, and ſande among and no ſtreames, and two ſmall Ilands ſtanding in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

The coaſt of Barbarie.
Cape Blanke.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our courſe was South and by Eaſt. The ſaid Cape ſtandeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coaſt is flatte, ſixteene or ſeuenteene fadome deepe. Seuen or eight leagues off from the riuer del Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there vſe many Spaniardes and Portugals to trade for fiſhing, during the moneth of Nouember: and all that coaſt is very low lands. Alſo we went from Cape de las Barbas Southſouthweſt, and Southweſt and by South, till we brought our ſelues in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our ſelues ſeuen leagues off: and there were the leaſt ſholes of Cape Blanke.

The riuer del Oro.

Then we went South vntill we brought our ſelues in 13 degrees, reckoning our ſelues fiue and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Croſſiers, and we might haue reared them ſooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a croſſe in the moneth of Nouember, by reaſon that the nights are ſhort there. Neuertheleſſe we had the ſight of them the 29 day of the ſaid moneth at night.

The croſſiers or croſſe ſtars.

The firſt of December, being in 13 degrees we ſet our courſe South and by Eaſt, vntill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the ſame day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, reckoning our ſelues 30 leagues off the ſholes of the riuer called Rio Grande, being Weſtſouthweſt off them, the which ſholes be 30 leagues long.

Rio Grande.

The fourth of December we beganne to ſet our courſe Southeaſt, we being in ſixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we ſet our courſe Eaſtſoutheaſt: the fourteenth day of the ſayde moneth we ſet our courſe Eaſt, we being in fiue degrees and a halfe, reckoning our ſelues thirty and ſixe leagues from the coaſt of Guinea.

Cape Menſurado.
The riuer of Seſto.

The nineteenth of the ſaid moneth we ſet our courſe Eaſt and by North, reckoning our ſelues ſeuenteene leagues diſtant from Cape Menſurado, the ſaid Cape being Eaſtnortheaſt of vs, and the riuer of Seſto being Eaſt.

The one and twentith day of the ſaid moneth, we fell with Cape Menſurado to the Southeaſt, about two leagues off. This Cape may be eaſily knowen, by reaſon ẏ the riſing of it is like a Porpoſe-head. Alſo toward the Southeaſt there are three trees, whereof the Eaſtermoſt tree is the higheſt, and the middlemoſt is like a hie ſtacke, & the Southermoſt like vnto a gibet: and vpon the maine are foure or fiue high hilles riſing one after another like round hommocks or hillocks. And the Southeaſt of the three trees, brandiernwiſe: and all the coaſt along is white ſand. The ſaid Cape ſtandeth within a litle in ſixe degrees.

The two and twentieth of December we came to the riuer of Seſto, & remained there vntill the nine and twentieth day of the ſaid moneth. Here we thought it beſt to ſend before vs the pinneſſe to the riuer Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might haue the beginning of the market before the comming of the Iohn Euangeliſt.

The riuer of Seſto.
Rio Dulce.

At the riuer of Seſto we had a tunne of graines. This riuer ſtandeth in ſixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the riuer of Seſto to Rio Dulce are fiue and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce ſtandeth in fiue degrees and a halfe. The riuer of Seſto is eaſie to be knowen, by reaſon there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeaſt part of the Rode. And at the entring into the hauen are fiue or ſixe trees that beare no leaues. This is a good harborow, but very narow at ẏ entrance into the riuer. There is alſo a rocke in the hauens mouth right as you enter. And all that coaſt betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeaſt & by Eaſt, Northweſt & by Weſt, being three leagues off the ſhore. And you ſhal haue in ſome places rocks two leagues off: and that, betweene the riuer of Seſto and cape de las Palmas.

Cape de Monte.

Cape de las Palmas.

The land of Cakeado.

Betweene the riuer of Seſto and the riuer Dulce are fiue and twentie leagues: & the high land that is betweene them both is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the riuer of Seſto. And to the Southeaſtwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get freſh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes: and to the Southeaſtward lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeaſtward off, is a harborow called S. Vincent: Right ouer againſt S. Vincent, is a rocke vnder the water, two leagues & a halfe off the ſhore. To the Southeaſtward of that rocke you ſhal ſee an iſland about three or foure leagues off: this iſland is not paſt a league off the ſhore. To the Eaſtſoutheaſt of the iſland, is a rocke that lieth aboue the water, and by that rocke goeth in the riuer Dulce, which you ſhall know by the ſaid riuer and rocke. The Northweſt ſide of the hauen is flat ſand, and the Southeaſt ſide thereof is like an Iſland, and a bare plot without any trees, and ſo is it not in any other place.

Shauo.
Croke.
S. Vincents harborow.

The riuer Dulce.

In the Rode you ſhall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good oaze and ſand, being the markes of the Rode to bring the Iſland and the Northeaſt land together, and here we ankered the laſt of December.

The third day of Ianuarie, we came from the riuer Dulce.

Cape de las Palmas.

The coaſt of Guinea.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but ſome low places thereof by the water ſide looke like red cliffes with white ſtrakes like hie wayes, a cable length a piece, and this is the Eaſt part of the cape. This cape is the Southermoſt land in all the coaſt of Guinea, and ſtandeth in foure degrees and a terce.

The coaſt from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire & cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and fiue leaues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, vntill we come to Cape Trepointes: And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepointes, the land riſeth ſtill higher and higher, vntill you come to Cape Trepointes, Alſo before you come to the ſaid Cape, after other 5 leagues to the Northweſt part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a caſtle called Arra, perteining to the king of Portugall. You ſhall know it by the ſaid rockes that lie off it: for there is none ſuch from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes. This coaſt lieth Eaſt and by North, Weſt and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the ſaid caſtle is foureſcore and fifteene leagues. And the coaſt lieth from the ſaid caſtle to the Weſtermoſt point of Trepoyntes, Southeaſt and by South, Northweſt and by North. Alſo the Weſtermoſt point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the ſea: and vpon the innermoſt necke, to the land-ward, is a tuft of trees,

The caſtle of Arra.

and there we arriued the eleuenth day of Ianuary.

The 12 day of Ianuary we came to a towne called Samma or Samua, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepointes toward Eaſtnortheaſt. Betweene Cape Trepointes and the towne of Samua is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the ſea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Captaine thereof would needs haue a pledge a ſhore. But when they receiued the pledge, they kept him ſtill, and would traffike no more, but ſhot off their ordinance at vs. They haue two or three pieces of ordinance and no more.

The towne of Samma.

The pledge was ſir Iohn Yorke his Nephew.

The ſixteenth day of the ſaid month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don Iohn dwelleth, whoſe men entertained vs friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eaſtwarde of the caſtle of Mina, otherwiſe called La mina, or Caſtello de mina, where we arriued the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made ſale of all our cloth, ſauing two or three packes.

Cape Corea.

The caſtle of Mina perteining to the king of Portugall.

The 26 day of the ſame moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was ſeuen leagues Eaſtward of vs, where ſhe ſolde her wares. Then they of the Trinitie willed vs to go Eaſtward of that eight or nine leagues, to ſell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eaſtermoſt place of both theſe, which you ſhal know by a great round hill neere vnto it, named Mõte Rodondo, lying Weſtward from it, and by the water ſide are many high palme trees. From hence did we ſet forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, & plied vp alongſt till we came within ſeuen or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, wee did caſt about to ſeaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceiue you ſore. Whoſoeuer ſhall come from the coaſt of Mina homeward, let him be ſure to make his way good Weſt, vntill he reckon himſelfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant ſetteth alwayes to the Eaſtward. And within twentie leagues Eaſtward of Cape de las Palmas is a riuer called De los Potos, where you may haue freſh water and balaſt enough, and plenty of iuory or Elephants teeth. This riuer ſtandeth in foure degrees, and almoſt two terces. And when you reckon your ſelfe as farre ſhot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go Weſt, and Weſt by North, vntill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Weſtnorthweſt, and Northweſt and by Weſt, vntill you come in fiue degrees, and then Northweſt. And in ſixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could iudge, the currants went to the Northnorthweſt. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape verde, go great currants which deceiue many men.

Perecow.

Perecow grand.

Monte Rodondo.

The currants.

From Mina homeward.

Rio de los Potos.

Iuory.

Cabo de las Palmas.

Currants.

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two terces: and ſo we ran to the Northweſt, hauing the winde at Northeaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt, and ſometimes at Eaſt, vntill we were at 18 degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And ſo from 18 and two terces, we had the winde at Eaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt, and ſometimes at Eaſtſoutheaſt: and then we reckoned the Iſlands of Cape verde Eaſtſoutheaſt of vs, we iudging our ſelues to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more Eaſterly to the Southward then before. And ſo we ran to the Northweſt and Northnorthweſt, and ſometimes North and by Weſt and North, vntill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our ſelues a hundred and fourescore leagues Southweſt and by South of the Iſland de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at Southſoutheaſt, and ſet our courſe Northeaſt.

The Ile de Flores.

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the South and Southweſt, and then we ſet our courſe Northnortheaſt, and ſo we ran to 40 degrees, and then we ſet our courſe Northeaſt, the winde being at the Southweſt, and hauing the Iſle de Flores Eaſt of vs, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at Northeaſt, and ſo we ran Northweſtward, then we met with the winde Weſtnorthweſt, and at the Weſt within 6 leagues, running toward the Northweſt, and then we caſt about, and lay Northeaſt, vntill we came in 42 degrees, where we ſet our courſe Eaſtnortheaſt, iudging the Ile of Coruo South and by Weſt of vs, and ſixe and thirtie leagues diſtant from vs.

The Ile of Coruo.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of May we communed with Iohn Rafe, and he thought it beſt to goe Northeaſt, and iudged himſelfe 25 leagues Eaſtward to the Iſle de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, vnder nine degrees, we loſt the ſight of the North ſtarre.

Where they loſt the ſight of the North ſtarre.

Note alſo, that in 45 degrees, the compaſſe is varied 8 degrees to the Weſt.

Item, in 40 degrees the compaſſe did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compaſſe is varied 5 degrees to the Weſt.

How the compaſſe doeth varie.

Be it alſo in memory that two or three daies before we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the pinneſſe went alongſt the ſhore, thinking to ſell ſome of our wares, and ſo we came to anker three or foure leagues Weſt and by South of the Cape de 3 puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

The Primroſe.

Then our pinneſſe came aboord with all our men, the pinneſſe alſo tooke in more wares. They told me moreouer that they would goe to a place where the Primroſe was, and had receiued much gold at the firſt voyage to theſe parties, and tolde me furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then vpon the coaſt, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from vs, and there we rode againſt that towne foure dayes: ſo that Martine by his owne deſire, and aſſent of ſome of the Commiſſioners that were in the pinneſſe, went a ſhoare to the towne, and there Iohn Berin went to trafique from vs, being three miles off trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samua, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two firſt townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the Northeaſt of Cape de 3 puntas.

The towne of Samma.
Golde.

Hitherto continueth the courſe of the voyage, as it was deſcribed by the ſayde Pilot. Nowe therefore I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the countrey and people, and of ſuch things as are brought from thence.

Gold foure hundreth weight.
Graines.
Elephants teeth.
The head of an Elephant.

They brought from thence at the laſt voiage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in fineneſſe: alſo ſixe and thirtie buts of graines, & about two hundred and fifty Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of theſe I ſaw & meaſured ſome of nine ſpans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh aboue the knee, and weyed about foureſcore and ten pound weight a peece. They ſay that ſome one hath bin ſeene of an hundred and fiue & twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calues, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof ſome were a foot and a halfe, ſome two foot, and ſome 3 or more, according to ẏ age of the beaſt. Theſe great teeth or tuſks grow in the vpper iaw downeward, and not in the nether iaw vpward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceiued. At this laſt voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of ſuch huge bigneſſe, that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beſide the nether iaw & great tuſks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: inſomuch that conſidering alſo herewith the weight of two ſuch great teeth, the nether iaw with the leſſe teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge & long ſnout or troonke, with all the fleſh, braines, and ſkinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my iudgement it could weigh litle leſſe then fiue hundred weight. This head diuers haue ſeene in the houſe of the worthy marchant ſir Andrew Iudde, where alſo I ſaw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and ſpirit, conſidering by the worke, the cunning and wiſedome of the workemaiſter: without which conſideration, the ſight of ſuch ſtrange and wonderfull things may rather ſeeme curioſities, then profitable contemplations.

Sir Andrew Iudde.
The contemplations of Gods works.

The deſcription and properties of the Elephant.

The Elephant (which ſome call an Oliphant) is the biggeſt of all foure footed beaſts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and fiue toes on his feete vndiuided, his ſnout or tronke is ſo long, and in ſuch forme, that it is to him in the ſtead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth vp his Maſter or keeper, therewith he ouerthroweth trees. Beſide his two great tuſks, he hath on euery ſide of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate: either of theſe teeth are almoſt a ſpan in length, as they grow along in the iaw, and are about two inches in height, and almoſt as much in thickneſſe. The tuſkes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very litle, and ſo farre in his mouth, that it cannot be ſeene: of all beaſtes they are moſt gentle and tractable, for by many ſundry wayes they are taught, and doe vnderſtand: inſomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke ſenſe and ſharpeneſſe of wit. When the male hath once ſeaſoned the female, he neuer after toucheth her. The male Elephant liueth two hundreth yeeres, or at the leaſt one hundred and twentie: the female almoſt as long, but the floure of their age is but threeſcore yeres, as ſome write. They cannot ſuffer winter or cold: they loue riuers, and will often go into them vp to the ſnout, wherewith they blow and ſnuffe, and play in the water: but ſwimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they vſe none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wilderneſſe being out of the way, gently they will go before him, & bring him into the plaine way. Ioyned in battel, they haue no ſmall reſpect vnto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the iuiſe of barley. They haue continual warre againſt Dragons, which deſire their blood, becauſe it is very cold: and therfore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant paſſeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the Elephant, & ſo ſtaying him, thruſteth his head into his tronke and exhauſteth his breath, or elſe biteth him in the eare, wherunto he cannot reach with his tronke,

Debate betweene the Elephant & the Dragon.

and when the Elephant waxeth faint, he falleth downe on the ſerpent, being now full of blood, and with the poiſe of his body breaketh him: ſo that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that ſubſtance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwiſe called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the Painters vſe in certaine colours.

Sanguis Draconis.
Cinnabaris.

They are alſo of three kinds, as of the Marſhes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no leſſe differing in conditions. Philoſtratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bignes paſſeth the horſe of Nyſca, ſo much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants of India, ſome haue bene ſeene of the height of nine cubits: the other do ſo greatly feare theſe, that they dare not abide the ſight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males haue tuſkes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kindes are tuſked: they are of diuers heights, as of twelue, thirteene, and fourteene dodrants, euery dodrant being a meaſure of nine inches. Some write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are black, or of ẏ colour of a mouſe, but they of Ethiope or Guinea are browne: the hide or ſkinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or briſtles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Our men ſaw one drinking at a riuer in Guinea, as they ſailed into the land.

Three kinds of Elephants.

Of other properties & conditions of the Elephant, as of their marueilous docilitie, of their fight and vſe in the warres, of their generation and chaſtitie, when they were firſt ſeene in the Theaters and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken & tamed, and when they caſt their tuſks, with the vſe of the ſame in medicine, who ſo deſireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall hiſtory. He alſo writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly workes of iuory or Elephants teeth: as tables, treſſels, poſtes of houſes, railes, latteſſes for windowes, images of their gods, and diuers other things of iuory, both coloured and vncoloured, and intermixt with ſundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginals. They had ſuch plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Ioſephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hieruſalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Iuory gate. The whiteneſſe thereof was ſo much eſteemed, that it was thought to repreſent the natural faireneſſe of mans ſkinne: inſomuch that ſuch as went about to ſet forth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproued by this prouerbe, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make iuory white with inke. The Poets alſo deſcribing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Iuory necks. And to haue ſaid thus much of Elephants and Iuory, it may ſuffice.

Workes of Iuorie.

Now therefore I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of liuing, with an other briefe deſcription of Africa alſo. It is to be vnderſtood, that the people which now inhabite the reigons of the coaſt of Guinea, and the midle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with diuers other great & large regions about the ſame, were in old time called Æthiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beaſtly liuing, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and ſo ſcorched and vexed with the heat of the ſunne, that in many places they curſe it when it riſeth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phryſius writeth thus.

The people of Africa.

Libya interior.

Libya interior is very large and deſolate, in the which are many horrible wilderneſſes & mountaines, repleniſhed with diuers kinds of wilde and monſtrous beaſtes and ſerpents. Firſt from Mauritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and ſauage region, whoſe inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After theſe follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharuſij, which wander in the wilderneſſe, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians called Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the Weſt Ocean. Southward alſo they reach to the riuer Nigritis, whoſe nature agreeth with the riuer of Nilus, forasmuch as it is increaſed and diminiſhed at the ſame time, and bringeth forth the like beaſts as the Crocodile. By reaſon whereof, I thinke this to be the ſame riuer which the Portugals call Senega: For this riuer is alſo of the ſame nature. It is furthermore marueilous and very ſtrange that is ſaid of this riuer: And this is, that on the one ſide thereof, the inhabitants are of high ſtature and black, and on the other ſide, of browne or tawnie colour, and low ſtature, which thing alſo our men confirme to be true.

Getulia.

Æthiopes.
Nigritę.
The riuer Nigritis or Senega.

A ſtrange thing.

There are alſo other people of Libya called Garamantes, whoſe women are common: for they contract no matrimonie, neither haue reſpect to chaſtitie. After theſe are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatę, Dolopes, Aganginę, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilidei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. Theſe haue the ſame ſituation in Ptolome that they now giue to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are certaine Chriſtians vnder the dominion

Garamantes.

People of Libya.

of

Preſter Iohn.
Regnum Orguene.
Gambra.
Guinea.
Cabo Verde.
The Portugals Nauigation to Braſile.
Aethiopia.
The Iſland of Meroe.
The Queene of Saba.
Preſter Iohn Emperour of Aethiopia.
People of the Eaſtſide of Africa.
People without heads.
Myrrh.
Azania.
Regnum Melinde.

of the great Emperour of Æthiopia, called Preſter Iohn. From theſe toward the Weſt is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whoſe region (as farre as may be gathered by coniecture) is the ſame that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining vpon the Eaſt parts of Guinea, From hence Weſtward, and ſomewhat toward the North, are the kingdoms of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the riuer of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along by the ſea coaſt, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Weſtſide of theſe regions toward the Ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride, (that is) the greene cape, to the which the Portugals firſt direct their courſe when they ſaile to America, or the land of Braſile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the Weſt and the South. But to ſpeake ſomewhat more of Æthiopia: although there are many nations of people ſo named, yet is Aethiopia chiefly diuided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia vnder Aegypt, a great & rich region. To this perteineth the Iſland Meroe, imbraced round about with the ſtremes of the riuer Nilus. In this Iſland women reigned in old time. Ioſephus writeth, that it was ſometime called Sabea: and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Ieruſalem, to heare the wiſedom of Salomon. Frō hence toward the Eaſt reigneth the ſaid Chriſtian Emperor Preſter Iohn, whom ſome cal Papa Iohannes, & other ſay that he is called Pean Iuan (that is) great Iohn, whoſe Empire reacheth far beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coaſts of the Red ſea & Indian ſea. The middle of the region is almoſt in 66. degrees of longitude, and 12. degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Riſophagi, Babylonij, Axiunitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After theſe is the region called Troglodytica, whoſe inhabitants dwel in caues and dennes: for theſe are their houſes, & the fleſh of ſerpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They haue no ſpeach, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are alſo people without heads, called Blemines, hauing their eyes and mouth in their breaſt. Likewiſe Strucophagi, and naked Ganphaſantes: Satyrs alſo, which haue nothing of men but onely ſhape. Moreouer Oripei, great hunters. Mennones alſo, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth foorth myrrhe. After theſe is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke that are beyond the Aequinoctiall line, are now aſcribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whoſe inhabitants are accuſtomed to trafique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is ioyned in friendſhip with the king of Portugal, and payeth tribute to Preſter Iohn.

Aethiopia interior.
White Elephants.
Habaſia.
Ichthiophagi.
Anthropophagi.
Montes Lunæ.
Gazatia.
Cap. bonæ Spei.

The other Ethiope, called Æthiopia interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatneſſe thereof, but onely by the ſea coaſtes: yet is it deſcribed in this maner. First from the Aequinoctiall toward yͤ South, is a great region of Aethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beaſtes called Rhinocerotes. Alſo a region that bringeth foorth plenty of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Alſo the kingdome of Habech or Habaſia, a region of Chriſtian men, lying both on this ſide and beyond Nilus. Here are alſo the Aethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) ſuch as liue onely by fiſh, and were ſometimes ſubdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Aethiopians called Rhapſij, & Anthropophagi, yͭ are accuſtomed to eat mans fleſh, inhabite the regions neere vnto the mountains called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazatia is vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. After this followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the Cape of good hope, by the which they paſſe that ſaile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, foraſmuch as the ſame are in euery globe and card, it were here ſuperfluous to rehearſe them.

Africa without colde.
The winter of Africa.
Flames of fire and noiſe in the aire.
The middle region of the aire is cold.

Some write that Africa was ſo named by the Grecians, becauſe it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A ſignifieth priuation, voyd, or without: and Phrice ſignifieth colde. For in deed although in the ſtead of Winter they haue a cloudy and tempeſtuous ſeaſon, yet is it not colde, but rather ſmoothering hote, with hote ſhowres of raine alſo, and ſomewhere ſuch ſcorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they ſeeme at certaine times to liue as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phriſius writeth, that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night ſeaſon is ſeene ſhining, with many ſtrange fires and flames riſing in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are ſometime heard as it were the ſound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noiſes may perhaps be cauſed by the vehement and ſundry motions of ſuch firie exhalations in the aire, as we ſee the like in many experiences wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollowneſſe alſo, and diuers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes may be great cauſes hereof, beſide the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the ſaid fiery exhalations, aſcending thither, are ſuddenly ſtricken backe with great force: for euen common and dayly experience teacheth vs, by the whiſſing of a burning torch, what noiſe fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it ſtriueth when it is incloſed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is ſeene in onely aire incloſed, as in Organ pipes, and ſuch other inſtruments that go by winde. For winde (as ſay the Philoſophers) is none other then aire vehemently moued, as we ſee in a paire of bellowes, and ſuch other.

The ſtrife of Elements. Winde.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this laſt voiage to Guinea, affirme earneſtly that in the night ſeaſon they felt a ſenſible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be ſtrange and inſenſible to vs that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it ſtand with good reaſon that it may ſo be, foraſmuch as the nature of ſtarres and planets (as writeth Plinie) conſiſteth of fire, and conteineth in it a ſpirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

The heate of the Moone.

The nature of the ſtarres.

And, that the Moone giueth heate vpon the earth the Prophet Dauid ſeemeth to confirme in his 121. Pſalme, where ſpeaking of ſuch men as are defended from euils by Gods protection, hee ſaith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to ſay, In the day the Sunne ſhall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

They ſay farthermore, that in certaine places of the ſea they ſaw certaine ſtreames of water, which they call ſpouts, falling out of the aire into the ſea, & that ſome of theſe are as bigge as the great pillars of Churches: inſomuch that ſometimes they fall into ſhippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that theſe ſhould be the Cataracts of heauen, which were all opened at Noes floud. But I thinke them rather to be ſuch fluxions and eruptions as Ariſtotle in his booke de Mundo ſaith, to chance in the ſea. For ſpeaking of ſuch ſtrange things as are ſeene often times in the ſea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes alſo euen in the ſea are ſeene euaporations of fire, and ſuch eruptions and breaking foorth of ſprings, that the mouthes of riuers are opened. Whirlepooles, and fluxions are cauſed of ſuch other vehement motions, not only in the middeſt of the ſea, but alſo in creeks & ſtreights. At certaine times alſo, a great quantity of water is ſuddenly lifted vp and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Ariſtotle it doth appeare that ſuch waters be lifted vp in one place at one time, and ſuddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps perteineth it that Richard Chanceller told me that he heard Sebaſtian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coaſts of Braſile or Rio de Plata, his ſhippe or pinneſſe was ſuddenly lifted from the ſea, and caſt vpon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and ſuch other like wonderfull and ſtrange workes of nature while I conſider, and call to remembrance the narrowneſſe of mans vnderſtanding and knowledge, in compariſon of her mightie power, I can but ceaſe to maruell and confeſſe with Plinie, that nothing is to her impoſſible, the leaſt part of whoſe power is not yet knowen to men. Many things more our men ſaw and conſidered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, whereof I haue thought good to put ſome in memory, that the reader may aſwell take pleaſure in the variety of things, as knowledge of the hiſtorie. Among other things therefore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this may ſeeme ſtrange, that their princes & noble men vſe to pounce and raſe their ſkinnes with pretie knots in diuers formes, as it were branched damaſke, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & eſpecialy their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes, and chaines, either of gold, copper, or iuory. I my ſelfe haue one of their braſlets of Iuory, weighing two pound and ſixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare vpon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggeſt part of the tooth, turned and ſomewhat carued, with a hole in the midſt, wherin they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some haue on euery arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith ſome of them are ſo galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leaue them off. Some weare alſo on their legges great ſhackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no leſſe comely. They weare alſo collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certain blew ſtones like beads. Likewiſe ſome of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foreſleeues made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers alſo they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like vnto that which children make in a ring of a ruſh. Among other things of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dogs-chaines and collers.

Spoutes of water falling out of the aire.

Cataracts of heauen.

Vehement motions in the Sea.

A ſtrange thing.

The power of nature.

They raſe their ſkinnes.

Fine iewels.

A bracelet.

Shackles.

Rings.

Dogs chaines of golde.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not loſe one ſparke of golde of any value. They vſe weights and meaſures, and are very circumſpect in occupying the ſame. They that ſhall haue to doe with them, muſt vſe them gently: for they will not trafique or bring in any wares if they be euill vſed. At the firſt voyage that our men had into theſe parties, it ſo chanced, that at their departure from the firſt place where they did trafick, one of them either ſtole a muſke Cat, or tooke her away by force, not miſtruſting that that ſhould haue hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haſte they coulde make with full ſailes, the fame of their miſuſage ſo preuented them, that the people of that place alſo, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: inſomuch that they were inforced either to reſtore the Cat, or

A muſke cat.

pay for her at their price, before they could trafique there.

Their houſes.

Their houſes are made of foure poſtes or trees, and couered with boughes.

Their feeding.

Their common feeding is of roots, & ſuch fiſhes as they take, whereof they haue great plenty.

Flying fiſhes.

A ſtrange thing.

There are alſo ſuch flying fiſhes as are ſeene in the ſea of the Weſt Indies. Our men ſalted of their fiſhes, hoping to prouide ſtore thereof: but they would take no ſalt, and muſt therfore be eaten forthwith as ſome ſay. Howbeit other affirme, that if they be ſalted immediatly after they be taken, they wil laſt vncorrupted ten or twelue dayes. But this is more ſtrange, that part of ſuch fleſh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became ſweete againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

Their bread.

They vſe alſo a ſtrange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two ſtones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may ſuffice their family, and when they haue thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they ſticke vpon ſome poſt of their houſes, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: ſo that when the maſter of the houſe or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.

Their wheat.

The Sunne.

Their drinke.

They haue very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulruſh, and almoſt foure inches about where it is biggeſt. The ſtemme or ſtraw ſeemeth to be almoſt as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle leſſe. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peaſon, round alſo, and very white, and ſomewhat ſhining, like pearles that haue loſt their colour. Almoſt all the ſubſtance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threeſcore graines. The eare is incloſed in three blades longer then it ſelfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulnes the Sunne ſeemeth partly to recompence ſuch griefes and moleſtations as they otherwiſe receiue by the feruent heate thereof. It is doubtleſſe a worthy cōtemplation to conſider the contrary effects of the ſunne: or rather the contrary paſſions of ſuch things as receiue the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit. Their drinke is either water, or the iuiſe that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the ſaid branches euery euening, and let them ſo hang all night, or elſe they ſet them on the ground vnder the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They ſay, that this kinde of drinke is in taſte much like vnto whey, but ſomewhat ſweeter, and more pleaſant. They cut the branches euery euening, becauſe they are ſeared vp in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They haue alſo great beanes as bigge as cheſtnuts, and very hard, with a ſhell in the ſtead of a huſke.

Many things more might be ſaide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monſtrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaide thus much of ſuch things as our men partly ſawe, and partly brought with them.

Graines.

And whereas before ſpeaking of the fruit of graines, I deſcribed the ſame to haue holes by the ſide (as in deede it hath, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterward enfourmed, that thoſe holes were made to put ſtringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them vp to dry at the Sunne. They grow not paſt a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themſelues are called of the Phiſicions Grana Paradiſi.

Shels that cleaue to ſhips.

Barnacles.

Bromas.

At their comming home the keeles of their ſhippes were marueilouſly ouergrowne with certaine ſhelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could ſtand, and of ſuch bigneſſe that a man might put his thumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainely affirme that in theſe there groweth a certaine ſlimie ſubſtance, which at the length ſlipping out of the ſhell and falling in the ſea, becommeth thoſe foules which we call Barnacles. The like ſhelles haue bene ſeene in ſhips returning frō Iſeland, but theſe ſhels were not paſt halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I ſawe the Primeroſe lying in the docke, and in maner couered with the ſaid ſhels, which in my iudgement ſhould greatly hinder her ſayling. Their ſhips were alſo in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Biſſas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. Theſe creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places.

A ſecret.

The death of our men.

Fiue blacke Moores brought into England.

Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that whereas they ſailed thither in ſeuen weekes, they could returne in no leſſe ſpace then twentie weekes. The cauſe whereof they ſay to be this: That about the coaſt of Cabo Verde the winde is euer at the Eaſt, by reaſon whereof they were enforced to ſaile farre out of their courſe into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the Weſt to bring them home. There died of our men at this laſt voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clime of the colde regions, as betweene the Iſlands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke ſlaues, whereof ſome were tall and ſtrong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes.

The

Colde may be better abiden then heate.

The colde and moyſt aire doth ſomewhat offend them. Yet doubtleſſe men that are borne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, foraſmuch as vehement heate reſolueth the radicall moyſture of mens bodies, as colde conſtraineth and preſerueth the ſame.

This is alſo to be conſidered as a ſecret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, vnder the Æquinoctial line, and neere about the ſame on both ſides, the regions are extreeme hote, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily ſuch regions of the Weſt Indies as are vnder the ſame line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and ſhort wooll on their heads, as they of Africke haue, but of the colour of an Oliue, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cauſe of which variety is declared in diuers places in the Decades.

It is alſo worthy to be noted that ſome of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they ouertooke the courſe of the Sunne, ſo that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to haue ſaid thus much of theſe voyages, it may ſuffice.

The firſt voyage made by Maſter *VVilliam Towrſon* Marchant of *London*, to the coaſt of *Guinea*, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.

September.

VPon Munday the thirtieth day of September wee departed from the Iſle of Wight, out of the hauen of Neuport with two good ſhippes, the one called the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Maſters of them were Iohn Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made vnto the Riuer de Seſtos in Guinea, and to other hauens thereabout.

October.

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the foureteenth day of October before wee coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arriued wee continued in that roade ſixe dayes, and the 20. of October we warpt out of the hauen, and ſet ſaile, directing our courſe towards the Southweſt, and the next morning we were runne by eſtimation thirty leagues.

November.

The firſt of Nouember we found our ſelues to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Maſter. This day we ranne about 40. leagues alſo.

The ſecond day we ranne 36. leagues.

Porto Santo.

Madera.

The third day we had ſight of Porto Santo, which is a ſmall Iſland lying in the ſea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is poſſeſſed by Portugals. It riſeth as we came from the Northnorthweſt like two ſmall hilles neere together. The Eaſt end of the ſame Iſland is a high land like a ſaddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The Weſt ende of it is lower with certaine ſmall round hillocks. This Iſland lyeth in thirty and three degrees. The ſame day at 11. of the clocke we rayſed the Iſle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southweſt: that Iſland is a faire Iſland and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riſeth afarre off like a great whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we ſet our courſe Southweſt, to leaue the Iſle of Madera to the Eaſtward, as we did Porto Santo. Theſe two Iſlands were the firſt land that we ſaw ſince wee left the coaſt of England. About three of the clocke after midnight wee were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the Weſt ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We ſuppoſe we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

The fourth day wee lay becalmed vnder the Iſle of Madera, vntill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde comming into the Eaſt, wee went our courſe, and ranne that day fifteene leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

Tenerif.

Palma.

The 6. day in the morning we rayſed the Iſle of Tenerif, otherwiſe called the Pike, becauſe it is a very high Iſland, with a pike vpon the top like a loafe of ſuger. The ſame night we raiſed the Iſle of Palma, which is a high land alſo, and to the Weſtward of the Iſle of Tenerif.

Gomera.

The 7. day we perceiued the Iſle of Gomera, which is an Iſland ſtanding betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eaſtward from Palma, and 8. leagues Weſtward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Iſle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eaſtward of vs, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

Note that theſe Iſlands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Iſlands more to the Weſtward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot, of which Iſlands we came not in ſight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

Ferro.

This day alſo we had ſight of the Iſle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Iſlands, and is poſſeſſed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reaſon of the winde we could not double the point of the Iſle of Ferro, except we would haue gone to the Weſtward of it, which had bene much out of our courſe: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe fiue houres Eaſtnortheaſt to the ende we might double it vpon the next boord, the winde continuing Southeaſt, which hath not bene often ſeene vpon that coaſt by any trauailers: for the winde continueth there for the moſt part Northeaſt, & Eaſt Northeaſt: ſo vpon the other boord by the next morning we were in a maner with the Iſland, and had roome ynough to double the ſame.

The 8. day we kept our courſe as neere the winde as wee could, becauſe that our due courſe to fetch the coaſt of Barbary was Southeaſt and by Eaſt; but by the ſcant winde wee could not goe our due courſe, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 12. 24.

The 12. day we ſawe a ſaile vnder our Lee, which was as we thought a fiſherman, ſo that wee went roome to haue ſpoken with him, but within one houre there fell ſuch a fogge, that wee could not ſee the ſhippe nor one of vs the other: we ſhot off diuers pieces to the Hinde, but ſhe heard them not: at after noone ſhe ſhot off a piece which wee heard, and made her anſwere with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake vp, and we were within 4. leagues of the ſhoare vpon the coaſt of Barbary, and wee ſounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke alſo came roome with vs and there ankered by reaſon of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not iudge iuſtly what part of the land it was, becauſe the moſt part of that coaſt is lowe land, and no part to be iudged of it but the forepart of the ſhoare, which is white like chalke or ſand, and very deepe vnto the hard ſhoare: there immediatly we began to fiſh, and found great ſtore of a kinde of fiſh which the Portugals commonly fiſh for vpon that coaſt, which they cal Pergoſſes, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men ſalt-water breames. Before the clearing vp of the fogge, the ſhippe which we followed ſhaped vs ſuch a courſe that we could ſee her no more, by reaſon of our ſhooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coaſt of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16. leagues to the Eaſtwards of the riuer del Oro.

Riuer del Oro.

The 13. day in the afternoone wee ſpyed a ſaile comming towards vs, which wee iudged to be the ſaile that wee ſawe the day before, and as ſoone as we ſpied him, wee cauſed the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towardes him, and manned out our Skiffe in like caſe to lay him aboorde, or to diſcerne what hee was, and wee our ſelues within halfe an houre after waped alſo: but after the ſaile had eſpied vs, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and ſhortly after there fell ſuch another fogge, that wee coulde not ſee him: which fogges continued all that night, ſo that we were conſtrained to leaue the chaſe. This afternoone the winde came about, and wee went our courſe Southweſt and by Weſt, to goe cleare off the coaſt, wee ranne that night ſixteene leagues.

A Caruell taken.

Great ſtore of fiſh vpon the coaſt of Barbary.

The fourteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelue a clocke wee eſpied a Caruell of 60. tunne which was fiſhing, and we ſent our Skiffe to him with fiue men, and all without any weapon ſauing their Oares. The Caruell for haſte let ſlippe her ancre, and ſet ſaile; and they ſeeing that, fearing that they ſhould not fetch her, would tary for no weapons, and in the ende ouertooke the Caruell, and made her to ſtrike ſaile, and brought her away, although they had fourteene or fifteene men aboord, & euery man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to reſiſt our men. After they were come to vs, they let fall their ancre, for wee had caſt ancre becauſe the winde was not good: I cauſed then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to ſee that no harme ſhould bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might ſpare vs for our money. So we tooke of them 3. Tapnets of figges, two ſmall pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogſheads of ſaltfiſh which they had taken vpon the coaſt, and certaine freſh fiſh which they did not eſteeme, becauſe there is ſuch ſtore vpon that coaſt, that in an houre and ſometime leſſe, a man may take as much fiſh as will ſerue twentie men a day. For theſe things, and for ſome wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great Cannes which they ſent aboord of our ſhippes, I payed them twentie and ſeuen Piſtolets, which was twiſe as much as they willingly would haue taken: and ſo let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let ſlippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this wee ſet ſaile, but the winde cauſed vs to ancre againe about twelue leagues off the riuer del Oro, as the Portugals tolde vs. There were fiue Caruels more in this place, but when they ſawe vs, they made all away for feare of vs.

The 15. day we ridde ſtill becauſe of the winde.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe.

The 16. day we ſet ſaile and ranne our courſe 40. leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right vnder the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within ſight for the moſt part of the coaſt of Barbary.

The 18. day wee ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelue of the clocke by the reckoning of our

Pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

Cape Blanke.

The 22.day our Pilots reckoned vs to be thwart Cape Verde.

Cape Verde.

The coaſt of Guinea.

The 12.day of December we had ſight of land of Guinea, which as ſoone as we ſaw we halled into the land Northeaſt, and about 12. of the clocke at night we were neere the ſhoare within leſſe then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and ſounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we ſaw a light towards the ſhoare, which we thought to haue bene a ſhip, and thereby iudged it to be the riuer de Seſtos, which light as ſoone as we eſpied, we came to an anker & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, becauſe we doubted that it might be ſome Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anker, but in the morning we ſaw no man, only we eſpied 4. rockes about 2. Engliſh miles from vs, one great rocke, and the 3. other ſmal ones, which when we ſawe, we ſuppoſed that the light came from the ſhore, and ſo wayed and ſet ſaile Eaſt Southeaſt along the ſhoare, becauſe the Maſter did not well know the place, but thought that we were not ſo farre to the Eaſt as the riuer de Seſtos.

This land all a long is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the ſhoare, ſo that it is not poſſible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In theſe 24. houres I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were vnder ſaile, and had withall ſtore of thunder and lightnings.

The 13.day for the moſt part we ran Eaſt Southeaſt all along the ſhoare, within two leagues alwayes of the ſame, and found the land all as at the firſt, ful of woods and great rocks hard aboord the ſhoare, and the billow beating ſo ſore, that the ſeas brake vpon the ſhoare as white as ſnow, and the water mounted ſo high that a man might eaſily diſcerne it 4. leagues off, in ſuch wiſe that no boate could land there. Thus we ran vntil 12. of the clocke, and then they tooke the Sunne and after iudged themſelues to be 24. leagues paſt the riuer de Seſtos to the Eaſtwards, by reaſon whereof we halled into the ſhoare within two Engliſh miles, and there ancred and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the ſhoare the ſea ſo ſmooth, that we might wel haue rid by an Hawſer. All that after-noone we trimmed our boate and made her a ſaile, to the ende that ſhe might go along by the ſhoore to ſeeke ſome place to water in: for wee could not goe backe againe to the riuer de Seſtos, becauſe the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the Currant runneth alwayes to the Eaſtwards, which was alſo againſt vs.

The Currant ſetting Eaſtward.

The 14.day we ſet ſaile & went back againe along the coaſt, and ſent our boats hard aboord the ſhoare to ſeeke a watering place, which they found about 12. of the clock, and we being farre into the ſea, met with diuers boats of the Countrey, ſmall, long and narrow, & in euery boate one man and no more: we gaue them bread which they did eat, & were very glad of it. About 4 of the clocke our boats came to vs with freſh water: and this night we ankered againſt a Riuer.

The 15.day we wayed and ſet ſaile to goe neere the ſhoare, and with our leade wee ſounded all the way, and found ſometimes rockes, and ſometimes faire ground, and at the ſhalloweſt found 7. fadoms alwayes at the leaſt. So in fine we found 7. fadom and a halfe within an Engliſh mile of the ſhoare, and there we ankered in a maner before the mouth of the Riuer, and then wee ſent our boats into the Riuer for water, which went about a mile within the Riuer, where they had very good water. This Riuer lieth by eſtimation 8. leagues beyond the Riuer de Seſtos, and is called in the Carde Riuer S. Vincent, but it is ſo hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it ſhall not be able to diſcerne that it is a Riuer: by reaſon that directly before the mouth of it there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the Riuer, ſo that a boate muſt runne in along the ſhoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the ſhoare before it come to the mouth of the Riuer, and being within it, it is a great Riuer and diuers other Riuers fall into it: The going into it is ſomewhat ill, becauſe that at the entring the ſeas do goe ſomewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

Riuer S. Vincent.

There are neere to the Sea vpon this Riuer diuers inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and go al naked except ſome thing before their priuie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth: for the barke is of that nature, that it will ſpin ſmall after the maner of linnen. Some of them alſo weare the like vpon their heades being painted with diuers colours, but the moſt part of them go bare headed, and their heads are clipped and ſhorne of diuers ſorts, and the moſt part of them haue their ſkin of their bodies raced with diuers workes, in maner of a leather Ierkin. The men and women goe ſo alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breaſtes, which in the moſt part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the vdder of a goate.

Cloth made of the barke of trees.

The Negroes race their ſkinnes.

The ſame morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and caried certaine baſons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogſ-head and 100. li. waight of Graines, and two Elephants teeth at a reaſonable good reckoning. Wee ſolde them both baſons, and Manellios, and

Graines of Guinea.

Elephants teeth.

Margarits, but they deſired moſt to haue baſons: For the moſt part of our baſons wee had by eſtimation about 30.li. for a piece, and for an Elephants tooth of 30.li. waight, we gaue them 6.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the riuer with our Skiffe, and tooke ſome of euery ſort of our marchandize with vs, and ſhewed it to the Negroes, but they eſteemed it not, but made light of it, and alſo of the baſons, Manellios and Margarits, which yeſterday they did buy: howbeit for the baſons they would haue giuen vs ſome graines, but to no purpoſe, ſo that this day wee tooke not by eſtimation aboue one hundreth pound waight of Graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would ſuffer no man to ſell any thing but through his hands, and at his price: he was ſo ſubtile, that for a baſon hee would not giue 15. pound waight of Graines, and ſometimes would offer vs ſmall diſhfuls, whereas before wee had baſkets full, and when he ſaw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and cauſed all the reſt of the boates to depart, thinking belike that wee would haue followed them, and haue giuen them their owne aſkings. But after that wee perceiued their fetch, wee wayed our Grapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a ſmall Towne to ſee the faſhions of the Countrey, and there came a threeſcore of them about vs, and at the firſt they were afraid of vs, but in the ende perceiuing that wee did no hurt, they would come to vs and take vs by the hand and be familiar with vs, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie ſmall houels, all couered ouer with great leaues and baggage, and all the ſides open, and a ſcaffolde vnder the houſe about a yard high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye alſo. In ſome of their houſes they worke yron and make faire dartes, and diuers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there diuers of the women to ſhew vs pleaſure danced and ſung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their ſong was thus:

The deſcription of their Townes and houſes.

Sakere, ſakere, ho, ho. Sakere, ſakere, ho, ho.

And with theſe words they leape and dance and clap their hands. Beaſtes we could ſee none that they had, but two goates, ſmall dogges, and ſmall hennes: other beaſtes we ſaw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboord our ſhips: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiuing, ſent two of his ſeruants in a boat with a baſket of Graines, and made vs ſignes that if when we had ſlept wee would come againe into their riuer, wee ſhould haue ſtore of Graines, and ſo ſhewed vs his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning becauſe we thought that the Negroes would haue done ſomething becauſe the Captaine ſent for vs, I required the Maſter to goe on ſhoare, and ſent the reſt of our Marchants with him, and taried aboord my ſelfe by reaſon that the laſt day he eſtemed our things ſo litle: ſo when the Maſter and the reſt came into the riuer, the captaine with diuers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, & after that he ſaw that I was not there, he made ſignes to know where I was, and they made ſignes to him againe that I was in the ſhips: and then hee made ſignes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for ſo they call their Captaine, & they pointed to the maſter of the ſhip: then he began to ſhew his Graines, but he held them ſo vnreaſonably, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Maſter perceiuing, and ſeeing that they had no ſtore of Graines, came away, and tooke not aboue 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a ſhoare to the litle Towne where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a Gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made ſignes to them to depart: which our men did, hauing but one bow and two or three ſwords, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and aſſoone as they were come aboord we wayed and ſet ſaile, but the winde was off the Sea, ſo that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

Diago the name of a Captaine.

The latitude of S. Vincent riuer is 4. degrees and a halfe.

This riuer is called Riuer S. Vincent, ſtanding in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeth and floweth there euery 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the moſt: while wee were there, it ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

Leaues of exceeding length.

This countrey as farre as we could perceiue is altogether woody, and al ſtrange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many ſorts, with great leaues like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

Long peaſe ſtalkes.

There are certaine peaſon by the Sea ſide, which grow vpon great and very long ſtalkes, one of the ſtalkes I meaſured and found it 27. paces long, and they grow vpon the ſand like to trees, and that ſo neere the Sea, that ſometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceiue by the water markes.

Long womens breaſts.

The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Diuers of the women haue ſuch exceeding long breaſts, that ſome of them will lay the ſame vpon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women haue not ſuch breaſts.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the Sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ ſometimes, which our Maſter marueiled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came vp at the Eaſt, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North Northweſt off the ſhoare: yet we wayed and halled off South with that winde all night into the Sea, but the next morning we halled in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our ſhip, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceiue that here was any gold, or any other good thing: for the people be ſo wilde and idle, that they giue themſelues to ſeeke out nothing: if they would take paines they might gather great ſtore of graines, but in this place I could not perceiue two Tunne.

There are many foules in the Countrey, but the people wil not take the paines to take them.

I obſerued ſome of their words of ſpeach, which I thought good here to ſet downe.

Bezow, bezow,	Is their ſalutation.
Manegete afoye,	Graines ynough.
Crocow afoye,	Hennes ynough.
Zeramme afoye,	Haue you ynough?
Begge ſacke,	Giue me a knife.
Begge come,	Giue me bread.
Borke,	Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,	Ye lye.
Veede,	Put foorth, or emptie.
Brekeke,	Rowe.
Diago,	Their Captaine, and ſome call him Dabo.

The language about the Riuer of S. Vincent.

Theſe and other wordes they ſpeake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the laſt time longer then at the two firſt.

The 18. day towards night, as we were ſailing along the coaſt, we met with certaine boats in the ſea, & the men ſhewed vs that there was a riuer thwart of vs, where there were Graines to be ſold, but we thought it not good to tary there, leaſt the other ſhips ſhould get before vs. This riuer hath lying before it three great rockes, and 5. ſmall rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the riuer, which in height exceeded all the reſt: we halled this night along the coaſt 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coaſted the ſhoare, about twelue of the clocke there came out to vs 3. boates to tell vs that they had graines, & brought ſome with them for a ſhew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coaſt, & ancred by the ſhore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde hauing ankered by vs amongſt rockes, and foule ground, loſt a ſmall anker. At noone, as we paſſed along the coaſt, there came forth a Negro to vs, making ſignes, that if we would goe a ſhoare, wee ſhould haue Graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to vs, and brought Graines, and ſhewed vs them, and made ſignes that wee ſhould tary, and made a fire vpon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell vs where we ſhould land, and ſo they did in diuers other places vpon the coaſt, where they ſaw vs to anker.

In al the places where we haue ancred, ſince we came from our watring place, we haue found the tide alwayes running to the Weſtwards, and all along the coaſt many rockes hard aboord the ſhoare, and many of them a league off the ſhoare or more, we ran this day 12. leagues.

The tides and nature of the ſhoare.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came ſo ſore out of the coaſt, that we were not able to runne aboue ſixe leagues: and this day there came ſome Negroes to vs, as there had done other times.

The 22. wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas, and ranne ſixteene leagues.

The point of Palmas.

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the Weſtermoſt part of it, we ſaw a great ledge of rocks, which lie Weſt from the Cape about 3. leagues and a league or more frō the land. Shortly after we had ſight of the Eaſtermoſt part of the Cape, which lieth 4. leagues from the Weſtermoſt part, and vpon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were cloſes, and to the Weſtwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that there lieth a head-land in the ſea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a riuer, before which place we ankered all that night, which wee did, leaſt in the night wee ſhould ouerrunne a riuer, where the * laſt yeere they had all their Elephants teeth.

*That was the yere 1554.

This Cape Das palmas lieth vnder foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the ſaid Cape, and the riuer de Seſtos is the greateſt ſtore of Graines to be had, and being paſt the ſaid Cape, there is no great ſtore elſe where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the Weſtward, The tides running Eaſtward.

ward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eaſtward: this day we ranne ſome 16. leagues.

The 24. day running our courſe, about eight of the clock there came forth to vs certaine boats, which brought with them ſmall egges, which were ſoft without ſhels, and they made vs ſignes, that there was within the land freſh water, and Goates: and the Maſter thinking that it was the riuer which we ſought, caſt ancker and ſent the boate on ſhoare, with one that knew the riuer, and comming neere the ſhoare, hee perceiued that it was not the riuer, and ſo came backe againe, and went along the ſhoare, with their oares and ſaile, and wee weyed and ranne along the ſhoare alſo: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Maſter perceiued a place which he iudged to be the riuer, when wee were in deede two miles ſhot paſt it: yet the boate came from the ſhoare, and they that were in her ſaide, that there was no riuer: notwithſtanding wee came to an ancker, and the Maſter and I tooke fiue men with vs in the boat, and when hee came neere the ſhoare, hee perceiued that it was the ſame riuer which hee did ſeeke: ſo we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reaſon that the ſea goeth ſo high: and being entred, diuers boates came to vs, and ſhewed vs that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought vs one of about eight pound, & a little one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the riuer ſide, making ſignes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would ſell vs them: ſo we gaue vnto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and ſo we departed, and came aboord, and ſent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the ſea, made vs ſignes that there was freſh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no riuer, yet the people brought them freſh water, and ſhewed them an Elephants tooth, making ſignes that the next day they would ſel them teeth, and ſo they came aboord.

A Towne.

This riuer lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the Weſtwards of the ſame a rocke about a league in the ſea, and the riuer it ſelfe hath a point of lande comming out into the Sea, whereupon grow fiue trees, which may well bee diſcerned two or three leagues off, comming from the Weſtward, but the riuer cannot bee perceiued vntill ſuch time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceiue a litle Towne on ech ſide the riuer, and to ech Towne there belongeth a Captaine. The riuer is but ſmall, but the water is good and freſh.

Two miles beyond the riuer, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the Sea, which is greene like a cloſe, and not aboue ſixe trees vpon it, which growe one of them from the other, whereby the coaſt may well be knowen: for along all the coaſt that we haue hitherto ſailed by, I haue not ſeene ſo much bare land.

Many Palme trees.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the Weſtward of it, al along the ſhoare, there grow many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine de Palma. Theſe trees may eaſily be knowen almoſt two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and ſtreight, and be biggeſt in the midſt: they haue no boughes, but onely a round buſh in the top of them: and at the top of the ſame trees they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the iuyce of the tree runneth out of the ſaid hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

Cape Tres puntas.

From the Cape das Palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpoſe to make ſales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas 40. leagues.

Note, that betwixt the riuer De Seſtos, and the Cape Das palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as far as I could perceiue, differeth not much frõ the language of thoſe which dwel where we watred before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their deſire in this place was moſt of all to haue Manillios and Margarites: as for the reſt of our things, they did litle eſteeme them.

Their maner of ſwearing by the water of the Sea.

About nine of the clocke there came boates to vs foorth, from both of the places aforeſaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had cauſed me to ſweare by the water of the Sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboord our ſhip three or foure of them, and we gaue them to eate of all ſuch things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our ſelues. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14. and of thoſe 14. there were 10. ſmall: afterwards they departed, making vs ſignes that the next day we ſhould come to their Townes.

Two townes.

The 26. day becauſe we would not trifle long at this place I required the Maſter to goe vnto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, & I my ſelfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, becauſe theſe two townes ſtand three miles aſunder. To theſe places we caried ſomewhat of euery kinde of marchandize that we had: and hee had at the one Towne, nine teeth, which were but ſmall, and at the other towne where I was, I had eleuen, which were alſo not bigge, and we left aboord with the Maſter certaine Manillios, wherewith he bought 12. teeth aboord the ſhip, in our abſence: and hauing bought theſe of them, wee perceiued that they had no more teeth: ſo in that place where I was one brought to me a ſmall goat, which I bought, and to the Maſter at the other place they brought fiue ſmall hennes, which he bought alſo, and after that we ſaw there was nothing elſe to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboord, and then wayed, and went Eaſt our courſe 18. leagues ſtill within ſight of land.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the ſea, and the winde comming againe off the ſea, wee fell with the land againe, and the firſt of the land which we raiſed ſhewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eaſtward of that another ſmaller red cliffe, and right aboue that into the land a round hummoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in theſe 24. houres, not aboue foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the ſhoare, we perceiued the red cliffe aforeſaide to haue right vpon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Weſtwards of it ful of red cliffes as farre as we could ſee, and all along the ſhoare, as well vpon the cliffes, as otherwiſe, full of wood: within a mile of the ſaid great cliffe there is a riuer to the Eaſtwards, and no cliffes that we could ſee, except one ſmall cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12. leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place by the reports of the people and of thoſe that haue bene there, haue not bene vſuall, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the ſea, and moſt commonly Northweſt, and Southweſt.

The 31. day we went our courſe by the ſhoare Northwards: this land is al along a low ſhoare, and full of wood, as all the coaſt is for the moſt part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which went a fiſhing, which bee greater boates then thoſe which we ſawe before, ſo that in ſome of them there ſate 5. men, but the faſhion of the boats is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke wee had ſight of a Towne by the ſea ſide, which our Pilots iudged to be 25. leagues to the Weſtwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

Cape Tres puntas.

The third of Ianuary in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night paſſed, as our Pilots ſaide, by one of the Portugals caſtles, which is 8. leagues to the Weſtwards of the Cape: vpon the firſt ſight of the Cape wee diſcerned it a very high land, and all growen ouer with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceiued two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Weſtward, and the vttermoſt of them is the Eaſterne Cape, there we perceiued the middle Cape, and the Eaſtermoſt Cape: the middle Cape ſtandeth not aboue a league from the Weſt Cape, although the Card ſheweth them to be 3. leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a ſmall rocke ſo neere to it, that it cannot be diſcerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the ſhoare, and vpon the ſame Cape ſtandeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the ſame Cape to the Eaſtward, there riſeth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine.

The thirde Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the thirde commeth out a litle head or point of a land out of the maine, and diuers rocks hard aboord the ſhoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 8. leagues off them, wee had the land Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, and being paſt the Capes, the land runneth in againe Eaſt Northeaſt.

About two leagues beyond the fartheſt Cape there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riſeth high againe, and diuers head-lands riſe one beyond another, and diuers rockes lie at the point of the firſt head-land. The middeſt of theſe Capes is the neereſt to the Southwards, I meane, further into the ſea then any of the other, ſo that being to the Eaſtward of it, it may be diſcerned farre off, and being ſo to the Eaſtward it riſeth with two ſmall rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of ouerſhooting a towne called S. Iohns. Wee ran this day not aboue 8. leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the countrey from the ſhoare, with fiue men in her, and went along by vs, as we thought, to diſcerne our flagges, but they would not come neere vs, and when they had well looked vpon vs, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, ſailing by the coaſt, we eſpied a ledge of rockes by the ſhoare, and to the Weſtwards of them two great greene hils ioyning together, ſo that betweene them it was hollow like a ſaddle: and within the ſaid rockes the Maſter thought the aforenamed Towne had ſtoode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with vs cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed aſhoare, but going along by the coaſt, we ſawe that there was no towne, therefore wee went aboord againe.

From theſe two hils aforeſaid, about two leagues to the Eaſtward, lie out into the Sea almoſt two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North Northweſtward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeaſt along the ſhoare: but the vttermoſt point of land in that place that we could ſee, lay Northeaſt, and by Eaſt from vs.

After that we were with a ſmall gale of winde runne paſt that vttermoſt head-land, we ſawe a great red cliffe, which the Maſter againe iudged to be the towne of S.Iohns, and then wee tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceiued that there was a towne vpon the toppe of the hill, and ſo wee went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great ſort of them, and waued vs to come in, with a peece of cloth, and ſo we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eaſtward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne ſtandeth, and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good ſpace, they ſent a boate aboord of vs, to ſhewe vs that they had golde, and they ſhewed vs a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our meaſure, & our weight, that they might ſhewe their Captaine thereof: and wee gaue them a meaſure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to ſhew vnto him, which they tooke, and went on ſhoare, and ſhewed it vnto their Captaine, and then they brought vs a meaſure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Crusado-weight of gold, making vs ſignes that ſo much they would giue for the like meaſure, and leſſe they would not haue. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we ſawe that they would doe no otherwiſe, and withall vnderſtood, that all the beſt places were before vs, wee departed to our ſhippes and wayed, and ranne along the ſhoare, and went before with our boate, and hauing ſailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay foorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before ſpoken of, and being paſt that people, the Maſter ſpied a place which hee ſaide plainely was the towne of Don Iohn: and the night was come vpon vs, ſo that we could not well diſcerne it, but we ankered as neere vnto the place as we could.

The towne of Don Iohn.

The fift day in the morning we perceiued it to be the ſame towne in deede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and becauſe that the laſt yeere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after ſhot at them with great baſes, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnel almoſt a baſe ſhot off the ſhoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boats came to vs. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eaſtward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly freſh riuer, and afterwards they came and waued to vs alſo to come in, becauſe they perceiued the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to vs, and made vs ſignes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could wee perceiue any boates that they had to come withall, ſo that we iudged that the Portugals had ſpoiled their boates, becauſe we ſaw halfe of their towne deſtroyed.

Wee hauing ſtayed there a good ſpace, and ſeeing that they would not come to vs, thruſt our boates heads a ſhoare, being both well appointed, and then the Captaine of the Towne came downe, being a graue man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and ſixe tall men after him, euery one with his dart & his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and ſharpe, and there came another after them which caried the Captaines ſtoole: wee ſaluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our ſelues, and hee like one that thought well of himſelfe, did not mooue his cap, nor ſcant bowed his body, and ſate him downe very ſolemnly vpon his ſtoole: but all his men put off their caps to vs, and bowed downe themſelues.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made faſt about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey alſo, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare aboue the loynes, except his head.

His ſeruants, ſome of them had cloth about their loines, and ſome nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made faſt before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, ſome like a baſket, and ſome like a great wide purſe of beaſts ſkinnes.

Their weapons.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fiſhing lines, and all ſuch like things which they haue, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very prettily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all ſuch things as they doe occupy, as darts, fiſhhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, ſome of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both ſides exceeding ſharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the moſt part of them haue hanging at their left ſide one of thoſe great daggers.

Their targets bee made of ſuch pils as their cloth is made of, and very cloſely wrought, and they bee in forme foure ſquare, and very great, and ſomewhat longer then they bee broad, ſo that kneeling downe, they make their targets to couer their whole body. Their bowes be ſhort, and of a pretie ſtrength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the ſtring is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I haue not as yet ſeene any of them, for they had wrapped them vp cloſe, and becauſe I was buſie I could not ſtand about it, to haue them open them. Their golde alſo they worke very well.

When the Captaine was ſet, I ſent him two elles of cloth, and two baſons, and gaue them vnto him, and hee ſent againe for a waight of the ſame meaſure, and I ſent him a weight of two Angels, which he would not take, nether would hee ſuffer the towne to buy any thing, but the baſons of braſſe: ſo that wee ſolde that day 74. baſons vnto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white baſons, which we ſolde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We ſhewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not eſteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from vs, came againe, and brought with him to preſent mee withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I receiued, and after made me ſignes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great ſtore of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men vnder 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to vs, euery man ſticked downe his dart vpon the ſhoare, and the Captaines had ſtooles brought them, and they ſate downe, and ſent a young man aboord of vs, which brought a meaſure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one ſixteenth part, and he would haue that foure times for a waight of one Angell and twelue graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he eſteemed nothing, but ſtill ſtucke at his foure meaſures aforeſaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him ſignes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight aboueſaid, and otherwiſe he would not deale, and ſo we departed. This day we tooke for baſons ſixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The ſixt day in the morning we manned our boates and the ſkiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the laſt yeere had taken away a man from the other ſhips, and went on ſhoare, and landed, becauſe they had no boates to come to vs, and ſo the young man which was with vs the night before was ſent aboord, who ſeemed to haue dealt and bargained before with the Portugals for he could ſpeake a litle Portuguiſe, and was perfect in weights and meaſures: at his comming he offered vs, as he had done before, one Angell, and twelue graines for foure elles, and more he would not giue, and made ſignes, that if we would not take that, we ſhould depart, which we did: but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of ſome rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell and twelue graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making ſignes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would haue done, rather then haue giuen that meaſure, although the cloth was ill, ſeeing we were ſo neere to the places, which we iudged to be better for ſale. Then we went aboord our ſhips, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the ſhoare for ſand and balaſte: and then the Captaine perceiuing that the boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and ſand, and ſeeing that we would depart, came vnto them, making ſignes againe to know whether we would not giue the foure elles, and they made ſignes againe, that we would giue them but three, and when they ſawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came vnto them and gaue them the weight of our Angell and twelue graines, which we required before and made ſignes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboord, we layde wares in them both, and for the ſpeedier diſpatch I and Iohn Sauill went in one boat, and the Maſter Iohn Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on ſhoare, and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and meaſure, and ſo being very late, we departed and went aboord, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The ſeuenth day we went a ſhoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, ſo that we diſpatched almoſt all the cloth that we caried with vs before noone, and then many of the people were departed & thoſe that remained had litle golde, yet they made vs ſignes to fetch them ſome latten baſons, which I would not becauſe I purpoſed not to trifle out yͤ time, but goe thence with ſpeede to Don Iohns towne. But Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth were deſirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, conſented, but went not my ſelfe: ſo they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, ſeeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the ſhoare, there came a young fellow which could ſpeake a little Portuguiſe, with three more with him, and to him I ſolde 39 baſons and two ſmall white ſawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the beſt reckoning that we did make of any baſons: and in the forenoone when I was at the ſhoare, the Maſter ſolde fiue baſons vnto the ſame fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the Caſtle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde vs that the Portugales were bad men, and that they made them ſlaues if they could take them, and would put yrons vpon their legges, and beſides he told vs, that as many Frenchmen or Engliſhmen, as they could take (for he could name theſe two very well) they would hang them: he told vs further, that there were 60 men in the caſtle, and that euery yeere there came thither two ſhippes, one great, and one ſmall caruell, and further, that Don Iohn had warres with the Portugals, which gaue mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Caſtle, wherehence our men were beaten the laſt yeere.

60. Portugales in the caſtle of Mina.

This fellowe came aboord our ſhippe without feare, and aſſoone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the laſt yeere we tooke away, and could tell vs that there were fiue taken away by Engliſhmen: we made him anſwere, that they were in England well vſed, and were there kept till they could ſpeake the language, and then they ſhould be brought againe to be a helpe to Engliſhmen in this Countrey: and then he ſpake no more of that matter.

The Engliſh in anno 1554 tooke away 5 Negroes.

Our boates being come aboord, we wayed and ſet ſayle and a litle after ſpied a great fire vpon the ſhoare, and by the light of the fire we might diſcerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Caſtle, and for feare of ouerſhooting the towne of Don Iohn we there ankered two leagues off the ſhoare, for it is hard to fetch vp a towne here, if a ſhip ouerſhoot it. This day we tooke ſeuen pound, and fiue ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place deſired moſt to haue baſons and cloth. They would buy ſome of them alſo many trifles, as kniues, horſetailes, hornes: and ſome of our men going a ſhoare, ſold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They ſhewed vs a certain courſe cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was courſe wooll, and a ſmall threed, and as thicke as woſted, and ſtriped with ſtripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Diuers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glaſſe of diuerſe colours. Here alſo I learned ſome of their language, as followeth:

This language ſeemeth partly to be corrupt.

Mattea, mattea,	Is their ſalutation.
Daſſee, daſſee,	I thanke you.
Sheke,	Golde.
Cowrte,	Cut.
Cracca,	Kniues.
Baſſina,	Baſons.
Foco, foco,	Cloth.
Molta,	Much, or great ſtore.

The eight day in the morning we had ſight of the Caſtle, but by reaſon of a miſte that then fell we could not haue the perfect ſight of it, till we were almoſt at the towne of Don Iohn, and then it cleared vp, and we ſaw it and a white houſe, as it were a Chappell, vpon the hill about it: then we halled into the ſhoare, within two Engliſh miles of Don Iohns towne, and there ankered in ſeuen fadome water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceiued that the currant went with the winde.

Sight of the caſtle of Mina.

The land here is in ſome places low and in ſome high, and full of wood altogether.

Don Iohns towne deſcribed.

The towne of Don Iohn is but litle, of about twentie houſes, and the moſt part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or ſedge, or ſome ſuch thing. Here we ſtaied two or three houres after we had ankered, to ſee if any man would come vnto vs: and ſeeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered with our boates neere to the ſhoare: then they ſent out a man to vs who made vs ſignes that that was the towne of Don Iohn, and that he himſelfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the moſt part of them will doe which come firſt aboord, and I gaue him one ell of cloth and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the ſhoare, and there came foorth a boate to vs, who made ſignes that Don Iohn was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place alſo came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Deuis, and brought with him gold to ſhew vs, making ſignes that we ſhould come thither. I then left in this place Iohn Sauill, and Iohn Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to ſhore with the boate, and by and by the boates came to vs and brought a meaſure of foure yards long & a halfe, and ſhewed vs a weight of an angell and twelue graines, which they would giue for ſo much, and not otherwiſe: ſo I ſtaied and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Iohns towne, and did nothing, hauing anſwere that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the ſhoare, and there came out a boat with good ſtore of gold, and hauing driuen the matter off a long time, and hauing brought the meaſure to a nayle leſſe then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and ſolde, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me ſignes to tary, till they had parted their cloth vpon the ſhoare as their manner is, and they would come againe, and ſo they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad vpon the ſande peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and ſpake vnto them, and foorthwith euery man made as much haſte as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we miſtruſted ſome knauery, and being waued by them to come a ſhoare, yet we would not, but went aboorde the Hinde, and perceiued vpon the hill 30 men which we iudged to be Portugals: and they went vp to the toppe of the hill and there muſtered and ſhewed themſelues, hauing a flagge with them. Then I being deſirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towards her, and when I came neere to them they ſhot off two pieces of ordinance which I marueiled at: I made as much haſte as I could to her, and met her boate and ſkiffe comming from the ſhoare in all haſte, and we met aboord together. They ſhewed me that they had beene a ſhoare all that day, and had giuen to the two ſonnes of Don Iohn, to either of them three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three baſons betwixt them, and had deliuered him 3 yards of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did tarie for his anſwere, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill vpon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had giuen them warning, and bad them to go away but they perceiued it not. The ſonne of Don Iohn conſpired with the Portugales againſt them, ſo that they were almoſt vpon them, but yet they recouered their boate and ſet off from the ſhoare, and the Portugales ſhot their calieuers at them, but hurt no man, and then the ſhip perceiuing it, ſhot off the two peeces aforeſayde among them. Hereupon we layde baſes in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a ſhoare againe, but becauſe of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the ſea about ten ſcore and ſhot at them, but the hill ſuccoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles ſhotte at vs with their halfe hakes, and the Negroes more for feare then for loue ſtoode by them to helpe them, and when we ſaw that the Negroes were in ſuch ſubiection vnto them that they durſt not ſell vs any thing for feare of them we went aboord, and that night the winde kept at the Eaſt, ſo that we could not with our ſhip fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboord the barke to ſee what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceiued the towne to be in like caſe layde with Portugales, ſo we wayed and went along the coaſt. This towne of Iohn de Viſo ſtandeth vpon an hill like the towne of Don Iohn, but it hath beene burned, ſo that there are not paſſing ſixe houſes in it: the moſt part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durſt for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good ſtore: but they dare not ſell any thing, their ſubiection is ſo great to the Portugales. The 11 day running by the ſhoare we had ſight of a litle towne foure leagues from the laſt towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne vpon a hill, and halfe a league from that alſo of another great towne vpon the ſhoare: whither we went to ſee what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, becauſe we thought that the Portugales would leaue the towne vpon our departure. Along from the caſtle vnto this place are very high hilles which may be ſeene aboue all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the ſea ſide. The boates of theſe places are ſomewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carrie twelue men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coaſt. There are about theſe townes few riuers: their language differeth not from the language vſed at Don Iohns towne: but euery one can ſpeake three or foure words of Portuguiſe, which they vſed altogether to vs.

The Portugales of the caſtle of Mina inuaded our men.

The towne of Don Iohn de Viſo.

We ſawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the ſhoare to the Weſtward, whereupon we ſuſpected ſome knauery intended againſt vs. The 12 day therefore we ſet ſayle and went further along the coaſt, and deſcried more townes wherein were greater houſes then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke vpon vs, but we could ſee no boates. Two mile beyond the Eaſtermoſt towne are blacke rocks, which blacke rockes continue to the vttermoſt cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in Eaſtnortheaſt, and a ſandy ſhoare againe: vpon theſe blacke rockes came downe certaine Negroes, which waued vs with a white flagge, but we perceiuing the principall place to be neere, would not ſtay, but bare ſtill along the ſhoare: and as ſoone as we had opened the point of the land, we rayſed another head-land about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it into the ſea, and that they thought to be the place which we ſought. When we came thwart the place they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ſhip being within halfe a mile of the place ankered in fiue fadome water and faire ground. We went on ſhoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone: we ſaw many boates lying vpon the ſhoare, and diuers came by vs, but none of them would come neere vs, being as we iudged afraid of vs: becauſe that foure men were taken perforce the laſt yeere from this place, ſo that no man came to vs, whereupon we went aboord againe, and thought here to haue made no ſale: yet towardes night a great ſort came downe to the water ſide, and waued vs on ſhoare with a white flagge, and afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him, and ſate him downe by the ſhore vnder a tree: which when I perceiued, I tooke things with me to giue him: at laſt he ſent a boat to call to vs, which would not come neere vs, but made vs ſignes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them things to giue to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten baſon, one white baſon, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and ſixe biſket cakes, which they receiued making vs ſignes to come againe the next day, ſaying, that their Captain was Grand Capitane as appeared by thoſe that attended vpon him with their darts and targets, and other weapons.

Foure men taken away by the Engliſh.

A great towne.

This towne is very great and ſtands vpon a hill among trees, ſo that it cannot well be ſeene except a man be neere it: to the Eaſtward of it vpon the hill hard by the towne ſtand 2. high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And vnder the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the ſea beates: and that end next the ſea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another ſmall towne.

The 13 day in the morning we tooke our boate and went to ſhoare, and ſtayed till ten a clocke and no man came to vs: we went about therefore to returne aboord, and when the Negroes ſaw that, they came running downe with a flagge to waue vs againe, ſo we ankered againe, and then one ſhewed vs that the Captaine would come downe by and by: we ſaw a ſaile in the meane time paſſe by vs but it was ſmall, and we regarded it not. Being on ſhore wee made a tilt with our oares and ſayle, and then there came a boate to vs with fiue men in her, who brought vs againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making ſignes by the ſunne, that within two houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and buy all that we had: ſo I gaue them ſixe Manillios to carry to their Captaine, and they made ſignes to haue a pledge of vs, and they would leaue vs another man: and we willing to doe ſo, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not giue vs one of theirs, ſo we tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants: and shortly after one came downe arrayed like their Captaine with a great traine after him, who ſaluted vs friendly, and one of the chiefeſt of them went and ſate downe vnder a tree, where the laſt yere the Captaine was wont to ſit: and at laſt we perceiued a great many of them to ſtand at the ende of a hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a baſe, who ſuddenly ſhotte at vs but ouerſhot vs, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they ſhot at vs againe before we could ſhip our oares to get away but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by vs, and diſcharged calieuers at vs, and againe the Portugales ſhot off their baſe twiſe more, and then our ſhip ſhot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

The like they doe in the countrey of Prete Ianni.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, ſeeing the Negroes bent againſt vs, becauſe that the laſt yeere M. Gainſh did take away the Captaines ſonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cauſe that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the laſt yeere by the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboord the ſhippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Caſtle in, and there they had good ſales.

Maſter Robert Gainſhes voyage to Guinea in anno 1554.

The Engliſh were offered to build a towne in Guine.

The 14 day we wayed and plyed backe againe to ſeeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and ſo we turned both backe to the Eaſtwardes to ſee what we could doe at that place where the Trinitie did ſell her eight friſes the laſt yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke we eſpied certaine boates vpon the ſand and men by them and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke three ounces of gold for 18 fuſſs of cloth, euery fuſſe three yards and a halfe after one angell and 12 graines the fuſſe, and then they made me ſignes that the next day I ſhould haue golde enough: ſo the Maſter tooke the Hinde with Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth, and went to ſeeke the place aforeſaid, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to ſee what we could do the next day: and when the Negroes perceiued our ſhip to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & ſo ſent forth 2 boats to vs with 4 men in them, requiring vs to tary & to giue them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them ſhould tary with vs for him, ſo Edward M. Morleis ſeruant ſeeing theſe men ſo earneſt therein offered himſelfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and ſcales, and a chaine of golde about his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of ſuch things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light vpon the ſhoare thwart of vs, and about one of the clocke we heard and ſaw the light of a baſe which ſhot off twiſe at the ſaid light, and by and by diſcharged two calicuers, which in the end we perceiued to be the Portugals brigandine which followed vs from place to place, to giue warning to the people of the countrey, that they ſhould not deale with vs.

A Portugale Brigandine.

The 15 day in the morning the Captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wiues alſo, becauſe their towne was 8 miles vp in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the ſea ſide till they had bought what they would. When he was come he ſent our man aboord, and required to haue two men pledges, and he himſelfe would come aboord, and I ſent him two, of whom he tooke but one, and ſo came aboord vs, he and his wife with diuers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gaue him againe a latten baſon, a white baſon, 6 manillios, and a bottell of Malmeſie, and to his wife a ſmall caſket. After this we began to make our meaſure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a meaſure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke mine owne weight and meaſure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: and ſince the departure of the Hinde I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the firſt night, he ſaid he ſaw her caſt anker aboue fiue leagues from this place. The 17 day I ſold about 17 pieces of cloth, & tooke 4. li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the captaine deſired to haue ſome of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottell: but I gaue it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke beſides. And this day alſo I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we ſold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day we tooke 3 li. ſixe ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Captaine who had layen all this while vpon the ſhoare, went away with all the reſt of the people with him.

The 23 day we were waued a ſhoare by other Negroes, and ſold them cloth, caſkets, kniues, and a doſen of bels, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24 likewiſe we ſold bels, ſheetes, and thimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we ſold 7 doſen of ſmal bels and other things, and then perceiuing their gold to be done, we wayed and ſet ſayle & went to leeward to ſeeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had ſight of her, and bare with her, and vnderſtood that ſhee had made ſome ſales. The 26 day wee receiued out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day vpon the requeſt of a Negro that came vnto vs from a captaine, we went to ſhoare with our marchandize, and tooke 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of vs, but at night they ſent a man aboord vs, which lay with vs all night, becauſe we might knowe that they would alſo come to vs the next day. The 27 day in both our ſhippes we tooke 8. li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made ſales for the companie, and tooke one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two calieuers ſhot off vpon the ſhore, which we iudged to be either by the Portugales or by the Negroes of the Portugales: we manned our boates and armed our ſelues and went to ſhoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made more ſales for the companie and for the Maſters.

The 31 we ſent our boate to ſhoare to take in ſand for balaſt, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made ſale the day before a fiſhing which did helpe them to fill ſand, and hauing no gold, ſold fiſh to our men for their handkerchiefes and nightkerchiefes.

Februarie.

The 1. day of February we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made more ſales: but hauing viewed our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time vpon the coaſt, becauſe the moſt part of our drinke was ſpent, & that which remained grew ſowre. The 3 and 4 dayes we made ſome ſales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4. day to come off the ſhoare, we ſet ſaile and ranne along the ſhoare to the Weſtwards: vpon this coaſt we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the ſhoare at Northnortheaſt, and ſo continueth vntill eight of the clocke in the morning: and all the reſt of the day and night it comes out of the Southweſt: and as for the tide or currant vpon this ſhore, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day we continued ſayling and thought to haue met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, but found none.

They returne for England.

The ſixt day we went our courſe Southweſt to fetch vnder the line, and ranne by eſtimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day wee thought our ſelues by our reckoning to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

Cape de Monte. The 22 day we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Weſtward of the Riuer de Seſtos, about 30 leagues.

March. The firſt day of March in a Ternado we loſt the Hinde, whereupon we ſet vp a light and ſhot off a piece but could not heare of her, ſo that then we ſtrooke our ſaile and taried for her, and in the morning had ſight of her againe three leagues a ſterne off vs.

Cape Verde in latitude 14 degrees & a halfe. Upon the 22 day we found our ſelues to be in the height of Cape Verde, which ſtands in 14. degrees and a halfe.

From this day till the 29 day we continued our courſe, and then we found our ſelues to be in 22 degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long ſicke, died in his ſleepe, his apparell was diſtributed to thoſe that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be deliuered them at his comming home.

The 30 day we found our ſelues to be vnder the Tropike.

The 31 day we went our courſe, and made way 18 leagues.

Aprill. From the firſt day of Aprill to the 20 we went our courſe, and then found our ſelues to bee in the height of the Aſores.

May. The ſeuenth day of May we fell with the South part of Ireland, and going on ſhoare with our boate had freſh drinke, and two ſheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gaue them golde for them, and bought further ſuch other victuals as we had neede of, and thought would ſerue vs till we arriued in England.

Their arriuall at Briſtoll. The 14 day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Briſtoll called Hungrode, and there ankered in ſafetie and gaue thankes to God for our ſafe arriuall.

The ſecond voyage made by Maiſter *VVilliam Towrſon* to the coaſt of *Guinea,* and the Caſtle of *Mina,* in the yeere 1556. with the *Tiger* of *London,* a ſhip of 120 tunnes, the *Hart* of *London* of 60 tunnes, and a Pinneſſe of ſixteene tunnes.

The fourteenth day of September, the yeere aboueſayd, we departed from Harwich, and directed our courſe for the Iſle of Sillie, to meete there with the Hart and Pinneſſe, which were rigged and victualed at Briſtoll, but arriuing there the eight and twentieth day we found them not, and therefore after long lying at hull to tarrie for them, but not eſpying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinneſſe came to vs, ſo that the 15 of Nouember we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the after noone, and the 28 day we had ſight of the Iſle of Porto Santo, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

Nouember.

December. The third day of December we fell with the Ile of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Carauels fiſhing for Pargoes.

Sierra Leona. The 19 we found our ſelues in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine Currants, which did ſet to the Weſt Southweſtward ſo faſt as if it had bene the ouer-fall of a ſand, making a great noyſe like vnto a ſtreame or tide-gate when the water is ſhoale: and to prooue whither we could finde ground in this place, we ſounded and had 150 fadome, and no ground, and ſo departed.

The 30 of December we fell with the coaſt of Guinea, and had firſt ſight of it about 4 leagues off. The beſt marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay Northeaſt and by Eaſt from vs: betwixt the Northermoſt two hilles there are two high and great trees ſtanding in ſight as it were a ſailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northweſtwards are certaine hommocks. Hauing ſayled ſomewhat into the ſhoare wee tooke our ſelues to be ſhotte ſomewhat paſt the riuer de Seſtos, ſo that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after we had ſight of three ſayles of ſhippes and two pinneſſes which were in the weather of vs, and hauing ſight of them we made our ſelues readie to meete them, and halled off our ſhips to fetch the winde as neere as we could: and hauing ſayled about an houre or two, they alſo went about, and went as we went to make themſelues readie, and when we had them in chaſe, they went away from vs: but when they had made themſelues readie, they kept about againe, and came with vs verie finely appointed with their ſtreamers, and pendants and enſignes, and noyſe of trumpets very brauely: ſo when we met, they had the weather of vs, and we being determined to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waued them to come vnder our Lee, which they denied ſtoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they ſayd of France, we told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of vs what Portugals wee had ſeene, we anſwered, none but Fiſhermen: then they told vs that there were certaine Portugall ſhips gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the riuer de Seſtos, which was a ſhip of two hundred which they had burned, and had ſaued none but the maſter and two or three Negros, and certaine others which were ſore burned which they left a ſhore there. Then they deſired to come aboord of vs with their boates to talke with vs, and wee gaue them leaue. Then the captaine of the Admirall and diuers others came aboord very friendly, deſiring vs to keepe them company becauſe of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with the coaſt, and they ſhewed vs that we were fiftie leagues paſt the riuer de Seſtos: notwithſtanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe vs to water with their owne boats becauſe they would haue our companie. And told vs further, that they had bene ſixe weekes vpon the coaſt, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines amongſt them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before vs, they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portugals were there and did take them, they would vnderſtand that we were behind, and ſo would waite for vs. And further we made account that if we went with them we ſhould doe as well as they, if the coaſt were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were aſſured to be the ſtronger. Therefore hauing conſidered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they deſired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the maſters of our ſhips with me, and ſuch marchants as I thought good, promiſing to giue vs water out of their owne ſhips if we would take it, or els to tarie with vs and helpe vs to water with their own boats and pinnaſſes.

The riuer of Seſtos.

They admit certaine Frenchmen into their companie.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall ſent his boat aboord for me, and I tooke our maſters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had prouided a notable banquet for vs, and intreated vs very friendly, deſiring vs ſtill to keepe his company, promiſing that what victuals were in his ſhips, or other things that might doe vs pleaſure vntill the end, we ſhould haue the one halfe of it, offering vs if we would to furle his Flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anker, and to ſend our boat on ſhore with the Admirals boat, and one of his pinnaſſes, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to ſeeke water, as for our pinnaſſe ſhe came to an anker to ſeaward of vs all, and would not come at vs. All this night the boats continued on ſhore.

The firſt day of January our boats came to vs againe and had found no riuer. Whereupon we weighed and ſet ſaile, and ankred againe at another riuer.

The 2 day we went into the riuer and bargained, and tooke 5 ſmall Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

The fourth day the French Admirall and we tooke fifteene ſmall teeth. This day wee tooke thirtie men with vs and went to ſeeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebuſſes, pikes, long bowes, croſſebowes, partizans, long ſwordes, and ſwordes and bucklers: wee found two Elephants which wee ſtroke diuers times with harquebuſſes and long bowes, but they went away from vs and hurt one of our men. The fift day we ſet ſaile and ranne along the coaſt.

An aſſault vpon elephants.

The 6 day we fell with the riuer de S. Andre, at which place the land is ſomewhat high to the Weſtward of the riuer, and a faire Baie alſo to the Weſtward of it: but to the Eaſtward of it it is lowe land.

Rio de S. Andre. Captaine Blundel the French Admirall.

The 7 day we went into the Riuer and found no village, but certaine wild Negros not accuſtomed to trade. It is a very great riuer and 7 fadome water in ſome places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after ſet ſaile.

The 8 day we ſailed along the ſhore and came to the Redcliffes, and went forward in ſailing the 9 day alſo.

The 10 day we came together to confer with captaine Blundel Admiral of the French ſhips, Ierom Baudet his viceadmiral, and Iohn de Orleans maſter of a ſhip of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God ſhould ſend vs to any place where wee might make ſale, that we ſhould be of one accord and not one of vs hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the reſt, and then one boate to make ſale for euery ſhippe. This night our boats going to the ſhore met with certaine Negros, who ſaid that they had gold, and therefore we here caſt anker.

Allow.

The 11 day all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight: the Negros called this place Allow.

The 12 day we ran along the coaſt and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to vs, and therefore we went our courſe.

The 13 day I tooke my boat and went along the ſhore, and paſſed by diuers ſmall townes, and was waued to come on ſhore at 3 places, but the ſea went ſo high vpon the ſhore, that it was not poſſible for vs to land, neither could they come to vs if they had had boats, as I could ſee none but at one place, where there was one that would haue come vnto vs, but the Land-waſh went ſo ſore that it ouerthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried ſo ſore, that we might eaſily heare them, and they got his body out of the ſea, and caried it amongſt them to their towne.

Dondou a great towne.

The caſtle of Mina.

Cape de Tres puntas.

The 14 day we came within Saker-ſhot of the caſtle, & ſtraightway they ſet forth and Almade to deſcry vs, and when they perceiued that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the Caſtle which is called by the Negros Dondou. Without this there lie two great rockes like Ilands, and the caſtle ſtandeth vpon a point which ſheweth almoſt like an Iland. Before we came at this caſtle, we found the land for fiue or ſix leagues to be high land, and about ſeuen leagues before we came to the caſtle, lowe land, vntil we came at the caſtle, and then wee found the land high againe. This caſtle ſtandeth about fiue leagues to the Eaſt of Cape de Tres puntas. Here I tooke the boate with our Negros and ranne alongſt the ſhore till I came to the Cape and found two ſmall townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At theſe places our Negros did vnderſtand them well, and one of them went a ſhore at all the places and was well receiued of them. This night we ankred at the Cape de Tres puntas.

Bulle.

The 15 day I tooke our boat and went along the ſhore, & about 3 leagues beyond the Eaſtermoſt part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a ſmal towne and certaine boates which belonged to the ſame towne, but the Negros in a long time would not come to vs, but at the laſt by the perſwaſion of our owne Negros, one boat came to vs, and with him we ſent George our Negro a ſhore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boates without feare, and I gaue to their captaine a baſon, and two ſtrings of Margarets, and they ſhewed vs about 5 duckats weight of gold, but they required ſo much for it that wee would not take it, becauſe the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made then euery man to ſell in his owne boat, and no man to giue more thē the price which ſhould be ſet by vs al. This place is called Bulle, and here the Negros were very glad of our Negros, and ſhewed them all the friendſhip they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by vs.

The Negros here ſhewed vs that a moneth ſince there were 3 ſhips that fought together, & the two ſhippes put the other to flight: and before that at the caſtle of Mina there were 4 ſhips of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman cauſed them all to flee, which ſhippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company iudged her to be thereabout that time with her pinnaſſe alſo. And further, that after her went a ſhippe of twelue ſcore named the Shaudet all alone, and after her a ſhip of foureſcore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others alſo which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the riuer De Seſtos, beſides theſe 3 which all this time be in our company, whoſe names be theſe:

The Eſpoier of Hableneff which is the Admirall, whoſe captaine is Denis Blundell.

The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whoſe maſter is Ierome Baudet.

The other is of Hunfleur whoſe maſter is called Iohn de Orleans.

Hanta.

The ſixteenth day I went along the ſhore with two pinnaſſes of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a freſh riuer, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelue leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for ioy when they ſaw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and ſhould bee brought home the next voyage. So after this, our Negros came aboord with other Negros which brought a weight with them, which was ſo ſmall that wee could not giue them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it.

The Negros here told vs that there were fiue Portugall ſhippes at the Caſtle and one pinnaſſe, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Countrey, and that they liued in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a ſhore and the Frenchmen with vs, but did no great good, the Negros were ſo vnreaſonable, we ſold 80 Manellios for one ounce of gold.

Shamma.

Then wee departed and went to Shamma, and went into the riuer with fiue boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noiſes of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to haue found ſome Portugals but there were none: ſo wee ſent our Negros on ſhore, and after them went diuers of vs, and were very well receiued, and the people were very glad of our Negros, ſpecially one of their brothers wiues, and one of their aunts, which receiued them with much ioy, and ſo did all the reſt of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that hee ſhould not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them: whereupon we cauſed our boats to ſhoote off their baſes and harquebuſſes, and cauſed our men to come on ſhore with their long bowes, and they ſhot before the captaine, which he, with all the reſt of the people, wondred much at, ſpecially to ſee them ſhoot ſo farre as they did, and aſſaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ſhips, for we looked euery houre for the Portugals. *And here the Negros ſhewed vs that there was an Engliſh ſhip at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynſh tooke away.

The Negros brought home by our men.

*Note.

Robert Gaynſh.

The 18 day we went into the riuer with no leſſe ſtrength then before, and concluded with the Negros to giue them for euery Fuſſe two yards and three nailes of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat: ſo that we tooke in all 70 Duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a ſhore euery man for himſelfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Maſters boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negros ſhewed vs that the next day the Portugals would be with vs by land or by Sea: and when wee were ready to depart, we heard diuers harquebuſſes ſhoote off in the woods by vs which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durſt come no neerer to vs, but ſhot off in the woods to ſee if they could feare vs and ſo make vs to leaue our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our fiue boats, and alſo a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admirals, 12 of them in their murrians and corſlets, and the reſt all well appoynted, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a Fife, and the boate all hanged with ſtreamers of Silke and pendants very faire, and went into the riuer and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the riuer to waft vs, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day the Negros told vs that there were certain ſhips come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the Weſtward of this place.

Hanta.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the Weſtwards, and there found many Negros with another Captaine, and ſold at the ſame rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went a ſhore againe and traffiqued in like ſort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and ſix ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negros with their captaine came to vs and told vs that the king of Portugals ſhips were departed from the Caſtle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to vs, giuing vs warning to take heed to our ſelues: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to aſſure them that we were glad of it, wee ſounded our trumpets, and ſhot off certaine baſes whereof the Negros were very glad, and requeſted vs that if the Portugals ſought to hinder our traffique, to ſhew them all the extremitie that we could, promiſing vs that if they came by land, they would aduertiſe vs thereof.

The 24 we went a ſhore with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

Fiue ſailes of Portingals deſcried.

The 25 day we being a ſhore, our ſhips had deſcried fiue ſailes of the king of Portugals, & our ſhips ſhot off ordinance to call vs away, and we threw euery man his caſke a ſhore for water, and went to our ſhips, and by that time we had weighed and giuen order one to another what to do, it was night, ſo yͤ that night nothing was done. We ſet ſaile and lay cloſe all night to get the wind if we could: we were neere ſome of them, and one ſhot off a piece which wee iudged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cauſe the reſt to come and ſpeake with him: ſo all this night we made our ſelues ready for fight.

The 26 we came in with the ſhore and had ſight of the Portugals where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gaue all our men white ſcarffes, to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other if we came to boording: but the night came vpon vs that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within demie-Culuering ſhot of them.

The 27 day we weighed and ſo did the Portugals, and about eleuen of the clocke wee had the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceiued, they kept about to the ſhore againe, and wee after them, and when they were ſo neere the ſhore that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the Seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topſailes and taried for them: and the firſt that came vp was a ſmall barke which ſailed ſo well that ſhe cared not for any of vs, and caried good ordinance: and aſſoone as ſhe came vp, ſhe ſhot at vs, and ouerſhot vs, and then ſhe ſhot at the Admirall of the Frenchmen, and ſhot him through in two or three places, and went foorth a head of vs, becauſe we were in our fighting ſailes: then came vp another carauell vnder our Lee in like caſe which ſhot at vs and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and ſhot him through the maine maſte. And after them came vp the Admirall vnder our Lee alſo, but he was not able to doe vs ſo much harme as the ſmall ſhippes, becauſe he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good ſhot at any of them, becauſe our ſhippe was ſo weake in the ſide, that ſhe laid all her ordinance in the Sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great ſhip aboord, and as ſoone as the French Admirall went roome with him, he fell a ſterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell a ſterne of two carauels more and could fetch none of them, but fell to Leeward of them all: and when he was to Leeward, he kept about to the ſhoreward, and left vs, and then we put out our topſailes and gaue them chaſe, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere vs, and our owne ſhip was a ſterne ſo that ſhe could not come to vs: and after we had folowed them about two houres to the ſeaward, they kept about againe towards the ſhore, thinking to pay vs as they went along by, and to haue the wind of the French Admirall which before ran in towards the ſhore, and we kept about with them, and kept ſtill the wind of them thinking that our Viceadmiral and the other would haue folowed vs as wee willed them to do: but after that the Portugall was paſt by them, and euery one had ſhot at vs and our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmirall and the two Frenchmen, & our owne pinnaſſe left vs in the laps, and ran to ſeaward, and we ran ſtill along, and kept the wind of them to ſuccour the French Admirall, who was vnder all of their Lees, and when they met with him, euery one went roome with him, and gaue him the broad ſide, and after they caſt about againe, and durſt not boord him, becauſe they ſawe vs in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or ſunke them, for three of them which were the ſmalleſt, went ſo faſt that it was not poſſible for a ſhip to boord them, and caried ſuch ordinance that if they had had the weather of vs, they would haue troubled 3 of the beſt ſhips that we had, and as for their Admirall and Viceadmirall they were both notablie appointed.

The fight with the Portugals.

The French forſake our men.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee followed them ſtill towardes the ſhore, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the reſt, and left vs all alone: and when the Portugals perceiued that we were alone, and gaue them chaſe, they kept about with vs and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne ſtill within baſe ſhot of them, but they ſhot not at vs, becauſe we had the weather of them, and ſawe that they could do vs no hurt: and thus we folowed one another vntil night, and in the night we loſt them, but as for all the reſt of our ſhips, they packed on all the ſailes that they could and ranne to ſea, and as they themſelues confeſſe, they praied for vs, but as for helpe at their hands we could haue none.

The 28 day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinnaſſe, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled which was a ſhip of fourſcore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the ſight of the reſt of our ſhips, I tooke our ſkiffe and went to them to know why they loſt vs in ſuch a caſe, and Iohn Kire made me anſwere that his ſhip would neither reare nor ſteere, and as for the pinnaſſe, Iohn Dauis made me anſwere that ſhe would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, ſo that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himſelfe to be a man of good ſtomacke, but the one halfe of his men were ſicke and dead: and then I talked with the ſmaller Frenchman, and he made mee anſwere that he could doe nothing, ſaying, that his ſhip would beare no ſaile, and had 16 of his men dead and ſicke, ſo he made vs plaine anſwere that he was able to doe nothing. After this the Frenchmen durſt not anker for feare of the Portugales.

The 29 day the maſter of the pinnaſſe came to vs and ſayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her and ſeeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her vp and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out of her foure baſes, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and ſet her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coaſt.

The thirtie day we went in to the ſhore, and ſpake with certaine Negros, who told vs that ſome French ſhippes had bene there, but wee could not bargaine with them they were ſo vnreaſonable.

The 31 day I went to ſhore but did not traffike.

Februarie.

The 1 day of Februarie we weighed, ſeeing we could not bring the Negros to any reaſon, and came to another place which ſtandeth vpon an hill.

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from vs, and ſhot off two pieces, and the Captaine came to vs, and I ſent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and aſſoone as he came on ſhore the Captaine knew him and diuers of the Negros who then began to aſke for mee, and hauing told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarying but by and by cauſed two boates to be put to the Sea, and came to me himſelfe, and when he ſawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat and ſeemed to be the gladdeſt man aliue, and ſo did all the companie that knew mee, and I gaue him a reward as the maner of the Countrey is, and cauſed the Frenchmen to giue another, promiſing the next day to giue him wine: and that night becauſe it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me and ſo departed.

The 4 day going on ſhore, I found that the ſhips of France which had bin there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke fiue ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I ſaw that the Negros perceiued the difference in Cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, becauſe I perceiued that being there where his Cloth was ſold, I ſhould do no good, whereof hee was ſorie.

The 6 day there came an Almade & Negros aboord me, requeſting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchants: and ſo I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, becauſe the marchants were not come downe: ſo he required a pledge which I let him haue, and tooke another of him.

The 7 day George our Negro came to vs, who had followed vs at the leaſt 30 leagues in a ſmall boat, and when he came, the Negros and we ſoone concluded of price. I tooke this day fiue pound and one ounce, and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who ſaid that he ſaw the fight being on ſhore, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their riuer, and told them that the Engliſhmen had ſlaine two Portugals with a piece, which was in deed out of our ſhip, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not ſuffer them.

George our Negro.

Two Portugals ſlaine by the Engliſh.

The 8 day we tooke nineteene pound three ounces and a halfe.

The 9 day we tooke two pound ſix ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day three pound.

The 11 day came to vs Ierome Bawdet the Viceadmirall of the Frenchmen and his pinnaſſe, and he ſhewed vs that where we left them there was no good to be done, and ſayd he would goe to the Eaſtward, but wee told him hee ſhould not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refuſed to doe vntill wee had ſhot three or foure pieces at their pinnaſſe, and when the ſhip ſawe that, ſhe kept about, and ranne to Seaward, and durſt come no neerer to vs, ſo the pinnaſſe went after her. We tooke this day one pound fiue ounces.

The Frenchmen bridled by the Engliſh.

The 12 day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnaſſes to vs ladē with cloth, and would haue made ſale, but I would not ſuffer him, and therefore tooke him and ſent him aboord of our ſhip, and cauſed him to ride there all day. We tooke fiue pound ſix ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day we tooke of ſome Negros 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 we came to another towne.

The 17 day I went a ſhore and vnderſtood that 3 of the Portugall ſhips were at the Caſtle, and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to ſpeake with their king, and would returne ſhortly as they told me, and ſo he did, and brought me a weight and meaſure, and I ſent a man to ſee that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ſhips rid ſo neere vs, that within 3 houres they might be with vs, yet were all contented to tary for ſales.

The 18 day certaine of the kings ſeruaunts came to vs, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

The 10 day we tooke fiue pound one ounce.

The 20 day one pound and foure ounces.

The 21 I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they ſayd, but ſeeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I prouided a gift, or preſent, and ſent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reaſon whereof we could not ſtay long: for in deed we ſearched our ſhip, and the moſt part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22 day we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

King Abaan.

The offer of the king to the Engliſh to build a Fort.

The 23 our men came from the king Abaan, and told vs, that he had receiued them very friendly, but he had litle gold, but promiſed, if we would tarry, to ſend into all his countrey for gold for vs, and he willed our men at their comming home to ſpeake to our king to ſend men and prouiſion into his countrey, to build a caſtle, and to bring Tailors with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they ſhould be ſure to ſell them: but for that preſent the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

A towne in circuit as big as London.

This towne ſtandeth about foure leagues vp in the land, and is, by the eſtimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the reſt of the countrey. They haue about this Towne great ſtore of the wheate of the Countrey, and they iudge, that on one ſide of the towne there were one thouſand rikes of Wheate, and another ſort of Corne which is called Mill, which is much vſed in Spaine. About this towne they keepe good watch euery night, and haue to warne the watchmen certaine cordes made faſt ouer their wayes, which lead into the towne, and certaine bels vpon them, ſo that if any man touch the cordes, the bels ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houſes to ſee what they be: and if they be enemies, if they paſſe the cord, they haue prouiſion with certaine nets hanged ouer the wayes, where they muſt paſſe, to let fall vpon them, and ſo take them, and otherwiſe then by the wayes it is not poſſible to enter the towne, by reaſon of the thickets and buſhes which are about the ſame, and the towne is alſo walled round about with long cords, and bound together with ſedge and certaine barkes of trees.

A pretie deuiſe to deſcrie the enemie.

When our men came to the towne, it was about fiue of the clock in the morning, for there they trauell alwayes in the night by reaſon of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the king ſent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be ſent for, and then they would haue caried their preſent with them: but the Negros told them, that they muſt bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and receiued them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an houre, and then they departed, and after that ſent for them againe three times, and laſt of all, they brought him their preſent, which he receiued thankfully, and then cauſed a pot of wine of Palme to be brought foorth, and made them drinke: and before they drinke, both here and in all the Countrey, they vſe certaine ceremonies.

The kings friendly entertainment of our men.

Their ceremonies in drinking.

Firſt, they bring foorth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, & put ſome of the drinke into it, and they caſt the earth vpon it, which they digged forth before, and then they ſet the pot vpon the ſame, then they take a litle thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the ſame drinke, and put it vpon the ground in three places, and in diuers places they haue certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees ſet in the groũd before them, and there they put in ſome drinke, doing great reuerence in all places to the ſame Palme trees.

All theſe ceremonies firſt done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, vpõ the Twelfe night, The kinning drinks: and when he had drunke, then they gaue drinke to euery one, and that done, the king licenſed them to depart, and euery one that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waueth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king hath commonly ſitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25 we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26 we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27 two pound and fiue ounces.

The 28 foure pound, and then ſeeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went foorth.

Mowre.

The firſt day of March we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to vs from another towne; of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde vs that the Negroes that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell at Lagoua.

Lagoua.

They returne.

The ſecond day we came thwart of the caſtle, and about two leagues off, and there ſaw all the fiue Portugall ſhips at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma.

Ships of Portugall.

The third day we had ſight of one tall ſhip, of about two hundred tunnes, in the weather of vs, and within leſſe then two leagues of our ſhips, and then we ſaw two more a ſterne of her, the one a ſhip of fiue hundred or more, and the other a pinneſſe: and theſe were a new fleet at that preſent arriued out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made ſhift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South-ſouthweſt, the Hart going roome with them fell three leagues to the leewards of vs. Theſe Portugals gaue vs the chaſe from nine of the clocke in the morning, till fiue at night, but did no good againſt vs. At laſt, we perceiuing the Admirall to be farre a ſterne of his company, becauſe his maine top-maſt was ſpent, determined to caſt about with them againe, becauſe we were ſure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our beſt courſe: but the Hart was ſo farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would loſe her company, ſo that we tooke in ſome of our ſailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceiued, he looffed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not ſpeake to vs: then we aſked of his company why he went ſo roome; and they made excuſe that they were able to beare no ſaile by, for feare of bearing their foretopmaſt ouer boord: but this was a ſimple excuſe.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place we began to ſeethe our meat in ſalt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and ſo concluded to ſet our courſe thence, for our owne countrey.

The 12 of March I found my ſelfe thwart of Cape das palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we iudged to be the Cape Menſurado, about which place is very much high land.

Cape Menſurado.

The 18 day we loſt ſight of the Hart, and I thinke the wilfull Maſter ran in with the ſhore of purpoſe to loſe vs, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

The 27 day we fell in ſight of two ſmall Ilands, which lie by our reckoning ſixe leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona: and before we came in ſight of the ſame Ilands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the leaſt off them. Therefore all they that ſaile this way are to regard the currents which ſet Northnorthweſt, or els they may be much deceiued.

Two ſmall Ilands by Sierra Leona.
Note.

The 14 of Aprill we met with two great ſhips of Portugall, which although they were in the weather of vs, yet came not roome with vs, whereby we iudged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the heigth of Cape verde.

The 24 we were directly vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The firſt day of May Henry Wilſon our Steward died: and the next day died Iohn Vnderwood.

The fift day we were in the heigth of S. Michael.

The 23 we had ſight of a ſhippe in the weather of vs, which was a Frenchman of 90 tunne, who came with vs as ſtoutly and as deſperately as might be, and comming neere vs perceiued that we had bene vpon a long voyage, and iudging vs to be weake, as in deed we were, came neerer vs, and thought to haue layed vs aboord, & there ſtept vp ſome of his men in armour, and commanded vs to ſtrike ſaile: whereupon we ſent them ſome of our ſtuffe, croſſe barres, and chaine-ſhot, and arrowes, ſo thicke, that it made the vpper worke of their ſhippe flie about their eares, and we ſpoiled him with all his men, and toare his ſhippe miſerably with our great ordinance, and then he began to fall a ſterne of vs, and to packe on his ſailes, and get away: and we ſeeing that, gaue him foure or fiue good pieces more for his farewell; and thus we were rid of this French man, who did vs no harme at all. We had aboord vs a French man a Trumpetter, who being ſicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithſtanding, and ſounded till he could ſound no more, and ſo died.

A French brauado.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Seuerne, and ſo to Briſtoll, but the ſame night we had ſight of the Lizard, and by reaſon of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end to go into Seuerne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arriued ſafely in Plimmouth, and praiſed God for our good arriuall.

The third and laſt voyage of M. *VVilliam Towrſon* to the coaſt of *Guinie*, and the Caſtle *de Mina*, in the yeere 1577.

The thirtieth day of Ianuary, the yeere aboueſayd, we departed out of the ſound of Plimmouth, with three ſhips, and a pinneſſe, whereof the names are theſe:

1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet.
2 The Chriſtopher Uiceadmirall.
3 The Tyger.
4 A pinneſſe called the Vnicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coaſt of Guinie.

It is to be underſtood, that at this time there was warre betwixt England and France.

The next day, being the laſt of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Roſe, a ſhip of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Vnicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Maſter of the Roſe was called Nicholas Maſſe, and the Maſter of the Vnicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the moſt part with wines. When we came to them, we cauſed them to hoiſe foorth their boats, and to come and ſpeake with vs, and we examined euery one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their ſhippes, and they ſayd they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the ſuſpicion which we gathered of their falſe chartar-parties, we perceiued that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore cauſed one of them to fetch vp his bils of lading, and becauſe he denied that he had any, we ſent certaine with him, who cauſed him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon we examined them ſtraightly, and firſt the Purſer of the Vnicorne, which was the ſmaller ſhippe, confeſſed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogſhead of a French mans. Then we examined the Maſter in like caſe, and he acknowledged the ſame to be true. Then we examined alſo the Maſter of the great ſhip, and he confeſſed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes of the ſame French mans, and more they would not confeſſe, but ſayd that all the reſt was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg, to be deliuered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithſtanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confeſſed that they had thus much French mens goods within their ſhippes, we conferred together what was beſt to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion; that it ſhould be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make ſale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Maſters, firſt by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no ſuch matter we ſhould in any caſe prolong the time, for feare of loſing the voyage, and conſidering that the time of the yeere was very farre ſpent, and the money that we ſhould make of the wines not very much, in reſpect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perſwaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Eaſterly as it was, might be an occaſion that we ſhould be locked in there with that winde, and ſo loſe our voyage: and to cary them into Spaine, ſeeing they ſailed ſo ill, that hauing all their ſailes abroad, we kept them company onely with our foreſailes, and without any toppe ſailes abroad, ſo that in euery two dayes ſailing they would haue hindered vs more then one; and beſides that (the winde being Eaſterly) we ſhould not be able to ſeaze the coaſt with them: beſides all this the loſſe of time when we came thither was to be conſidered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, conſidering what charge we had of our Maſters, to ſhift vs out of the way for feare of a ſtay by reaſon of the warres, I held it not in any wiſe conuenient.

The French mens goods ſeazed in the time of the warre vpon the loſſe of Cales.

But notwithſtanding all this, certeine of our company not being herewith ſatiſfied went to our Maſter to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine anſwere, that to cary them into any place, it was not the beſt way nor the profit of their Maſters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they paſſed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All theſe things conſidered, we all pauſed, and determined at the laſt, that euery man ſhould take out of the hulks ſo much as he could well beſtow for neceſſaries, and the next morning to conclude what ſhould be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for vs foureteene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinneſſe.

More we tooke out one hogſhead of Aquauitæ.
Sixe cakes of rozzen.
A ſmall halſer for ties: and certeine cheſnuts.

The Chriſtopher tooke out,
Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogſhead.
A quantity of Aquauitæ.
Shall-lines.
Cheſnuts.

Sixe double baſes with their chambers. And their men broke vp the hulks cheſts, and tooke out their compaſſes, and running glaſſes, the ſounding leade and line, and candles: and caſt ſome of their beefe ouer boord, and ſpoiled them ſo much, that of very pity we gaue them a compaſſe, a running glaſſe, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ſhip, we gaue them againe, and ſome money alſo of that which William Crompton tooke for the ranſome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the Riuer of Bordeux, they were not able to ſet him a ſhore againe, by reaſon of the foule weather.

The Tyger alſo tooke out of the ſmaller hulke ſixe or ſeuen tunnes of wine, one hogſhead of Aquauitæ, and certeine rozzen, and two baſes he tooke out of the great hulke.

The firſt day of February in the morning we all came together againe ſauing W. Crompton who ſent vs word that he was contented to agree to that order which we ſhould take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not beſt to let the ſhips depart, but put men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our Maſter would agree vnto, becauſe we thought it not good to vnman our ſhips going outward, conſidering how dangerous the time was: ſo that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and giue them the reſt of the wine which they had in their ſhips of the Frenchmens for the fraight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rozzen, aquauitæ, cheſnuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we receiued a bill of their handes, that they confeſſed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our ſelues to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinneſſe brake her rudder, ſo that we were forced to towe her at the ſterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the reſt of our ſhips. About eleuen of the clocke this day we had ſight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Iland we perceiued that it was the Ile of Tenerif, & then in deed wee had ſight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eaſtwards of Tenerif: and becauſe the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinneſſe, hauing the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the ſame towne. And after we had ſhot off diuers pieces of ordinance to ſalute the towne and the caſtle, the gouernour and captaines of the Iland ſent to vs which were the captaines of the ſhips, requiring vs to come a ſhore. And when we came to them they receiued vs very frendly, offering vs their owne Iennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendſhip they could ſhew vs: and we went to the towne with two Engliſh Marchants which lay there, and remained in their houſe that day. The ſecond day following we came aboord to deliuer our marchandiſe, and to get our pinneſſe mended.

Two Engliſh Marchants Ligiers in the Grand Canary.

The 14 day came into the road the Spaniſh fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene ſaile, whereof ſixe were ſhips of foure hundred and fiue hundred a piece, the reſt were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they ſaluted vs with ordinance, and ſo we did them in like caſe. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) ſent his pinneſſe to deſire me to come to him; and when I came to him he receiued me friendly, and was deſirous to heare ſomewhat of the ſtate of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone vnto the boat, hee cauſed one of his gentlemen to deſire Franciſco the Portugall, which was my interpreter, to require me to furle my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboord) Franciſco ſhewed me: and becauſe I refuſed to furle it, and kept it foorth ſtill, certaine of the ſouldiers in the ſhips ſhot diuers harquebuſh ſhot about the ſhip, and ouer the flagge: and at the ſame time there came certeine gentlemen aboord our ſhip to ſee her: to whom I ſayd, that if they would not cauſe thoſe their men to leaue ſhooting, I would ſhoot the beſt ordinance I had thorow their ſides. And when they perceiued that I was offended, they departed, and cauſed their men of warre and ſouldiers to ſhoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they had puniſhed their men. That done, I ſhewed them the ſhip, and made them ſuch cheere as I could, which they receiued very thankfully: and the day following they ſent for mee to dine with them, and ſent me word that their Generall was very ſory that any man ſhould require me to furle my flagge, and that it was without his conſent: and therefore

The Spaniſh Weſt Indian fleet of nineteene ſaile.

he requeſted me not to thinke any vngentleneſſe to be in him, promiſing that no man of his ſhould miſdemeane himſelfe.

The 17 day we ſet ſaile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

Rio del Oro.

The 20 in the morning we had ſight of the coaſt of Barbarie, and running along the ſhore we had ſight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almoſt vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The 21 day we found our ſelues to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the heigth of Cape Blank.

The 25 we had ſight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

Francis Caſtelin.

Cape verde.

Foure Ilands.

A great trade of the Frenchmen at Cape verde.

The 26 I tooke Franciſco and Francis Caſtelin with me, and went into the pinneſſe, and ſo went to the Tyger which was neerer the ſhore then the other ſhips, and went aboord her, and with her and the other ſhips we ranne Weſt and by South, and Weſt-ſouthweſt, vntill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboord the Cape, and then we ran in Southweſt, and beyond the Cape about foure leagues we found a faire Iland, and beſides that two or three Ilands, which were of very high rocks, being full of diuers ſorts of ſea-foule, and of pigeons, with other ſorts of land-foules, and ſo many, that the whole Iland was couered with the dung thereof, and ſeemed ſo white as if the whole Iland had bene of chalke; and within thoſe Ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks eighteene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceiued the bay, and vnderſtanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were deſirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Chriſtopher ancred in like caſe: then we cauſed the pinneſſe to runne beyond another Cape of land, to ſee if there were any place to trade in there.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers ſkiffe, and went to the Iland, where we got certaine foules like vnto Gannards: and then I came aboord againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Chriſtopher, and when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I deſirous to ſpend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Maſter of the Chriſtopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

A faire Iland where the French trade.

Elephants teeth, muſke, and hides.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and Iohn Makeworth from the Chriſtopher, and then we agreed to take the pinneſſe, & to come along the ſhore, becauſe that where we rid no Negros came to vs, and the night before our pinneſſe brought vs word that there was a very faire Iland. And when I came beyond the point I found it ſo, and withall a goodly bay, and we ſaw vpon the maine certaine Negros which waued vs on ſhore, and then we came to an ancre with the pinneſſe, and went a ſhore with our cocke, and they ſhewed vs where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muſke, & hides, and offered vs to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would ſend a man with them, and they would leaue a pledge for him: then we aſked them when any ſhip had bene there; and ſome of them ſayd not in eight moneths, others, in ſixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

Then we perceiuing the Chriſtopher not willing to tary, departed from them, & ſet ſaile with the pinneſſe and went aboord the Tyger.

Cabo de Monte.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coaſt of Guinea, fiue leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape de Monte, beſide a riuer called Rio das Palmas.

The 11 we went to the ſhore, and found one man that could ſpeake ſome Portuguiſe, who tolde vs that there were three French ſhips paſſed by; one of them two moneths paſt, and the other one moneth paſt. At this place I receiued nineteene Elephants teeth, and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

The riuer de Seſtos.

The 12 we ſet ſaile to go to the riuer de Seſtos.

The 13 at night we fell with the ſame riuer.

The 14 day we ſent in our boats to take water, and romaged our ſhippes, and deliuered ſuch wares to the Chriſtopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to ſend the Tyger to another riuer to take in her water, and to ſee what ſhe could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandiſe with vs, and went into the riuer, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Lisbone, left there by a ſhip of Portugal which was burned the laſt yere at this riuer in fighting with three Frenchmen; and he told vs further, that two moneths paſt there were three Frenchmen at this place; and ſixe weeks paſt there were two French ſhips at the riuer; and fifteene dayes paſt there was one. All which ſhips were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 19 day conſidering that the Frenchmen were gone before vs, and that by reaſon of the vnholeſome aires of this place foureteene of our men in the Minion were fallen ſicke, wee determined to depart, and with all ſpeed to go to the Mina.

The 21 wee came to the riuer de Potos, where ſome of our boats went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12 ſmall Elephants teeth.

Rio de Potos.

The 23 day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we ſet ſaile to go towards the Mina.

The 31 we came to Hanta, and made ſale of certaine Manillios.

The firſt Aprill we hat ſight of fiue ſaile of Portugals, whereupon we ſet ſaile and went off to ſea to get the winde of them, which wee ſhould haue had if the winde had kept his ordinary courſe, which is all the day at the Southweſt, and Weſt-ſouthweſt: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the Eaſt, and Eaſt-ſoutheaſt, ſo that the Portugals had the winde of vs, and came roome with the Tyger and vs vntill night, and brought themſelues all ſaue one, which ſailed not ſo well as the reſt, within ſhot of vs: then it fell calme, and the winde came vp to the Southweſt, howbeit it was neere night, and the Chriſtopher, by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leewards of vs. We tacked and raune into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his company, and when we were neere him we ſpake to him, but he would not anſwere. Then we caſt about and lay in the weather of him; and caſting about he ſhot at vs; and then wee ſhot at him, and ſhot him foure or fiue times thorow. They ſhot diuers times thorow our ſailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinneſſe, becauſe it was night, kept out their ſailes, & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or more, and would not lay him aboord becauſe it was night, we left ſhooting one at the other, and kept ſtill the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinneſſe kept about and came to vs, and afterward being neere the ſhore, we three kept about and lay to the ſea, and ſhot off a piece to giue warning to the Chriſtopher.

They deſcrie fiue ſaile of the Portugals.

The fight.

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Maſter of the Tyger aſleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ſhip fel aboord of vs, and with her ſheare-hooks cut our maine ſaile, and her boat being betwixt vs was broken and ſuncke, with certaine marchandiſe in her, and the ſhips wales were broken with her outleger: yet in the end we cleared her without any more hurt, but ſhe was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The ſecond day we had ſight of the Chriſtopher, and were neere vnto her, ſo that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they ſhewed me, that after the Portugals had left vs, they went all roome with him, and about twelue a clocke at night met him, and ſhot at him, and hee at them, and they ſhot him thorow the ſailes in diuers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had vnderſtood that they had beene with him as well as with vs, we agreed altogether to ſeeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southweſtwards to ſeeke the Portugals, but could haue no ſight of them, and halled into the ſhore.

The fourth day, when we had ſight of land, we found that the currant had ſet vs thirty leagues to the Eaſtwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the firſt land we made was Lagua. Then I cauſed our boat to be manned, and the Chriſtophers alſo, and went to the ſhore and tooke our Negro with vs. And on ſhore we learned that there were foure French ſhips vpon the coaſt; one at Perinnen, which is ſix leagues to the Weſtward of Laguoa: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Eſtward of Laguoa: a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eaſtward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eaſtward of Perecow.

Lagua.

Perinnen.
Weamba.
Perecow.
Egrand.

When we had intelligence of theſe newes we agreed to go to the Eaſtwards with the French men to put them from their traffique, and ſhot off two or three pieces in our boats to cauſe the ſhips to way: and hauing bene about one houre vnder ſaile, we had ſight of one of the French men vnder ſaile, halling off from Weamba to whome we gaue chaſe, and agreed in the night for feare of ouerſhooting them, that the Minion ſhould firſt come to ancre, and after that about three houres, the Tyger and the Chriſtopher to beare along all night.

The 5 day we found three of the French ſhips at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ſhip of 220 tunnes, another called the Ventereuſe or ſmall Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Batuille a ſhip of 120 tunnes, and this ſhip belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admiral aboord, the Chriſtopher the Vice-admirall, and the Tyger the ſmalleſt: but when we came nere them they wayed, and the Chriſtopher being the headmoſt & the weathermoſt man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge went ſo faſt that wee could not fetch her. The firſt that we came to was the Muler, and her wee layed aboord, and our men entred and tooke her, which ſhip was the richeſt except the Admirall:

The Engliſh boord the Frenchmen.

for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roeberge had taken but 22 pound; and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in conſort together, and had bene vpon the coaſt of Mina two moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roeberge had bene there before them with another ſhip of Diepe, and a carauel, which had beaten all the coaſt, and were departed one moneth before our arriuing there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde.

Aſſoone as we had layed the ſhip aboord, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we ſet ſaile and gaue chaſe to the other two ſhips, and chaſed them all day and night, and the next day vntill three a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therfore ſeeing that we brought our ſelues very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chaſe, and kept about againe to go with the ſhore.

Fifty pound of golde taken in the French priſe.

The 7 day I ſent for the captaine, marchants & maſters of the other ſhips, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and fiue ounces of golde: this done, we agreed to put men out of euery ſhip into the priſe to keepe her.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the Mina called Egrand, and being come to an ancre, diſcharged all the marchants goods out of the priſe, and would haue ſold the ſhip with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but becauſe ſhe was leake they would not take her, but deſired vs to ſaue their liues in taking them into our owne ſhips: then we agreed to take out the victuals and ſinke the ſhip, and diuide the men among our ſhips.

The 15 at night we made an end of diſcharging the priſe, and diuided all the Frenchmen except foure which were ſicke and not able to helpe themſelues; which foure both the Chriſtopher and the Tyger refuſed to take, leauing them in their ſhip alone in the night, ſo that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ſhip.

Benin.

The 15 of April, moouing our company for the voyage to Benin, the moſt part of them all refuſed it.

The 16, ſeeing the vnwillingneſſe of the company to goe thither, we determined to ſpend as much time vpon the coaſt as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leaue the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Chriſtopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weatherward of this place: and if any of them both ſhould haue ſight of more ſailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome with their fellowes; to wit, firſt the Chriſtopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with vs.

Our men die of ſickneſſe.

We remained in this place called Egrand, vntill the laſt day of April, in which time many of our men fell ſicke; and ſixe of them died. And here we could haue no traffique with the Negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the reſt of the weeke they would not come at vs.

The 3 of May not hauing the pinneſſe ſent vs with cloth from the other ſhips, as they promiſed, we ſolde French cloth, and gaue but three yards thereof to euery fuſſe.

The 5 day the Negros departed, and told vs they would come to vs againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had diuers of our men ſicke.

Sickneſſe.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being ſold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the ſale of the cloth taken in the priſe at this place or no: they anſwered, that in reſpect of the death of ſome of their men, and the preſent ſickneſſe of twenty more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ſhips, of whom they had heard nothing ſince the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinneſſe with them, onely to cary newes from one to another.

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to ſee what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don Iohn.

The 10 day in the morning we ſet ſaile to ſeeke the Chriſtopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the captaine of the Chriſtopher came to vs, and told vs that they could finde ſmall doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our ſmall pinneſſe went to the Tyger and the Chriſtopher at Perenine.

The 13 we ſent away the Tyger to Egrand, becauſe we found nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14 our great pinneſſe came to vs, and preſently we put cloth into her, and ſent her backe to Weamba, where ſhe had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to vs, and the next day we went a ſhore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

Mowre.

The 19 day hauing ſet ſaile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we tarried two dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The 21 we came to an ancre before Don Iohns towne.

The 22 we manned our boats and went to ſhore, but the Negros would not come at vs; then the Captaine of the Chriſtopher and I tooke a ſkiffe and eight men with vs, and went and talked with the Negros, and they ſayd that they would ſend a man to the great towne, where Don Iohn himſelfe lay, to aduertiſe him of our comming.

The great towne of Don Iohn.

The 23 we went a ſhore againe, and the Negros tolde vs that this day the marchants of Don Iohn would come downe: ſo we tarried there vntill night, and no man would come to vs: but diuers of the Negros made vs ſignes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Chriſtopher tooke his boat & went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negros came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he iudged came from the caſtle, and cauſed all the Negros to depart from him: and when he ſaw they would come no more to him, he went a ſhore and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negros caſt ſtones at them, & would not ſuffer them to come vp to their towne. And when they ſaw that, they tooke certaine of the Almades, and put them to the ſea, and afterwards departed. The ſame morning I went a ſhore at Don Iohns towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negros could come to me, which cauſed vs to iudge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to vs well manned, and I ſent one man vp to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negros went away & would not ſpeake with him. Then I ſent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no caſe would come to vs. When we ſaw that, we tooke twelue goats and foureteene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinneſſe come from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound & fiue ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ſhip, and the Chriſtopher went to Mowre.

Cormatin.

The 25 day the Maſter of the Chriſtopher ſent his boat to the ſhore for balaſt, and the Negros would haue beaten the company from the ſhore, whereupon the company reſiſted them, and ſlew and hurt diuers of them, and hauing put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats.

A fight with the Negros.

The 26 day our pinneſſe came to vs from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleuen ounces of golde: and Iohn Shirife tolde vs that the Negros of that place were very deſirous to haue a ſhip come backe againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Chriſtopher came to vs from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The ſecond day of Iune the Tyger came to vs from Egrand, and the pinneſſe from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde ſince they departed from vs.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie vp to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer vpon the coaſt for lacke of victuals, and ſpecially of drinke.

The 7 day we had ſight of fiue of the king of Portugals ſhips, which came to an ancre beſides the caſtle.

The 8 day George and Binny came to vs, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning I tooke our ſmall pinneſſe, and the Captaine of the Chriſtopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the caſtle to view the Portugals ſhips, and there we found one ſhip of about 300 tunne, and foure carauels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ſhips which we found ſeuen leagues at ſea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our ſelues wel ſhot toward Shamma, & the Tyger with vs, but the Minion & the pinneſſe had not wayed that night, ſo that we were out of ſight of them: and hauing brought our ſelues in the weather of the Portugals ſhips, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might haue fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinneſſe came vp to vs, but could not fetch ſo farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ancred about a league a weather The caſtle, and we waied in the Chriſtopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with vs, and ſhe and the Chriſtopher finding themſelues to ſtand in great need of victuals, would haue gone with the Portugals ſhips to haue fetched ſome of them forth: but our maſter and company would in no caſe conſent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ſhips being fully minded to haue gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuſe them, durſt not go to them.

After this, by reaſon of the want of victuals in the pinneſſe, which could receiue no victuals from the other ſhippes, but from vs onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelue Frenchmen into her, and gaue them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arriued at Shamma, and the Chriſtopher within two

Note.

leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reaſon of the ſcantneſſe of the winde, which hath bene ſo ſcant, that in fifteene dayes we haue plied to the windewards but twelue leagues, which before we did in one day and a night.

The 20 day I tooke our pinneſſe, and went to the towne of Shamma to ſpeake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor ſo much as a hen to be bought, and all by reaſon of the accord which he had made with the Portugals, and I ſeeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put ſuch things as we had into our ſmall pinneſſe, and tooke one marchant of our ſhip, and another of the Tyger, and ſent her to Hanta, to attempt, if ſhe could doe any thing there. That night they could do nothing but were promiſed to haue golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we ſent our pinneſſe to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negros durſt traffike with vs, but intiſed vs from place to place, and all to no purpoſe.

They put the Frenchmen with victuals into the pinneſſe.

This day we put away our pinneſſe, with fiue and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gaue them ſuch victuals as we could ſpare, putting fifteene of them to the ranſome of ſixe crownes a man.

The 23 of Iune our pinneſſe came to vs from Hanta, and tolde vs that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpoſe.

Shamma burnt by the Engliſh.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinneſſe, and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and becauſe the Captaine thereof was become ſubiect to the Portugals we burned the towne, and our men ſeeking the ſpoile of ſuch trifles as were there found a Portugals cheſt, wherein was ſome of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter ſent to him from the caſtle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

Their returne homeward.

The 25 day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we ſet ſaile, and put into the ſea, for our returne to England.

The laſt day of this moneth we fell with the ſhore againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place, where we ſet off. When we came to make the land, we found our ſelues to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we ſet off, which came to paſſe, by reaſon of the extreame currant that runneth to the Eaſtward: when we perceiued our ſelues ſo abuſed, we agreed to caſt about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

The currant.

S.Thome Iland

The ſeuenth of Iuly we had ſight of the Ile of S.Thome, and thought to haue ſought the road to haue ancred there: but the next morning the winde came about, and we kept our courſe.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iland of S.Thome, and ſeeking the road, were becalmed neere the Iland, and with the currant were put neere the ſhore, but could haue no ground to ancre: ſo that we were forced to hoiſe out our pinneſſe, and the other ſhips their ſkifs to towe from the Iland, which did litle good, but in the end the winde put vs three leagues off the ſhore.

The tenth day the Chriſtopher and the Tyger caſt about, whereby we iudged them to haue agreed together, to goe ſeeke ſome ſhips in the road, and to leaue vs: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iland againe, and of putting our ſelues into the ſame danger that we were in the night before: but we ſhot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they anſwered vs with lights againe: whereupon we kept our courſe, and thought that they had followed vs, but in the morning we could not ſee them, ſo that they left vs willingly, and we determined to follow them no more. But the eleuenth day we altered our opinion and courſe, and conſented to caſt about againe for the Iland, to ſeeke our ſhips; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Iland of S.Thome; and the ſame night we found our ſelues directly vnder the line.

The deſcription of the Ile of S.Thome.

This Iland is a very high Iland, and being vpon the Weſt ſide of it, you ſhall ſee a very high pike, which is very ſmall, and ſtreight, as it were the ſteeple of a church, which pike lieth directly vnder the line, and at the ſame South end of the Iland to the Weſtward thereof lieth a ſmall Iland, about a mile from the great Iland.

The third of Auguſt we departed frõ the Ile of S.Thome, & met the winde at the Southweſt.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The Iland of Salt,

The 22 day we fell with one of the Iles of Cape verde, called The Ile of Salt, and being informed by a Scotiſh man that we tooke among the Frenchmen vpon the coaſt, that there were freſh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The 23 day in the morning we manned our ſkiffe, and went a ſhore, and found no houſes, but we ſaw foure men, which kept themſelues alwayes farre from vs, as for cattell we could finde none, but great ſtore of goats, and they were ſo wilde, that we could not take aboue three or foure of them: but there we had good ſtore of fiſh, and vpon a ſmall Iland which lay by the ſame we had great ſtore of ſea-birds.

At night the Chriſtopher brake her cable, and loſt an ancre, ſo that ſhe could cary no longer, ſo we all wayed, and ſet ſaile. Upon the ſame Iland we left the Scottiſh man, which was the occaſion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell: but, as we iudged, the people of the Iland found him ſleeping, and ſo caried him away: for at night I went my ſelfe to the Iland to ſeeke him, but could heare nothing of him.

The 24 day the Maſter of the Tyger came aboord vs, & tolde vs that his men were ſo weake, and the ſhippe ſo leake, that he was not able to keepe her aboue the water, and therefore requeſted vs to go backe againe to the Iland, that we might diſcharge her, and giue her vp: but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to ſee if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both thoſe that were hole, and the ſicke alſo, and we found that in all the three ſhips, were not aboue thirty ſound men.

The great inconuenience by late ſtaying vpon the coaſt of Guinie.

The 25 we had ſight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Iles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony; which foure Iles lie the one from the other Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

The 26 we came againe with the Iland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Iones, the Maſter of the Chriſtopher, came aboord vs, who had beene aboord the Tyger, and tolde vs that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, becauſe ſhe was leake, and the Maſter very weake, and ſayd further, he had agreed with the Maſter and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iland, we ſhould runne to the leeward of it, and there diſcharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Iland of S. Vincent and S. Anthony, to ſee if we could diſcharge her.

The third day of September I went aboord the Tyger, with the Maſter and marchants with me, to view the ſhippe and men: and we found the ſhippe very leake, and onely ſix labouring men in her, whereof one was the Maſter gunner: ſo that we ſeeing that they were not able to keepe the ſhip, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could ſaue, and then to put the ſhip away.

The fift day we went to diſcharge the Tyger.

The eight day, hauing taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gaue her vp 25 degrees by North the line.

The Tyger giuen vp.

The 27 we had ſight of two of the Iles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found our ſelues to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The ſixt day the Chriſtopher came to vs, and willed vs to put with the Cape, for they alſo were ſo weake, that they were not able to keepe the ſea, and we being weake alſo, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many Engliſh men frequent.

The 10 day the Chriſtopher went roome with the Cape, but we hauing a mery wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the Cape: beſides, not knowing the ſtate of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendſhip at their hands, conſidering the voyage that we had made, and we alſo being ſo weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting alſo that the King of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke ſome way with the Councell of Spaine to trouble vs: and further, conſidering that if we did put in with any harbor, we ſhould not be able to come out againe, till we ſent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and loſſe of time, and meanes of many dangers. All theſe things pondred, we agreed to ſhoot off two pieces of ordinance, to warne the Chriſtopher, and then we went our courſe for England: ſhe hearing our pieces followed vs, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not ſee her in the afternoone neither, ſo that we ſuſpected that either ſhe was gone with Spaine, or els that ſhe ſhould put foorth more ſailes then we in the night, and was ſhot a head of vs, ſo that then we put forth our top-ſailes, and went our courſe with England.

At the time when the Chriſtopher left vs, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues Northweſt and by Weſt from Cape Finiſter: and at the ſame time in our ſhips we had not aboue ſixe Mariners and ſixe Marchants in health, which was but a weake company for ſuch a ſhip to ſeeke a forren harbour.

The 16 day, about ſixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great ſtorme at the Weſt-ſouthweſt, & Weſt, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our ſailes, we loſt the ſame night our maine ſaile, foreſaile, and ſpreetſaile, & were forced to lie a hulling, vntill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready an olde courſe of a foreſaile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding

Extreame weakneſſe of our men.

our ſelues far ſhot into the ſleeue, we bare with our owne coaſt; but that foreſaile continued not aboue two houres, before it was blowen from the yard with a freat, and then we were forced to lie a hull againe, vntill the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good bleſſing and prouidence of God, brought vs to the Ile of Wight, where we arriued the 20 of October in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares that are moſt deſired in *Guinie*, betwixt *Sierra Liona* and the furtheſt place of the *Mine*.

Manils of braſſe, and ſome of leade.
Baſons of diuers ſorts, but the moſt lattin.
Pots of courſe tinne, of a quart and more.
Some wedges of yron.
Margarites, and certaine other ſleight beads.
Some blew Corall.
Some horſe tailes.
Linnen cloth principally.
Baſons of Flanders.
Some red cloth of low price, and ſome kerſie.
Kettles of Dutch-land with braſen handles.
Some great braſſe baſons grauen, ſuch as in Flanders they ſet vpon their cupboords.
Some great baſons of pewter, and ewers grauen.
Some lauers, ſuch as be for water.
Great kniues of a low price.
Sleight Flanders-caskets.
Cheſts of Roan of a lowe price, or any other cheſts.
Great pinnes.
Courſe French couerings.
Packing ſheets good ſtore.
Swords, daggers, friſe mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spaniſh blankets, axe heads, hammers, ſhort pieces of yron, ſleight belles, gloues of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles deliuered to M. *Iohn Lok*, by Sir *VVilliam Gerard* Knight, M. *William Winter*, M. *Beniamin Gonſon*, M. *Anthony Hickman*, and M. *Edward Caſtelin* the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyage to *Guinea*.

A remembrance for you *M. Lok* at your comming to the coaſt of *Guinie*.

FIrſt, when God ſhal ſend you thither, to procure, as you paſſe alongſt the coaſt, to vnderſtand what riuers, hauens, or harboroughs there be; and to make to your ſelfe a plat thereof, ſetting thoſe places which you ſhall thinke materiall in your ſayd plat, with their true eleuations.

Alſo you ſhall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you ſhall touch, and what may be good for them.

The Engliſh marchants intend to fortifie in Ghinea, in the king of Habaans countrey.

It is thought good, that hauing a fort vpon the coaſt of Mina in the king of Habaans country, it would ſerue to great purpoſe: wherfore you are eſpecially ſent to conſider where the fort might be beſt placed, and vpon what ground: wherein are to be noted theſe things following.

1 That the ground ſo ſerue, that it ioyne to the ſea on the one part, ſo as ſhippes and boats may come to lade and vnlade.

2 What molde of earth the ground is of.

3 What timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.

4 What prouiſion of victuals may be had in the countrey: and what kinde of our victuals will beſt ſerue to continue.

5 The place muſt be naturally ſtrong, or ſuch as may be made ſtrong with a ſmall charge, and afterwards kept with a few men.

6 How water may be prouided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the fort ſhall ſtand, or neere to it.

7 What helpe is to be had from the people of the countrey, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

To mooue the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a fort, and to note how he will like it; but vſe your communication ſo, that although there might fall out good cauſe for the doing of it, yet he do not vnderſtand your meaning.

The king of Haban.

Search the countrey ſo farre as you may, both alongſt the coaſt, and into the land.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The matters which ſhall be of importance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherefore we referre the order of theſe affaires to your good diſcretion.

Alſo we pray you as occaſion ſhall ſerue that you ayd and helpe our factours, both with your counſell and otherwiſe; and thus God ſend you ſafely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Beniamin Gonſon,
Anthony Hickman, Edward Caſtelin.

A letter of M. *Iohn Lok* to the worſhipfull company of Marchants aduenturers for *Guinie*, written 1561, ſhewing reaſons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foreſayd countrey.

Worſhipfull ſirs; ſince the arriuall of M. Pet and Buttoll Monioy (as I vnderſtand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion ſhall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes ſhe may be repaired of thoſe hurts ſhe hath receiued by the laſt ſtorme: or in the moneth of Ianuary alſo, if the wind wil ſerue therfore. Wherefore for that your worſhips ſhall not be ignorant of my determined purpoſe in the ſame, with the reaſons that haue perſwaded me thereunto; I haue thought good to aduertiſe you thereof, truſting that your worſhips will weigh them, as I vprightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or diſcouragement that I haue of my ſelfe by the raging of the ſtormes of the ſea, for that (I thanke the Lord) theſe haue not beene the firſt that I haue abiden, neither truſt I they ſhalbe the laſt. Firſt the ſtate of the ſhip, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pet can do more for her ſtrengthening then I can conceiue, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, nor yet make her ſo ſtanch that any cabin in her ſhalbe ſtanch for men to lie drie in: the which ſore, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can haue a ſhift of apparell drie, nor yet a drie place to reſt in, I referre to your diſcretion. For though that at Harwich ſhe was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that ſhe left not, afore this flaw, in other weathers, being ſtreſſed, to open thoſe ſeames, and become in the ſtate ſhe was before; I meane, in wetting her men: notwithſtanding her new worke. And my iudgement, with that little experience I haue had, leadeth me to thinke that the ſhip whoſe water works and footings be ſpent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the vnſeaſonable time of the yere which is now preſent. And how onely by meanes of the vnſeaſonable times in the returne from the voyage home, many thereby haue decayed, to the great miſery and calamity of the reſt, and alſo to the great ſlander of the voyage (which I much reſpect) the laſt and other voyages haue declared. And what it is to make the voyage in vnſeaſonable time, that hath the ſecond voyage alſo declared. Wherefore weying and foreſeeing this (as I may wel terme it) calamity and vneuitable danger of men, and that by men ſhe muſt be brought home againe (except that God will ſhew an extraordinary miracle) I purpoſe not nor dare I venture with a ſafe conſcience to tempt God herein. Againe, forſomuch as ſhe is alone, and hath ſo little helpe of boat or pinneſſe in her trade, & alſo for her watering, where a long time of force muſt be ſpent, my going, to the accompliſhment of your expectations, will be to ſmall effect for this time, becauſe I ſhall want both veſſell and men to accompliſh it. And I would not gladly ſo ſpend my time and trauell, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not falling out accordingly, to loſe both pot and water, as the prouerbe is. As for the Primroſe, if ſhe be there, her trade will be ended or euer we come there, ſo that ſhe of force, by want of prouiſion, muſt returne: yea, though we ſhould carry with vs a ſupply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtfull, and though we met her, yet will the men not tarry, as no reaſon is they ſhould: howbeit my opinion of her is that ſhe is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Milford. Thus for that your worſhips might vnderſtand the whole cauſe why I doe not proceed, I haue troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Iudge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we ſhall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a ſhippe which was in Lisbon, whoſe men ſay that there are in a readineſſe (onely to meet vs) foure great ſhips, of the which one is accounted 700 tunnes, & other pinneſſes: yet not for feare of them, nor raging of the ſeas (whoſe rage God is aboue to rule) but onely for the premiſſes: the ſequell whereof muſt by reaſon turne to a great miſery to the men; the which I for my part (though it might turne me to as much gaine as the whole commeth to) yet would I not be ſo tormented, as the ſight thereof would be a corſiue to my heart, and the more, becauſe foreſeeing the ſame, I ſhould be ſo leud, as yeelding, to haue runne into the danger thereof, and therefore I haue abſolutely determined with my ſelfe not to goe this voyage. Howbeit if in a ſeaſonable time of the yeere I had but one ſhip ſufficient, though much leſſe by the halfe, I would not refuſe (as triall being made thereof ſhould appeare) or if I had ability of my ſelfe to venture ſo much, it ſhould well be ſeene. And this I ſpeake to giue you to vnderſtand that I refuſe not this for feare: If you purpoſe to proceed heerein, ſend ſome one whom you pleaſe; to whom I will not onely deliuer the articles which I haue receiued, but alſo will giue ſome particular notes which I haue noted in the affaires which you haue committed vnto mee, with the beſt helpe and counſell I can. Thus the liuing God keepe your worſhips all. Briſtoll this 11 of December 1561.

Your worſhips to comand to his power
John Lok.

The relation of one *VVilliam Rutter* to *M. Antony Hickman* his maſter touching a voyage ſet out to *Guinea* in the yeere 1562, by Sir *William Gerard*, Sir *William Cheſter*, M. *Thomas Lodge*, the ſayd *Antony Hickman*, and *Edward Caſtelin*: which voyage is alſo written in verſe by *Robert Baker*.

Capo verde.
Rio de Seſtos.
The Minion.
Rio de Potis.
Rio de S. Andre.
Cauo das palmas.
Cauo de tres puntas.
Anta.
Equi.

Worſhipfull ſir, my duty remembred, this ſhalbe to declare vnto you the diſcourſe of this our voyage, ſince our departure out of England from Dartmouth; at which time I gaue you to vnderſtand of our departure, which was the 25 of February 1562. Then hauing a proſperous winde we departed from thence, and ſailed on our voyage vntill we arriued at Cauo verde the 20 of March, making no abode there, but ſailed along the coaſt to our firſt appointed port Rio de ſeſtos, at which port we arriued the third of Aprill in the morning, hauing the ſight of a Frenchman, who aſſoone as he perceiued vs, ſet ſaile and made to the ſea: in the meane time we came to an anker in the rode: and after that he had eſpied our flag, perceiuing vs to be Engliſhmen, he bare with the ſhore, & hailed our ſhips with his ordinance, at which time we the merchants of both the ſhips were in the riuer in traffike, and had vnderſtanding of the Negros that he had bene there three dayes before our comming: ſo we concluded together, that if he ſent his pinneſſe to traffike, we would not ſuffer him, vntill we had taken further order with their captaine & marchants. In the afternoone the pinneſſe came into the riuer, whoſe men we willed to make no traffike vntill we had talked further with their captaine, whom we willed that night to come aboord our admirall; which was done. At which ſayd time M. Burton and John Munt went aboord the Minion where the Frenchmen were, & there concluded that they ſhould tary by vs eight dayes, and ſuffer vs quietly to traffike, wherewith they were not well pleaſed. Whereupon the next morning they departed from vs, ſailing alongſt the coaſt to the Eaſtward towards Potis, which he did to hinder our traffike that way: wherefore the marchants of the Minion & we concluded (foraſmuch as at that preſent we vnderſtood that there were no ſailes paſt alongſt) that we ſhould go before, to the end we might not be hindred of our traffike by the Frenchmen; which thing we did; and at our comming thither we found the Frenchman in traffike to the Weſt of Potis, by whom we paſſed, & arriued at Rio de Potis the 12 of April, where we remained in traffike vntill the 15 of the ſayd moneth, and then departed from thence along the coaſt toward Sant Andre, where we appointed by agreement to tary for the Minion: and the 17 at night we came to the riuer of S. Andre; in which very day the Minion came vnto vs, telling vs that they met at cauo das Palmas a great ſhip and a carauell of the king of Portugals bound to the Mina, who gaue chaſe vnto them, and ſhot freely at them, and the Minion in her defence returned her the like: but God be praiſed the Minion had no hurt for that time. In the end we concluded to haſten towards cauo de tres puntas to haue put them from the caſtle, if by any meanes wee might; and when wee were come to the Cape, we lay a hull one night and two dayes, and doubting they had bene paſt, the Minion went neere the ſhore, and ſent her merchants to a place called Anta, where beforetime we had traffike, and the next morning very early being the 21 of the ſayd moneth, we againe had ſight of the ſhip and the carauell a good way to ſea-boord of vs. Then we preſently ſet ſaile, and bare with the formoſt of them, hoping to haue got betweene the caſtle and them, but we came ſhort of our purpoſe, which was no ſmall griefe vnto vs all; and when they had gotten the caſtle to friend, they ſhot at vs freely, and we at them, and the caſtle at vs; but we profited litle. In the afternoone we ſet ſaile & came to the towne of Don Iuan called Equi, where the 22 in the morning we went a ſhore to traffike, but the Negros would not vntill they had newes from Don Luis, for at that time Don Iuan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his ſonne and Pacheco minding to traffike with vs, at which ſaid day came two galies rowing along the ſhore from the caſtle, minding to keepe vs from our traffike. The 24 we ſet ſaile and chaſed the galies to the caſtle againe. The Negros being glad of that required vs to goe to Mowre, which is ſome 3 leagues behind, and thither would they come for that they ſtood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained for the marchants that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio don Luis his ſonne, and Pacheco were aboord the Minion. And the 25 in the morning came the two galies from the caſtle againe vnto vs, the weather being very calme, they ſhot at vs and hit vs 3 times, and ſhortly after the wind came from the ſhore, at which inſtant we diſcried the ſhip, & the carauell comming towards vs, then we weighed and ſet ſaile, and bare as neere vnto them as we could: but it was night or euer wee met with them, and the night being very darke we loſt them. The next day plying to the ſhore, at night we agreed to go with Cormantin, but the next morning being the 28 we were but a litle diſtant from the great ſhip and the 2 galies, hauing no wind at all, and the carauell hard aboord the ſhore. Then being calme, came the 2 galies rowing to the ſterne of the Minion, and fought with her the moſt part of the forenoone: and in the fight a miſchance happed in the Minions ſteward-roome by means of a barrell of pouder that tooke fire, wherewith were hurt the maſter gunner, the ſteward, and moſt part of the gunners; which the galies perceiuing, began to be more fierce vpon them, and with one ſhot cut halfe her foremaſt in twaine, that without preſent remedie ſhee was not able to beare ſaile, and preſently vpon this the great ſhip ſent her boat to the galies, who ſuddenly departed from vs. And after their departure we went aboord the Minion to counſell what were beſt to be done, at which time they were ſore diſcomfited. Whereupon we deuiſed what was beſt to be done: and becauſe wee knew that the Negros neither would nor durſt traffike ſo long as the galies were on the coaſt; it was therefore agreed that we ſhould prepare our ſelues to depart to Rio de Seſtos, and ſo we departed that day. The 14 of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place it was, and ſent our boates on land to know the trueth, and we found it to be Rio de Barbos, which is to the Eaſtward of ſant Andre, and there remained in getting of water vntill the 21, where we loſt the day before 5 of our men by meanes of ouerthrowing our blacke pinnaſſe. The 22 we departed from thence to Rio de Seſto, where we arriued the 2 of Iune, and the 4 wee departed from Rio de Seſto, and arriued (God bee thanked) the 6 of Auguſt within ſight of the Stert in the Weſt part of England, our men being very ſicke and weake. We haue not at this preſent aboue 20 ſound men that are able to labour, and we haue of our men 21 dead, and many more very ſore hurt and ſicke. Maſter Burton hath bene ſicke this 6 weekes, and at this preſent (God ſtrengthen him) is ſo weake that I feare he will hardly eſcape. Herein incloſed your worſhip ſhall receiue a briefe of all the goods ſold by vs, & alſo what commodities we haue receiued for the ſame. Thus I leaue to trouble your worſhip, reſeruing all things els to our generall meeting, and to the bringer hereof. From aboord the Primeroſe the 6 of Auguſt 1563.

Two galies.

Mowre.

Cormantin.

Much hurt done in the Minion with firing a barrell of gunpouder.

They returne.

Rio de Barbos.

The blacke pinnaſſe.

Rio de Seſto.

Your obedient ſeruant

William Rutter.

There are brought home this voiage An. 1563. Elephants teeth 166. weighing 1758 pounds. Graines 22 buts full.

A meeting at Sir *VVilliam Gerards* houſe the 11 of Iuly 1564. for the ſetting foorth of a voyage to *Guinea*, with the *Minion* of the Queens, the *Iohn Baptiſt* of *London*, and the *Merline* of M. *Gonſon*.

AT this meeting were theſe chiefe aduenturers, Sir William Gerard, ſir William Cheſter, ſir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Caſtelin. Where it was agreed that Francis Aſhbie ſhould be ſent to Deptford to M. Gonſon for his letters to Peter Pet to goe about the rigging of the Minion vpon the Queenes maieſties charges, and ſo the ſaid Francis to repaire with the ſame letters to Gillingham with money to ſupplie our charge there.

Alſo that euery one of the fiue partners ſhall foorthwith call vpon their partners to ſupply towards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10 s. 6 d. for euery 100 li. value.

Alſo that euery one of the fiue partners ſhall foorthwith bring in 50 li. towards the furniture of the premiſſes.

Likewiſe it is agreed that if M. Gonſon giue his conſent that the Merline ſhall be brought about from Briſtoll to Hampton, that a letter be drawen whereunto his hand ſhall be, before order be giuen for the ſame.

The

The ſucceſſe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe relations extracted out of the ſecond voyage of Sir *Iohn Hawkins* to the West Indies, made in the ſayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to ſet downe for want of further inſtructions, which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I haue vſed all poſſible indeuour for the obtaining of the ſame: Take them therefore in the meane ſeaſon as foloweth.

Maſter Iohn Hawkins, with the Ieſus of Lubeck a ſhip of 700. tunnes, and the Salomon, a ſhip of 7 ſcore, the Tiger a barke of 50, and the Swalow of 30 tunnes, being all well furniſhed with men to the number of one hundred threeſcore and ten, as alſo with ordinance and victuall requiſite for ſuch a voiage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18 day of October in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a proſperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foreſaile, a marueilous miſfortune happened to one of the officers in the ſhip, who by the pullie of the ſheat was ſlaine out of hand being a ſorowfull beginning to them all. And after their ſetting out 10 leagues to the Sea, hee met the ſame day with the Minion a ſhip of the Queens Maieſties, whereof was captaine Dauid Carlet, & alſo her conſort the Iohn Baptiſt of London being bound to Guinea likewiſe, who hailed one the other after the cuſtome of the ſea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to ſeeke her other conſort the Merline of London, which was aſterne out of ſight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptiſt her other conſort.

The Minion of the Queene.

Thus ſailing forwards on their way with a proſperous wind vntil the 21 of the ſame moneth, at that time a great ſtorme aroſe, the wind being at Northeaſt about 9 of the clocke at night, and continued ſo 23 houres together, in which ſtorme M. Hawkins loſt the company of the Iohn Baptiſt aforeſaid, and of his pinnaſſe called the Swallow, the other 3 ſhips being ſore beaten with the ſtorme. The 23 day the Swalow, to his no ſmall reioicing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Nothward of Cape Finiſter, hauing put roomer and not being able to double the Cape, in that there roſe a contrary wind at Southweſt. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia called Ferol, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the maſters of his ſhips an order for the keeping of good company.

The firing and ſinking of the Merline bound for Guinea.

The 26 day the Minion came in alſo where he was, for the reioycing whereof he gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance after the curteſie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirth becauſe of their conſort the Merline, whō at their departure from M. Hawkins vpon the coaſt of England, they went to ſeeke, and hauing met with her, kept company two dayes together, and at laſt by miſfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of the gunners) the pouder in the gunners roome was ſet on fire, which with the firſt blaſt ſtroke out her poope, and therewithall loſt 3 men, beſides many ſore burned (which eſcaped by the Brigandine being at her ſterne) and immediatly to the great loſſe of the owners, and moſt horrible ſight of the beholders, ſhe ſunke before their eies. The 30 day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his conſorts and company of the Minion hauing now both the Brigandines at her ſterne, weighed anker, and ſet ſaile on their voiage hauing a proſperous wind thereunto. The 4 of Nouember they had ſight of the Iland of Madera, and the 6 day of Teneriffa, which they thought to haue bene the Canarie, in that they ſuppoſed themſelues to haue bene to the Eaſtward of Teneriffa but were not: but the Minion beyng 3 or 4 leagues a head of vs kept on her courſe to Teneriffa, hauing better ſight thereof then the other had, and by that means they parted company.

The aforeſaid Sir Iohn Hawkins paſſing on his voiage by Cauo Verde, and Sierra Leona, and afterward croſſing ouer the maine Ocean comming to the towne of Burboroata vpon the coaſt of Terra firma in the West Indies, had further information of the euill ſucceſſe of this Guinean voyage, as in the ſame hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of April, we being at anker without the road, a French ſhip called the green Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who ſaluted vs after the maner of the ſea, with certaine pieces of ordinance, and we reſaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mina in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and enforced to come thither to make ſale of ſuch wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned vnto the Minion: alſo, that captaine Dauid Carlet, & a marchant, with a dozen mariners were betraied by the Negros at their firſt arriuall thither, remaining priſoners with the Portugals, beſides other miſaduentures of the loſſe of their men hapned through the great lacke of freſh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ſhips: which was moſt ſorowfull for vs to vnderſtand.

The voyage of M. *George Fenner* to *Guinie*, and the Iſlands of *Cape Verde*, in the yeere 1566. with three ſhips, to wit, the Admirall called The *Caſtle of Comfort*, the *May Flower*, and the *George*, and a Pinnaſſe alſo:

Written by *Walter Wren.*

The 10 day of December, in the yeere aboueſayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Vſhant.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, wee had ſight of Cape Finiſter, and the ſame night we loſt the company of our Admirall, wherefore we ſayled along the coaſt of Portugall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before vs.

The 18 day we met with a French ſhip of whom wee made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell vs newes of him: ſo we followed our courſe to the Ilands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a ſmall Iland called Porto Santo, & within 3 houres we had ſight of another Iland called Madera, which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The ſaid 25 day being the day of the Natiuitie, we hoiſed out our boat, and fet maſter Edward Fenner captaine of the May Flower aboord vs, being in the George, with the maſter whoſe name was Robert Cortiſe and others of the ſayd ſhippe, and feaſted them with ſuch cheere as God had ſent vs.

The 28 day we fel with an Iland called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the ſaid Iland, and on the Eaſt ſide thereof we came to an anker in 40 fadome water, within a baſe ſhot of the ſhore, in a litle Baie wherein were 3 or 4 ſmall houſes: which Baie and houſes were diſtant from a litle towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the ſaid Baie, we might ſee an Iland called The grand Canarie which was 6 or 7 leagues from vs.

The 29 day the May Flower for that ſhe could not fet into ẏ road where we were at an anker, by reaſon the wind was off the ſhore, & becauſe ſhe bare more roomer frõ the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road againſt the towne, and before ſhe came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they ſhot at her foure pieces; which cauſed her to come roome with vs, and came at laſt to an anker by vs. And about one of the clocke in the after noone, the forenamed captaine of the May Flower wrote a letter a ſhore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to vnderſtand the pretenſe of the ſhooting off the ſaid ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtiſe maſter of the May Flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliuer the ſame a land at 3 or 4 houſes to bee conueied to the foreſayd towne, and ſo went with ſix men in the boate, and rowed to the ſhore as neere as they might, for ſetting the boat on ground, for the ſea went cruelly at the ſhore.

The people ſtood in number 30 perſons with ſuch armour as they had: the foreſayd Wren called to them in Spaniſh, declaring to thẽ that they had a letter which they would very gladly haue conueied vnto the towne, ſhewing that they would traffique with them as marchants, deſiring their helpe for the conueiance of the ſame letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed vs to come on land, and we ſhould be welcome, but doubting the worſt, the ſaid Walter anſwered them that they would not come on land, vntil they had anſwere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards vnraied himſelfe, and lept into the water, and ſwam to the boat, whom we receiued. And he ſaluted vs, and demaunded what our requeſt was: we made him anſwere, that by miſfortune we loſt the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Iland to traffique for wines and other things neceſſary for vs, do here mind to ſtay vntill he come.

Concerning our letter he made vs anſwere, that he would with all diligence cary it, and deliuer it according to the direction, and ſo the ſaid Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and deliuered it vnto him, and alſo gaue him foure roials of Spaniſh money for his paines: and promiſing that we ſhould haue anſwere of it, he tooke his leaue and ſwamme againe on ſhore, where the people ſtood ready to receiue him. And after that they had talked with him, and vnderſtood our meaning, ſome of them threw vp their hats, & the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made vs very curteous ſignes, alwaies deſiring that the boat would come a land, but we reſaluting them rowed backe againe aboord.

The 30 day the Gouernours brother of Santa Cruz came aboord the May Flower with ſixe or ſeuen Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a ſhore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no ſufficient pledge of theirs for our aſſurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at their departure gaue them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and beſtowed vpon them two cheeſes with other things.

The ſayd Gouernours brother promiſed our Captaine that hee ſhould haue ſufficient pledges the morrow folowing, which was not done, whereupon wee grew ſuſpicious, and went not that day a ſhore.

The firſt day of Ianuary our captaine ſent Nicholas Day and Iohn Sumpter a ſhore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the ſaid Iland is a maruellous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and ſomewhat ſmall at the top, it hath not bene knowen that euer any man could goe vp to the top thereof. And although it ſtand in 28 degrees which is as hote in Ianuary, as it is in England at Midſommer, yet is the top of the ſaid hil Winter and Sommer ſeldome without ſnow.

In this Iland about two leagues from the ſaid Santa Cruz is a citie called Anagona.

The third day wee departed about the Weſterne point of the Iland, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynſt the houſe of one Petro de Souſes, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before vs, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon wee ſet ſaile preſently to ſeeke him.

They meet their Admirall againe.

The 6 day we came to an anker againſt the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very ioyfull of our comming, and we alſo of his ſight.

In the ſayd road we found Edward Cooke in a tall ſhip, and a ſhippe of the Copperſmiths of London, which the Portugals had trecherouſly ſurpriſed in the Baie of Santa Cruz, vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, which ſhip we left there all ſpoiled.

Our General & marchants bought in the ſaid towne for our prouiſion, 14 buts of wine, which coſt 15 duckats a but, which were offred vs at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off, and there tooke in freſh water: & ſo the 10 day we ſet ſaile towards Cape Blanke, which is on the coaſt of Guinea.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eaſtward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blanke. But hauing no knowledge of that coaſt, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we ſounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the ſhore. The land is very lowe and white ſand. Vpon the fall of the ſayd coaſt beware how you borow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 caſts of the lead you may be on ground.

A good caueat.

The 17 day we ſet ſaile from Cape Blanke, directing our courſe South and by Eaſt, & South among, and ſo fell into a Baie to the Eaſtward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about ſixe leagues from the ſhore. The ſayd land ſeemed vnto vs as if it had bene a great number of ſhippes vnder ſaile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammoks, ſome high ſome lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the ſaid land till we were within 3 leagues of the ſhore, and then we ſounded, and found 28 fadome water, blacke oaſe. This day we ſaw much fiſh in ſundry ſculs ſwimming with their noſes with the brim of the water.

Cape Verde.

Paſſing along this coaſt we might ſee two ſmall round hils, ſeeming to vs about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great ſtore of trees, and in all our dayes ſailing we ſaw no land ſo high as the ſaid two hils.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade faſt by the Weſtermoſt ſide of two hils in 10 fadome of water, where you may ride in fiue or ſixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you ſhall haue the winde off the ſhore. And as ſoone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboord vs, and with him the maſter of the Admirall, whoſe name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Viceadmirall, whoſe name was maſter Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtiſe the maſter, and dined aboord of vs being in the George, wherein was Captaine Iohn Heiwood, and Iohn Smith of Hampton maſter, and there we concluded to goe aland, which was halfe a mile from vs: and by the counſell of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and diuers of the companie went without armour: for he ſayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were ciuill: ſo that hee would needs giue the venter without the conſent of the reſt to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to ſhore, where, we being in the ſhippe might ſee a great companie of Negros naked, walking to and fro by the ſea ſide where the landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too ſoone, and landed to their loſſe as it fell out afterwards.

The fooliſh raſhnes of Wil. Bats perſwading the company to land vnarmed.

There went a ſhore the Admirals ſkiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 perſons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, Iohn Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, Iohn Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, Iohn Tomſon and others.

At their comming to the ſhore there were 100 Negros or vpward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, & according to the vſe of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, & they were content to deliuer 3 of their Negros for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were theſe, Iohn Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Ioh. Tomſon, & Iohn Curtiſe: theſe were deliuered them, and we receiued 3 Negros into our Admirals ſkiffe.

Ciuet, muske, gold & grains, the commodities of Cape Verde.

Our men being a ſhore among the Negros, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and marchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheeſe & other things. The Negros anſwered againe, they had ciuet, muſke, gold and graines, which pleaſed our captaines and marchants very well. Then the Negros deſired to haue a ſight of ſome of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and forthwith ſent aboord one of the boats for part of their marchandiſe, and in the meane time while the boate went to the ſhip, our fiue men were walking on the ſhore with the Negros, and our Generall and marchants ſtaied in the other boat by the ſea ſide, hauing the 3 Negros with them.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandize, with bread, wine, and cheeſe which they gaue vnto them. Then two of the Negros (which were the pledges) made themſelues ſicke, deſiring to goe a ſhore, promiſing to ſend other two for them. Captaine Haiward perceiuing that our men had let the Negros come a ſhore, aſked what they meant, and doubting the worſt began to drawe toward the boate, and two or three of the Negros folowed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to ſtay him, and he made ſignes vnto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithſtanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would haue ſtaied him, but hee ſprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as ſoone as hee was in, one of the Negros a ſhore beganne to blow a pipe, and preſently the other Negro that was in our boate ſitting on the boates ſide, and maſter Wormes ſword by him, ſuddenly drew the ſword out of the ſcabberd, and caſt himſelfe into the Sea and ſwamme a ſhore, and preſently the Negros laied handes on our men that were on ſhore, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to couer them, and many of them ſhot ſo thicke at our men in our boates, that they could ſcarſe ſet hand to any Oare to rowe from the ſhore, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poyſoned arrowes: and the poiſon is vncurable, if the arrow enter within the ſkin and drawe blood, and except the poiſon bee preſently ſuckt out, or the place where any man is hurt bee foorthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they bee hurt or pricked, whereſoeuer it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it ſtriketh vp to the heart, and taketh away the ſtomacke, and cauſeth the partie maruelouſly to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke.

The Negros trecherie.

The Negros hauing vſed our men with ſuch cruelty, whoſe names were Nicholas Day, William Bats, and Iohn Tomſon, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water ſide, or thereabout.

The 20 day we ſent to land a boate or ſkiffe wherein were eight perſons, and one of them was the foreſayd Iohn Tomſon and our interpreter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negros which ſpake good French:) and they caried with them two harquebuſſes, two targets and a mantell.

A French interpreter for Cape Verde.

The cauſe of ſending them was to learne what ranſome they demaunded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the ſhore and told the Negros what they deſired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them looſe among fortie or fiftie of them. And being come within a ſtones caſt of the ſea ſide, William Bats brake from them, and ran as faſt as he could into the ſea towards the boat, and he was not ſo ſoone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his foote failing him in the ſand being ſoft: ſo that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had torne him in pieces: for they tore againe all the apparell from his backe, ſo that ſome of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the reſt ſhot at vs with their poiſoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the ſmal of the leg, who being come aboord, (for al that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would haue died.

The danger of poiſoned arrowes.

Our Generall (notwithſtanding all this villanie) ſent agayne to them, and offered them any thing that they deſired for the raunſome of our men, but they would not deliuer them: giuing vs this anſwere: That there was in the foreſayd roade, three weekes before wee came, an Engliſh ſhippe which had taken three of their people, and vntill wee did bring or ſend them againe, wee ſhould not haue our men although wee would giue our three ſhippes with their furniture.

The anſwere of the Negros.

The 21 day a French ſhippe of the burden of 80 tunnes (or thereabouts,) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffique at the Cape: we told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negros: and ſeeing that theſe Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negros, we wiſhed them to ſee whether they could procure them againe of the Negros, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promiſed the Frenchmen 100 li. to obtaine them. So wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to ſaue his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was laſt of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himſelfe: onely two recouered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of thoſe that we loſt, and ſet ſaile.

The 26 day betweene Cape Verde and Bona viſta we ſawe many flying fiſhes of the bigneſſe of herrings, whereof two flew into our boat, which we towed at our ſterne.

Bona viſta.

The 28 day we fell with an Iland called Bona viſta, which is from Cape Verde 86 leagues. The Northſide of the ſayde Iland is full of white ſandie hils and dales, and ſomewhat high land.

The ſayd day wee came to an anker within the Weſtermoſt point, about a league within the point, and found in our ſounding faire ſand in ten fadome water, but you may goe neere till you be in fiue or ſix fadome, for the ground is faire.

As ſoone as we were at an anker, our Generall ſent his pinnaſſe a land, and found fiue or ſixe ſmall houſes, but the people were fled into the mountains: and the next day he ſent a ſhore againe, and met with two Portugals, who willingly went aboord with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore & ſimple, and gaue each of them a paire of ſhoes, and ſo ſet them a ſhore againe.

The 30 day we weighed & ſailed into a Bay within a ſmal Iland about a league from vs, and tooke plentie of diuers ſortes of fiſhe. The foreſayd Iland lieth in ſixteene degrees. And if you meane to anker in the ſaid Bay, you may borow in foure or fiue fadome of the Southermoſt point of the ſayd Iland, which you may ſee when you ride in the road. But beware of the middle of the Baie, for there lieth a ledge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadome water ouer them.

A good admonition.

The laſt day of Ianuarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a ſhore in the Baie to the houſes, where he found 12 Portugals. In all the Iland there were not aboue 30 perſons, which were baniſhed men for a time, ſome for more yeeres, ſome for leſſe, and amongſt them there was one ſimple man which was their captaine.

Baniſhed Portugals.

They liue vpon goats fleſh, cocks, hennes, and freſh water: other victuals they haue none, ſauing fiſh, which they eſteeme not, neither haue they any boats to take them.

They reported that this Iland was giuen by the king of Portugall to one of his gentlemen, who hath let it foorth to rent for one hundreth duckats a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goats ſkinnes. For by their ſpeaches there hath bene ſent foorth of the ſayd Iland into Portugall 40000 ſkins in one yeere.

Great ſtore of goates.

We were to theſe men marueilouſly welcome, and to their powers very wel entertained, and they gaue vs the fleſh of as many hee-goates as wee would haue, and tooke much paines for vs in taking them, and bringing them from the mountains vpon their aſſes.

They haue there great ſtore of the oyle of Tortoiſes, which Tortoiſe is a fiſh which ſwimmeth in the Sea, with a ſhell on his backe as broad as a target. It raineth not in this Iland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the midſt of Iuly to the midſt of October, and it is here alwayes very hote. Kine haue bene brought hither, but by reaſon of the heate and drought they haue died.

The 3 of February wee departed from this Iland, and the ſame day fell with another Iland called the Iland of Maiyo, which is 14 leagues from the other Iland: there is in the midſt of the way between theſe two Ilands a danger which is alwayes to be ſeene.

The Ile of Maiyo.

We ankred in the Northweſt ſide of the ſayd Ile in a faire Baie of eight fadomes water and faire ſand, but here we ſtaied not, but the fourth day weighed and ſailed to another Iland called S. Iago, which lieth off the ſaid Iland of Maiyo Eaſt and by South, and about fiue leagues one from the other. Being come within the Weſtermoſt point, we ſaw a faire road, and a ſmall towne by the water ſide, and alſo a fort or platforme by it: there we purpoſed to come to anker, and our marchants to make ſome ſale. But before we came within their ſhot, they let flie at vs two pieces, whereupon we went roomer and ſailed along the ſhore two or three leagues from the road, where we found a ſmall Baie and two or three ſmall houſes, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground.

S. Iago.

Within an houre after we had ankered we might ſee diuers horſemen and footmen on the land right againſt vs riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the fift of Februarie, a great companie of their horſemen and footemen appeared on the ſhoare ſide, vnto whom our Generall ſent to vnderſtande whether they would quietly trafike with them: And they ſent him worde againe, deſiring that they might ſpeake with him, promiſing that if he came to trafike as a marchant he ſhould be welcome, and alſo that he ſhould haue any thing that he or the marchant would with reaſon demaund.

When this anſwere was brought vnto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole companie, and preſently (with as much ſpeede as he could) he cauſed his boates to be made readie: but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double baſe in the head of his pinneſſe, and two ſingle baſes in the head of the Skiffe, and ſo ſent to the May-floure and the George, and willed them in like ſort to man their two boates.

Theſe boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Skiffe, and with the reſt rowed to the ſhoare where were threeſcore horſemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receiue them. Our Generall marueiled that they came in ſo great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce ſent to them to knowe their pleaſure: and they anſwered him with many faire promiſes and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchantes to trafike with him, declaring alſo that their Captaine was comming to ſpeake with him, and therefore deſired our Generall to come and ſpeake with him himſelfe.

With this anſwere the boate returned, and then our Generall cauſed his pinneſſe to rowe to them, and as he came neere the ſhoare they came in a great companie with much obeyſance, opening their hands and armes abroade, bowing themſelues with their bonnets off, with as much humble ſalutations outwardly as they might: earneſtly deſiring our Generall and Marchants to come on lande to them, whereunto he would not agree without ſufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promiſed to ſende two gages to our Generals contentment, promiſing freſh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were ſuch as they liked: and therefore deſired our Generall and Marchants to ſende them a ſhoare in writing the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for their anſwere the morrowe following. And being gone a litle from the ſhoare, he cauſed his baſes, curriers, and harquebuſſes to be ſhot off, and our ſhips in like caſe ſhot off fiue or ſixe pieces of great ordinance, and ſo came aboord to prepare the note. The Portugales moſt of them departed, ſauing thoſe that were left to watch and to receiue the note, which about foure or fiue a clocke in the afternoone was ſent, and it was receiued. But all the purpoſes of the Portugals were villainouſly to betray vs (as ſhal appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honeſtie, friendly to trafike with them.

The treaſon of the Portugals in S. Iago to our men.

There was to the Weſtwards of vs and about two leagues from vs, a towne behinde a point faſt by the ſea ſide, where they had certaine Carauels or ſhippes and alſo two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the ſpeede that they might) made readie foure Carauels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furniſhed them both with men and ordinance as much as they could carrie, and as ſoone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towardes vs: ſo that the land being high and the weather ſomewhat cloudie or myſtie, and they comming all the way cloſe vnder the ſhoare we could not ſee them till they were right againſt one of our ſhips called the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a baſe ſhotte, ſo that they made a ſure account either to haue taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of ſuch villanous treacheries after ſo many faire wordes) were ſinging and playing one with the other, and made ſuch a noyſe, that (being but a ſmall gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare vs from the ſhoare: ſo that we ſuppoſed that they made account that we had eſpyed them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readineſſe.

They came ſo neere vs that they were within gunſhot of vs, & then one of our men chanced to ſee a light, & then looking out ſpied the 4 ſhips, and ſuddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and foorthwith they ſhot at vs all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebuſſes, and curriers, and ſo lighted certaine tronkes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the ſhoare as they in the ſhippes) gaue a great ſhoute, and ſo continued hallowing with great noyſes, ſtill approching neerer and neerer vnto the May-floure. We (with all the ſpeede that we might) made readie one piece of ordinance and ſhotte at them, which cauſed them ſomewhat to ſtay, ſo they charged their ordinance and ſhot at vs freſhly againe, and while they ſhotte this ſecond time at vs, we had made readie three pieces which we ſhot at them, but they approched ſtill ſo neere, that at laſt we might haue ſhot a ſheafe arrowe to them. Whereupon we hauing a gale of winde off the ſhoare hoyſed our foreſayle, and cut our cable at the hawſe, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and ſhooting at vs, and ſometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall ſhotte one ſuch piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus ſuddenly ſhot all their ſhot at vs, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

The Iſle of Fuego.

But ſeeing the villanie of theſe men we thought it beſt to ſtay there no longer, but immediatly ſet ſayle towards an Iſland called Fuego, 12 leagues from the ſaid Iſland of S. Iago. At which Iſland of Fuego we came to an anker the 11 day of this moneth, againſt a white chappell in the Weſt end of the ſayd Iſland, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or thereabout of the vttermoſt point of the ſaid Iſland.

In this Iſland is a maruelleilous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yeeres paſt the whole Iſland was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

Mill.

Cotton in Fuego.

About a league from the ſaid chappel to the Weſtward is a goodly ſpring of freſh water, where we had as much as we would. Wheate they haue none growing here, but a certaine ſeede that they call Mill, and certaine peaſon like Guinie peaſon, which Mill maketh good breade, but they haue here good ſtore of rother beaſts and goates. Their marchandize is cotton, which groweth there.

The inhabitants are Portugals which haue cõmandement from the king to trafike neither with Engliſhmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced ſo to doe.

The Iſle of Braua.

There lieth off this Iſland another called Ilha Braua, which is not paſſing two leagues ouer, it hath good ſtore of goates and many trees, but there are not paſſing three or foure perſons dwelling in it.

They returne. March.

The 25 day of February we departed towardes the Iſlands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had ſight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might ſee another Iſland to the Northward of it called Cueruo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27 we came to an anker in Cueruo ouer againſt a village of about twelue ſimple houſes; but in the night by a gale of winde, which cauſed vs to drawe our anker after vs, we hoyſed ſayle and went to the aforeſayd Iſland of Flores, where we ſawe ſtrange ſtreames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reaſon of the great abundance of raine that had ſuddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cueruo and caſt anker, but a ſtorme aroſe and continued ſeuen or eight houres together, ſo that we let ſlip a cable and anker, and after the ſtorme was alayed we came againe thinking to haue recouered the ſame, but the Portugals had either taken it, or ſpoiled it; the cable was new and neuer wet before, and both the cable and anker were better worth then 40 li. So that we accompt our ſelues much beholding to the honeſt Portugales.

Aprill.

The 18 day of April we tooke in water at the Iſland of Flores, and hauing ankered, our cable was fretted in ſunder with a rocke and ſo burſt, where wee loſt that cable and anker alſo, and ſo departed to our coaſt.

Then wee ſet ſayle to an Iſlande named Faial, about the which lie three other Iſlands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Gracioſa, which we had ſight of on the eight and twentieth day.

The 29 we came to an anker in the Southweſt ſide of Faial in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water againſt a litle towne where we had both freſh water and freſh victuall. In this Iſland by the report of the inhabitants, there groweth certaine greene woad, which by their ſpecches is farre better then the woad of S. Michael or of Tercera.

Woad.

May.

The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met with a Portugall ſhip, and being deſtitute of a cable and anker, our Generall cauſed vs to keepe her companie, to ſee if ſhe could conueniently ſpare vs any. The next morning we might ſee bearing with vs a great ſhippe and two Carauels, which we iudged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and ſo they were, whereupon we prepared our ſelues for our defence. The ſaid ſhip was one of the kings Galliaſſes, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about three hundred men in her, the ſhippe being well appointed with braſſe pieces both great and ſmall, and ſome of them ſo bigge that their ſhot was as great as a mans head, the other two Carauels were alſo very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

A Portugall Galiaſſe of 400 tunnes.

As

A fight betweene one Engliſh ſhip and 7 Portugals.

As ſoone as they were within ſhotte of vs, they waued vs amaine with their ſwords, we keeping our courſe, the greateſt ſhippe ſhot at vs freely and the carauell alſo, and we prepared our ſelues, and made all things cleare for our ſafegard as neere as we could. Then the great ſhippe ſhot at vs all her broad ſide, and her foure greateſt pieces that lay in her ſterne, and therewith hurt ſome of our men, and we did the beſt we could with our ſhot to requite it. At laſt two other Carauels came off the ſhoare, and two other pinneſſes full of men, and deliuered them aboord the great ſhippe, and ſo went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ſhip and the Carauell gaue vs the firſt day three fights, and when the night was come they left off ſhooting, yet notwithſtanding kept hard by vs all the night. In the meane time we had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to ſtrengthen our bulwarkes, putting our truſt in God, and reſoluing our ſelues rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by ſuch wretches.

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aide the ſaid Portugals foure great Armadas or Carauels more which made ſeuen, of which 4 three of them were at the leaſt 100 tunnes a piece, the other not ſo bigge, but all well appointed and full of men; All theſe together came bearing with vs being in our Admirall, and one of the great Carauels came to lay vs aboorde (as we iudged) for they had prepared their falſe nettings; and all things for that purpoſe, ſo that the Gallias came vp in our larboord ſide, and the Carauell in our ſtarboord ſide.

Our Captaine and Maſter perceiuing their pretence, cauſed our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with croſſebarres, chaineſhotte and haileſhot: ſo the ſhip and Carauell came vp, and as ſoone as they were right in our ſides, they ſhotte at vs as much ordinance as they could, thinking to haue layde vs preſently aboord: whereupon we gaue them ſuch a heate with both our ſides, that they were both glad to fall aſterne of vs, & ſo pauſed the ſpace of two or three houres being a very ſmall gale of winde.

Then came vp the other fiue and ſhot all at vs, and ſo fell all aſterne of vs, & then went to counſell together.

Then our ſmall barke named the George came to vs, and wee conferred together a great ſpace. And as the Portugall ſhippes and Carauels were comming to vs againe, our barke minding to fall aſterne of vs and ſo to come vp againe, fell quickly vpon the lee, and by reaſon of the litle winde, it was ſo long before ſhe could fill her ſailes againe, that both the ſhippe and Carauels were come vp to vs, and ſhe falling in among them made reaſonable ſhift with them, but they got a head of her, ſo that ſhe could not fetch vs: then 5 of the Carauels followed her, but we ſaw ſhe defended her ſelfe againſt them all.

Then came the great ſhippe and the Carauell to vs, and fought with vs all that day with their ordinance.

The May-floure our other conſort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day cloſe by the winde, but could not come neere vs. So when night againe was come, they gaue ouer their fight and followed vs all the night.

In theſe many fights it could not otherwiſe be but needes ſome of our men muſt be ſlaine, (as they were indeede) and diuers hurt, and our tackle much ſpoyled: yet for all this we did our beſt indeuour to repaire all things, and to ſtand to it to the death with our aſſured truſt in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came vs to vs, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and ſpoyles, and wiſhed them if they could ſpare halfe a doſen freſh men to hoyſe out their boate and ſende them to him, but they could not ſpare any, and ſo bare away againe. Which when our enemies ſawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came vp to vs again and gaue vs a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde vs or els to ſinke vs: but although our companie was but ſmall, yet leaſt they ſhould ſee vs any whit diſmayed, when they hallowed we hallowed alſo as faſt as they, and waued to them to come and boorde vs if they durſt, but that they would not, ſeeing vs ſtill ſo couragious: and hauing giuen vs that day foure fights, at night they forſooke vs with ſhame, as they came to vs at the firſt with pride.

The 7 Portugals depart with ſhame from one Engliſh ſhip.

They had made in our ſhip ſome leakes with their ſhot which we againe ſtopped with al ſpeed, and that being done, we tooke ſome reſt after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to vs, and brought vs ſixe men in her boate which did vs much pleaſure, and we ſent to them ſome of our hurt men.

June.

Then we directed our courſe for our owne countrey, and by the ſecond day of June we were neere to our owne coaſt and ſounded being thwart the Lyzard.

The third day we had ſight of a ſhippe which was a Portugall, who bare with vs, and at his comming to vs (the weather being calme) our Captaine cauſed him to hoyſe forth his boate to come abord to ſpeake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demanded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bound, and they made anſwere that their lading was ſugar and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants ſhewed them fiue Negroes that we had, and aſked them whether they would buy them, which they were very deſirous to doe, and agreed to giue for them 40 cheſts of ſugar, which cheſts were ſmall hauing not aboue 26 loaues in a piece: ſo they with their boate did fetch fiue of the cheſtes and deliuered them and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, we might ſee bearing with vs a great ſhip and a ſmall, which our Captaine ſuppoſed to be men of warre or Rouers, and then willed the Portugales to carie their ſugar to their ſhip againe, purpoſing to make our ſelues readie for our defence. But the Portugales earneſtly intreated our Captaine not ſo to forſake them, and promiſed him (if he would ſafegard them) to giue him aboue the bargaine ten cheſts of ſugar: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of ſayle, we ſpared our topſayles for her; ſo at laſt the foreſaid ſhip bare with vs, and (ſeeing that we did not feare them) gaue vs ouer. And the next morning came two others bearing with vs, and ſeeing vs not about to flie a iot from them forſooke vs alſo.

A Portugall ſhip (notwithſtanding all their vilanies) defended by our men from Rouers.

The 5 day of Iune we had ſight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and ſo ſounded and had 35 fadom water.

The ſixt day we came in at the Needles and ſo came to an anker vnder the Iſle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence ſayled to Southhampton where we made an ende of this voyage.

The Ambaſſage of M. *Edmund Hogan*, one of the ſworne Eſquires of her Maieſties perſon, from her Highneſſe to *Mully Abdelmelech* Emperour of *Marocco*, and king of Fes and Sus: in the yeere 1577, written by himſelfe,

M. Hogan his arriual at Azafi in Barbarie. May.

I Edmund Hogan being appointed Ambaſſadour from the Queenes Maieſtie to the aboue named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my company and ſeruants from London the two and twentie day of Aprill 1577, being imbarked in the good ſhip called the Gallion of London, and arriued in Azafi a port of Barbarie the one and twentie day of May next following. Immediatly I ſent Leonell Edgerton a ſhoare with my letters directed to Iohn Williams and Iohn Bampton, who diſpatched a Trottero to Marocco to knowe the kings pleaſure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thurſday night.

They with all ſpeede gaue the king vnderſtanding of it, who being glad thereof ſpeeded the next day certaine Captaines with ſouldiers and tents, with other prouiſion to Azafi: ſo that vpon Whitſunday at night the ſaid Captaines with Iohn Bampton, Robert Waſhborne, and Robert Lion, and the kings officers came late to Azafi.

In the meane time I remained a bord, and cauſed ſome of the goods to be diſcharged for lightning of the ſhippe, and I wrote in my letter that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kings pleaſure.

The 22 day being Saturday, the Make-ſpeede arriued in the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27 day, being Whitſunday, came abord the Gallion Iohn Bampton, and others, giuing me to vnderſtande how much the King reioyced of my ſalfe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maieſtie, and how that for my ſafe conduct to the Court he had ſent foure Captaines and an hundred ſouldiers well appointed, with a horſe furniſhed which he vſed himſelfe to ride on with all other furniture accordingly: they wiſhed mee alſo to come on lande in the beſt order I could, as well for my ſelfe as my men, which I did, hauing to the number of tenne men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The ſhips being foure appointed themſelues in the beſt order they could for the beſt ſhew, and ſhot off all their ordinance to the value of twentie Markes in powder.

At my comming a ſhoare, I found all the ſouldiers well appointed on horſebacke, the Captaines and the Gouernour of the towne ſtanding as neere the water ſide as they could, with a Iennet of the kings, and receiued mee from the boate declaring how glad his Maieſtie was of my ſafe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maieſtie my Miſtreſſe, and that hee had ſent them to attend vpon me, it being his pleaſure that I ſhould tarie there on ſhoare fiue or ſixe dayes for my refreſhing.

So being mounted vpon the Iennet, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire fielde vpon the Sea-ſide where was a tent prouided for mee, and all the ground ſpread with Turkie carpets, and the Caſtle diſcharged a peale of ordinance, and all things neceſſarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table and lodging, and had other conuenient tents for my ſeruants.

The ſouldiers enuironed the tents, and watched about vs day and night as long as I lay there, although I ſought my ſpeedier diſpatch.

On the Wedneſday towards night, I tooke my horſe and traueiled ten miles to the firſt place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and ſo traueiled till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till foure, and ſo traueiled as long as day light would ſuffer about 26 miles that day.

In Barbary they haue no Innes but they lodge in open fieldes where they can find water.

The next day being Friday I traueiled in like order but eight and twentie miles at the moſt, and by a Riuer being about ſixe miles within ſight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediatly after came all our Engliſh marchants, and the French on horſebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fiftie men, & diuers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my ſupper, declaring vnto me how glad the king ſhewed himſelfe to heare of the Queenes Maieſtie, and that his pleaſure was I ſhould be receiued into his countrey as neuer any Chriſtian the like: and deſired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, becauſe he would that all the Chriſtians as alſo his nobilitie ſhould meete me, and willed Iohn Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

The ſingular humanitie of the king to our Ambaſſadour.

About ſeuen of the clocke being accompanied with the French and Engliſh marchants, and a great number of ſouldiers, I paſſed towards the citie, and by that time I had traueiled 2 miles, there met me all the Chriſtians of the Spaniards and Portugals to receiue me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good wils of themſelues: for ſome of them although they ſpeake me faire hung downe their heads like dogs, and eſpecially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.

The Spaniards and Portugales were cōmanded by the king in paine of death, to meete the Engliſh Ambaſſadour.

So I paſſed on till I came within two Engliſh miles of the Citie, and then Iohn Bampton returned, ſhewing me that the king was ſo glad of my comming, that hee could not deuiſe to doe too much, to ſhewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Maieſtie, and her Realme.

His counſellers met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen & guard were placed on both ſides of my horſe, and ſo brought me to the kings palace.

The king ſate in his chaire with his Counſell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order giuen vnto me before, I there declared my meſſage in Spaniſh, and made deliuerie of the Queenes Maieſties letters, and all that I ſpake at that preſent in Spaniſh, hee cauſed one of his Elchies to declare the ſame to the Moores preſent, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he anſwered me againe in Spaniſh, yeelding to the Queenes Maieſtie great thankes, and offering himſelfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counſellers to conduct mee to my lodging, not being farre from the Court.

The houſe was faire after the faſhion of that countrey, being daily well furniſhed with al kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The ſame night he ſent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the ſpace of two houres, where I throughly declared the charge committed vnto mee from her Maieſtie, finding him conformable, willing to pleaſure and not to vrge her Maieſtie with any demaundes, more then conueniently ſhee might willingly conſent vnto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better ſerued with lackes, then hee in compariſon from vs.

Further he gaue me to vnderſtand, that the king of Spaine had ſent vnto him for a licence, that an Ambaſſadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes maieſty of England ſent any vnto him, that he would not giue him any credit or intertainment, albeit (ſaid he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being ſo gouerned by the Inquiſition that he can doe nothing of himſelfe.

The king of Spaine ſought to diſgrace the Queene & her Ambaſſour.

Therefore when he commeth vpon the licence which I haue granted, he ſhall well ſee how litle account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes maieſtie of England.

He ſhall not come to my preſence as you haue done, and ſhall dayly: for I minde to accept of you as my companion and one of my houſe, whereas he ſhall attend twentie dayes after he hath done his meſſage.

After the end of this ſpeech I deliuered Sir Thomas Greſhams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there ſitting himſelfe in a chaire, he commanded me to ſit downe in another, and there called for ſuch ſimple Muſicians as he had.

The king of Barbarie ſent into England for Muſicians.

Then I preſented him with a great baſe Lute, which he moſt thankfully accepted, and then he was deſirous to heare of the Muſicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to prouide them, and that I did not doubt but vpon my returne they ſhould come with the firſt ſhip. He is willing to giue them good intertainment with prouiſion of victuall, and to let them liue according to their law and conſcience wherein he vrgeth none to the contrary.

I finde him to be one that liueth greatly in the feare of God, being well exerciſed in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Teſtament as alſo in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others becauſe of our religion, which forbiddeth worſhip of Idols, and the Moores called him the Chriſtian king.

A rich gift beſtowed vpon our Ambaſſadour.

The ſame night being the firſt of Iune, I continued with him till twelue of the clocke, and he ſeemed to haue ſo good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle a ſhort dagger being ſet with 200 ſtones, rubies and turkies, and did beſtow it vpon me, and ſo I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day becauſe he knew it to be Sunday & our Sabboth day he did let me reſt. But on the munday in the afternoone he ſent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and muſicke.

Likewiſe on the tueſday by three of the clocke he ſent for me into his garden, finding him layd vpon a ſilke bed complayning of a ſore leg: yet after long conference he walked into another Orchard, whereas hauing a faire banketting-houſe and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboord the gallie and tooke me with him, and paſſed the ſpace of two or three houres, ſhewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he ſaid) he had exerciſed himſelfe eighteene yeres in his youth.

After ſupper he ſhewed me his horſes and other commodities that he had about his houſe, and ſince that night I haue not ſeene him, for that he hath kept in with his ſore legge, but he hath ſent to me daily.

Iune.

The 13 of Iune at ſixe of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, hauing debated as well for the Queenes commiſſion as for the well dealing with her marchants for their traffike here in theſe parts, ſaying, he would do much more for the Queenes maieſty and the Realme, offering that all Engliſh ſhips with her ſubiects may with good ſecuritie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marcandize, as for victuall & water, as alſo in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in priſes and to make ſales as occaſion ſhould ſerue, or elſe to depart againe with them at their pleaſure.

The offers of the king to our Engliſh merchants.

Likewiſe for all Engliſh ſhips that ſhall paſſe along his coaſt of Barbarie, & thorow the ſtraites into the Leuant ſeas, that he would graunt ſafe conduct that the ſaid ſhips and marchants with their goods might paſſe into the Leuant ſeas, and ſo to the Turks dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well vſing of our ſhips and goods.

Alſo that hereafter no Engliſhmen that by any meanes may be taken captiues, ſhall be ſolde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes maieſty accepting of theſe his offers was pleaſed to confirme the intercourſe & trade of our marchants within this his countrey, as alſo to pleaſure him with ſuch commodities as he ſhould haue need of, to furniſh the neceſſities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandize, ſo as he required nothing contrarie to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the Chriſtian princes her neighbours.

A good prouiſo.

The ſame night I preſented the king with the caſe of combes, and deſired his maieſtie to haue ſpecial regard that the ſhips might be laden backe againe, for that I found litle ſtore of ſalt-peter in readineſſe in Iohn Bamptons hands. He anſwered me that I ſhould haue all the aſſiſtance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to haue ſome ſtore in his houſe there, as alſo that the Mountayners had made much in a readineſſe: I requeſted that he would ſend downe, which he promiſed to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe and ſo continued there till night, and he ſhewed me his houſe with paſtime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his Engliſh dogges.

At this time I mooued him againe for the ſending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and the 24.day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy.

The 23.day the king ſent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24.at night I came to the court to ſee a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promiſed me audience the next day being Tueſday, but he put it off till Thurſday: and the Thurſday at night I was ſent for to the king after ſupper, and then he ſent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a little talke I deſired to be brought to the King for my diſpatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of Iohn Bamptons which he had made for prouiſion of Salt-peter: alſo two bils for the quiet traffique of our Engliſh Marchants, and bils for ſugars to be made by the Iewes, as well for the debts paſt, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Alſo I mooued him againe for the Salt-peter, and other diſpatches, which he referred to be agreed vpon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and vpon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell ſicke, ſo on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was ſent for to conferre vpon the bargaine with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Vpon Tueſday I wrote a letter to the King for my diſpatch, and the ſame afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter.

That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thurſday I was appointed to way the 300.kintals groſſe of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came vnto mee to my lodging, ſhewing mee that the king was offended with Iohn Bampton for diuers cauſes.

The Sunday night late being the 7.of Iuly, I got the King to forgiue all to Iohn Bampton, and the King promiſed me to ſpeake againe with me vpon Munday.

Vpon Tueſday I wrote to him againe for my diſpatch, and then hee ſent Fray Lewes to mee, and ſaid that he had order to write.

Vpon Wedneſday I wrote againe, and he ſent me word that vpon Thurſday I ſhould come and be diſpatched, ſo that I ſhould depart vpon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of Iuly.

So the friday after according to the kings order & appointment I went to the court, & whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demaunds which I had preferred, they were all granted, and likewiſe the priuileges which were on the behalfe of our Engliſh marchants requeſted, were with great fauour and readineſſe yeelded vnto. And whereas the Iewes there reſident were to our men in certaine round ſummes indebted, the Emperors pleaſure and commandement was, that they ſhould without further excuſe or delay, pay and diſcharge the ſame. And thus at length I was diſmiſſed with great honour and ſpeciall countenance, ſuch as hath not ordinarily bene ſhewed to other Ambaſſadors of the Chriſtians.

The Emperor of Maroco his priuileges to the Engliſh.

And touching the priuate affaires intreated vpon betwixt her Maieſtie and the Emperour, I had letters from him to ſatiſfie her highneſſe therein. So to conclude, hauing receiued the like honourable conduct from his Court, as I had for my part at my firſt landing, I embarked my ſelfe with my foreſaid company, and arriuing not long after in England, I repaired to her Maieſties court, & ended my Ambaſſage to her highneſſe good liking, with relation of my ſeruice performed.

The voyage of *Thomas Stukeley*, wrongfully called Marques of *Ireland*, into *Barbary* 1578. Written by *Iohannes Thomas Freigius in Hiſtoria de cæde Sebaſtiani Regis Luſitaniæ.*

VEnerant autem ad regem etiam ſexcenti Itali, quos Papa ſubminiſtrarat, Comiti Irlandiæ: qui cum Vliſſiponem tribus inſtructis nauibus appuliſſet Regi operam ſuam condixit, eumque in bellum ſequi promiſit. Cap.7.

Totum exercitum diuiſit in quatuor acies quadratas: In dextro latere primum agmen erat Velitum & militum Tingitanorum, eoſque ducebat Aluarus Pereſius de Tauara: ſiniſtram aciem ſeu mediam tenebant Germani & Itali, quibus imperabat Marchio Irlandiæ, &c. Cap.11.

Inter nobiles qui in hoc prelio ceciderunt, fuerunt, preter regem Sebaſtianum, dux de Auero, Epiſcopi Conimbricenſis & Portuenſis, Commiſſarius generalis à Papa miſſus Marchio Irlandiæ, Chriſtophorus de Tauora, & plures alij. Cap.13.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THere came alſo to Don Sebaſtian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope ſent vnder the conduct of the *Marques of Irland: who being arriued at Lisbone with three tall ſhips,

*Thomas Stukeley was wrongfully indued with this title.

ſhips,proffered his ſeruice to the king,and promiſed to attend vpon him in the warres,&c.

He diuided the whole Armie into 4.ſquadrons: vpon the right wing ſtood the firſt ſquadron, conſiſting of men lightly armed or ſkirmiſhers and of the ſouldiers of Tangier,Generall of whom was Don Aluaro Perez de Tauara: the left or midle ſquadron conſiſted of Germanes and Italians,vnder the command of the Marques of Irland,&c.cap.7.

Of Noblemen were ſlaine in this battell (beſides Don Sebaſtian the king) the duke de Auero,the two biſhops of Coimbra & of Porto,the Marques of Irland ſent by the Pope as his Commiſſary generall,Chriſtopher de Tauara, and many others. cap.13.

IT is further alſo to be remembred, that diuers other Engliſh gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the moſt part were ſlaine; and among others M.Chriſtopher Lyſter was taken captiue,and was there long detained in miſerable ſeruitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily eſcaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England,and for his manifold good parts being in the yeere 1586. employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland,in a voyage intended by the Streights of Magellan for the South ſea, as Viceadmirall, (wherein he ſhewed ſingular reſolution and courage) and appointed afterward in diuers places of ſpeciall command and credite, was laſt of all miſerably drowned in a great and rich Spaniſh prize vpon the coaſt of Cornwall.

Certaine reports of the prouince of *China* learned through the *Portugals* there impriſoned, and chiefly by the relation of *Galeotto Perera*, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay priſoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of *Italian* into Engliſh by *Richard Willes*.

This land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which ſometimes were ech one a kingdome by it ſelfe, but theſe many yeeres they haue bene all ſubiect vnto one King. **Fuquien.** Fuquien is made by the Portugals the firſt Shire, becauſe there their troubles began, & they had occaſion thereby to know the reſt. In this ſhire be 8.cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquieo, the other ſeuen are **Cinceo.** reaſonably great, the beſt knowen whereof vnto the Portugals is Cinceo, in reſpect of a certaine hauen ioyning thereunto, whither in time paſt they were wont for marchandiſe to reſort.

Cantan. Cantan is the ſecond ſhire, not ſo great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and alſo by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer vnto Malacca then any other part of China, and was firſt diſcried by the Portugals before any other ſhire in that prouince: this ſhire hath in it ſeuen Cities.

Chequeam. Chequeam is the third ſhire, the chiefeſt Citie therein is Donchion, therein alſo ſtandeth Liampo, with other 13.or 14.boroughes: countrey townes therin are too too many to be ſpoken of.

Xutiamfu. The fourth ſhire is called Xutiamfu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes reſident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other townes therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I wil ſay nothing.

Chelim. The fift ſhire hath name Chelim: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was herein of ancient time the royall ſeat of the Chiniſh kings. From this ſhire, & from the aforeſaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, vntil the whole region became one kingdome.

Quianci. or, Quinzi. The 6.ſhire beareth the name Quianci, as alſo the principal City thereof, wherein the fine clay to make veſſels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be ſolde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the firſt that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceiued that the ſtanding of Quinzi more neere vnto Liampo then to Cinceo or Cantan was the cauſe of ſo much fine clay at Liampo: within the compaſſe of Quinci ſhire be other 12.cities.

The 7.ſhire is Quicin, the 8.Quanſi, the 9.Confu, the 10.Vrnan, the 11.Sichiua. In the firſt hereof there be 16.Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3.haue, wee are ignorant as yet, as alſo of the proper names of the 12.and 13.ſhires, and the townes therein.

This finally may be generally ſaid hereof, that the greater ſhires in China prouince may bee compared with mightie kingdomes.

In eche one of theſe ſhires bee ſet Ponchiaſſini and Anchiaſſini, before whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is alſo placed in ech one a Tutan, as you would ſay, a gouernour, and a Chian, that is a viſiter, as it were: whoſe office is to goe in circuit, and to ſee iuſtice exactly done. By theſe meanes ſo vprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the beſt gouerned prouinces in all the world.

Pachin. The king maketh alwayes his abode in the great city Pachin, as much to ſay in our language, as by the name thereof I am aduertiſed, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is ſo large, that vnder fiue monethes you are not able to trauaile from the Townes by the Sea ſide to the Court, and backe againe, no not vnder three monethes in poſte at your vrgent buſineſſe. The poſt-horſes in this Countrey are litle of body, but ſwift of foote. Many doe traueile the greater part of this iourney by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Riuers commodious for paſſage from one Citie to another.

The King, notwithſtanding the hugeneſſe of his kingdome, hath ſuch a care thereof, that euery Moone (for by the Moones they reckon their monethes) he is aduertiſed fully of whatſoeuer thing happeneth therein, by theſe meanes following.

Their monethes.

The whole prouince being diuided into ſhires, and ech ſhire hauing in it one chiefe and principall Citie, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawen in euery chiefe Citie aforeſaid intelligences of ſuch things as doe monethly fall out, and be ſent in writing to the Court. If happely in one moneth euery Poſt be not able to goe ſo long a way, yet doeth there notwithſtanding once euery moneth arriue one Poſte out of the ſhire. Who ſo cōmeth before the new moone ſtayeth for the deliuery of his letters vntil the moone be changed. Then likewiſe are diſpatched other Poſts backe into all the 13. ſhires againe.

Before that we doe come to Cinceo wee haue to paſſe through many places, and ſome of great importance. For this Countrey is ſo well inhabited neere the Sea ſide, that you cannot goe one mile but you ſhal ſee ſome Towne, borough or hoſtry, the which are ſo aboundatly prouided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they liue ciuily. Neuertheleſſe ſuch as dwel abrode are very poore, for the multitude of them euery where is ſo great, that out of a tree you ſhall ſee many times ſwarme a number of children, where a man would not haue thought to haue found any one at all.

From theſe places in number infinite, you ſhall come vnto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not poſſibly to be diſcerned which is the greater of them. Theſe cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come in to either of them, there ſtandeth ſo great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I haue neuer ſeene in Portugal nor elſe where. I heard one of my fellowes ſay, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occaſion wherefore theſe bridges are made ſo great is, for that the Countrey is toward the ſea very plaine and low, and ouerflowed euer as the ſea water encreaſeth. The breadth of the bridges, although it bee well proportioned vnto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle then at either ende, in ſuch wiſe that you may ſee directly from the one ende to the other: the ſides are wonderfully well engraued after the maner of Rome-workes. But that we did moſt marueile at was therewithall the hugeneſſe of the ſtones, the like whereof, as we came in to the Citie, we did ſee many ſet vp in places diſ-habited by the way, to no ſmall charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpoſe, whereas no body ſeeth them but ſuch as doe come by. The arches are not made after our faſhion, vauted with ſundry ſtones ſet together: but paued, as it were, whole ſtones reaching from one piller to an other, in ſuch wiſe that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly ſerue alſo for the high way. I haue bene aſtonied to beholde the hugeneſſe of the aforeſaid ſtones: ſome of them are xii. paſes long and vpward, the leaſt 11. good paſes long, and an halfe.

The wayes echwhere are galantly paued with foureſquare ſtone, except it be where for want of ſtone they vſe to lay bricke: in this voyage wee trauailed ouer certaine hilles, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worſe paued then in the plaine ground. This cauſeth vs to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is ſo well inhabited, that no one foote of ground is left vntilled: ſmall ſtore of cattell haue we ſeene this day, we ſaw onely certaine oxen wherewithall the countreymen do plow their ground. One oxe draweth the plough alone, not onely in this ſhire, but in other places alſo, wherein is greater ſtore of cattell. Theſe countreymen by arte do that in tillage, which we are conſtrained to doe by force. Here be ſolde the voydings of cloſe ſtooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beaſtes: and the excrements of man are good marchandiſe throughout all China. The dungfermers ſeek in euery ſtreete by exchange to buy this durtie ware for herbs and wood. The cuſtome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great aboundance of hennes, geeſe, duckes, ſwine, and goates, wethers haue they none: the hennes are ſolde by weight, and ſo are all other things. Two pound of hennes fleſh, geeſe, or ducke, is worth two foi of their money, that is, v. ob. ſterling. Swines fleſh is ſold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the ſame price, for the ſcarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquico and farther off from the ſea-coaſt, there is beefe more plentie and ſolde better cheape; We haue had in all the Cities we paſſed through, great abundance of all theſe victuals, beefe onely excepted. And if this Countrey were like vnto India, the inhabitants whereof eate neither henne, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for the Portugals and Moores, they would be ſold here for nothing. But it ſo falling out, that the Chineans are the greateſt eaters in all the world, they do feed vpon all things, ſpecially on porke, which, the fatter it is, is vnto them the leſſe lothſome. The higheſt price of theſe things aforeſaid I haue ſet downe, better cheape ſhal you ſometimes buy them for the great plentie thereof in this countrey. Frogs are ſolde at the ſame price that is made of hennes, and are good meate amongſt them, as alſo dogs, cats, rats, ſnakes, and all other vncleane meates.

The Cities be very gallant, ſpecially neere vnto the gates, the which are marueilouſly great, and couered with iron. The gatehouſes are built on high with towers, & the lower part thereof is made of bricke & ſtone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls vpward the building is of timber, and many ſtories in it one aboue the other. The ſtrength of their townes is in the mightie walles and ditches, artillerie haue they none.

The ſtreetes in Cinceo, and in all the reſt of the Cities we haue ſeene are very faire, ſo large and ſo ſtraight, that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houſes are built with timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are layd with ſtone: in ech ſide of the ſtreetes are pentiſes or continuall porches for the marchants to walke vnder: the breadth of the ſtreets is neuertheleſſe ſuch, that in them 15. men may ride commodiouſly ſide by ſide. As they ride they muſt needs paſſe vnder many high arches of triumph that croſſe ouer the ſtreetes made of timber, and carued diuerſly, couered with tiles of fine clay: vnder theſe arches the Mercers do vtter their ſmaller wares, & ſuch as liſt to ſtand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen haue theſe arches at their doores: although ſome of them be not ſo mightily built as the reſt.

Loutea.

I ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Louteas. I wil firſt therefore expound what this word ſignifieth. Loutea is as much to ſay in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he anſwereth Sir: and as we do ſay, that the king hath made ſome gentleman, ſo ſay they, that there is made a Loutea. And for that amongſt them the degrees are diuers both in name and office, I will tell you onely of ſome principals, being not able to aduertiſe you of all.

The maner how gentlemen are created Louteas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giuing of a broad girdle, not like to the reſt, and a cap, at the commaundement of the king. The name Loutea is more generall & common vnto mo, then the equalitie of honour thereby ſignified agreeth withall. Such Louteas as doe ſerue their prince in weightie matters for iuſtice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which ſerue in ſmaller affaires, as Captaines, conſtables, ſergeants by land and ſea, receiuers and ſuch like, whereof there be in euery citie, as alſo in this, very many, are made for fauour: the chiefe Louteas are ſerued kneeling.

The whole prouince of China is diuided, as I haue ſaid, into 13. ſhires, in euery ſhire at the leaſt is one gouernour called there Tutan, in ſome ſhires there be two.

Chian, or, Chaen.

Chiefe in office next vnto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commiſſioners as you would ſay, or viſiters, with full authoritie in ſuch wiſe, that they doe call vnto an accompt the Tutans themſelues, but their authoritie laſteth not in any ſhire longer then one yere. Neuertheleſſe in euery ſhire being at the leaſt 7. cities, yea, in ſome of them 15. or 16. beſide other boroughes and townes not well to be numbred, theſe viſiters where they come are ſo honoured and feared, as though they were ſome great princes. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come vnto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the ſhire, to do iuſtice there: finally buſying themſelues in the ſearching out of ſuch as are to receiue the order of Louteas, whereof more ſhalbe ſaid in another place.

Ponchiaſſi.

Ouer and beſides theſe officers, in the cheife City of ech one of theſe aforeſaid 13. prouinces, is reſident one Ponchiaſſi, Captaine thereof, and treaſurer of all the kings reuenues. This Magiſtrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greateſt houſes that be in all theſe head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Captaine, to be treaſourer of the reuenues in that prouince, & to ſend theſe reuenues at appointed times to the Court: yet hath he notwithſtanding by his office alſo to meddle with matters appertaining vnto iuſtice.

Anchiaſſi, or, Hexaſi.

In the ſecond great houſe dwelleth an other Magiſtrate called Anchiaſſi, a great officer alſo, for he hath dealings in all matters of iuſtice. Who although he be ſomewhat inferior in dignitie vnto the Ponchiaſſi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of iuſtice, whoſoeuer ſeeth the affaires of the one houſe and the other might iudge this Anchiaſſi to be the greater.

Tuzi.

Tuzi, an other officer ſo called, lieth in the thirde houſe, a magiſtrate of importance, ſpecially in things belonging vnto warfare, for thereof hath he charge.

Taiſſu.

There is reſident in the 4. houſe a fourth officer, bearing name Taiſſu. In this houſe is the principall priſon of all the Citie. Echone of theſe Magiſtrates aforeſaide may both lay euill doers in priſon, & deliuer them out againe, except yͤ fact be heinous & of importance: in ſuch a caſe they can do nothing, except they do meet al together. And if the deed deſerueth death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourſe made vnto the Chian whereſoeuer hee be, or to the Tutan: and eftſoones it falleth out, that the caſe is referred vnto higher power. In all Cities, not onely chiefe in ech ſhire, but in the reſt alſo, are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them do ſtudy at the prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres ende they reſort vnto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earſt ſaide, as well to giue theſe degrees, as to ſit in iudgement ouer the priſoners.

The Chians go in circuit euery yere, but ſuch as are to be choſen to the greateſt offices meete not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certaine large halles appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe anſwere accordingly, and be found ſufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and girdle, whereby they are knowen to be Louteas, they weare not before that they be confirmed by the king. Their examination done, and triall made of them, ſuch as haue taken their degree wont to be giuen them with all ceremonies, vſe to banquet and feaſt many dayes together (as the Chineans faſhion is to ende all their pleaſures with eating and drinking) and ſo remaine choſen to do the king ſeruice in matters of learning. The other examinates founde inſufficient to proceed are ſent backe to their ſtudie againe. Whoſe ignorance is perceiued to come of negligence and default, ſuch a one is whipped, and ſometimes ſent to priſon, where lying that yeere when this kinde of acte was, we found many thus puniſhed, and demaunding the cauſe thereof, they ſaide it was for that they knew not how to anſwere vnto certaine things asked them. It is a world to ſee how theſe Louteas are ſerued and feared, in ſuch wiſe, that in publike aſſemblies at one ſhrike they giue, all the ſeruitors belonging vnto iuſtice tremble thereat. At their being in theſe places, when they liſt to mooue, be it but euen to the gate, theſe ſeruitors doe take them vp, and carry them in ſeates of beaten gold. After this ſort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for their owne buſineſſe abroade, or to ſee ech other at home. For the dignitie they haue, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meaneſt of them all that goeth in theſe ſeates is vſhered by two men at the leaſt, that cry vnto the people to giue place, howbeit they neede it not, for that reuerence the common people haue vnto them. They haue alſo in their company certaine Sergeants with their Maces either ſiluered or altogether ſiluer, ſome two, ſome foure, other ſixe, other eight, conueniently for ech one his degree. The more principal and chiefe Louteas haue going orderly before theſe Sergeants, many other with ſtaues, and a great many catchpoules with rods of Indiſh canes dragged on the ground, ſo that the ſtreets being paued, you may heare afarre off as well the noyſe of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. Theſe fellowes ſerue alſo to apprehend others, and the better to be knowen they weare liuery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks feathers. Behinde theſe Louteas come ſuch as doe beare certaine tables hanged at ſtaues endes, wherein is written in ſiluer letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like maner they haue borne after them hattes agreeable vnto their titles: if the Loutea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be yealowe: but if he be of the better ſort, then may he haue two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe Louteas may haue all their hats yealow, the which among them is accompted great honour. The Loutea for warres, although he be but meane, may notwithſtanding haue yealow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they goe abroad, haue beſides all this before them ledde three or foure horſes with their guard in armour.

Licentiates.

Doctors.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eate their meate ſitting on ſtooles at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanely, although they vſe neither table-clothes nor napkins. Whatſoeuer is ſet downe vpon the boord is firſt carued before that it be brought in: they feede with two ſticks, refraining from touching their meate with their hands, euen as we do with forkes: for the which reſpect they leſſe do neede any table clothes. Ne is the nation only ciuill at meate, but alſo in conuerſation, and in courteſie they ſeeme to exceede all other. Likewiſe in their dealings after their maner they are ſo ready, that they farre paſſe all other Gentiles and Moores: the greater ſtates are ſo vaine, that they line their clothes with the beſt ſilke that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all maner of exerciſes and paſtimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the ſouldiers ſhoot at pricks with their bowes, but their eating paſſeth: they will ſtand eating euen when the other do draw to ſhoot. The pricke is a great blanket ſpread on certaine long poles, he that ſtriketh it, hath of the beſt man there ſtanding a piece of crimſon Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this ſort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full returne home againe. The inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worſhip the heauens: and, as wee are wont to ſay, God knoweth it: ſo ſay they at euery word, *Tien Tantee*, that is to ſay, The heauens doe know it. Some doe worſhip the Sonne, and ſome the Moone, as they thinke good, for

We, that is the Italians and Spaniards.

none

After the Dutch faſhion.

Pythagorean like.

none are bound more to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they haue a great altar in the ſame place as we haue, true it is that one may goe round about it. There ſet they vp the image of a certaine Loutea of that countrey, whom they haue in great reuerence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand ſtandeth the diuel much more vgly painted then we doe vſe to ſet him out, whereunto great homage is done by ſuch as come into the temple to aſke counſell, or to draw lottes: this opinion they haue of him, that he is malicious and able to do euil. If you aſke them what they do thinke of the ſoules departed, they will anſwere that they be immortall, and that as ſoone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a diuel if hee haue liued well in this world, if otherwiſe, that the ſame diuel changeth him into a bufle, oxe, or dogge. Wherefore to this diuel they doe much honour, to him doe they ſacrifice, praying him that he will make them like vnto himſelfe, and not like other beaſtes. They haue moreouer another ſort of temples, wherein both vpon the altars and alſo on the walls do ſtand many idols well proportioned, but bare headed: theſe beare name Omithofon, accompted of them ſpirits, but ſuch as in heauen do neither good nor euill, thought to be ſuch men and women as haue chaſtly liued in this world in abſtinence from fiſh and fleſh, fed onely with riſe and ſalates. Of that diuel they make ſome accompt: for theſe ſpirits they care litle or nothing at all. Againe they holde opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heauens will giue him many temporall bleſſings, but if he doe euil, then ſhall he haue infirmities, diſeaſes, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to liue and die, yet becauſe they be reaſonable creatures, all ſeemed good vnto them we ſpeake in our language, though it were not very ſufficient: our maner of praying eſpecially pleaſed them, and truely they are well ynough diſpoſed to receiue the knowledge of the trueth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things ſo to be diſpoſed, that it may ſometime be brought to paſſe, that ſo great a nation as this is periſh not for want of helpe.

Our maner of praying ſo well liked them, that in priſon importunately they beſought vs to write for them ſomewhat as cõcerning heauen, the which we did to their contentation wͭ ſuch reaſons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do their idolatry they laugh at themſelues. If at any time this countrey might be ioyned in league with the kingdome of Portugale, in ſuch wiſe that free acceſſe were had to deale with the people there, they might all be ſoone conuerted. The greateſt fault we do finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner ſort, and nothing ſtrange amongſt the beſt. This ſinne were it left of them, in all other things ſo well diſpoſed they be, that a good interpreter in a ſhort ſpace might do there great good: If, as I ſaid, the countrey were ioyned in league with vs.

Furthermore the Louteas, with all the people of China, are wont to ſolemnize the dayes of the new and full Moones in viſiting one an other, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earſt ſaid, do tend all their paſtimes, and ſpending their dayes in pleaſure. They are wont alſo to ſolemnize ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do reſort of cuſtome, with preſents of iewels or money, receiuing againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like maner a generall feaſt with great banquets that day their king was borne. But their moſt principall and greateſt feaſt of all, and beſt cheare, is the firſt day of their new yeere, namely the firſt day of the new Moone of February, ſo that their firſt moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, reſpect being had vnto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Made ſuch a day of ſuch a moone, and ſuch a yeere of the reigne of ſuch a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I ſpeake of the maner which the Chineans doe obſerue in doing of iuſtice, that it may be knowen how farre theſe Gentiles do herein exceed many Chriſtians, that be more bounden then they to deale iuſtly and in trueth. Becauſe the Chiniſh king maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his kingdome ſo great, & the ſhires ſo many, as tofore it hath bene ſaid: in it therefore the gouernours and rulers, much like vnto our Shiriffes, be appointed ſo ſuddenly and ſpeedily diſcharged againe, that they haue no time to grow naught. Furthermore to keepe the ſtate in more ſecuritie, the Louteas that gouerne one ſhire are choſen out of ſome other ſhire diſtant farre off, where they muſt leaue their wiues, children and goods, carying nothing with them but themſelues. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe finde in a readineſſe all things neceſſary, their houſe, furniture, ſeruants, and all other things in ſuch perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well ſerued without all feare of treaſon.

In the principall Cities of the ſhires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Diuers other Louteas haue the managing of iuſtice, and receiuing of rents, bound to yeelde an accompt thereof vnto the greater officers. Other do ſee that there be no euil rule kept in the Citie: ech one as it behoueth him.

Generally all theſe doe impriſon malefactours, cauſe them to be whipped and racked, hoyſing them vp and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very vſuall there, and accompted no ſhame. Theſe Louteas do vſe great diligence in the apprehending of theeues, ſo that it is a wonder to ſee a theefe eſcape away in any City, towne or village. Upon the ſeariuers vnto the ſhoare many are taken, and looke euen as they are taken, ſo be they firſt whipped, and afterward layde in priſon, where ſhortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time when we were in priſon, there died of them aboue threeſcore and ten. If happely any one, hauing the meanes to get food, do eſcape, he is ſet with the condemned perſons, and prouided for as they be by the King, in ſuch wiſe as hereafter it ſhalbe ſaid.

The Italians call it the ſtrapado.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in ſuch ſort that they ſeeme rather plaine then ſharpe. He that is to be whipped lieth groueling on the ground: vpon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with theſe canes, that the ſtanders by tremble at their crueltie. Ten ſtripes draw a great deale of blood, 20. or 30. ſpoile the fleſh altogether, 50. or 60. will require long time to bee healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Louteas obſerue moreouer this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aſke him openly in the hearing of as many as be preſent, be the offence neuer ſo great. Thus did they alſo behaue themſelues with vs: For this cauſe amongſt them can there be no falſe witneſſe, as dayly amongſt vs it falleth out. This good commeth thereof, that many being alwayes about the Iudge to heare the euidence, and beare witneſſe, the proceſſe cannot be falſified, as it happeneth ſometimes with vs. The Moores, Gentiles, and Iewes haue all their ſundry othes, the Moores do ſweare by their Moſſafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the reſt likewiſe by the things they do worſhip. The Chineans though they be wont to ſweare by heauen, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idoles, in iudgement neuertheleſſe they ſweare not at all. If for ſome offence an othe be vſed of any one, by and by with the leaſt euidence he is tormented, ſo be the witneſſes he bringeth, if they tell not the trueth, or do in any point diſagree, except they be men of worſhip and credit, who are beleeued without any further matter: the reſt are made to confeſſe the trueth by force of torments and whips. Beſides this order obſerued of them in examinations, they do feare ſo much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them ſo lowe, that they dare not once ſtirre. Againe, theſe Louteas as great as they be, notwithſtanding the multitude of Notaries they haue, not truſting any others, do write all great proceſſes and matters of importance themſelues. Moreouer one vertue they haue worthy of great praiſe, and that is, being men ſo wel regarded and accompted as though they were princes, yet they be patient aboue meaſure in giuing audience. We poore ſtrangers brought before them might ſay what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we ſtand before them with the vſuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with vs ſo patiently, that they cauſed vs to wonder, knowing ſpecially how litle any aduocate or Iudge is wont in our Countrey to beare with vs. For whereſoeuer in any Towne of Chriſtendome ſhould be accuſed vnknowen men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents cauſe would haue: but we in a heathen Countrey, hauing our great enemies two of the chiefeſt men in a whole Towne, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey language, did in the end ſee our great aduerſaries caſt into priſon for our ſake, and depriued of their Offices and honour for not doing iuſtice, yea not to eſcape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they ſhalbe beheaded. Some what is now to be ſaid of the lawes that I haue bene able to know in this Countrey, and firſt, no theft or murther is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in priſon, and the fact once proued, are condemned to die, the womans huſband muſt accuſe them: this order is kept with men & women found in that fault, but theeues and murderers are impriſoned as I haue ſaid, where they ſhortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happely eſcape by bribing the Gailer to giue him meate, his proceſſe goeth further, and commeth to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being giuen, the priſoner is brought in publique with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they incloſe vp therein, nailing the boord faſt together; one handfull of the boord ſtandeth vp behinde in the necke: The ſentence and cauſe wherefore the fellon was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that ſtandeth before.

A pillory boord.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great priſon in the company of ſome other condemned perſons, the which are found by the king as long as they do liue. The bord aforeſaid ſo made tormenteth the priſoners very much, keeping them both from reſt, & eke letting them to eat cõmodiouſly, their hands being manacled in irons vnder that boord, ſo that in fine there is no remedy but death.

In the chiefe Cities of euery ſhire, as we haue erſt ſaid, there be foure principall houſes, in ech of them a priſon: but in one of them, where the Taiſſu maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principall priſon then in any of the reſt: and although in euery City there be many, neuertheleſſe in three of them remaine onely ſuch as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many die for hunger and cold, as we haue ſeene in this priſon. Execution is done in this maner. The Chian, to wit, the high Commiſſioner or Lord chiefe Iuſtice, at the yeres end goeth to the head City, where he heareth againe the cauſes of ſuch as be condemned. Many times he deliuereth ſome of them, declaring ẏ boord to haue bene wronfully put about their necks: the viſitation ended, he choſeth out ſeuen or eight, not many more or leſſe of the greateſt malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great Louteas meete together; and after many ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, as the vſe of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeere: who ſo eſcapeth that day, may be ſure that he ſhall not be put to death all that yeere following, and ſo remaineth at the kings charges in the greater priſon. In that priſon where we lay were alwayes one hundred and mo of theſe condemned perſons, beſides them that lay in other priſons.

Theſe priſons wherein the condemned caytifes do remaine are ſo ſtrong, that it hath not bene heard, that any priſoner in all China hath eſcaped out of priſon, for in deed it is a thing impoſſible. The priſons are thus builded. Firſt all the place is mightily walled about, the walles be very ſtrong and high, the gate of no leſſe force: within it three other gates, before you come where the priſoners do lye, there many great lodgings are to be ſeene of the Louteas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, ſuch as do there keepe watch and ward day and night, the court large and paued, on the one ſide whereof ſtandeth a priſon, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept ſuch priſoners as haue committed enormious offences. This priſon is ſo great, that in it are ſtreetes and Market places wherein all things neceſſary are ſold. Yea ſome priſoners liue by that kinde of trade, buying and ſelling, and letting out beds to hire: ſome are dayly ſent to priſon, ſome dayly deliuered, wherefore this place is neuer void of 7. or eight hundred men that go at libertie.

Into one other priſon of condemned perſons ſhall you go at three yron gates, the court paued and vaulted round about, and open aboue as it were a cloiſter. In this cloiſter be eight roomes with yron doores, and in ech of them a large gallerie, wherein euery night the priſoners do lye at length, their feet in the ſtocks, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keep them from ſitting, ſo that they lye as it were in a cage, ſleepe if they can: in the morning they are loſed againe, that they may go into the court. Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of this priſon, it is kept with a garriſon of men, part whereof watch within the houſe, part of them in the court, ſome keepe about the priſon with lanterns and watch-bels anſwering one another fiue times euery night, and giuing warning ſo lowd, that the Loutea reſting in a chamber not neere thereunto, may heare them. In theſe priſons of condemned perſons remaine ſome 15, other 20, yeres impriſoned, not executed, for the loue of their honorable friends that ſeeke to prolong their liues. Many of theſe priſoners be ſhoomakers, and haue from the king a certaine allowance of riſe: ſome of them worke for the keeper, who ſuffreth them to go at libertie without fetters and boords, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Loutea calleth his checke roll, & with the keeper vieweth them, they all weare their liueries, that is, boords at their necks, yronned hand and foot. When any of theſe priſoners dieth, he is to be ſeene of the Loutea and Notaries, brought out of a gate ſo narrow, that there can but one be drawen out there at once. The priſoner being brought forth, one of the aforeſaid Parthions ſtriketh him thriſe on the head with an yron ſledge, that done he is deliuered vnto his friends, if he haue any, otherwiſe the king hireth men to cary him to his buriall in the fields.

Thus adulterers and theeues are vſed. Such as be impriſoned for debt once knowen, lie there vntil it be paied. The Taiſſu or Loutea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his office, who vnderſtanding the cauſe wherefore they do not pay their debts, appointeth them a certaine time to do it, within the compaſſe whereof if they diſcharge not their debts being debters in deed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall impriſonment: if the creditors be many, and one is to be paied before another, they do, contrary to our maner, pay him firſt of whom they laſt borrowed, and ſo ordinarily the reſt, in ſuch ſort that the firſt lender be the laſt receiuer. The ſame order is kept in paying legacies: the laſt named receiueth his portion firſt. They accompt it nothing to ſhew fauour to ſuch a one as can do the like againe: but to do good to them that haue litle or nothing, that is worth thanks, therefore pay they the laſt before the firſt, for that their intent ſeemeth rather to be vertuous then gainefull.

Of like the firſt lenders be the more wealthie.

When I ſaid, that ſuch as be committed to priſon for theft and murther were iudged by the Court, I ment not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no triall, but are brought immediatly before the Tutan, who out of hand giueth ſentence. Other not taken ſo openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a yere in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in priſon, looking for their day. Theeues being taken are caried to priſon from one place to another in a cheſt vpon mens ſhoulders, hired therfore by the king, the cheſt is 6. handfuls high, the priſoner ſitteth therein vpon a bench, the couer of the cheſt is two boords, amid them both a pillery-like hole, for the priſoners necke, there ſitteth he with his head without the cheſt, and the reſt of his body within, not able to mooue or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the neceſſities of nature he voydeth at a hole in the bottome of the cheſt, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole iourney: if happily his porters ſtumble, or the cheſt do iogge or be ſet downe careleſly, it turneth to his great paines that ſitteth therein, al ſuch motions being vnto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions caried frō Cinceo, 7. daies iourney, neuer taking any reſt as afterward they told vs, & their greateſt griefe was to ſtay by the way: as ſoone as they came, being taken out of the cheſts, they were not able to ſtand on their feet, and two of them died ſhortly after. When we lay in priſon at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, & were brought to the pallaces of noble men, to be ſeene of them & their wiues, for that they had neuer ſeene any Portugale before. Many things they aſked vs of our Country, and our faſhions, & did write euery thing, for they be curious in nouelties aboue meaſure. The gentlemen ſhew great courteſie vnto ſtrangers, and ſo did we finde at their hands, and becauſe that many times we were brought abroad into the City, ſomewhat wil I ſay of ſuch things as I did ſee therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. ſhires aforeſaid. The City Fuquieo is very great, & mightily walled with ſquare ſtone both within and without, and, as it may ſeeme by the breadth therof, filled vp in the middle with earth, layd ouer with brick & couered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwel therein. The ſtaires they vſe are ſo eaſily made, that one may go them vp and downe a horſ-backe, as eftſoones they do: the ſtreets are paued, as already it hath bin ſaid: there be a great number of Marchants, euery one hath written in a great table at his doore ſuch things as he hath to ſel. In like maner euery artiſane painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be ſold. The city ſtandeth vpō water, many ſtreames run through it, the banks pitched, & ſo broad that they ſerue for ſtreets to the cities vſe. Ouer the ſtreams are ſundry bridges both of timber & ſtone, which being made leuel with the ſtreets, hinder not the paſſage of the barges too and fro, the chanels are ſo deepe. Where the ſtreames come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barges they haue, & that in the day time only: at night theſe arches are cloſed vp with gates, ſo do they ſhut vp al the gates of the City. Theſe ſtreames and barges do ennobliſh very much the City, and make it as it were to ſeeme another Venice. The buildings are euen, wel made, high, not lofted, except it be ſome wherein marchandize is laid. It is a world to ſee how great theſe cities are, and the cauſe is, for that the houſes are built euen, as I haue ſaid, & do take a great deale of roome. One thing we ſaw in this city that made vs al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, ouer a porch at the comming in to one of the aforeſaid 4. houſes, which the king hath in euery ſhire for his gouernors, as I haue erſt ſaid, ſtandeth a tower built vpon 40. pillers, ech one whereof is but one ſtone, ech one 40. handfuls or ſpans long: in bredth or compaſſe 12, as many of vs did meaſure them. Beſides this, their greatneſſe is ſuch in one piece, that it might ſeeme impoſſible to worke them: they be moreouer cornered, and in colour, length and breadth ſo like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made vs all to wonder very much.

Fuquieo.

Hereof tofore.

Parai.

We are wont to cal this country China, and the people Chineans, but as long as we were priſoners, not hearing amongſt them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and aſked ſometimes by them thereof, for that they vnderſtood vs not when we called them Chineans, I anſwered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefore I praied them that they would tel me, for what occaſiō they are ſo called, whether peraduenture any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes anſwered me, ẏ they haue no ſuch name, nor euer had. Then did I aſke them what name the whole Country beareth, & what they would anſwere being aſked of other nations what countrymen they were? It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, & though preſently it were al vnder one, ech kingdom neuertheles enioyed that name it firſt had, theſe kingdomes are the prouinces I ſpake of before. In concluſion they ſaid, that the whole country is called Tamen, & the inhabitants Tamegines, ſo that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in ẏ country. I thinke that the neerneſſe of another prouince therabout called Cochinchina, & the inhabitants therof Cochineſſes, firſt diſcouered before China was, lying not far from Malacca, did giue occaſion to ech of the nations, of that name Chineans, as alſo the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforeſaid.

Tamen the proper name of China.

I haue heard moreouer that in the City of Nanquim remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memory of that reſidence the kings were wont to keepe there. This table ſtandeth in a great pallace, couered alwayes, except it be on ſome of their feſtiuall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it be ſeene, couered neuertheleſſe as it is, all the nobilitie of the City going of duetie to doe it euery day reuerence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other ſhires in the pallaces of the Ponchiaſſini, wherein theſe aforeſaid tables doe ſtand with the kings name written in them, although no reuerence be done thereunto but in ſolemne feaſtes.

Pochan, or, Pachin.

I haue likewiſe vnderſtood that the City Pachin, where the king maketh his abode, is ſo great, that to go from one ſide to the other, beſides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it ſelfe, it requireth one whole day a horſeback, going hackney paſe. In the ſuburbs be many wealthy marchants of all ſorts. They told me furthermore that it was moted about, and in the motes great ſtore of fiſh, whereof the king maketh great gaines.

Their enemies.

Mariage of the kings children.

It was alſo told me that the king of China had no king to wage battel withall, beſides the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace more then 80. yeres ago. Neuertheleſſe their friendſhip was not ſo great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding with whom they married, they ſaid, that in olde time the Chiniſh kings when they would marry their daughters, accuſtomed to make a ſolemne feaſt, whereunto came all ſorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, ſtood in a place where ſhe might ſee them all, and looke whom ſhe liked beſt, him did ſhe chuſe to huſband, and if happely he were of a baſe condition, hee became by and by a gentleman: but this cuſtome hath bene left long ſince. Now a dayes the king marrieth his daughters at his owne pleaſure, with great men of the kingdome: the like order he obſerueth in the marriage of his ſonnes.

He ſpeaketh not here of all China, but of the Cities, for in other places there be beggers, as you haue ſeene already, ſwarming out of trees.

They haue moreouer one thing very good, and that which made vs all to marueile at them being Gentiles: namely, that there be hoſpitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, we neuer ſaw any poore body begge. We therefore aſked the cauſe of this: anſwered it was, that in euery City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houſes for poore people, for blinde, lame, old folke, not able to trauaile for age, nor hauing any other meanes to liue. Theſe folke haue in the aforeſaid houſes euer plentie of rice during their liues, but nothing elſe. Such as be receiued into theſe houſes, come in after this maner. When one is ſicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a ſupplication to the Ponchiaſſi, and prouing that to be true he writeth, he remaineth in the aforeſaid great lodging as long as he liueth: beſides this they keepe in theſe places ſwine and hennes, whereby the poore be relieued without going a begging.

I ſaid before that China was full of riuers, but now I minde to confirme the ſame anew: for the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the riuers. Sometimes we were ſo farre off from the ſea, that where we came no ſea fiſh had bene ſeene, and ſalt was there very deare, of freſh water fiſh yet was there great abundance, and that fiſh very good: they keep it good after this maner. Where the riuers do meete, and ſo paſſe into the ſea, there lieth great ſtore of boats, ſpecially where no ſalt-water commeth, and that in March and April. Theſe boates are ſo many that it ſeemeth wonderfull, ne ſerue they for other then to take ſmall fiſh. By the riuers ſides they make leyres of fine and ſtrong nettes, that lye three handfuls vnder water, and one aboue to keepe and nouriſh their fiſh in, vntill ſuch time as other fiſhers do come with boates, bringing for that purpoſe certaine great cheſts lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they cary their fiſh vp and downe the riuer, euery day renuing the cheſt with freſh water, and ſelling their fiſh in euery City, towne and village where they paſſe, vnto the people as they neede it: moſt of them haue net leyres to keepe fiſh in alwayes for their prouiſion. Where the greater boates cannot paſſe any further forward, they take leſſer, and becauſe the whole Countrey is very well watered, there is ſo great plenty of diuers ſorts of fiſh, that it is wonderfull to ſee: aſſuredly we were amazed to behold the maner of their prouiſion. Their fiſh is chiefly nouriſhed with the dung of Bufles and oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I ſaid their fiſhing to be in March and April at what time we ſaw them do it, neuertheleſſe they told vs that they fiſhed at all times, for that vſually they do feed on fiſh, wherefore it behoueth them to make their prouiſion continually.

Meanes to fat fiſh.

He ſpeaketh of Fuquien ſhire.

When we had paſſed Fuquien, we went into Quicin ſhire, where the fine clay veſſell is made, as I ſaid before: and we came to a City, the one ſide whereof is built vpon the foote of a hill, whereby paſſeth a riuer nauigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on ech ſide of the riuer we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we ſaw great ſtore of marchandize, but ſpecially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other neceſſaries. Going downe this riuer Southward, we were glad that wee drew neere vnto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had bene farre diſtant: this Countrey we paſſed through in eight dayes, for our iourney lay downe the ſtreame. Before that I doe ſay any thing of that ſhire we came into, I will firſt ſpeake of the great City of Quicin, wherein alwayes remaineth a Tutan, that is a gouernour, as you haue ſeene, though ſome Tutans do gouerne two or three ſhires.

That Tutan that was condemned for our cauſe, of whom I ſpake before, was borne in this Countrey, but he gouerned Foquien ſhire: nothing it auailed him to be ſo great an officer. This Countrey is ſo great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yere before. At the Citie Quanche whither we came, the riuer was ſo great that it ſeemed a Sea, though it were ſo litle where we tooke water, that we needed ſmall boats. One day about 9. of the clocke, beginning to row neere the walls with the ſtreame, we came at noone to a bridge made of many barges, ouerlinked al together with two mightie cheines. There ſtayed we vntill it was late, but we ſaw not one go either vp thereon or downe, except two Louteas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and ſet them downe there, the one on one ſide, the other on the other ſide. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and barges both great and ſmall to the number of ſixe hundred began to paſſe: thoſe that went vp the ſtreame at one place, ſuch as came downe at an other. When all had thus ſhot the bridge, then was it ſhut vp againe. We heare ſay that euery day they take this order in all principall places of marchandize, for paying of the Cuſtome vnto the king, ſpecially for ſalt, whereof the greateſt reuenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The paſſages of the bridge where it is opened, be ſo neere the ſhoare, that nothing can paſſe without touching the ſame. To ſtay the barges at their pleaſure, that they goe no further forward, are vſed certaine iron inſtruments. The bridge conſiſteth of 112. barges, there ſtayed we vntill the euening that they were opened, lothſomely oppreſſed by the multitude of people that came to ſee vs, ſo many in number, that we were enforced to go aſide from the banke vntill ſuch time as the bridge was opened: howbeit we were neuertheleſſe thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came ſo importunate vpon vs, that it was needfull to withdraw our ſelues: yet were we here much more moleſted for the number of people: & this bridge is the principall way out of the Citie vnto another place ſo wel inhabited, that were it walled about, it might be compared to the Citie. When we had ſhot the bridge, we kept along the Citie vntil it was night, and then met we with an other riuer that ioyned with this, we rowed vp that by the walls vntill we came to another bridge gallantly made of barges, but leſſer a great deale then that other bridge ouer the greater ſtreame: here ſtayed we that night, and other two dayes with more quiet, being out of the preaſſe of the people. Theſe riuers do meet without at one corner point of the City. In either of them were ſo many barges great and ſmall, that we all thought them at the leaſt to be aboue three thouſand: the greater number thereof was in the leſſer riuer, where we were. Amongſt the reſt here lay certaine greater veſſels, called in their language Parai, that ſerue for the Tutan, when he taketh his voyage by other riuers that ioyne with this, towards Pachin, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I haue erſt ſaid, all this Countrey is full of riuers. Deſirous to ſee thoſe Parai we got into ſome of them, where we found ſome chambers ſet foorth with gilded beds very richly, other furniſhed with tables and ſeats, and all other things ſo neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Alàs Cencbi.

The Kings reuenues.

Parai.

Quiacim ſhire, as farre as I can perceiue, lieth vpon the South. On that ſide we kept at our firſt entry thereinto, trauayling not farre from the high mountaines we ſaw there. Aſking what people dwelleth beyond thoſe mountaines, it was told me that they be theeues & men of a ſtrange language. And becauſe that vnto ſundry places neere this riuer the mountaines doe approch, whence the people iſſuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into Quiacim ſhire. To guard this riuer whereon continually go to & fro Parai great & ſmall fraught with ſalt, fiſh poudred with peper, and other neceſſaries for that countrey, they do lay in diuers places certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherin watch and ward is kept day and night on both ſides of the riuer, for the ſafety of the paſſage, & ſecuritie of ſuch Parai as do remaine there, though the trauailers neuer go but many in company. In euery rode there be at the leaſt thirtie, in ſome two hundred men, as the paſſage requireth. This guard is kept vſually vntill you come to the City Onchio, where continually the Tutan of this ſhire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that City vpward, where the riuer waxeth more narrow, and the paſſage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other veſſels fraught with marchandize, and all this at the Kings charges. This ſeemed to me one of the ſtrangeſt things I did ſee in this Countrey.

Fiſh poudered with peper.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did ſee certaine Moores, who knew ſo litle of their ſecte, that they could ſay nothing elſe but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with ſome other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abſtinence from ſwines fleſh, they liue vntill the diuel take them all. This when I ſaw, & being ſure that in many Chiniſh

Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as ſoone as we came to the City where theſe fellowes be, I enfourmed my ſelfe of them, and learned the trueth.

☞ Great ſhips comming from the North.

Theſe Moores, as they tolde me, in times paſt came in great ſhips fraught with marchandiſe from Pachin ward, to a port granted vnto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arriued at a litle Towne ſtanding in the hauens mouth, in time conuerted vnto their ſect the greateſt Loutea there. When that Loutea with all his family was become Mooriſh, the reſt began likewiſe to doe the ſame. In this part of China the people be at libertie, euery one to worſhip and folow what him liketh beſt. Wherefore no body tooke heed thereto, vntill ſuch time as the Moores perceiuing that many followed them in ſuperſtition, and that the Loutea fauoured them, they began to forbid wholy the eating of ſwines fleſh. But all theſe countreymen and women choſing rather to forſake father and mother, then to leaue off eating of porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For beſides the great deſire they all haue to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do liue thereby: and therefore the people complained vnto the Magiſtrates, accuſing the Moores of a conſpiracie pretended betwixt them and the Loutea againſt their king. In this countrey, as no ſuſpition, no not one traiterous word is long borne withall, ſo was the king ſpeedily aduertiſed thereof, who gaue commandement out of hand that the aforeſaid Loutea ſhould be put to death, and with him the Moores of moſt importance: the other to be layde firſt in priſon, and afterward to be ſent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetuall ſlaues vnto the king. To this City came by happe men and women threeſcore and odde, who at this day are brought to fiue men and foure women, for it is now twenty yeeres ſince this happened. Their offſpring paſſeth the number of two hundreth, and they in this City, as the reſt in other Cities whither they were ſent, haue their *Moſcheas, whereunto they all reſort euery Friday to keepe their holy day. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe liue that came from thence, for their poſteritie is ſo confuſed, that they haue nothing of a Moore in them but abſtinence from ſwines fleſh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof priuily. They tell mee that their natiue Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein be many kings, and the Indiſh countrey well knowen vnto them. It may ſo be: for as ſoone as they did ſee our ſeruants (our ſeruants were Preuzaretes) they iudged them to be Indians: many of their wordes ſounded vpon the Perſian tongue, but none of vs coulde vnderſtand them. I aſked them whether they conuerted any of the Chiniſh nation vnto their ſecte: they anſwered mee, that with much a doe they conuerted the women with whom they doe marry, yeelding me no other cauſe thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating ſwines fleſh and drinking of wine. I am perſwaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with vs, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an eaſie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their ſuperſtition, whereat they themſelues do laugh when they do their idolatry.

*That is their temples.

It ſhould ſeeme by their voyage to be Cardandan in Ortelius.

☞ A Northerne Sea.

It ſeemeth they came vp the riuer from the Caſpian ſea.

At Cacan.

Riuers ouerfroſen in China.

I haue learned moreouer that the Sea, whereby theſe Moores that came to China were wont to trauaile, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Perſia, leauing on the other ſide all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is euen ſo, becauſe that theſe Moores, the which we haue ſeene, be rather browne then white, whereby they ſhewe themſelues to come from ſome warmer Countrey then China is neere to Pachin, where the riuers are froſen in the Winter for colde, and many of them ſo vehemently, that carts may paſſe ouer them.

Ali. Auoins Tartars.

Mount Vſont.

Mogores.

Blewes of great price in China.

We did ſee in this Citie many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horſemen and archers, confining with China on that ſide where Pachin ſtandeth, ſeparated from thence by great mountaines that are betwixt theſe kingdomes. Ouer them be certaine wayes to paſſe, and for both ſides, Caſtles continually kept with Souldiers: in time paſt the Tartars were wont alwayes to haue warres with the Chineans, but theſe foureſcore yeeres paſt they were quiet, vntill the ſecond yeere of our impriſonment. The Mogores be in like maner white, and heathen, we are aduertiſed that of one ſide they border vpon theſe Tartars, and confine with the Perſian Tartars on the other ſide, whereof wee ſawe in them ſome tokens, as their maner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine blewes of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be ſold at Ormus. So that this is the true ſituation of that Countrey, not in the Northparts, as many times I haue heard ſay, confining with Germanie.

Brames.

As for the Brames we haue ſeene in this city Chenchi certaine men & women, amongſt whom there was one that came not long ſince, hauing as yet her haire tied vp after the Pegues faſhion: this woman, and other mo with whom a black Moore damſel in our company had conference, and did vnderſtand them wel ynough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, imagining that we ment to make our abode in that citie, bid vs to be of good comfort, for that her countrey was not diſtant from thence aboue fiue dayes iourney, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way for vs home into our owne. Being aſked the way, ſhe anſwered that the firſt three daies the way lieth ouer certaine great mountaines & wilderneſſe, afterward people are met withall againe. Thence two dayes iourney more to the Brames countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this kingdome, ſeparated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene alreadie ſaid, that lie out towards the South. In the reſidue of theſe mountaines ſtandeth the prouince of Sian, the Laoyns countrey, Camboia, Campaa, and Cochinchina.

Southward from Chenchi to the ſea.

Auoins.

Chenchi.

This citie, chiefe of other ſixteene, is ſituated in a pleaſant plaine abounding in all things neceſſarie, ſea-fiſh onely excepted, for it ſtandeth farre from the ſea: of freſh fiſh ſo much ſtore, that the market places are neuer emptie. The walles of this citie are very ſtrong and high: one day did I ſee the Louteas thereof go vpon the walles to take the view thereof, borne in their ſeates which I ſpake of before, accompanied with a troupe of horſemen that went two and two: It was tolde me they might haue gone three & three. We haue ſeene moreouer, that within this aforeſayde Citie the king hath moe then a thouſande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in diuerſe partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houſes, that they may be knowen, for that is the kings colour. Theſe Gentlemen, according to their neereneſſe in blood vnto the king, as ſoone as they be married receiue their place in honour: this place neither increaſeth nor diminiſheth in any reſpect as long as the king liueth, the king appointeth them their wiues and familie, allowing them by the moneth all things neceſſarie abundantly, as he doth to his gouernours of ſhires and Cities, howbeit, not one of theſe hath as long as he liueth any charge or gouernement at all. They giue themſelues to eating and drinking, and be for the moſt part burly men of bodie, inſomuch that eſpying any one of them whom we had not ſeene before, we might knowe him to be the King his coſin. They be neuertheleſſe very pleaſant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time wee were in that citie, ſo much honour and good intertainement any where as at their hands. They bid vs to their houſes to eate and drinke, and when they found vs not, or we were not willing to go with them, they bid our ſeruants and ſlaues, cauſing them to ſit downe with the firſt. Notwithſtanding the good lodging theſe Gentlemen haue, ſo commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they neuer goe abroad. The cauſe, as I did vnderſtand, wherefore the king ſo vſeth his coſins is, that none of them at any time may rebell againſt him: and thus he ſhutteth them vp in three or foure other cities. Moſt of them can play on the Lute, and to make that kinde of paſtime peculiar vnto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe liue be forbidden that inſtrument, the Curtiſans and blinde folke onely excepted, who be muſicians and can play.

This king furthermore, for the greater ſecuritie of his Realme and the auoyding of tumults, letteth not one in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Manie great eſtates and gouernours there be, that during their office are lodged Lordlike, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they be ſo many times diſplaced and other placed a new, that they haue not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well prouided for, as afterward alſo lodged at the kings charges, and in penſion as long as they liue, payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed for that purpoſe. The king then is a Lord onely, not one beſides him as you haue ſeene, except it be ſuch as be of his blood. A Nephew likewiſe of the king, the kings ſiſters ſonne, lyeth continually within the walles of the citie in a ſtrong pallace built Caſtlewiſe, euen as his other couſins do, remayning alwayes within doores, ſerued by Eunuches, neuer dealing with any matters. On their feſtiuall dayes, new moones, & full moones the magiſtrates make great bankets, and ſo do ſuch as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is walled about, the wall is not high but foure-ſquare, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals of Goa, the outſide is painted red, in euery ſquare a gate, and ouer each gate a tower made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure that openeth into the high ſtreete no Loutea, be he neuer ſo great, may paſſe on horſebacke, or carried in his ſeat. Amidſt this quadrangle ſtandeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtleſſe worth the ſight, although we came not in to ſee it. By report the roofes of the towers and houſe are glaſed greene, & the greater part of the quadrangle ſet with ſauage trees, as Okes, Cheſtnuts, Cypreſſe, Pineapples, Cedars, and other ſuch like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are kept Stags, Oxen, and other beaſts, for that Lord his recreation neuer going abroad as I haue ſayd. One preheminence this citie hath aboue the reſt where we haue bene, & that of right, as we do thinke, that beſides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be ſold through

Goa is a city of the Portugals in the Eaſt Indies.

euery ſtreete continually are cryed all things neceſſary, as fleſh of all ſortes, freſh fiſh, hearbes, oyle, vineger, meale, riſe: in ſumma, all things ſo plentifully, that many houſes neede no ſeruants, euery thing being brought to their doores. Moſt part of the marchants remaine in the ſuburbes, for that the cities are ſhut vp euery night, as I haue ſayd. The marchants therefore, the better to attend their buſineſſe, do chuſe rather to make their abode without in the ſuburbes then within the citie. I haue ſeene in this riuer a pretie kinde of fiſhing, not to be omitted in my opinion, and therefore I will ſet it downe. The king hath in many riuers good ſtore of barges full of ſea-crowes that breede, are fedde, and doe die therein, in certaine cages, allowed monethly a certaine prouiſion of riſe. Theſe barges the king beſtoweth vpon his greateſt magiſtrates, giuing to ſome two, to ſome three of them as he thinketh good, to fiſh therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to fiſh, all the barges are brought together in a circle, where the riuer is ſhalow, and the crowes tyed together vnder the wings are let leape downe into the water, ſome vnder, ſome aboue, worth the looking vpon: each one, as he hath filled his bagge, goeth to his owne barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fiſh againe. Thus hauing taken good ſtore of fiſh, they ſet the crowes at libertie, and do ſuffer them to fiſh for their owne pleaſure. There were in that citie where I was, twentie barges at the leaſt of theſe aforeſayd crowes. I went almoſt euery day to ſee them, yet could I neuer be throughly ſatiſfied to ſee ſo ſtrange a kind of fiſhing.

Odericus writeth of the like.

Of the Iland *Iapan*, and other litle Iles in the Eaſt Ocean.

By *R. Willes.*

The extreame part of the knowen world vnto vs is the noble Iland Giapan, written otherwiſe Iapon and Iapan. This Iland ſtandeth in the Eaſt Ocean, beyond all Aſia, betwixt Cathayo and the Weſt Indies ſixe and thirtie degrees Northward from the Equinoctial line, in the ſame clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, diſtant from thence by ſea ſixe thouſand leagues: the trauaile thither, both for ciuill diſcord, great pyracie, and often ſhipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and peſtered with ſnow, wherefore it is neither ſo warme as Portugall, nor yet ſo wealthy, as far as we can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheeſe, milke, egges, ſugar, honny, vineger, ſaffron, cynamom and pepper. Barley-branne the Ilanders doe vſe in ſtead of ſalt: medicinable things holſome for the bodie haue they none at all. Neuertheleſſe in that Iland ſundry fruites doe growe, not much vnlike the fruites of Spaine: and great ſtore of Siluer mynes are therein to be ſeene. The people are tractable, ciuill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honeſt conuerſation exceeding all other nations lately diſcouered, but ſo much ſtanding vpon their reputation, that their chiefe Idole may be thought honour. The contempt thereof cauſeth among them much diſcord and debate, manſlaughter and murther: euen for their reputation they doe honour their parents, keepe their promiſes, abſteine from adulterie and robberies, puniſhing by death the leaſt robbery done, holding for a principle, that whoſoeuer ſtealeth a trifle, will, if he ſee occaſion, ſteale a greater thing. It may be theft is ſo ſeuerely puniſhed of them, for that the nation is oppreſſed with ſcarcitie of all things neceſſary, and ſo poore, that euen for miſerie they ſtrangle their owne children, preferring death before want. Theſe fellowes doe neither eate nor kill any foule. They liue chiefely by fiſh, hearbes, and fruites, ſo healthfully, that they die very old. Of Rice and Wheat there is no great ſtore. No man is aſhamed there of his pouertie, neither be their gentlemen therefore leſſe honoured of the meaner people, neither will the pooreſt gentleman there match his childe with the baſer ſort for any gaine, ſo much they do make more account of gentry then of wealth. The greateſt delight they haue is in armour, each boy at fourteene yeeres of age, be he borne gentle or otherwiſe, hath his ſword and dagger: very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in compariſon of their manhood and proweſſe, putting not vp one iniurie be it neuer ſo ſmall in worde or deede, among themſelues. They feede moderately, but they drinke largely. The vſe of vines they knowe not, their drinke they make of Rice, vtterly they doe abhorre dice, and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man, then to giue himſelfe vnto thoſe things that make vs greedy and deſirous to get other mens goods. If at any time they do ſweare, for that ſeldome they are wont to doe, they ſweare by the Sunne: many of them are taught good letters, wherfore they may ſo much the ſooner be brought vnto Chriſtianitie. Each one is contented with one wife: they be all deſirous to learne, & naturally inclined vnto honeſty & courteſie: godly talke they liſten vnto willingly, eſpecially whẽ they vnderſtand it throughly. Their gouernmẽt cõſiſteth of 3 eſtates. The firſt place is due vnto the high Prieſt, by whoſe lawes & decrees all publike and

Great ſtore of ſiluer mynes.

priuate matters appertayning to religion are decided. The ſects of their clergie men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no eſtimation or authoritie except the high Prieſt by letters patent doe confirme the ſame: he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Biſhops, although in many places they are nominated by ſundry Princes. Theſe Tundi are greatly honoured of all ſorts: they doe giue benefices vnto inferiour miniſters, and do grant licences for many things as to eate fleſh vpon thoſe dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with ſuch like priuileges. Finally, this high Prieſt wont to be choſen in China for his wiſedome and learning, made in Iapan for his gentry and birth, hath ſo large a Dominion and reuenues ſo great, that eftſones he beardeth the petie Kings and Princes there.

Petrus Maffeius de rebus Iaponicis.

Their ſecond principal Magiſtrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Herehaught, made by ſucceſſion and birth, honoured as a God. This Gentleman neuer toucheth the ground with his foote without forfaiting of his office, he neuer goeth abroad out of his houſe, nor is at all times to be ſeene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in woodden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he ſitteth in his chaire with a ſword in one ſide, and a bow and arrowes in the other, next his bodie he weareth blacke, his outward garments be red, all ſhadowed ouer with Cypreſſe, at his cappe hang certaine Lambeaux much like vnto a Biſhops Miter, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen diſhes. This Herehaught determineth in all Iapan the diuerſe titles of honour, whereof in that Iland is great plentie, each one particularly knowen by his badge, commonly ſeene in ſealing vp their letters, and dayly altered according to their degrees. About this Vo euery Noble man hath his Soliciter, for the nation is ſo deſirous of praiſe and honour, that they ſtriue among themſelues who may bribe him beſt. By theſe meanes the Herehaught groweth ſo rich, that although hee haue neither land nor any reuenues otherwiſe, yet may he be accounted the wealthieſt man in all Iapan. For three cauſes this great Magiſtrate may looſe his office: firſt, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath beene alreadie ſaid: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemie vnto peace and quietneſſe, howbeit neither of theſe aforeſaid cauſes is ſufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Iudge, his office is to take vp and to end matters in controuerſie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to puniſh rebels, wherein he may commaund the noble men to aſſiſt him vpon paine of forfeiting their goods: neuertheleſſe at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controuerſies are decided either in the Temporall Court, as it ſeemeth good vnto the Princes, or in the Spirituall conſiſtorie before the Tundi.

Rebelles are executed in this manner, eſpecially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giueth ſentence againſt any one, the ſame day the partie, whereſoeuer he be, is aduertiſed thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned perſon aſketh of the meſſenger whether it may bee lawfull for him to kill himſelfe: the which thing when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his beſt apparell and launcing his body a croſſe from the breaſt downe all the belly, murthereth himſelfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime ſo puniſhed, looſe their goods. But if the king reſerue them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his ſeruants, and friends home to his houſe, to preſerue his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out vnto his chiefe Iudge, who firſt ſetteth vpon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and ſwords, vntill the rebell and all his family be ſlaine to their perpetuall ignominie and ſhame.

The Indie-writers make mention of ſundry great cities in this Iland, as Cangoxima a hauen towne in the South part thereof, and Meaco diſtant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall ſeat of the king and moſt wealthy of all other townes in that Iland. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the beſt Iaponiſh. In Meaco are ſayd to be ninetie thouſande houſes inhabited and vpward, a famous Vniuerſitie, and in it fiue principall Colleges, beſides cloſes & cloyſters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamacata, that is, Prieſts, Monks and Nunnes. Other fiue notable Vniuerſities there be in Iapan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The firſt foure haue in them at the leaſt three thouſand & fiue hundred ſchollers: in the fift are many mo. For Bandu prouince is very great and poſſeſſed with ſixe princes, fiue whereof are vaſſals vnto the ſixt, yet he himſelfe ſubiect vnto the Iaponiſh king, vſually called the great king of Meaco: leſſer ſcholes there be many in diuers places of this Ilande. And thus much ſpecially concerning this glorious Iland, among ſo many barbarous nations and rude regions, haue I gathered together in one ſumme, out of ſundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no leſſe faithfull reporters than famous trauellers. For confirmation whereof, as alſo for the knowledge of other things not conteyned in the premiſſes, the curious readers may peruſe theſe 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late compendiouſly made latine, by Petrus Maffeius my olde acquainted friend, entituling the ſame, De rebus Iaponicis. One whole letter out of the fift booke thereof, ſpecially intreating of that countrey, I haue done into Engliſh word for word in ſuch wiſe as followeth.

Petrus Maffeius de rebus Iaponicis.

Aloiſius Froes to his companions in Ieſus Chriſt that remaine in *China* and *India.*

THe laſt yeere, deare brethren, I wrote vnto you from Firando, how Coſmus Turrianus had appointed me to trauaile to Meaco to helpe Gaſpar Vilela, for that there the harueſt was great, the labourers few, and that I ſhould haue for my companion in that iourney Aloiſius Almeida. It ſeemeth now my part, hauing by the helpe of God ended ſo long a voiage, to ſignifie vnto you by letter ſuch things ſpecially as I might thinke you would moſt delight to know. And becauſe at the beginning Almeida and I ſo parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt vs, that he ſhould ſpeake of our voyage, and ſuch things as happened therein, I ſhould make relation of the Meachians eſtate, & write what I could well learne of the Iapans maners and conditions: ſetting aſide all diſcourſes of our voyage, that which ſtandeth me vpon I will diſcharge in this Epiſtle, that you conſidering how artificially, how cunningly, vnder the pretext of religion, that craftie aduerſary of mankind leadeth and draweth vnto perdition the Iapaniſh mindes, blinded with many ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, may the more pitie this Nation.

The inhabiters of Iapan, as men that neuer had greatly to doe with other Nations, in their Geography diuided the whole world into three parts, Iapan, Sian, and China. And albeit the Iapans receiued out of Sian and China their ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, yet do they neuertheleſſe contemne all other nations in compariſon of themſelues, and ſtanding in their owne conceite doe farre preferre themſelues before all other ſorts of people in wiſedome and policie.

Touching the ſituation of the countrey and nature of the ſoyle, vnto the things eftſoones erſt written, this one thing I wil adde: in theſe Ilands, the ſommer to be moſt hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdome of Canga, as we call it, falleth ſo much ſnow, that the houſes being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, hauing no way to come foorth except they breake vp the tiles. Whirlewindes moſt vehement, earthquakes ſo common, that the Iapans dread ſuch kind of feares litle or nothing at all. The countrey is ful of ſiluer mines otherwiſe barren, not ſo much by fault of nature, as through the ſlouthfulneſſe of the inhabitants: howbeit Oxen they keepe and that for tillage ſake onely. The ayre is holeſome, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldneſſe with ſorrow and teares, eftſoones rooting vp with pinſars all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a litle behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Euen from their childhood they weare daggers and ſwords, the which they vſe to lay vnder their pillowes when they goe to bed: in ſhew courteous and affable, in deede haughtie and proud. They delight moſt in warlike affaires, and their greateſt ſtudie is armes. Mens apparell diuerſely coloured is worne downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attyre made hanſomely like vnto a vaile, is ſomewhat longer: all manner of dicing and theft they doe eſchue. The marchant, although he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they neuer ſo poore, retaine their place: moſt preciſely they ſtande vpon their honour and woorthineſſe, ceremoniouſly ſtriuing among themſelues in courteſies and faire ſpeeches. Wherein if any one happily be leſſe carefull than he ſhould be, euen for a trifle many times he getteth euill will. Want, though it trouble moſt of them, ſo much they doe deteſt, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their infantes newly borne, eſpecially girles, do many times with their owne feete ſtrangle them. Noble men, and other likewiſe of meaner calling generally haue but one wife a peece, by whom although they haue iſſue, yet for a trifle they diuorſe themſelues from their wiues, and the wiues alſo ſometimes from their huſbands, to marry with others. After the ſecond degree couſins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much vſed among them. In great townes moſt men and women can write and reade.

This Nation feedeth ſparingly, their vſuall meat is rice and ſalets, and neere the ſea ſide fiſh. They feaſt one another many times, wherein they vſe great diligence, eſpecially in drinking one to another, inſomuch that the better ſort, leaſt they might rudely commit ſome fault therein, doe vſe to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies apperteyning vnto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouthes with litle forkes, accounting it great rudeneſſe to touch it with their fingers: winter & ſommer they drinke water as hot as they may poſſibly abide it. Their houſes are in danger of fire, but finely made and cleane, layde all ouer with ſtrawe-pallets, whereupon they doe both ſit in ſtead of ſtooles, and lie in their clothes with billets vnder their heads. For feare of defiling theſe pallets, they goe either barefoote within doores, or weare ſtrawe pantofles on their buſkins when they come abroad, the which they lay aſide at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the moſt part do paſſe the night in banketting, muſicke, & vaine diſcourſes, they ſleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacaio there is good ſtore of beds, but they be very litle, and may be compared vnto our pues.

In bringing vp their children they vſe words only to rebuke them, admoniſhing as diligently and aduiſedly boyes of ſixe or ſeuen yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are giuen very much to intertaine ſtrangers, of whom moſt curiouſly they loue to aſke euen trifles what forraine nations doe, and their faſhions. Such arguments and reaſons as be manifeſt, and are made plaine with examples, doe greatly perſwade them. They deteſt all kinde of theft, whoſoeuer is taken in that fault may be ſlaine freely of any bodie. No publike priſons, no common gayles, no ordinary Iuſticers: priuately each houſholder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne houſe, and the puniſhing of greater crimes that deſerue death without delay. Thus vſually the people is kept in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres paſt (as in their olde recordes we finde) all Iapan was ſubiect vnto one Emperour whoſe royall ſeat was Meaco, in the Iaponiſh language called Cubucama. But the nobilitie rebelling againſt him, by litle and litle haue taken away the greateſt part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remayneth and the reſidue in ſome reſpect doe make great account of him ſtill, acknowledging him for their ſuperior. Thus the Empire of Iapan, in times paſt but one alone, is now diuided into fiftie ſixe kingdomes, the onely cauſe of ciuill warres continually in that Iland, to no ſmall hinderance of the Goſpell, whileſt the kings that dwell neare together inuade one another, each one coueting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermore in the citie Meaco is the pallace of the high Prieſt, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his houſe 366 Idoles, one whereof by courſe is euery night ſet by his ſide for a watchman. He is thought of the common people ſo holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe vpon the earth: if happily he doe ſet one foote to the ground, he looſeth his office. He is not ſerued very ſumptuouſly he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his miniſters are ſhauen, they haue name Cangues, and their authoritie is great throughout all Iapan. The Cubucama vſeth them for Embaſſadors to decide controuerſies betwixt princes and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeres ſince or there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to intreate of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguzzo. This Agent fauouring the king of Bungo his cauſe more then the other, brought to paſſe that the foreſayd king of Bungo ſhould keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguzzo. Wherefore he had for his reward of the king of Bungo aboue 30000 ducats. And thus farre hereof.

But his almes are very good.

I come now to other ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, that you may ſee, deare brethren, that which I ſaid in the beginning, how ſubtilly the deuill hath deceiued the Iaponiſh nation, and how diligent and readie they be to obey & worſhip him. And firſt, al remembrance and knowledge not onely of Chriſt our Redeemer, but alſo of that one God the maker of all things is cleane extinguiſhed and vtterly aboliſhed out of the Iapans hearts. Moreouer their ſuperſtitious ſects are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him beſt: but the principall ſects are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaians. Wherefore in this countrey ſhall you ſee many monaſteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but alſo of Bonziæ women diuerſly attired, for ſome doe weare white vnder, and blacke vpper garments, other goe apparelled in aſh colour, and their Idole hath to name Denichi: from theſe the Amidanes differ very much. Againe the men Bonzii for the moſt part dwell in ſumptuous houſes, and haue great reuenues. Theſe fellowes are chaſte by commaundement, marry they may not vpon paine of death. In the midſt of their Temple is erected an altar, whereon ſtandeth a woodden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle vpward, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, ſitting on a woodden roſe goodly to behold. They haue great libraries, and halles for them all to dine and ſup together, and bels wherwith they are at certaine houres called to prayers. In the euening the Superintendent giueth each one a theame for meditation. After midnight before the altar in their Temple they do ſay Mattens as it were out of Xaca his laſt booke, one quier one verſe, the other quier an other. Early in the morning each one giueth himſelfe to meditation one houre: they ſhaue their heads and beards. Their cloyſters be very large, and within the precinct thereof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, for by that name ſome of the Iapaniſh Saints are called: their holydaies yeerely be very many. Moſt of theſe Bonzii be gentlemen, for that the Iapaniſh nobility charged with many children, vſe to make moſt of them Bonzii, not being able to leaue for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii moſt couetouſly bent, know all the wayes how to come by money. They ſell vnto the people many ſcrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinketh it ſelfe warranted from all power of the deuils. They borrow likewiſe money to be repayed with great vſury in an other worlde, giuing by obligation vnto the lender an aſſurance thereof, the which departing out of this life he may carry with him to hell.

Inambuxu. There is another great company of ſuch as are called Inambuxu, with curled and ſtaring haire. They make profeſſion to finde out againe things either loſt or ſtolen, after this ſort. They ſet before them a child whom the deuill inuadeth, called vp thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aſke that which they are deſirous to know.

Theſe mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to preuaile, inſomuch that both their bleſſings and their curſes they ſell vnto the people. The nouices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or three thouſand in a company, vp a certaine high mountaine to doe pennance there, threeſcore dayes voluntarily puniſhing themſelues. In this time the deuill ſheweth himſelfe vnto them in ſundry ſhapes: and they like young graduats, admitted as it were fellowes into ſome certaine companie, are ſet foorth with white taſſels hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that ſcarcely couer any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus attyred they range abroade in all Iapan, to ſet out themſelues and their cunning to ſale, each one bearing his baſon which he carieth alwayes about with him, to giue notice of their comming in al townes where they paſſe.

Genguis. There is alſo an other ſort called Genguis, that make profeſſion to ſhewe by ſoothſaying where ſtollen things are, and who were the theeues. Theſe dwell in the toppe of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the ſunne, for the cold windes, and raines they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne tribe and line: the report goeth that they be horned beaſts. They climbe vp moſt high rockes and hilles, and go ouer very great riuers by the onely arte of the deuill, who to bring thoſe wretches the more into errour, biddeth them to goe vp a certaine high mountaine, where they ſtande miſerably gazing and earneſtly looking for him as long as the deuill appointeth them. At the length at nonetide or in the euening commeth that deuil, whom they call Amida among them to ſhew himſelfe vnto them: this ſhew breedeth in the braines and hearts of men ſuch a kinde of ſuperſtition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them afterward.

The deuill was wont alſo in another mountaine to ſhew himſelfe vnto the Iapaniſh Nation. Who ſo was more deſirous than other to go to heauen and to enioy Paradiſe, thither went he to ſee that ſight, and hauing ſeene the deuill followed him (ſo by the deuill perſwaded) into a denne vntill he came to a deepe pit. Into this pit the deuill was wont to leape, and to take with him his worſhipper whom he there murdred. This deceit was thus perceiued. An old man blinded with this ſuperſtition, was by his ſonne diſſwaded from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his ſonne followed him priuily into that denne with his bow & arrows, where the deuill gallantly appeared vnto him in the ſhape of a man. Whileſt the old man falleth downe to worſhippe the deuill, his ſonne ſpeedily ſhooting an arrow at the ſpirit ſo appearing, ſtrooke a Foxe in ſtead of a man, ſo ſuddenly was that ſhape altered. This olde man his ſonne tracking the Foxe ſo running away, came to that pit whereof I ſpake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceiued by the deuill after that ſort in time paſt. Thus deliuered he his father from preſent death, and all other from ſo peſtilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for ẏ multitude of Abbyes which the Bonzii haue therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a ſuttle craftie fellowe, that got the name of holineſſe by cunning ſpeech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether deuilliſh: he is ſaid to haue found out the Iapaniſh letters vſed at this day. In his latter yeeres this Sim ſuttle buried himſelfe in a foureſquare graue, foure cubites deepe, ſeuerely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but reſted his bodie wearied with continuall buſineſſe, vntill many thouſand thouſands of yeeres were paſſed, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu ſhould come into Iapan, and then would he riſe vp out of his graue againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, ſent thither out of diuerſe prouinces, for that the people are perſwaded that whoſoeuer is liberall and beneficiall towardes the beautifying of that monument, ſhall not onely increaſe in wealth in this world, but in the life to come be ſafe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as giue themſelues to worſhip him, liue in thoſe Monaſteries or Abbyes with ſhauen heads, as though they had forſaken all ſecular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all ſortes of wickedneſſe and luſt. In theſe houſes, the which are many (as I ſayd) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, or thereabout beſides the multitude of lay men, women be reſtrained from thence vpon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii dwelleth at Fatonochaici. They teach a great multitude of children all tricks & ſleights of guile & theft: whom they do find to be of great towardnes, thoſe do they inſtruct in al the petigrues of princes, and faſhions of the nobilitie, in chiualrie and eloquence, and ſo ſend them abroad into other prouinces, attired like yong princes, to this ende, that faining themſelues to be nobly borne, they may with great ſummes of money borowed vnder the colour and pretence of nobilitie returne againe. Wherefore this place is ſo infamous in all Iapan, that if any ſcholer of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinently dieth for it. Neuertheleſſe theſe couſiners leaue not daily to vſe their woonted wickedneſſe and knauerie.

A warrelike people 300 leagues to the North of Meaco.

North from Iapan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of ſauage men clothed in beaſts ſkinnes, rough bodied, with huge beards and monſtrous muchaches, the which they hold vp with litle forkes as they drinke. Theſe people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in warres, and much feared of the Iapans: being hurt in fight, they waſh their wounds with ſalt water, other Surgerie haue they none. In their breaſts they are ſayd to cary looking glaſſes: their ſwordes they tie to their heads, in ſuch wiſe, that the handle doe reſt vpon their ſhoulders. Seruice and ceremonies haue they none at all, onely they are woont to worſhip heauen. To Aquita a great towne in that Iaponiſh kingdom, which we call Geuano, they much reſort for marchandiſe, and the Aquitanes likewiſe doe trauell into their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are ſlaine by the inhabiters.

The Iapaniſh funerals.

Much more concerning this matter I had to write: but to auoyd tediouſneſſe I will come to ſpeake of the Iapans madneſſe againe, who moſt deſirous of vaine glory doe thinke then ſpecially to get immortall fame, when they procure themſelues to be moſt ſumptuouſly and ſolemnly buried: their burials and obſequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought foorth, a great multitude of his friends apparelled in their beſt aray goe before vnto the fire, with them goe their kinſwomen and ſuch as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white (for that is the mourning colour there) with a changeable coloured vaile on their heads. Each woman hath with her alſo, according to her abilitie, all her familie trimmed vp in white mockado: the better ſort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dreſſed. In the ſecond place marcheth a great company of footemen ſumptuouſly apparelled. Then afarre off commeth one of theſe Bonzii maſter of the ceremonies for that ſuperſtition, brauely clad in ſilkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii or thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke vpper garments. Then attired in aſhe colour (for this colour alſo is mourning) with a long torch of Pineaple, he ſheweth the dead body the way vnto the fire, leſt it either ſtumble or ignorantly go out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii folow him ſinging the name of that deuill the which the partie deceaſſed chiefly did worſhip in his life time, and therewithall a very great baſon is beaten euen to the place of fire in ſtead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baſkets hanged open at ſtaues endes full of paper roſes diuerſly coloured, ſuch as beare them doe march but ſlowly, ſhaking euer now and then their ſtaues, that the aforeſayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This ſhower ſay they is an argument that the ſoule of the dead man is gone to paradiſe. After al this, eight beardles Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long ſpeares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, wherein the name alſo of that idole is written. Then there be caried 10 lanterns trimmed with the former inſcription, ouercaſt with a fine vaile, and candles burning in them. Beſides this, two yoong men clothed in aſhe colour beare pineaple torches, not lighted, of three foote length, the which torches ſerue to kindle the fire wherein the dead corpes is to bee burnt. In the ſame colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, threeſquare, blacke lethren caps tied faſt vnder their chinnes (for that is honorable amongſt them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the deuill I ſpake of, is written. And to make it the more ſolemne, after commeth a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, couered with a very fine white vaile, in both ſides whereof is written in golden letters the aforeſayd name. At the length by foure men is brought foorth the corps ſitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding his hands together like one that prayed: to the reſt of his apparell may you adde an vpper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is ſayd to haue made, when he liued in the world, by whoſe helpe and merites commonly they doe thinke to be ſaued. The dead man his children come next after him moſt gallantly ſet foorth, the yongeſt whereof carieth likewiſe a pineaple torch to kindle the fire. Laſt of all foloweth a great number of people in ſuch caps as I erſt ſpake of.

They burne their dead.

When they are al come to yͤ place appointed for the obſequie, al the Bonzii wͭ the whole multitude

tude for the ſpace of one houre, beating pannes and baſons with great clamours, call vpon the name of that deuill, the which being ended, the Obſequie is done in this maner. In the midſt of a great quadrangle railed about, hanged with courſe linnen, and agreeably vnto the foure partes of the world made with foure gates to goe in and out at, is digged a hole: in the hole is laied good ſtore of wood, whereon is raiſed gallantly a waued roofe: before that ſtand two tables furniſhed with diuers kindes of meates, eſpecially drie Figs, Pomegranates and Tartes good ſtore, but neither Fiſh nor Fleſh: vpon one of them ſtandeth alſo a chafer with coales, and in it ſweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is readie, the corde wherewith the litter was caried, is throwen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are preſent ſtriue to take the rope in their handes, vſing their aforeſayd clamours, which done, they goe in proceſſion as it were round about the quadrangle thriſe. Then ſetting the litter on the wood built vp ready for the fire that Bonzius who then is maſter of the ceremonies, ſaieth a verſe that no bodie there vnderſtandeth, whirling thriſe about ouer his head a torch lighted, to ſignifie thereby that the ſoule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne ſhall haue at any time an ende, and throweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his children, or of his neere kinne, take it vp againe, and ſtanding one at the Eaſt ſide of the litter, the other at the Weſt, doe for honour and reuerence reach it to each other thriſe ouer the dead corps, and ſo caſt it into the pile of wood: by and by they throw in oyle, ſweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they haue plentie, and ſo with a great flame bring the corpes to aſhes: his children in the meane while putting ſweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe ſolemnly and religiouſly worſhip their father as a Saint: which being done, the Bonzii are paied each one in his degree. The maſter of the ceremonies hath for his part fiue duckats, ſometimes tenne, ſometimes twentie, the reſt haue tenne Iulies a piece, or els a certaine number of other preſents called Caxæ. The meate that was ordained, as ſoone as the dead corps friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for ſuch as ſerued at the obſequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day returne to the place of obſequie the dead man his children, his kinred and friends, who gathering vp his aſhes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and ſo carie them home, to bee ſet vp in the ſame pot couered with cloth, in the middeſt of their houſes. Many Bonzii returne likewiſe to theſe priuate funerals, and ſo doe they againe the ſeuenth day: then cary they out the aſhes to bee buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a foureſquare ſtone, wherein is written in great letters drawen all the length of the ſtone, the name of that deuil the which the dead man worſhipped in his life time. Euery day afterward his children reſort vnto the graue with roſes and warme water that the dead corps thirſt not. Nor the ſeuenth day onely, but the ſeuenth moneth and yeere, within their owne houſes they renue this obſequie, to no ſmall commodities and gaine of the Bonzii: great rich men doe ſpend in theſe their funerals 3000 duckats or thereabout, the meaner ſort two or three hundred. Such as for pouertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darkelong without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They haue another kinde of buriall, eſpecially neere the Sea ſide, for them that bee not yet dead. Theſe fellowes are ſuch, as hauing religiouſly with much deuotion worſhipped Amida, now deſirous to ſee him, doe ſlay themſelues. And firſt they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thruſt into their ſleeues, then preach they in publique a ſermon vnto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all ſuch as doe heare them: for euery body wondreth at ſuch a kinde of holineſſe. Then take they hookes to cut downe briars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heauen, and ſo embarke themſelues in a new veſſell, tying great ſtones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete: thus they launching out into the maine Sea be either drowned there, their ſhippe bouged for that purpoſe, or els doe caſt themſelues ouer-boord headlong into the Sea. The emptie barke is out of hand ſet a fire for honours ſake by their friends that folow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blaſphemie that any mortall creature ſhould afterward once touch the barke that had bene ſo religiouſly halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore towne, ſixe men and two women ſo died. To all ſuch as die ſo the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineaple for a perpetuall monument, hanging vp many ſhreds of paper in ſtickes all the roofe ouer, with many verſes ſet downe in the walles in commendation of that bleſſed company. Wherefore vnto this place both day and night many come very ſuperſtitiouſly in pilgrimage. It happened euen then as Aloiſius Almeida and I went to chriſten a childe wee trauelled that way at what time foure or fiue olde women came foorth out of the aforeſayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point alſo the deuill counterfaiteth Chriſtianitie) who partly ſcorned at vs for follie, partly frowned and taunted at our ſmall deuotion, for paſſing by that holy monument without any reuerence or worſhip done thereunto at all.

It remaineth now we ſpeake two or three wordes of thoſe Sermons the Bonzii are wont to make, not ſo many as ours in number, but aſſuredly very well prouided for. The Pulpit is erected in a great temple with a ſilke Canopie ouer it, therein ſtandeth a coſtly ſeate, before the ſeate a table with a bell and a booke. At the houre of Sermon each ſect of the Iapans reſorteth to their owne doctors in diuers Temples. Up goeth the doctor into the Pulpit, and being ſet downe, after that hee hath lordlike looked him about, ſignifieth ſilence with his bell, and ſo readeth a fewe wordes of that booke we ſpake of, the which he expoundeth afterward more at large. Theſe preachers be for the moſt part eloquent, and apt to drawe with their ſpeach the mindes of their hearers. Wherefore to this ende chieflie (ſuch is their greedineſſe) tendeth all their talke, that the people bee brought vnder the colour of godlineſſe to enrich their monaſteries, promiſing to each one ſo much the more happineſſe in the life to come, how much the greater coſtes and charges they bee at in Church matters and obſequies: notwithſtanding this multitude of ſuperſticious Sects and companies, and the diuerſities thereof amongſt themſelues: yet in this principally all their Superintendents doe trauell ſo to perſwade their Nouices in their owne tales and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els ſure to come by euerlaſting ſaluation, nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other ſubtleties, as in going grauitie, in countenance, apparell, and in all outward ſhew, comelineſſe. Whereby the Iapans mindes are ſo nouſled in wicked opinions, & doe conceiue thereby ſuch truſt and hope of euerlaſting ſaluation, that not onely at home, but alſo abroad in euery corner of the towne continually almoſt they run ouer their beades, humbly aſking of Amida and Xaca, wealth, honour, good health, and euerlaſting ioyes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God, that either doe bring the Goſpell into this countrey, or receiuing it brought vnto them, doe forſake idolatrie and ioine themſelues with Chriſt, being aſſaulted by ſo many ſnares of the deuill, troubled with the daily diſſuaſions of their Bonzii, and finally, ſo iniuriouſly, ſo hardly, ſo ſharpely vexed of their kinred and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the ſacrifices and prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe vs, it cannot be choſen but that the faith and conſtancie of many, if not of all, in theſe firſt beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in ieopardie. So much the more it ſtandeth you vpon that ſo earneſtly long for the health of ſoules, to commend ſpecially theſe Iapaniſh flocks vnto our Lord.

We came to Sacaio the eight and twentie day of Ianuary: Aloiſius Almeida firſt for buſineſſe, but afterward let by ſickneſſe, ſtaied there ſome while, but I parting the next day from thence came thirteene leagues off to Meaco the laſt of Ianuarie. Of my comming all the Chriſtians tooke great comfort, but ſpecially Gaſpar Vilela who in 6 yeres had ſeen none of our companie at Meaco: his yeeres are not yet fortie, but his gray haires ſhew him to be ſeuentie, ſo vehemently is his litle body afflicted and worne with extreme cold. Hee ſpeaketh Iapaniſh ſo ſkilfully after the phraſe of Meaco (the which for the renowne of this people and royal ſeat of the king is beſt accounted of) that hee doeth both confeſſe and preach in that language. Certaine godly bookes alſo he hath done into that ſpeach, not omitting to tranſlate other as laiſure ſuffreth him. To make an ende, our Lord for his goodneſſe vouchſafe to preſerue vs all continually, and to giue vs ayde both rightly to interprete his will, and well to doe the ſame. From Meaco the 19 of February 1565.

Other ſuch like matter is handled both in other his letters, and alſo in the Epiſtles written by his companions to be ſeene at large in the aforeſaid volume. Amongſt the reſt this ſeemed in my iudgement one of the principall, and therefore the rather I tooke vpon me to do it into Engliſh.

Of the Iles beyond *Iapan* in the way from *China* to the *Moluccas*.

AMongſt other Iles in the Aſian ſea betwixt Cantan a Chiniſh hauen in Cathaio & the Moluccas, much ſpoken of in the Indian hiſtories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Santianum are very famous. Ainan ſtandeth 19 degrees on this ſide of the Equinoctiall line nere China, from whence the Chiniſh nation haue their prouiſion for ſhipping and other neceſſaries requiſite for their Nauie. There ſtaied Balthaſar Gagus a great traueiler 5 moneths, who deſcribeth that place after this maner. Ainan is a goodly countrey ful of Indian fruits & all kind of victuals, beſides great ſtore of iewels and pearle, well inhabited, the townes built of ſtone, the people rude in conditions, apparelled in diuers coloured rugs, with two oxe hornes, as it were, made of fine cypres hanging downe about their eares, and a paire of ſharpe cyzers at their foreheads.

Ainan.

De reb. Iap. l. 4.

The cauſe wherefore they go in ſuch attire I could not vnderſtand, except it bee for that they do counterfeit the deuil in the forme of a brute beaſt, offring themſelues vp to him.

Santianum.

Santianum is an Ile neere vnto the hauen Cantan in the confines likewiſe of China, famous for the death of that worthy traueiler and godly profeſſour and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xauier, who after great labours, many iniuries, and calamities infinite ſuffred with much patience, ſingular ioy and gladneſſe of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and ruſhes vpon a deſert mountaine, no leſſe voyd of all worldly commodities, then endued with all ſpirituall bleſſings, out of this life, the 2 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thouſand of theſe Eaſterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Chriſt. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and ſpecially trauell, and wonderfull works in that region, of other many litle Iles (yet not ſo litle, but they may right wel be written of at laiſure) all the latter hiſtories of the Indian regions are full.

An excellent treatiſe of the kingdome of *China*, and of the eſtate and gouernment thereof: Printed in Latine at *Macao* a citie of the *Portugals* in *China*, *An. Dom. 1590.* and written Dialogue-wiſe. The ſpeakers are *Linus*, *Leo*, and *Michael.*

Linus.

COncerning the kingdome of China (Michael) which is our next neighbour, we haue heard and daily do heare ſo many reports, that we are to requeſt at your hands rather a true then a large diſcourſe and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge beſides that which by continual rumours is waxen ſtale among vs, we will right gladly giue diligent eare vnto it.

Michael. Becauſe the report of this moſt famous kingdome is growen ſo common among vs, reducing diuers and manifold particulars into order, I will eſpecially aime at the trueth of things receiued from the fathers of the ſocietie, which euen now at this preſent are conuerſant in China. Firſt of all therefore it is not vnknowen, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdom of China is ſituate moſt Eaſterly: albeit certaine Ilands, as our natiue Iapon, & the Ile of Manilia ſtand more Eaſterly then China it ſelfe. As touching the limites & bounds of this kingdom, we may appoint the firſt towards yͤ Weſt to be a certaine Ile commonly called Hainan, which ſtandeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. For the continent next adioining vnto this Ile trendeth towardes the Eaſt, and that eſpecially, where the promontorie of the citie called Nimpo or Liampo doeth extend it ſelfe. Howbeit, from that place declining Northward, it ſtretcheth foorth an huge length, inſomuch that the fartheſt Chinian inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole eleuated, at leaſt 50 degrees, and perhaps more alſo: whereupon a man may eaſilie coniecture (that I may ſpeake like an Aſtronomer) how large the latitude of this kingdom is, when as it containeth about more then 540 leagues in direct extenſion towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from Eaſt to Weſt, it is not ſo exactly found out, that it may be diſtinguiſhed into degrees. Howbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of China deſcribe the forme of their kingdom, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed yͤ longitude. This kingdom therfore is, without all peraduenture, of all earthly kingdoms the moſt large and ſpacious: for albeit diuers other kings vnder their iuriſdiction containing in dimenſions more length & breadth then all China, do poſſeſſe very many kingdoms & far diſtant aſunder: yet none of thē all enioieth any one kingdom ſo large and ſo ample, as the moſt puiſſant king of China doeth. Now, if we ſhall make enquirie into his reuenues and tributes, true it is, that this king, of all others, is endued with the greateſt and the richeſt, both in regard of the fertilitie & greatnes of his dominions, & alſo by reaſon of the ſeuere collection and exaction of his duties: yea, tributes are impoſed vpon his ſubiects, not onely for lands, houſes, and impoſt of marchandiſe, but alſo for euery perſon in each family. It is likewiſe to be vnderſtood, that almoſt no lord or potentate in China hath authoritie to leuie vnto himſelfe any peculiar reuenues, or to collect any rents within the precincts of his ſeigniories, al ſuch power belonging onely vnto the king: whereas in Europe the contrary is moſt commonly ſeen, as we haue before ſignified. In this moſt large kingdom are conteined 15 prouinces, euery one of which were in it ſelfe ſufficient to be made one great kingdom. Six of theſe prouinces do border vpon the ſea, namely (yͭ I may vſe the names of the Chinians thēſelues) Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin: the other 9 be in-land prouinces, namely, Quianſi, Huquam, Honan, Xienſi, Xanſi, Suchuon, Queicheu, Iunan, Coanſi. Amongſt all the foreſayd prouinces, two are allotted for the kings court and ſeat roial, that is to ſay, Paquin for his court in the North, and

The ſituation and limites of China.

Chinian Coſmographers.

The rich reuenues of the king of China.

Fifteene great prouinces in China.

The ſeats roiall of the king of China.

and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were woont to be reſident altogether at the South court: but afterward, by reaſon of the manifold and cruell warres mooued by the Tartars, they were conſtrained to deſire their princely ſeate and habitation in that extreme prouince of the North. Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that thoſe Northren confines of the kingdom doe abound with many moe fortreſſes, martiall engines, and garriſons of ſouldiers.

Leo. I haue heard, amongſt thoſe munitions, a certaine ſtrange and admirable wall reported of, wherewith the people of China doe repreſſe and driue backe the Tartars attempting to inuade their territories. *Michael.* Certes that wall which you haue heard tell of is moſt worthie of admiration; for it runneth alongſt the borders of three Northerlie prouinces, Xienſi, Xanſi, and Paquin, and is ſayd to containe almoſt three hundred leagues in length, and in ſuch ſort to bee built, that it hindereth not the courſes and ſtreames of any riuers, their chanels being ouerthwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences. Yet is it not vnlikely, that the ſayd wall is built in ſuch ſort, that onely lowe and eaſie paſſages bee therewith ſtopped and enuironed; but the mountaines running betweene thoſe lowe paſſages are, by their owne naturall ſtrength, and inacceſſible heigth, a ſufficient fortification agaynſt the enemie. *Linus.* Tell vs (Michael) whether the kingdome of China be ſo frequented with inhabitants, as wee haue often bene informed, or no: *Michael.* It is (Linus) in very deed a moſt populous kingdom, as I haue bene certified from the fathers of the ſocietie: who hauing ſeene ſundry prouinces of Europe renoumed for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe notwithſtanding greatly admire the infinite ſwarmes of people in China. Howbeit theſe multitudes are not pel-mel and confuſiuely diſperſed ouer the land, but moſt conueniently and orderly diſtributed in their townes and famous cities: of which aſſemblies there are diuers kindes among the Chinians. For they haue certaine principal cities called by the name of Fu: other inferior cities called Cheu: and of a third kind alſo named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not priuileged with the dignities and prerogatiues of cities. To theſe may be added two other kindes of leſſer townes, which are partly villages, and partly garriſons of ſouldiers. Of the firſt and principall kind is that moſt noble citie ſtanding neere vnto the port of Macao, called by the Chinians Coanchefu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the prouince, thẽ a word of their proper impoſition. Vnto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher vnto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Anſam, but by the Chinians Hianſanhien. Al the foreſayd prouinces therefore haue their greater cities named Fu, & their leſſer cities called Cheu, vnto both of which the other townes may be added. Moreouer, in euery prouince there is a certain principal city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magiſtrates haue their place of reſidence, as the principal citie by me laſt mentioned, which is the head of the whole prouince called Coantum. The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is more then 150, and there is the ſame or rather a greater multitude of inferiour cities. Of walled townes not endued with the priuileges of cities there are mo then 1120: the villages & garriſons can ſcarce be numbred: ouer & beſides the which conuents it is incredible what a number of cŏtrie farmes or granges there be: for it is not eaſie to find any place deſert or void of inhabitants in all that land. Now in the ſea, in riuers, & in barks there are ſuch abundance of people, and of whole families inhabiting, that euen the Europæans themſelues doe greatly wonder thereat: inſomuch that ſome (albeit beyond meaſure) haue bene perſwaded that there are as many people dwelling vpon the water as vpon the land. Neither were they induced ſo to thinke altogether without probabilitie: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfuſed with commodious riuers, & in many places conſiſteth of waters, barges & boats being euery-where very common, it might eaſily bee ſuppoſed, that the number of water-men was equal vnto the land-inhabitants. Howbeit, that is to be vnderſtood by amplification, whereas the cities do ſwarme ſo ful with citizens & the countrie with peaſants. *Leo.* The abundance of people which you tell vs of ſeemeth very ſtrange: whereupon I coniecture the ſoile to be fertile, the aire to be holeſome, and the whole kingdom to be at peace. *Michael.* You haue (friend Leo) ful iudicially coniectured thoſe three: for they do all ſo excel, yͭ which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not eaſie to diſcerne. And hence it is that this common opinion hath bene riſe among the Portugals, namely, that the kingdom of China was neuer viſited with thoſe three moſt heauy & ſharpe ſcourges of mankind, warre, famine, & peſtilence. But that opinion is more common then true: ſithens there haue bene moſt terrible inteſtine and ciuile warres, as in many and moſt autentical hiſtories it is recorded: ſithens alſo that ſome prouinces of the ſayd kingdom, euen in theſe our dayes, haue bene afflicted with peſtilence and contagious diſeaſes, and with famine. Howbeit, that the foreſaid three benefits do mightily flouriſh and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may firſt ſpeake of the ſalubritie of the aire) the fathers of the ſocietie themſelues are witneſſes, that

The warlike munitions of China, & a maruellous wall.

Abundance of inhabitants in China.

Cities and townes.

The Chinian riuers greatly inhabited.

Holeſome aire, plenty & peace in China.

Chinian hiſtories.

that ſcarcely in any other realme there are ſo many found that liue vnto decrepite and extreme old age: ſo great a multitude is there of ancient and graue perſonages: neither doe they vſe ſo many confections and medicines, nor ſo manifold and ſundry wayes of curing diſeaſes, as wee ſaw accuſtomed in Europe. For amongſt them they haue no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours alſo in Iapon, are atchieued by faſting, decoctions of herbes, & light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let euery nation pleaſe themſelues with their owne cuſtomes. Now, in fruitfulnes of ſoile this kingdom certes doth excel, far ſurpaſſing all other kingdoms of the Eaſt: yet is it nothing comparable vnto the plentie and abundance of Europe, as I haue declared at large in the former treatiſes. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, ſo highly extolled, becauſe there is not any region in the Eaſt partes that aboundeth ſo with marchandiſe, and from whence ſo much traffique is ſent abroad. For whereas this kingdome is moſt large & full of nauigable riuers, ſo that commodities may eaſilie be conueyed out of one prouince into antother: the Portugals doe find ſuch abundance of wares within one and the ſame Citie, (which perhaps is the greateſt Mart throughout the whole kingdome) that they are verily perſwaded, that the ſame region, of all others, moſt aboundeth with marchandiſe: which notwithſtanding is to be vnderſtood of the Orientall regions: albeit there are ſome kindes of marchandiſe, wherewith the land of China is better ſtored then any other kingdom. This region affordeth eſpecially ſundry kinds of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie & in abundance, is gold, whereof ſo many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Iapon, that I heard ſay, that in one and the ſame ſhip, this preſent yeere, 2000 ſuch pieces conſiſting of maſſie gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaues, were brought vnto vs for marchandiſe: and one of theſe loaues is worth almoſt 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China ſo many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, litters wherein nice and daintie dames are caried vpon their ſeruaunts backes. Neither are theſe golden loaues onely bought by the Portugals, but alſo great plentie of gold-twine and leaues of gold: for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and extenuate gold into plates and leaues. There is alſo great ſtore of ſiluer, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no ſmall demonſtration, that euery yeere there are brought into the citie commonly called Cantam by the Portugal marchants to buie wares, at the leaſt 400 Seſtertium thereof, and yet nothing in a maner is conueied out of the Chinian kingdom: becauſe the people of China abounding with all neceſſaries, are not greatly inquiſitiue or deſirous of any marchandiſe from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the Siluer mines whereof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumſpection vſed in digging the ſiluer thereout: for the king ſtandeth much in feare leaſt it may bee an occaſion to ſtirre vp the couetous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their ſiluer which they put to vſes is for the moſt part paſſing fine, and purified from all droſſe, and therefore in trying it they vſe great diligence. What ſhould I ſpeake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and other mettals, and alſo of their quick-ſiluer: Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are tranſported into diuers countreys. Hereunto may bee added the wonderfull ſtore of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found in ſhell-fiſhes taken very cunningly by certaine Diuers, and doe much enlarge the kings reuenues. But now let vs proceed vnto the Silke or Bombycine fleece, whereof there is great plentie in China: ſo that euen as the huſbandmen labour in manuring the earth, and in ſowing of Rice; ſo likewiſe the women doe employ a great part of their time in preſeruing of ſilke-wormes, and in keeming and weauing of Silke. Hence it is that euery yeere the King and Queene with great ſolemnitie come foorth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberie tree, with the leaues whereof Silke-wormes are nouriſhed: and both of them by this ceremonie encouraging both men and women vnto their vocation and labour: whereas otherwiſe, all the whole yeere throughout, no man beſides the principall magiſtrates, may once attaine to the ſight of the king. Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is ſuch abundance, that three ſhippes for the moſt part comming out of India to the port of Macao, & at the leaſt one euery yeere comming vnto vs, are laden eſpecially with this fraight, and it is vſed not onely in India, but caried euen vnto Portugal. Neither is the Fleet it ſelfe onely tranſported thence, but alſo diuers & ſundry ſtuffes wouen thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel in the Art of weauing, and do very much reſemble our weauers of Europe. Moreouer the kingdom of China aboundeth with moſt coſtlie ſpices & odours, and eſpecially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire alſo & muſke, which is very principal & good. Muſke deriueth his name frõ a beaſt of the ſame name (which beaſt reſembleth a Beuer) frõ the parts whereof bruſed & putrified proceedeth a moſt delicate & fragrant ſmel which the Portugals highly eſteem, cõmonly calling thoſe parts of the foreſaid beaſts (becauſe they are like vnto the gorges of foules) Papos, & conuey great

plenty

The city of Coancheſu, *aliàs* Cantam.

Great abundance of gold in China.

Great ſtore of ſiluer.

Pearles.

Great ſtore of ſilke in China.

Silke brought into Iapon.

Spices, Camphire, & muſke.

plenty of them into India, & to vs of Iapon. But who would beleeue, that there were ſo much goſſipine or cotton-wool in China; whereof ſuch variety of clothes are made like vnto linnen; which we our ſelues do ſo often vſe, & which alſo is conueied by ſea into ſo many regions? Let vs now intreat of that earthen or pliable matter commonly called porcellan, which is pure white, & is to be eſteemed the beſt ſtuffe of that kind in the whole world: whereof veſſels of all kinds are very curiouſly framed. I ſay, it is the beſt earthen matter in all the world, for three qualities; namely, the cleanneſſe, the beauty, & the ſtrength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glorious, and more coſtly, but none ſo free from vncleannes, and ſo durable: this I adde, in regard of glaſſe, which indeed is immaculate and cleane, but may eaſily be broken in pieces. This matter is digged, not thorowout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteene prouinces called Quianſi, wherein continually very many artificers are imployed about the ſame matter: neither doe they onely frame thereof ſmaller veſſels, as diſhes, platters, ſalt-ſellers, ewers, and ſuch like, but alſo certaine huge tunnes, and veſſels of great quantity, being very finely and cunningly wrought, which, by reaſon of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not tranſported out of the realme, but are vſed onely within it, and eſpecially in the kings court. The beauty of this matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours vpon it, while it is yet new, golde alſo being added thereunto, which maketh the foreſayd veſſels to appeare moſt beautifull. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do eſteeme thereof, ſeeing they do, with great difficulty, tranſport the ſame, not onely to vs of Iapon and into India, but alſo into ſundry prouinces of Europe. Unto the marchandize aboue-mentioned may be added diuers and ſundry plants, the rootes whereof be right holeſome for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are brought vnto our Iles of Iapon, and vnto many other Ilands, amongſt the which that wood may be reckoned, which (by a ſynechdoche) is called The wood of China, being of notable force to expell out of mens bodies thoſe humours, which would breed contagious diſeaſes. To theſe you may adde ſugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great ſtore of excellent ſugar) which is conueyed by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and alſo into India. My ſpeeches vttered immediatly before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this kingdome is beneficiall not to itſelfe alone, but moſt profitable to many other nations alſo. As for thoſe fruits which pertaine to yerely ſuſtenance and common food, they can ſcarſe be numbred: albeit, of thoſe three commodities which they of Europe ſo greatly account of; namely of cornes, vines, and oliues the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not ſo much as the name of an Oliue tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expreſſed) neither yet the name of a vine. The prouince of Paquin is not altogether deſtitute of wine, but whether it be brought from other places, or there made, I am not able to ſay: although it aboundeth with many other, and thoſe not vnpleaſant liquours, which may ſerue in the ſtead of wine it ſelfe. Now, as touching corne, there is indeed wheat ſowen in all the prouinces, howbeit riſe is in farre more vſe and requeſt then it: and ſo in regard of theſe two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine and corne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Iapon may be compared together.

Cotton-wooll whereof Calicut-cloth is made.

Three qualities of porcellan.

Plants.

Sugar.

China in a maner deſtitute of corne, wine, & oile.

Leo. You haue diſcourſed (Michael) of the fruitfulneſſe of China, whereof I haue often heard, that it is no leſſe pleaſant then fruitful, and I haue bene eſpecially induced ſo to thinke, at the ſight of the Chinian maps. *Michael.* The thing it ſelfe agrees right well with the picture: for they that haue ſeene the mediterran or inner parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a moſt amiable countrey, adorned with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and graſſe, and with woonderfull variety of riuers, wherewith the Chinian kingdome is watered like a garden; diuers of which riuers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and induſtry are deriued into ſundry places. But now I will intreat of the tranquillity and peace of China, after I haue ſpoken a word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitants. This nation is indued with excellent wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and, being very conſtant in their owne cuſtomes, they lightly regard the cuſtomes or faſhions of other people. They vſe one and the ſame kinde of veſture, yet ſo, that there is ſome diſtinction betweene the apparell of the magiſtrate & of the common ſubiect. They all of them do weare long haire vpon their heads, and, after the maner of women, do curiouſly keame their dainty locks hanging downe to the ground, and, hauing twined and bound them vp, they couer them with calles, wearing ſundry caps thereupon, according to their age and condition. It ſeemeth that in olde time one language was common to all the prouinces: notwithſtanding, by reaſon of variety of pronunciation, it is very much altered, and is diuided into ſundry idiomes or proprieties of ſpeech, according to the diuers prouinces: howbeit, among the magiſtrates, and in publike aſſemblies of iudgement, there is one and the very ſame kinde of language vſed thorowout the whole realme, from the which (as I haue ſayd) the ſpeech of ech prouince differeth not a little. Moreouer this people is moſt loyall and obedient vnto the

Chinian maps.

The diſpoſitions & maners of the Chinians.

Their language.

Their loyaltie vnto their ſuperiours.

king and his magiſtrates, which is the principall cauſe of their tranquillity & peace. For whereas the common ſort doe apply themſelues vnto the diſcretion and becke of inferiour magiſtrates, and the inferiour magiſtrates of the ſuperiour, and the ſuperiour magiſtrates of the king himſelfe, framing and compoſing all their actions and affaires vnto that leuell: a world it is to ſee, in what equability and indifferency of iuſtice all of them do leade their liues, and how orderly the publike lawes are adminiſtred. Which thing notwithſtanding ſhall be handled more at large, when we come to intreat of the gouernment.

Their laborious induſtry.

Linus. Tell vs now (Michael) of the induſtry of that people, whereof we haue heard great reports. *Michael.* Their induſtry is eſpecially to be diſcerned in manuary artes and occupations, and therein the Chinians do ſurpaſſe moſt of theſe Eaſterly nations. For there are ſuch a number of artificers ingeniouſly and cunningly framing ſundry deuices out of golde, ſiluer, and other mettals, as likewiſe of ſtone, wood, and other matters conuenient for mans vſe, that the ſtreets of cities being repleniſhed with their ſhops and fine workemanſhip, are very woonderfull to beholde.

Painting.

Beſides whom alſo there are very many Painters, vſing either the penſill or the needle (of which the laſt ſort are called Embrotherers) and others alſo that curiouſly worke golde-twine vpon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whoſe operations of all kinds are diligently conueyed by the Portugals into India.

Gunnes.

Their induſtry doth no leſſe appeare in founding of gunnes and in making of gun-powder, whereof are made many rare and artificiall fire-works.

Printing.

To theſe may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in maner infinite and moſt difficult, the portraitures whereof they cut in wood or in braſſe, and with maruellous facilitie they dayly publiſh huge multitudes of books.

Nauigation.

Unto theſe mechanicall & illiberall crafts you may adde two more; that is to ſay, nauigation and diſcipline of warre; both of which haue bene in ancient times moſt diligently practiſed by the inhabitants of China: for (as we haue before ſignified in the third dialogue) the Chinians ſailing euen as farre as India, ſubdued ſome part therof vnto their owne dominion: howbeit afterward, leaſt they ſhould diminiſh the forces of their realme by diſperſing them into many prouinces, altering their counſell, they determined to containe themſelues within their owne limits: within which limits (as I haue ſayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betweene the people of China themſelues, and alſo againſt the Tartarian king, who inuaded their kingdome, and by himſelfe and his ſucceſſours, for a long ſeaſon, vſurped the gouernment thereof.

The Tartars tyrãnized ouer China.

Howbeit the kings of the Tartarian race being worne out, and their ſtocke and family being vtterly aboliſhed, the Chinians began to lift vp their heads, and to aduance themſelues, inioying for theſe 200 yeeres laſt paſt exceeding peace and tranquillity, and at this day the poſterity of the ſame king that expelled the Tartars, with great dignity weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall ſcepter. Albeit therefore the people of China (eſpecially they that inhabit Southerly from the prouince of Paquin) are, for the moſt part, by reaſon of continuall eaſe and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithſtanding they would prooue notable and braue ſouldiers, if they ioyned vſe and exerciſe vnto their naturall fortitude. As a man may eaſily obſerue in them, that maintaine continuall warres againſt the moſt barbarous and cruel Tartars.

Military diſcipline.

Howbeit in this kingdome of China there is ſo great regard of military diſcipline, that no city nor towne there is deſtitute of a gariſon, the captaines and gouernours keeping ech man his order; which all of them, in euery prouince, are ſubiect vnto the kings lieutenant generall for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himſelfe is ſubiect vnto the Tutan or viceroy.

The literature of China.

Let vs now come vnto that arte, which the Chinians do moſt of all profeſſe, and which we may, not vnfitly, call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberall ſciences, and eſpecially naturall and morall phyloſophy are ſtudied in China, and that they haue Uniuerſities there, wherein ſuch ingenuous artes are deliuered and taught, yet, for the moſt part, this opinion is to be eſteemed more popular then true: but I will declare, vpon what occaſion this conceit firſt grew. The people of China doe, aboue all things, profeſſe the arte of literature; and learning it moſt diligently, they imploy themſelues a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cauſe, in all cities and townes, yea, and in pety villages alſo, there are certaine ſchole-maſters hired for ſtipends to inſtruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Iapon is alſo) in maner infinite, their children are put to ſchole euen from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithſtanding ſuch are taken away, as are iudged to be vnfit for the ſame purpoſe, and are trained vp to marchandiſe or to manuary ſciences: but the reſidue do ſo dedicate themſelues to the ſtudy of learning, that (a ſtrange thing it is to conſider) being conuerſant in the principall books, they will eaſily tel you, if they be aſked the queſtion, how many letters be conteined in euery page, and where ech letter is placed.

Three degrees in learning.

Now, for the greater progreſſe and increaſe of learning, they (as the maner is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble ſciences; that is to ſay, the loweſt, the middle degree, and the higheſt. Graduates of the firſt degree are called Siuſai, of the ſecond

Quiugin, and of the the third Chinzu. And in ech city or walled towne there is a publique houſe called the Schoole, and vnto that all they doe reſort from all priuate and pety-ſchooles that are minded to obtaine the firſt degree; where they do amplifie a ſentence or theame propounded vnto them by ſome magiſtrate: and they, whoſe ſtile is more elegant and refined, are, in ech city, graced with the firſt degree. Of ſuch as aſpire vnto the ſecond degree triall is made onely in the metropolitan or principall city of the prouince, whereunto, they of the firſt degree, euery third yere, haue recourſe, and, in one publike houſe or place of aſſembly, doe, the ſecond time, make an oration of another ſentence obſcurer then the former, and doe vndergo a more ſeuere examination. Now, there is commonly ſuch an huge multitude of people, that this laſt yere, in the foreſayd famous city of Cantam, by reaſon of the incredible aſſembly of perſons flocking to that publike act or commencement, at the firſt entrance of the doores, there were many troden vnder foot, and quelled to death, as we haue bene moſt certainly informed. Moreouer they that ſue for the higheſt degree are ſubiect vnto a moſt ſeuere and exact cenſure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings Court onely, and that alſo euery third yere next inſuing the ſayd yere wherein graduates of the ſecond degree are elected in ech prouince, and, a certaine number being preſcribed vnto euery particular prouince, they do aſcend vnto that higheſt pitch of dignity, which is in ſo great regard with the king himſelfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours ſake, drinke off a cup filled euen with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other ſolemnities. Out of this order the chiefe magiſtrates are choſen: for after that they haue attained vnto this third degree, being a while trained vp in the lawes of the realme, and in the precepts of vrbanity, they are admitted vnto diuers functions. Neither are we to thinke that the Chinians be altogether deſtitute of other artes. For, as touching morall philoſophy, all thoſe books are fraught with the precepts thereof, which, for their inſtructions ſake, are alwayes conuerſant in the hands of the foreſayd ſtudents, wherein ſuch graue and pithy ſentences are ſet downe, that, in men void of the light of the Goſpell, more can not be deſired. They haue books alſo that intreat of things and cauſes naturall, but herein it is to be ſuppoſed, that aſwell their books as ours do abound with errors. There be other books among them, that diſcourſe of herbs and medicines, and others of chiualry and martiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of aſtronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the dayes of the new moone incident to euery moneth are truely diſpoſed and digeſted, and are committed to writing and publiſhed: beſides, they doe moſt infallibly foretell the eclipſes of the Sun and Moone: and whatſoeuer knowledge in this arte we of Iapon haue, it is deriued from them. *Leo.* We doe freely confeſſe that (Michael) ſithens our books intreating of the ſame arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China. But now, inſtruct you vs as touching their maner of gouernment, wherein the Chinians are ſayd greatly to excell. *Michael.* That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and vnto that all their learning and exerciſe of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one onely king beares rule ouer ſo many prouinces, it is ſtrange what a number of Magiſtrates are by him created to adminiſter publique affaires. For (to omit them which in ech Towne and City haue iuriſdiction ouer the towneſmen and citizens) there are three principall Magiſtrates in euery prouince. The firſt is he that hath to deale in caſes criminall, and is called Ganchaſu: the ſecond is the Kings Foſterer, and is called Puchinſu: the third is the Lieu-tenant generall for the warres, named, as we ſayd before, Chumpin. Theſe three therefore haue their place of reſidence in the chiefe City of the prouince: and the two former haue certaine aſſociates of their owne order, but of inferiour authority, appointed in diuers Cities and Townes, vnto whom, according to the variety of cauſes, the Gouernours of Townes, and the Maiors of Cities doe appeale. Howbeit the three forenamed Magiſtrates are in ſubiection vnto the Tutan, that is, the Vice-roy, ordained in ech prouince. And all theſe Magiſtrates beare office for the ſpace of three yeeres together: yet ſo, that for the gouerning of ech prouince, not any of the ſame prouince, but ſtrangers, that is, men of another prouince, are ſelected: whereof it commeth to paſſe, that the Iudges may giue ſentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde, then if they were among their owne kinſefolke and allies. Ouer and beſides all theſe, there is an annuall or yeerely Magiſtrate, which is called Chaien, whoſe duety it is to make inquiſition of all crimes, and eſpecially the crimes of Magiſtrates, and alſo to puniſh common offences: but concerning the faults of the great magiſtrates to admoniſh the king himſelfe. Of this order, euery yere, are ſent out of the Kings Court, for ech prouince, one; and going ouer all the Cities and Townes thereof, they do moſt diligently ranſacke and ſerch out all crimes, and vpon them which are impriſoned they inflict due puniſhment, or, being found not guilty, they diſmiſſe them vnpuniſhed. Hence it is, that all Magiſtrates greatly fearing to be called in queſtion by the Chaien are well kept

The firſt degree.

The ſecond degree.

The third and higheſt degree.

Note the extraordinary honor vouchſafed by the great King of China vpon his learned graduates.

Morall philoſophy.

Naturall philoſophy.

Excellent aſtronomers in China.

The politike gouernment of China.

Three principall magiſtrates in ech prouince.

Two Senates or Counſels cõtinually holden in China.

The cauſes of peace in China.

Learning the only ſtep to honour in China.

The ſtately & formidable proceſſion of the Chinian magiſtrates.

The houſes of the Chinian magiſtrates.

The magiſtrates barges.

within the limits of their callings. Beſides all theſe Magiſtrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a Senate or honourable aſſembly of graue counſellours, vnto the which, out of all prouinces, according to the neereneſſe and diſtance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority diuers Magiſtrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed vnto the Senate of Paquin. Moreouer there are euery yeere certaine Magiſtrates appointed in ech prouince, to goe vnto the king: and euery third yeere all the Gouernours of Cities and of Townes do viſit him at once, what time triall is made of them that aſpire vnto the third degree: vpon which occaſion there is at the ſame time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By reaſon of this excellent order and harmony of Magiſtrates placed one vnder another, it can ſcarſe be imagined, what ſweet peace and tranquility flouriſheth thorowout the whole realme, eſpecially ſithens, after ſpeedy inquiſition, perſons that are guilty be put (as the maner is there) to the puniſhment of the baſtonado: neither yet are ſuits or actions any long time delayed. Alſo it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magiſtracy, the way is open, without all reſpect of gentry or blood, vnto all men, if they be learned, and eſpecially if they haue attained vnto the third and higheſt degree aforeſayd. Neither can it be expreſſed how obedient and duetifull the common ſort are vnto their Magiſtrates, and with what magnificence and pompe the ſayd Magiſtrates come abroad: for the moſt part of them haue fiftie or threeſcore Sergeants attending vpon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: ſome of them carrying Halberds, Maces, and Battle-axes: ſome trailing yron chaines vpon the ground: others holding great roddes or ſtaues of a certaine kinde of reede, wherewith malefactours are puniſhed, in their hands: and two there are that carry, incloſed in a caſe, the Kings ſeale peculiar for ech office: and many others alſo, that ſhew ſundry ſpectacles vnto the people: whereunto may be added the horrible out-cries and ſhowtes, which betweene whiles they vtter, to ſtrike a terrour into the hearts of all men: and at length come the Magiſtrates themſelues, being carried in a throne vpon the backs of foure men, ſixe men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office. Now, as concerning their houſes, they are very large and ſtately, being built and furniſhed with all neceſſary ſtuffe, at the Kings owne coſt, in the which, ſo long as their magiſtracy laſteth, they leade a braue and an honourable life. The ſayd houſes are without variety of ſtories one aboue another, which in the kingdome of China and in our Iles of Iapon alſo are not ordinarily vſed for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for ſolace and recreations ſake (for the which purpoſes, eight moſt lofty turrets of nine ſtories high are built) or els for the defence of Cities. Howbeit in other regardes theſe buildings doe ſhew foorth no ſmall magnificence: for they haue their ciſternes for the receit of raine-water, which are adorned with beautifull trees, ſet in order, round about them: and they haue alſo their places deſigned for the adminiſtration of iuſtice, and diuers other conuenient roomes to beſtow their wiues and families in. Within the doores of the foreſayd habitations a certaine number of Sergeants and officers, hauing cabbins or little houſes allotted them on both ſides, doe alwayes giue their attendance; and ſo long as matters of iudgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magiſtrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments conſtraine them to tell the trueth. The ſayd Magiſtrates alſo haue their peculiar barges wherein to take the water; being in breadth and length not much vnlike to the galleys of Europe, but for ſwiftneſſe and multitude of oares, farre inferiour vnto them. The rowers, ſitting vpon galleries without the hatches or compaſſe of the barge, doe mooue it on forward with their oares: whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that the middle part of the barge affoordeth ſufficient roome for the Magiſtrates themſelues to abide in, containing chambers therein almoſt as conuenient and handſome, as in any of their foreſayd publique houſes, together with butteries and kitchins, and ſuch other places neceſſary for the prouiſion and ſtowage of victuals. *Leo.* All theſe things agree right well with the reports, which we haue heard of the ſtately and renowmed kingdome of China: I would now right gladly know ſomewhat concerning the order which is obſerued in the obtaining of magiſtracies.

The maner of electing magiſtrates in China.

Degrees vnto honour.

Michael. You haue enquired of a matter moſt worthy to be knowen, which I had almoſt omitted to entreat of. The Chinians therefore doe vſe a kinde of gradation in aduancing men vnto ſundry places of authority, which for the moſt part is performed by the Senatours of Paquin. For firſt they are made Iudges of Townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth puniſhments in caſes criminall without further appeale, or of their order, that are the kings foſterers. And in both of theſe Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, ſo that from the inferiour place they muſt aſcend vnto the ſuperiour, vntill they haue attained vnto the higheſt dignity of all: and immediatly after that they come to be Vice-royes. Howbeit this gradation is not alwayes accompliſhed in one and the ſame prouince, but in changing their offices they change places and prouinces alſo. Moreouer, next after the office of Vice-roy they are capable to be choſen Senatours of Nanquin, and laſt of all to be elected into the Senate of Paquin. Now, there is ſuch an order and methode obſerued in the aſcending vnto theſe dignities, that all men may eaſily coniecture, what office any one is to vndertake. And there is ſo great diligence and celerity vſed for the ſubſtitution of one into the roome of another, that, for the ſame purpoſe, meſſengers are diſpatched by land, vpon ſwift poſt-horſes, vnto diuers prouinces, almoſt twenty dayes iourney from the Kings Court. And, to be ſhort, there is ſuch diſtrict ſeuerity in degrading thoſe that vniuſtly or negligently demeane themſelues, from an honourable vnto an inferiour and baſe office, or altogether in depriuing them of the kings authority; that all Magiſtrates doe ſtand in feare of nothing in the world more then of that. The ſame order, almoſt, is obſerued among the Captaines and Lieu-tenants generall for the warres: except onely in them, that their birth and offſpring is reſpected: for many there be, who deſcending by parentage from ſuch men as haue in times paſt atchieued braue exploits in warfare, ſo ſoone as they come to ſufficient yeeres, are created Centurions, Colonels, and Gouernours, vntill at laſt they attaine to be Lieu-tenants generall and Protectours of ſome whole prouince: who notwithſtanding (as I haue ſayd) are in all things ſubiect vnto the Vice-roy. All the foreſayd Magiſtrates both of warre and of peace haue a ſet number of attendants allotted vnto them, enioying a ſtipend, and carying certaine enſignes and peculiar badges of their office: and (beſides the ordinary watch, which ſouldiers appointed for the ſame purpoſe doe in the night ſeaſon, after the City gates be ſhut, keepe in their forts) whereſoeuer any Magiſtrate is, either at his houſe or in his barge, the ſayd attendants ſtriking vpon a cymball of braſſe, at certaine appointed times, do keepe moſt circumſpect and continuall watch and ward about his perſon. *Linus.* You haue (Michael) ſufficiently diſcourſed of the Magiſtrates: informe vs now of the king himſelfe, whoſe name is ſo renowmed and ſpread abroad. *Michael.* Concerning this matter I will ſay ſo much onely as by certaine rumours hath come to my knowledge: for of matters appertaining vnto the kings Court we haue no eye-witneſſes, ſithens the fathers of the ſociety haue not as yet proceeded vnto Paquin, who ſo ſoone as (by Gods aſſiſtance) they ſhall there be arriued, will by their letters more fully aduertiſe vs. The king of China therefore is honoured with woonderfull reuerence and ſubmiſſion thorowout his whole Realme: and whenſoeuer any of his chiefe Magiſtrates ſpeaketh vnto him, he calleth him VAN-SVI, ſignifying thereby that he wiſheth tenne thouſands of yeeres vnto him. The ſucceſſion of the kingdome dependeth vpon the bloud royall: for the eldeſt ſonne borne of the kings firſt and lawfull wife obtaineth the kingdome after his fathers deceaſe: neither doe they depriue themſelues of the kingly authority in their life time (as the maner is in our Ilands of Iapon) but the cuſtome of Europe is there obſerued. Now, that the ſafety and life of the king may ſtand in more ſecurity, his yoonger brethren, and the reſt borne of concubines are not permitted to liue in the kings Court: but places of habitation are by the king himſelfe aſſigned vnto them in diuers prouinces farre diſtant aſunder, where they dwell moſt commodiouſly, being comparable vnto kings for their buildings and reuenues: howbeit they exerciſe no authority ouer the people, but all the gouernment of thoſe Cities wherein they dwell, concerneth the Magiſtrates, who notwithſtanding haue the ſayde Princes in high regard and honour, and doe viſit them twiſe in a moneth, and ſalute them kneeling vpon their knees, and bowing their faces downe to the earth: and yet they communicate nothing vnto them as touching the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth. Theſe are they which may properly be called the Peeres or Princes of the Realme of China: for they deriue their houſes and reuenues vnto their poſterity, and ſo are theſe royall families continually preſerued. But to returne vnto the king himſelfe, hee is moſt chary in obſeruing the Chinian lawes and cuſtomes, and diligently exerciſeth himſelfe in learning ſo much as concernes his eſtate, ſheweth himſelfe dayly vnto his chiefe Magiſtrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme. His palace is of woonderfull largeneſſe and capacity, out of the which he very ſeldome takes his progreſſe; and whenſoeuer he doeth ſo, there are twelue chariots brought foorth, all of them moſt like one to another both in workemanſhip and in value, that no man may diſcerne in which the king himſelfe is placed. He followeth in religion eſpecially the opinions of the Magiſtrates, attributing diuine power vnto heauen and earth as vnto the parents of all, and with great ſolemnity ſacrificing vnto them. He hath diuers moſt ſumptuous Temples dedicated vnto his anceſtours, whereunto likewiſe he aſcribeth diuine honour, and yet ceaſeth hee not to fauour Prieſts of other ſects, yea hee erecteth Temples vnto their Patrons, endowing them with moſt rich reuenues; and ſo often as any vrgent neceſſity

requireth;

Riding poſt.

Martiall dignities.

The king of China.

Van-Sui.

The ſucceſſion of the crowne.

The kings yonger brethren.

Twelue chariots.

The idolatrous religion of the king.

requireth, he enioynes continuall faſtings and prayers vnto them: and after this ſort he doeth in a maner patronize all the idolatrous ſects of his Realme, and ſhewing himſelfe ready to embrace any falſe religion whatſoeuer, he liueth in ſundry and manifolde kindes of ſuperſtition.

The ciuill gouernment of China moſt agreeable to the inſtinct of nature.

Out of all the former particulars by me alledged, you may eaſily coniecture that the adminiſtration of the kingdome of China doeth, for the moſt part, agree with the inſtinct of nature, authority being committed, not vnto rude and vnſkilfull perſons, but vnto ſuch as haue beene conuerſant in the vſe and exerciſe of learning, yea, and in promoting learned men vnto magiſtracies, great conſideration is had of their wiſedome, iuſtice, and of other vertues eſteemed by the Chinians: wherefore the way being open for all men, without any reſpect of degree or parentage, to obtaine any of the foreſayd dignities, it can not be but that this moſt mighty and famous kingdome muſt needes enioy exceeding peace and tranquillity. *Leo.* I would nowe (Michael) right gladly vnderſtand, what kinde of vrbanity or ciuill demeanour both the common people and the Magiſtrates doe vſe one towardes another: for it is not likely that where ſuch due adminiſtration of iuſtice is, common ciuility, which ſo well beſeemeth all men, ſhould be wanting.

The fiue vertues principally eſteemed among the Chinians.

Michael. You haue hit euen the very naile on the head: for among the fiue vertues, which the Chinians principally regard, vrbanity or courteſy is one; the reſt are piety, a thankefull remembrance of benefites, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wiſedome in atchieuing of matters: with the praiſes and commendations of which vertues the Chinian bookes are full fraught.

Vrbanity.

Now as touching their vrbanity, it is much vnlike vnto ours in Iapan, and vnto that of Europe: howbeit vnder two principall kindes the rule of their vrbanity or courteſie may be comprehended: whereof one is obſerued betweene equals, and the other betweene ſuperiours and inferiours. For when men of equall dignity meet together, they ſtand bending their backes, and bowing their heads downe to the ground, and this they doe either once or twiſe, or ſometimes thriſe. Now, when the inferiour meets with his ſuperiour, the ſayd inferiour, for the moſt part kneeling lowly on his knees, enclineth his countenance downe to the earth. But how often and when this obeizance is to be performed it is woonderfull what a number of rules and preſcriptions are ſet downe, which to recount would require a long time.

The Chinians great piety towards their parents.

Somewhat alſo I will ſay as touching their piety, and eſpecially of the piety which they vſe towards their parents, which verily is ſo exceeding great, that for the ſpace of three whole yeres together, the ſonnes being cladde in mourning veſtures doe bewaile the death of their parents, which duety is performed not onely by the common ſort, but euen by all the Magiſtrates themſelues, and that moſt curiouſly and diligently. And, that all men may wholly giue their attendance vnto this buſineſſe, it is prouided by a moſt inuiolable law among the Chinians, that Magiſtrates, vpon the death of their parents, muſt foorthwith renounce their authority, and three whole yeeres, for the performance of their fathers exequies, muſt betake themſelues vnto a priuate kinde of liuing: which alſo is moſt duely put in practiſe by the Senatours of the Kings owne Councell. For albeit a man be right gracious in the eyes of his Prince, yea, and ſuch an one, as vpon whom the adminiſtration of the Realme doeth principally depend; yet hauing heard of the death of his parents, that is, of his father or his mother, he hies himſelfe immediatly home to ſolemnize their funerals: inſomuch that if the king would retaine him ſtill in his office, he ſhould be eſteemed by the people, as a tranſgreſſour of the lawes and cuſtomes of China: which accident (as it is recorded) in ancient times fel out euen ſo.

A memorable ſtory.

For whenas a certain king moſt familiarly vſed a certaine Senatour of his about the managing and expedition of publique affaires, and vnderſtanding well how neceſſary the helpe of his foreſayd Senatour was, would gladly, after the death of his father, haue retained him ſtill in his office: yet a certaine other man, being a welwiller vnto the Chinian lawes, could in no caſe abide it, but checking his Prince with ſharpe rebukes, obiected the tranſgreſſion of the law againſt him. The king waxing wroth menaced preſent death vnto the man: but when the party being no whit danted with the terrour of death, perſiſted ſtill in his ſayings, the king changing his determination diſmiſſed the Senatour to mourne for his father, but as for his reprehender he aduanced him vnto an higher dignity. *Linus.* I perceiue (Michael) that drawing to an end of theſe dialogues, and being weary of your long race, you begin to affect breuity: yet let it not ſeeme troubleſome vnto you to ſpeake ſomewhat of the religion of China, which onely thing ſeemes to be wanting in this preſent dialogue.

The religion of China.

Michael. I confeſſe indeed that I endeuour to be briefe, not ſo much in regard of weariſomneſſe, as for feare leaſt I haue bene ouer tedious vnto you: howbeit I will not faile but accompliſh that which I haue vndertaken, and (according to your requeſt) adde ſomewhat more concerning religion. Whereas therefore the kingdome of China hath hitherto bene deſtitute of true religion, and now the firſt beginnings thereof are included in moſt narrow bounds, that nation being otherwiſe a people moſt ingenious, and of an extraordinary and high capacity, hath alwayes liued in great errours and ignorance of the trueth, being diſtracted into ſundry opinions, and following manifolde ſects. And among theſe ſects there are three more famous then the reſt: the firſt is of them that profeſſe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philoſopher. This man (as it is reported in the hiſtory of his life) was one of moſt vpright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote ſundry treatiſes very pithily and largely, which aboue all other books, are ſeriouſly read and peruſed by the Chinians. The ſame doctrine do all Magiſtrates embrace, and others alſo that giue their mindes to the ſtudy of letters, a great part whereof Confucius is ſayd to haue inuented: and he is had in ſo great honour, that all his followers and clients, vpon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe aſſemble themſelues at the common Schoole, which I haue aboue mentioned, and before his image, which is worſhipped with burning of incenſe and with tapers, they doe thriſe bend their knees, and bow their heads downe to the ground; which not onely the common ſcholars, but the chiefe Magiſtrates do performe. The ſumme of the foreſayd doctrine is, that men ſhould follow the light of nature as their guide, and that they ſhould diligently endeuour to attaine vnto the vertues by me before mentioned: and laſtly, that they ſhould employ their labour about the orderly gouernment of their families and of the Common-wealth. All theſe things are in very deed praiſe-worthy, if Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not aſcribed ſo much vnto the heauens, and vnto fatall neceſſity, nor yet had ſo curiouſly intreated of worſhipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardly or not at all be excuſed from the crime of idolatry: notwithſtanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine among the Chinians approcheth ſo neere vnto the trueth as this doeth. The ſecond ſect is of them which follow the inſtructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whoſe opinions, becauſe they are well knowen amongſt vs, it were bootleſſe for me to repeat; eſpecially ſithens, in the Catechiſme compoſed by our graue viſitour, they are notably refuted. This doctrine doe all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with vs at Iapon are named Bonzi. For this I doe briefly and by the way giue you to vnderſtand, that all words of the Chinians language are of one ſillable onely, ſo that if there be any word that conſiſteth of more ſillables then one, it conſiſteth alſo of more wordes then one. Theſe ſectaries called Cen doe ſhaue their beards and their heads, and doe for the moſt part, together with diuers of their aſſociates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the ſame profeſſion haue in their Kalenders beene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearſe certaine prayers after their maner, either vpon books or beads, vſing other ceremonies after the maner of our Bonzi. Theſe men haue ſome inckling of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the puniſhments of the wicked: howbeit all their aſſertions are fraught with errours. The third ſect is of them which are called Tauzu: and thoſe doe imitate a certaine other man, to be adored, as they thinke, for his holineſſe. Theſe alſo are Prieſts after their kinde, howbeit they let their haire grow, and doe in other obſeruations differ from the former. Nowe, becauſe the ſect of Confucius is the moſt famous of all the three, and the two other ſects called Cen and Tauzu are not much addicted vnto learning, their religion preuailing onely among the common ſort, the Prieſts of both the ſayd ſects doe leade a moſt baſe and ſeruile life amongſt the Chinians, inſomuch that they kneele downe before the Magiſtrates, and are not permitted to ſit beſide them, and ſometimes, if the Magiſtrate pleaſe, are abaſed vnto the puniſhment of the baſtonado: whereas in our Iles of Iapon it is farre otherwiſe, Prieſts, euen of falſe religion, being had in ſo great honour among vs. *Leo.* I heard alſo (Michael) that the Saracens ſuperſtition takes place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can reſolue vs. *Michael.* That forren ſuperſtition was brought into China what time the Tartars inuaded the kingdome, and vſurped the gouernment thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally deſcended of the Tartars, who, becauſe they were an infinite number, could not vtterly be expelled and rooted out of the kingdome, but remaining ſtill there, haue propagated their poſterity, though not their religion. Theſe therefore are ſouldiers for the greater part of them, and ſometimes doe obtaine martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their ſuperſtition which is nowe become ſtale and almoſt worne out, they doe liue altogether after the Chinians faſhion, their predeceſſours being brought into the ſame kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe. *Linus.* Now (Michael) let vs heare you ſay ſomewhat of the Chriſtan religion, which as we hope hath ſet moſt happy footing in that kingdome. *Michael.* I could ſay much concerning thoſe moſt wiſhed and acceptable beginnings, were they not already publiſhed in Iapon by the letters of the fathers: howbeit I will make a briefe rehearſall of all things, that I may not ſeeme altogether to haue abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the ſociety arriued in our Ilands, to the end they might augment Chriſtian religion, they were in like ſort

Three principall ſectes among the Chinians.

Confucius author of the firſt ſect.

The ſumme of Confucius his doctrine.

Xequiam author of the ſecond ſect, whoſe followers ar called Cen or Bonzi.

Note.

The third ſect.

The ſuperſtition of the Saracens.

Chriſtian religion planted in China.

An ancient cuſtome worthy ỹ obſeruation.

The Chinians contemne other nations.

moſt carefull how they might inſinuate themſelues into the innermoſt parts of the kingdome of China. In the middeſt of this endeuour and trauell Francis Xauier, a moſt deuout man of the foreſayd ſociety, departed out of this preſent life at the Ile of Sancian (which ſome call Sangiam) leauing an example vnto the reſt of his aſſociates, how they ſhould likewiſe doe their beſt to plant the religion of Chriſt in that nation. This man was ſeconded by others, who vſed all meanes, and left no practiſe vnattempted, that they might bring theſe good beginnings vnto a proſperous iſſue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reaſon of an ancient cuſtome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and circumſpection admit any ſtrangers into their dominions, except thoſe which hauing a long time executed the office of ambaſſadours doe ordinarily euery third yeere preſent themſelues before the king: in the admiſſion of whom likewiſe there is maruellous care vſed, that they may not eaſily eſpie and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Heereunto may be added, that the Chinians are great contemners of other nations, and moſt conſtant obſeruers of their owne lawes and cuſtomes: in all which reſpects it came to paſſe, that there was woonderfull labour and diligence employed aboue thirty yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, vntill in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred foureſcore and three, two fathers of the foreſayd ſociety, that had pretty skill in the letters and language of China, vtterly deſpairing of mans helpe, and depending vpon the prouidence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Tutan or Vice-roy to build them an houſe and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reaſon of the commodiouſneſſe thereof is the ſeat of the Vice-roy himſelfe. This worke being begunne, the ſayd fathers of the ſociety, for the nouelty thereof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magiſtrates: inſomuch that two others out of India had free and eaſie acceſſe vnto them, one couple remaining ſtill in their foreſayd houſe at Xauquin, and the other two taking their iourney for the inner prouinces, to conuert more people vnto the faith: who notwithſtanding afterward, other Magiſtrates not approouing of their attempts, were conſtrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foreſayd fathers abode at Xauquin (being more then fiue yeeres) certaine of the common people were reſtrained from falſe ſuperſtition to Chriſtian religion, and ſeuenty perſons were baptized. But the enemy of mankinde, who omitteth none opportunity for the hinderance of Chriſtian religion, ſuggeſted into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I ſayd, of their owne nature, a people eſtranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too too ſuſpicious of ſtrangers) that they ſhould exhibite letters of ſupplication vnto the Caien and the Tutan their principall Magiſtrates, to haue the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magiſtrates repairing vnto their foreſayd houſe and Church entered conſultation how they might banniſh them out of the ſayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they vſed great moderation, not any way offending or exaſperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely ſignifying that they had regard vnto the eſtate of their Common-wealth. For the Tutan or Vice-roy calling the fathers vnto him, and (to let paſſe other accidents) vſing courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not conuenient, eſpecially ſithens ſo many Magiſtrates reſorted vnto that City, who would take great offence at the preſence of ſtrangers. For the which cauſe he perſwaded them to accept ſome part of the money which they had beſtowed in the building of their houſe, and ſo to returne either home into their owne countrey, or vnto the port of Macao. Howbeit, ſuch was the inſtant ſupplication of the fathers, and ſo woorthy of compaſſion, that the Tutan or Vice-roy, in the extreame and mediterrane borders of the prouince of Coantum, aſſigned vnto them a new habitation at the city called Xaucheo, commending them alſo to a certaine Magiſtrate, who was come from the ſame place to ſalute him. Thither therefore the ſayd fathers, not without great ſorrow and griefe of the Chriſtians, hied themſelues, and as we are informed by their laſt letters, they haue euen now layed the foundation of their firſt building, and haue alſo written that they are like to liue much more peaceably and conueniently for the propagating of Chriſtian religion. Theſe be the firſt beginnings of Chriſtianity in China, where, euen as in other places of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, the ſeed is to be ſowen with great labour and teares, that acceptable fruits may be reaped with gladneſſe. *Leo.* It is euen as you haue ſayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleaſant and eloquent diſcourſe we do acknowledge our ſelues much bounden vnto you.

A Letter

A Letter written from *Goa*, the principall City of all the *Eaſt Indies*, by one *Thomas Steuens* an Engliſh man, and ſent to his father, M. *Thomas Steuens*: *Anno* 1579.

After moſt humble commendations: Theſe ſhall be to craue your dayly bleſſing, with like commendations vnto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote vnto you taking my iourney from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, ſo that preſuming thereupon, I thinke I haue the leſſe need at this time to tell you the cauſe of my departing, which neuertheleſſe in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the ſhippes, ſo late that if they had not bene ſtayed about ſome weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: inſomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings prouiſion and ours alſo might not be in vaine. Neuertheleſſe our ſudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill fiue ſhips departed for Goa, wherein beſides ſhipmen and ſouldiers, there were a great number of children which in the ſeas beare out better then men, and no maruell, when that many women alſo paſſe very well. The ſetting foorth from the port I need not to tell how ſolemne it is with trumpets, and ſhooting of ordinance, you may eaſily imagine it, conſidering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foreſayd moneth we came to the ſight of Porto Santo neere vnto Madera, where an Engliſh ſhippe ſet vpon ours (which was then alſo alone) with a few ſhots, which did no harme, but after that our ſhip had layed out her greateſt ordinance, they ſtraight departed as they came. The Engliſh ſhippe was very faire and great, which I was ſorry to ſee ſo ill occupied, for ſhe went rouing about, ſo that we ſaw her againe at the Canarian Iles, vnto the which we came the thirteenth of the ſayd moneth, and good leiſure we had to wonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reaſon of contrary windes: and briefly, ſuch euill weather we had vntill the foureteenth of May, that they deſpaired to compaſſe the Cape of Good hope that yeere. Neuertheleſſe, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Ilands of Capo Verde, without ſeeing of any land at all, we arriued at length vnto the coaſt of Guinie, which the Portugals ſo call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the ſixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they ſuffered ſo many inconueniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themſelues happy when they haue paſſed it: for ſometimes the ſhip ſtandeth there almoſt by the ſpace of many dayes, ſometime ſhe goeth, but in ſuch order that it were almoſt as good to ſtand ſtill. And the greateſt part of this coaſt not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine ſo vnholeſome, that if the water ſtand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged vp, it maketh it ſtraight full of wormes. Along all that coaſt we oftentimes ſaw a thing ſwimming vpon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ſhip of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe ſtandeth vpon a thing almoſt like the ſwimmer of a fiſh in colour and bigneſſe, and beareth vnderneath in the water, ſtrings, which ſaue it from turning ouer. This thing is ſo poiſonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coaſt, that is to ſay, from the ſixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, we ſpent no leſſe then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we paſſed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our courſe aſwell as we could to paſſe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, & in all the way beſide, we found ſo often calmes, that the experteſt mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be moſt horrible tempeſts, we found moſt quiet calmes which was very troubleſome to thoſe ſhips which be the greateſt of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Inſomuch, that when it is tempeſt almoſt intollerable for other ſhips, and maketh them maine all their ſailes, theſe hoiſe vp, and ſaile excellent well, vnleſſe the waters be too too furious, which ſeldome happened in our nauigation. You ſhall vnderſtand, that being paſſed the line, they cannot ſtraightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themſelues in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their courſe towards the Eaſt, and ſo compaſſe the point. But the winde ſerued vs ſo, that at 33 degrees we did direct our courſe toward the point or promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to ſaile from Eaſt to Weſt, or contrary, becauſe there is no fixed point in all the ſkie, whereby they may direct their courſe, wherefore I ſhall tell you what helps God prouided for theſe men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or ſigne in the aire, or in the ſea, which they haue not written, which haue made the voyages heretofore. Wherfore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what ſpace the ſhip was able to make with ſuch a winde, and ſuch direction, and partly by the experience of others, whoſe books and nauigations they haue, they geſſe whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes ſure: but the greateſt and beſt induſtry of all is to marke the variation of the needle or compaſſe, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is iuſt North, and thence ſwarueth towards the Eaſt ſo much, that betwixt the Meridian aforeſayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in Engliſh the needles) it returneth againe vnto the North, and that place paſſed, it ſwarueth againe toward the Weſt, as it did before proportionally.

The variation of the compaſſe.

Signes about the Cape of Bona Speranſa.

As touching our firſt ſignes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more ſtrange kindes of fowles appeared, inſomuch that when we came within no leſſe then thirty leagues (almoſt an hundred miles) and ſixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thouſand fowles of ſundry kindes followed our ſhip: ſome of them ſo great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained ſeuen ſpannes, as the Mariners ſayd. A maruellous thing to ſee how God prouided, ſo that in ſo wide a ſea theſe fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals haue named them all according to ſome propriety which they haue: ſome they call Ruſhtailes, becauſe their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and ſmall like a ruſh, ſome forked tailes becauſe they be very broad and forked, ſome Veluet ſleeues, becauſe they haue wings of the colour of veluet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth neereſt the Cape. I ſhould neuer make an end if I ſhould tell all particulars: but it ſhall ſuffice briefly to touch a few, which yet ſhall be ſufficient, if you marke them, to giue occaſion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderfull works, and ſuch variety in his creatures.

Fiſhes on the ſea coaſt of Africa.

And to ſpeake ſomewhat of fiſhes in all places of calme, eſpecially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we neuer ſaw any) there waited on our ſhip fiſhes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat ſuch things as from the ſhippe fall into the ſea, not refuſing men themſelues if they light vpon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the ſea, they take it for theirs. Theſe haue waiting on them ſix or ſeuen ſmall fiſhes (wich neuer depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely ſeruing men: and they go two or three before him, and ſome on euery ſide. Moreouer, they haue other fiſhes which cleaue alwayes vnto their body, and ſeeme to take ſuch ſuperfluities as grow about them, and they are ſayd to enter into their bodies alſo to purge them if they need. The Mariners in time paſt haue eaten of them, but ſince they haue ſeene them eate men their ſtomacks abhorre them. Neuertheleſſe, they draw them vp with great hooks, & kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they haue made a great reuenge. There is another kind of fiſh as bigge almoſt as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. Theſe haue two enemies, the one in the ſea, the other in the aire. In the ſea the fiſh which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon, followeth them with great ſwiftneſſe to take them. This poore fiſh not being able ſwim faſt, for he hath no finnes, but ſwimmeth with mouing of his taile, ſhutting his wings, lifteth himſelfe aboue the water, and flieth not very hie: the Albocore ſeeing that, although he haue no wings, yet he giueth a great leape out of the water, and ſometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himſelfe vnder the water going that way on as faſt as he flieth. And when the fiſh being weary of the aire, or thinking himſelfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but ſometimes his other enemy the ſea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth.

Note.

With theſe and like ſights, but alwayes making our ſupplications to God for good weather and ſaluation of the ſhip, we came at length vnto the point, ſo famous & feared of all men: but we found there no tempeſt, only great waues, where our Pilot was a little ouerſeene: for whereas commonly al other neuer come within ſight of land, but ſeeing ſignes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way ſure and ſafe, he thinking himſelfe to haue winde at will, ſhot ſo nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waues being exceeding great, rolled vs ſo nere the land, that the ſhip ſtood in leſſe then 14 fadoms of water, no more then ſixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we ſtood as vtterly caſt away: for vnder vs were rocks of maine ſtone ſo ſharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ſhip, the ſhore ſo euill, that nothing could take land, and the land itſelfe ſo full of Tigers, and people that are ſauage, and killers of all ſtrangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conſcience. Notwithſtanding, after we had loſt ancres, hoiſing vp the ſailes for to get the ſhip a coaſt in ſome ſafer place, or when it ſhould pleaſe God, it pleaſed his mercy ſuddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our ſailes with wind from the land, & ſo we eſcaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fiſh, we alſo fell a fiſhing, and ſo many they tooke, that they ſerued all the ſhip for that day, and part of the next.

Corall.

And one of them pulled vp a corall of great bigneſſe and price. For there they ſay (as we ſaw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of ſtalks vpon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of July. And you ſhall vnderſtand that, the Cape paſſed, there be two wayes to India: one within the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, becauſe they refreſh themſelues at Moſambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take when they ſet foorth ſo late, and come ſo late to the point, that they haue no time to take the foreſayd Moſambique, and then they goe heauily, becauſe in this way they take no port. And by reaſon of the long nauigation, and want of food and water, they fall into ſundry diſeaſes, their gummes waxe great, and ſwell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges ſwell, and all the body becommeth ſore, and ſo benummed, that they can not ſtirre hand nor foot, and ſo they die for weakeneſſe, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty ſicke, there died not paſt ſeuen and twenty; which loſſe they eſteemed not much in reſpect of other times. Though ſome of ours were diſeaſed in this ſort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God ſend me my health ſo well in the land, if it may be to his honour and ſeruice. This way is full of priuy rockes and quicke-ſands, ſo that ſometimes we durſt not ſaile by night, but by the prouidence of God we ſaw nothing, nor neuer found bottome vntill we came to the coaſt of India. When we had paſſed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or ſomewhat more, we ſaw crabs ſwimming on the water that were red as though they had bene ſodden: but this was no ſigne of land. After, about the eleuenth degree, the ſpace of many dayes, more then ten thouſand fiſhes by eſtimation followed round about our ſhip, whereof we caught ſo many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they ſerued our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almoſt any thing els to eate, our nauigation growing ſo long that it drew neere to ſeuen moneths, where as commonly they goe it in fiue, I meane when they ſaile the inner way. But theſe fiſhes were not ſigne of land, but rather of deepe ſea. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they ioyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the ſame latitude neere Zocotora, an Ile in the mouth of the Red ſea. But there God ſent vs great winds from the Northeaſt or Northnortheaſt, whereupon vnwillingly they bare vp toward the Eaſt, and thus we went tenne dayes without ſeeing ſigne of land, whereby they perceiued their errour: for they had directed their courſe before alwayes Northeaſt, coueting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and moſt of all the running ſeas, which at that time ran Northweſt, had drawen vs to this other danger, had not God ſent vs this winde, which at length waxed larger, and reſtored vs to our right courſe. Theſe running ſeas be ſo perillous that they deceiue the moſt part of the gouernours, and ſome be ſo little curious, contenting themſelues with ordinary experience, that they care not to ſeeke out any meanes to know when they ſwarue, neither by the compaſſe, nor by any other triall. The firſt ſigne of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be of India: the ſecond, boughes of palmes and ſedges: the third, ſnakes ſwimming on the water, and a ſubſtance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a groat, woonderfully printed and ſtamped of nature, like vnto ſome coine. And theſe two laſt ſignes be ſo certaine, that the next day after, if the winde ſerue, they ſee land, which we did to our great ioy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in thoſe parts) and victuals began to faile vs. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being receiued with paſſing great charity. The people be tawny, but not diſfigured in their lips & noſes, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at leaſt the moſt part, goe naked, ſauing an apron of a ſpan long, and as much in bredth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a ſtring and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now ſpeake, for I ſhould make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I haue not ſeene a tree here, whoſe like I haue ſeene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neuertheleſſe here is to no purpoſe, ſo that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this ſhall ſuffice for this time. If God ſend me my health, I ſhall haue opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leaue: and thus I wiſh your moſt proſperous health. From Goa the tenth of Nouember, 1579.

Two wayes beyond ẏ cape of Good hope.

They comonly ſaile from Liſbon to Goa in 5 moneths.

Running ſeas very dangerous.

Certaine ſignes of land.

They arriued at Goa the 24 of October.

Your louing ſonne Thomas
Steuens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of *Pegu* beyond the *Eaſt India*, written by *Frey Peter* of *Liſbon*, to his couſin *Frey Diego* of *Liſbon*, from *Cochin*.

The coaſt of India greatly troubled with Moores.

Abundance of golde, ſiluer, pearles, & precious ſtones in Pegu.

The great gaine of the Portugals in Pegu.

Pegu the beſt & richeſt countrey in all the Eaſt India.

I Receiued your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a carauell of aduiſe that came from Malacca, which brought ſhot, powder, and other prouiſion for the furniſhing of foure gallies and a great gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coaſt for feare of great ſtore of men of warre, being Moores, which trouble vs very ſore. At that inſtant when I receiued your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning theſe countreys are: That this king of Pegu is the mightieſt king of men, & the richeſt that is in theſe parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, aboue a million of fighting men: howbeit they be very leane and ſmall people, and are brought vnto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and ſiluer mines, and of all the pearles and precious ſtones: ſo that he hath the greateſt ſtore of treaſure that euer was heard of in theſe parts. The countrey people call him The God of trueth and of iuſtice. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many queſtions as touching the law and faith of Ieſus Chriſt, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gaue his conſent that our Order ſhould build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our peruerſe and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater reſort thither, and ſo their trade ſhould be impaired, if their great gaines ſhould be knowen vnto others then thoſe which found this countrey out firſt, therefore they were ſo vnwilling that the building of this Church ſhould goe forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are woorſe people then the Gentiles. I preached diuers times among thoſe heathen people; but being obſtinate they ſay, that as their fathers beleeued ſo they will beleeue: for if their forefathers went to the diuell ſo they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monaſtery to certifie our father prouinciall of the eſtate of this New found countrey. It is the beſt and richeſt countrey in all this Eaſt India; and it is thought to be richer then China.

A propheſie of an Indian againſt Spaine.

I am afrayd that the warres which his Maieſty hath with England will be the vtter vndoing and ſpoile of Spaine: for theſe countreys likewiſe are almoſt ſpoiled with ciuill warres, which the Moores haue againſt the Gentiles: for the kings here are vp in armes all the countrey ouer. Here is an Indian which is counted a Prophet, which hath propheſied that there will a Dragon ariſe in a ſtrange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out, onely God doth know. And thus I reſt: from this monaſtery of Cochin the 28 of December, 1589.

Your good couſin and aſſured friend
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ſhips, the *Penelope* Admirall, the *Marchant royall* Viceadmirall, and the *Edward Bonauenture* Rereadmirall, to the *Eaſt Indies*, by the Cape of *Buona Speranſa*, to *Quitangone* neere *Moſambique*, to the Iles of *Comoro* and *Zanzibar* on the backeſide of *Africa*, and beyond *Cape Comori* in *India*, to the Iles of *Nicubar* and of *Gomes Polo* within two leagues of *Sumatra*, to the Ilands of *Pulo Pinaom*, and thence to the maine land of *Malacca*, begunne by M. *George Raymond*, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. *Iames Lancaſter*, and written from the mouth of *Edmund Barker* of *Ipſwich*, his lieutenant in the ſayd voyage, by M. *Richard Hakluyt*.

Our fleet of the three tall ſhips abouenamed departed from Plimmouth the 10 of April 1591, and arriued at the Canarie-ilands the 25 of the ſame, frō whence we departed the 29 of April. The ſecond of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The fift we paſſed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde at Northeaſt, alwayes before the winde vntill the 13 of the ſame moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the ſea vntill the ſixt of Iune, on which day we paſſed the ſayd line. While we lay thus off and on, we tooke a Portugal Carauel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Braſile, in which Carauel we had ſome 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 iarres of oyle, about 100 iarres of oliues, certaine barrels of capers, three fats of peaſon, with diuers other neceſſaries fit for our voyage: which wine, oyle, oliues and capers were better to vs then gold. We had two men died before wee paſſed the line, and diuers ſicke, which tooke their ſickneſſe in thoſe hote climates: for they be wonderful vnholeſome from 8 degrees of Northerly latitude vnto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with ſuch thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occaſion of the infection among them, and their eating of ſalt victuals, with lacke of clothes to ſhift them. After we paſſed the line, we had the wind ſtill at Eaſtſoutheaſt, which caried vs along the coaſt of Braſil 100 leagues from the maine, til we came in 26 degrees to the Southward of the line, where the wind came vp to the North, at which time we did account, that the Cape of Buona eſperanſa did beare off vs Eaſt and by South, betwixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Paſſing this gulfe from the coaſt of Braſil vnto the Cape we had the wind often variable as it is vpon our coaſt, but for the moſt part ſo, that we might lie our courſe. The 28 of Iuly we had ſight of the foreſayd Cape of Buona eſperanſa: vntill the 31 wee lay off and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, & ſo to haue gone ſeuentie leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would haue ſought to haue put into any harbour. But our men being weake and ſicke in all our ſhippes, we thought good to ſeeke ſome place to refreſh them. With which conſent we bare vp with the land to the Northward of the Cape, and going along the ſhore, we eſpied a goodly Baie with an Iland lying to Seawards of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ſhips to ride in. This Baie is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither ſide of the Cape. The firſt of Auguſt being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, ſending our mē on land, and there came vnto them certaine blacke Saluages very brutiſh which would not ſtay, but retired from them. For the ſpace of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed with our pieces, which were cranes and geeſe: there was no fiſh but muſkles and other ſhelfiſh, which we gathered on the rockes. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with his pinnaſſe vnto the Iland which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great ſtore of Penguines & Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twiſe after that we ſent certain of our men, which at both times brought their bots lading vnto our ſhips. After we had bene here ſome time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the country with vs, making ſigns to bring vs ſome cattell; but at this time we could come to the ſight of none, ſo we let the Negro goe with ſome trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negros, brought vs downe ſome 40 bullocks and oxen, with as many ſheepe: at which time we bought but few of thē. But within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more, & then we bought ſome 24 oxen with as many ſheepe. We bought an oxe for two kniues, a ſtirke for a knife, and a ſheepe for a knife, and ſome we bought for leſſe value then a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleſhed, but not fat. The ſheepe are very big and very good meat, they haue no woll on their backs but haire, and haue great tailes like the ſheepe in Syria. There be diuers ſorts of wild beaſts, as the Antilope, (wherof M. Lancaſter killed one of the bignes of a yong colt) the red & fallow Deere, with other great beaſts vnknowen vnto vs. Here are alſo great ſtore of ouer-growen monkeis. As touching our proceeding vpon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ſhips wel manned, then with three euill manned: for here wee had of ſound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the Admiral 101, and in the Edward with the worſhipfull M. captaine Lancaſter 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were many pretily well recouered, of which ſhip was maſter and gouernour Abraham Kendal, which for many reaſons we thought good to ſend home. The diſeaſe that hath conſumed our men hath bene the ſkuruie. Our ſouldiers which haue not bene vſed to the Sea, haue beſt held out, but our mariners dropt away, which (in my iudgement) proceedeth of their euill diet at home.

Three occaſions of ſicknes neere the line.

Agoada de Saldanha.

Great ſtore of Penguins and Seales.

Bullocks, oxē, and ſheepe, dog-cheape.

Sixe dayes after our ſending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall M. captaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. Iames Lancaſter in the Edward Bonauenture, ſet forward to double the Cape of Buona eſperanſa, which they did very ſpeedily. But being paſſed as far as Cape dos Corrientes, the 14 of Septēber we were encountred with a mighty ſtorme and extreeme guſts of wind, wherein we loſt our Generals companie, and could neuer heare of him nor his ſhip any more, though we did our beſt endeuour to ſeeke him vp and downe a long while, and ſtaied for him certaine dayes at the Iland of Comoro, where we appointed to ſtay one for another. Foure dayes after this vncomfortable ſeperation in the morning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which ſlew foure of our men outright, their necks being wrung in ſonder without ſpeaking any word, and of 94 men there was

Cape de Buona Speranſa doubled.

Cape dos Corrientes.

Here they are ſeuered from the Penelope.

Foure men ſlaine with a clap of thunder

not one vntouched, whereof ſome were ſtriken blind, others were bruiſed in their legs & armes, and others in their breſts, ſo that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawen out at length as though they had bene racked. But (God be thanked) they all recouered ſauing onely the foure which were ſlaine out right. Alſo with the ſame thunder our maine maſte was torne very grieuouſly from the head to the decke, and ſome of the ſpikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate thereof. From thence wee ſhaped our courſe to the Northeaſt, and not long after we fell vpon the Northweſt end of the mighty Iland of S. Laurence: which one of our men eſpied by Gods good bleſſing late in the euening by Moone light, who ſeeing afarre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, aſked them what it was: which eftſoones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea vpon the Sholds. Whereupon in very good time we caſt about to auoyd the danger which we were like to haue incurred. Thus paſſing on forward, it was our lucke to ouer-ſhoote Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quitangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three or foure Barkes of Moores, which Barkes in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Millio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the prouiſion of Mozambique. Within few dayes following we came to an Iland an hundred leagues to the Northeaſt of Mozambique called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good ſtature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here wee deſired to ſtore our ſelues with water, whereof we ſtood in great need, and ſent ſixteene of our men well armed on ſhore in our boate: whom the people ſuffred quietly to land and water, and diuers of them with their king came aboord our ſhip in a gowne of crimoſine Sattin pinked after the Mooriſh faſhion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the beſt maner, and had ſome conference with him of the ſtate of the place and marchandiſes, vſing our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licenſed the king and his company to depart, and ſent our men againe for more water, who then alſo diſpatched their buſineſſe, & returned quietly: the third time likewiſe we ſent them for more, which alſo returned without any harme. And though we thought our ſelues furniſhed, yet our maſter William Mace of Radcliffe pretending that it might be long before we ſhould finde any good watering place, would needes goe himſelfe on ſhore with thirtie men, much againſt the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a waſhing ouer-againſt our ſhip, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our ſight for the moſt part ſlaine, we being not able for want of a boat to yeeld them any ſuccour. From hence with heauie hearts we ſhaped our courſe for Zanzibar the 7 of Nouember, where ſhortly after wee arriued and made vs a new boat of ſuch boards as we had within boord, and rid in the road vntill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we ſawe diuers Pangaias or boates, which are pinned with woodden pinnes, and ſowed together with Palmito cordes, and calked with the huſkes of Cocos ſhels beaten, whereof they make Occam. At length a Portugal Pangaia comming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they haue a ſmall Factorie, ſent a Canoa with a Moore which had bene chriſtened, who brought vs a letter wherein they deſired to know what wee were, and what we ſought. We ſent them word we were Engliſhmen come from Don Antonio vpon buſineſſe to his friends in the Indies: with which anſwere they returned, and would not any more come at vs. Whereupon not long after wee manned out our boat and tooke a Pangaia of the Moores, which had a prieſt of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sherife: whom we vſed very curteouſly: which the king tooke in very good part, hauing his prieſts in great eſtimation, and for his deliuerance furniſhed vs with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with vs. Theſe Moores informed vs of the falſe and ſpitefull dealing of the Portugals towards vs, which made them beleeue that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loued their ſafetie in no caſe to come neere vs. Which they did onely to cut vs off from all knowledge of the ſtate and traffique of the countrey. While we road from the end of Nouember vntil the middle of February in this harborough, which is ſufficient for a ſhip of 500 tuns to ride in, we ſet vpon a Portugall Pangaia with our boat, but becauſe it was very litle, & our men not able to ſtirre in it, we were not able to take the ſayd Pangaia, which was armed with 10 good ſhot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the goodneſſe of the harborough and watering, and plentifull refreſhing with fiſh, whereof we tooke great ſtore with our nets, and for ſundry ſorts of fruits of the countrey, as Cocos and others, which were brought vs by the Moores, as alſo for oxen and hennes, is carefully to be ſought for by ſuch of our ſhips, as ſhall hereafter paſſe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coaſt from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could haue taken at any time aduantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten tunnes with 8 or 9

oares

The Sholds of S. Laurence.

Quitangone neere Mozambique.

The Ile of Comoro.

32 of our men betraied at the Ile of Comoro.

Zanzibar Iland.

A Portugall Factorie in Zanzibar.

The treaſon of the Portugals towards the Engliſh.

An excellent place for refreſhing.

A gallie Frigate.

oares on a ſide. Of the ſtrength of which Frigate and their trecherous meaning we were aduertiſed by an Arabian Moore which came from the king of Zanzibar diuers times vnto vs about the deliuerie of the prieſt aforeſayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with vs: for whereſoeuer we came, our care was to get into our hands ſome one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and ſtates of thoſe partes where we touched. Moreouer, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did ſhake our foremaſt very much, which wee fiſhed and repaired with timber from the ſhore, whereof there is good ſtore thereabout of a kind of trees ſome fortie foote high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I ſuppoſe, a kind of Cedar. Here our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the maſter to ſeeke oxen, fell ſicke and ſhortly died, which might haue bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin ſetled. Before our departure we had in this place ſome thouſand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like vnto frankincenſe, as clammie as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blacke as pitch, and is very brittle of it ſelfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof wee had 300 iarres in the prize which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Braſil. Sixe dayes before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factorie wrote a letter vnto our capitaine in the way of friendſhip, as he pretended, requeſting a iarre of wine, and a iarre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpouder, which letter hee ſent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoa: we ſent him his demaunds by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with vs becauſe we vnderſtood he had bene in the Eaſt Indies and knew ſomewhat of the countrey. By this Negro we were aduertiſed of a ſmall Barke of ſome thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Iunco) which was come from Goa thither laden with Pepper for the Factorie and ſeruice of that kingdome. Thus hauing trimmed our ſhippe as we lay in this road, in the end we ſet forward for the coaſt of the Eaſt India, the 15 of February aforeſayd, intending if we could to haue reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland or Promontorie of the maine of Malauar, and there to haue lien off and on for ſuch ſhips as ſhould haue paſſed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coaſt of China, and the Ile of Iapan, which ſhips are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our courſe we were very much deceiued by the currents that ſet into the gulfe of the Red ſea along the coaſt of Melinde. And the windes ſhortening vpon vs to the Northeaſt and Eaſterly, kept vs that we could not get off, and ſo with the putting in of the currents from the Weſtward, ſet vs in further vnto the Northward within foureſcore leagues of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our determined courſe and expectation. But here we neuer wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos and flying fiſhes. Now while we found our ſelues thus farre to the Northward, and the time being ſo farre ſpent, we determined to goe for the Red ſea, or for the Iland of Zocotora, both to refreſh our ſelues, and alſo for ſome purchaſe. But while wee were in this conſultation, the winde very luckily came about to the Northweſt and caried vs directly toward Cape Comori. Before we ſhould haue doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Ilands of Mamale, of which we had aduertiſement, that one had victuals, ſtanding in the Northerly latitude of twelue degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obſtinacie of our maſter: for the day before we fell with part of the Ilands the wind came about to the Southweſt, and then ſhifting our courſe we miſſed it. So the wind increaſing Southerly, we feared we ſhould not haue bene able to haue doubled the Cape, which would haue greatly hazarded our caſting away vpon the coaſt of India, the Winter ſeaſon and Weſterne Monſons already being come in, which Monſons continue on that coaſt vntil Auguſt. Neuertheles it pleaſed God to bring the wind more Weſterly, & ſo in the moneth of May 1592. we happily doubled Cape Comori without ſight of the coaſt of India. From hence thus hauing doubled this Cape, we directed our courſe for the Ilands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the Weſterne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori vnto the aforeſayd Ilands we ranne in ſixe dayes with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and guſtes of windes. Theſe Ilands were miſſed through our maſters default for want of due obſeruation of the South ſtarre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the ſight of the Ilands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard vpon the great Iland of Sumatra the firſt of Iune, and at the Northeaſt ſide of them we lay two or three dayes becalmed, hoping to haue had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the Winter comming vpon vs with much contagious weather, we directed our courſe from hence with the Ilands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaian tongue ſignifieth an Iland) at which Ilands wee arriued about the beginning of Iune, where we came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three Ilands: at which time our men were very ſicke and many fallen. Here we determined to ſtay vntill the

Winter

Another thunder-clap.

Heat in the head deadly.
Letting of blood very neceſſary.

A Iunco laden with pepper and drugs.

The currents ſet to the Northward.

Zocotora.

The Iles of Mamale.

Cape Comori doubled 1592.

The Iles of Nicubar.

The Iles of Gomes Polo.

Sumatra.

The Iles of Pulo Pinaou.

Trees fit for maſtes.

Malacca.

Three ſhips of Pegu laden with pepper. Martabam.

Pera.

Winter were ouerpaſt. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and ſome fiue leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued vntill the end of Auguſt. Our refreſhing in this place was very ſmal, onely of oiſters growing on rocks, great wilks, and ſome few fiſh which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our ſicke men on theſe vninhabited Ilands for their health, neuertheleſſe 26 of them died in his place, whereof Iohn Hall our maſter was one, and M. Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honeſtie and much diſcretion. In theſe Ilands are abundance of trees of white wood, ſo right and tall, that a man may make maſtes of them being an hundred foote long. The winter paſſed and hauing watered our ſhip and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left vs but 33 men and one boy, of which not paſt 22 were ſound for labour and helpe, and of them not paſt a third part ſailers: thence we made ſaile to ſeeke ſome place of refreſhing, and went ouer to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anker in a Baie in ſix fadomes water ſome two leagues from the ſhore. Then maſter Iames Lancaſter our captaine, and M. Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on ſhore to ſee what inhabitants might be found. And comming on land we found the tracking of ſome barefooted people which were departed thence not long before: for we ſawe their fire ſtill burning, but people we ſawe none, nor any other liuing creature, ſaue a certaine kind of foule called ore birds, which are a gray kind of Sea-foule, like a Snite in colour, but not in beake. Of theſe we killed ſome eight dozen with haile-ſhot being very tame, and ſpending the day in ſearch, returned toward night aboord. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone we eſpied a Canoa which came neere vnto vs, but would not come aboord vs, hauing in it ſome fifteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheles going afterward on land, we had friendly conference and promiſe of victuals. The next day in the morning we eſpied three ſhips, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to ſtrike with our very boate: and vnderſtanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe hauen towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Ieſuites and a Biſcuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ſhip & did not force the other two, becauſe they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but hauing this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night folowing all the men except twelue, which we tooke into our ſhip, being moſt of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leauing their ſhip and goods with vs. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the Leeward of an Iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which ſhee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Beſides the aforeſaid three ſhips, we tooke another ſhip of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiuing her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee diſmiſſed her without touching any thing.

Pulo Sambilam.

A ſhip of Negapatan taken.

A ſhip of S. Thome.

The galeon of Malacca of 700 taken.

Thus hauing ſtaied here 10 daies and diſcharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our ſicke men being ſomewhat refreſhed and luſtie, with ſuch reliefe as we had found in this ſhip, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the ſtreights of Malacca to the Ilands called Pulo Sambilam, which are ſome fiue and fortie leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Ilands the Portugals muſt needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Iapan. And when we were there arriued, we lay too and agayne for ſuch ſhipping as ſhould come that way. Thus hauing ſpent ſome fiue dayes, vpon a Sunday we eſpied a ſaile which was a Portugall ſhip that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India ouer-againſt the Northeaſt part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her being of 250 tunnes: ſhe was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaſter commanded their captaine and maſter aboord out ſhippe, and ſent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and ſeuen more to keepe this prize, who being aboord the ſame, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water: for in that chanell three or foure leagues from the ſhore you ſhall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ſhip of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by vs. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her ſailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her vp, vntil we which were in the prize with our boate, went to helpe to man our ſhippe. Then comming aboord we went toward the ſhippe of Sant Thome, but our ſhip was ſo foule that ſhee eſcaped vs. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here vntill the ſixt of October, at which time we met with the ſhip of the captaine of Malacca of ſeuen hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we ſhot at her many ſhot, and at laſt ſhooting her maine-yard through, ſhe came to an anker and yeelded. We commaunded her Captaine, Maſter, Pilot and Purſer to come aboord vs. But the Captaine accompanied with one ſouldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuſe to fetch the Maſter and Purſer, which he ſayd would not come vnleſſe he went for them: but being gotten from vs in the edge of the euening, he with all the people which were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children, gote a ſhore with two great boates and quite abandoned the ſhip. At our comming aboord we found in her ſixteene pieces of braſſe, and three hundred buts of Canarie wine, and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raiſin wine which is alſo very ſtrong: as alſo all kind of Haberdaſher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spaniſh wooll, worſted ſtockings knit, ſhooes, veluets, taffataes, chamlets, and ſilkes, abundance of ſuckets, rice, Venice glaſſes, certaine papers full of falſe and counterfeit ſtones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceiue the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatſoeuer became of the treaſure which vſually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had diſorderly pilled this rich ſhippe, the Captaine becauſe they would not follow his commandement to vnlade thoſe excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her & let her driue at Sea, taking out of her the choiſeſt things that ſhe had. And doubting the forces of Malaca, we departed thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Iunſalaom, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to ſeeke for pitch to trimme our ſhip. Here we ſent our ſouldier, which the captaine of the aforeſaid galion had left behind him with vs, becauſe he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs ſome two or three quintals with promiſe of more, and certaine of the people came vnto vs. We ſent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-grieſe, and for the hornes of Abath, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abath is a beaſt which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Unicorne, and is highly eſteemed of all the Moores in thoſe parts as a moſt ſoueraigne remedie againſt poyſon. We had onely two or three of theſe hornes which are of the colour of a browne gray, and ſome reaſonable quantitie of Amber-grieſe. At laſt the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandiſe: but he to get aboord vs, told him that we had gilt armour, ſhirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly deſire: for hope whereof he let him returne aboord, and ſo he eſcaped the danger. Thus we left this coaſt and went backe againe in ſight of Sumatra, and thence to the Ilands of Nicubar, where we arriued and found them inhabited with Moores, and after wee came to an anker, the people daily came aboord vs in their Canoas, with hennes, Cocos, plantans and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs roials of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which roials they finde by diuing for them in the Sea, which were loſt not long before in two Portugall ſhips which were bound for China and were caſt away there. They call in their language the Coco Calambe, the Plantane Piſon, a Hen Iam, a Fiſh Iccan, a Hog Babee. From thence we returned the 21 of Nouember to goe for the Iland of Zeilan, and arriued there about the third of December 1592. and ankered vpon the Southſide in ſixe fadomes water, where we loſt our anker, the place being rockie and foule ground. Then we ranne along the Southweſt part of the ſayd Iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to haue remained vntill the comming of the Bengala Fleet of ſeuen or eight ſhips, and the Fleete of Pegu of two or three ſailes, and the Portugall ſhippes of Tanaſeri being a great Baie to the Southward of Martabam in the kingdom of Siam: which ſhips, by diuers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene dayes to bring commodities to ſerue the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middeſt of Ianuarie. The commodities of the ſhippes which come from Bengala bee fine pauillions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Calicut cloth, Pintados and other fine workes, and Rice, and they make this voiage twiſe in the yeere. Thoſe of Pegu bring the chiefeſt ſtones, as Rubies and Diamants, but their chiefe fraight is Rice and certaine cloth. Thoſe of Tanaſeri are chiefly fraighted with Rice and Nipar wine, which is very ſtrong, and in colour like vnto rocke water ſomewhat whitiſh, and very hote in taſte like vnto Aqua vitæ. Being ſhot vp to the place aforeſayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in foule ground and loſt the ſame, and lay all that night a drift, becauſe we had nowe but two ankers left vs, which were vnſtocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occaſion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very ſicke more like to die then to liue. In the morning wee ſet our foreſaile determining to lie vp to the Northward and there to keepe our ſelues to and againe out of the current, which otherwiſe would haue ſet vs off to the Southward from all knowen land. Thus hauing ſet our foreſayle, and in hand to ſet all our other ſayles to accompliſh our aforeſayd determination, our men made anſwere that they would take their direct courſe for England and would ſtay there no longer. Nowe ſeeing they could not bee perſwaded by any meanes poſſible, the captaine was conſtrained to giue his conſent to returne, leauing all hope of ſo great poſſibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592. wee ſet ſayle for the Cape of Buona Speranſa, paſſing by the Ilands of Maldiua, and leauing the

Wares fit to cary into the Eaſt India.

The kingdom of Iunſalaom.

Amber-greeſe.

The hornes of Abath.

The female Unicorne.

Some ſmall quantitie hereof may be caried to pleaſure thoſe kings.

They arriue at the Iles of Nicubar, which are inhabited by Moores.

They returne homeward.

They arriue at Zeilan.

Tanaſeri in the kingdom of Siam.

Commodities of Bengala.

Commodities of Pegu.

Commodities of Tanaſeri.

A great current to the Southward.

mightie Iland of S. Laurence on the ſtarreboord or Northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the South. In our paſſage ouer from S. Laurence to the maine we had exceeding great ſtore of Bonitos and Albocores, which are a greater kind of fiſh: of which our captain, being now recouered of his ſickneſſe, tooke with an hooke as many in two or three howers as would ſerue fortie perſons a whole day. And this ſkole of fiſh continued with our ſhip for the ſpace of fiue or ſixe weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforeſayd, which was no ſmall refreſhing to vs. In February 1593. we fell with the Eaſtermoſt land of Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa ſome 100 leagues to the Northeaſt of the Cape of Good Hope: and finding the winds contrary, we ſpent a moneth or fiue weekes before we could double the Cape. After wee had doubled it in March folowing, wee directed our courſe for the Iland of Santa Helena, and arriued there the third day of Aprill, where wee ſtaied to our great comfort nineteene dayes: in which meane ſpace ſome one man of vs tooke thirtie goodly Congers in one day, and other rockie fiſhe and ſome Bonitos. After our arriuall at Santa Helena, I Edmund Barker went on ſhore with foure or fiue Peguins or men of Pegu which we had taken, and our Surgion, where in an houſe by the Chappell I found an Engliſhman one Iohn Segar of Burie in Suffolke, who was left there eighteene moneths before by Abraham Kendall, who put in there with the Roiall marchant, and left him there to refreſh him on the Iland, being otherwiſe like to haue periſhed on ſhipboord: and at our comming wee found him as freſh in colour and in as good plight of body to our ſeeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as afterward wee perceiued: for whether he were put in fright of vs, not knowing at firſt what we were, whether friends or foes, or of ſudden ioy when he vnderſtood we were his olde conſorts and countreymen, hee became idle-headed, and for eight dayes ſpace neither night nor day tooke any naturall reſt, and ſo at length died for lacke of ſleepe. Here two of our men, whereof the one was diſeaſed with the ſkuruie, and the other had bene nine moneths ſicke of the fluxe, in ſhort time while they were on the Iland, recouered their perfect health. We found in this place great ſtore of very holeſome and excellent good greene figs, orenges, and lemons very faire, abundance of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partriges, Guiniecocks, and other wilde foules. Our mariners ſomewhat diſcontented being now watered and hauing ſome prouiſion of fiſh, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would ſtraight home. The capitaine becauſe he was deſirous to goe for Phernambuc in Braſil, granted their requeſt. And about the 12 of Aprill 1593. we departed from S. Helena, and directed our courſe for the place aforeſayd. The next day our capitaine calling vpon the ſailers to finiſh a foreſaile which they had in hand, ſome of them anſwered that vnleſſe they might goe directly home, they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was conſtrained to folow their humour. And from thence-foorth we directed our courſe for our countrey, which we kept vntill we came 8 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, betweene which 8 degrees and the line, we ſpent ſome ſixe weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at North, and ſomtimes to the Eaſtward, & ſomtimes to the Weſtward: which loſſe of time and expenſe of our victuals, whereof we had very ſmal ſtore, made vs doubt to keepe our courſe: and ſome of our men growing into a mutinie threatned to breake vp other mens cheſts, to the ouerthrow of our victuals and all our ſelues, for euery man had his ſhare of his victuals before in his owne cuſtody, that they might be ſure what to truſt to, and huſband it more thriftily. Our capitaine ſeeking to preuent this miſchiefe, being aduertiſed by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidada in M. Chidleis voyage, that there we ſhould be ſure to haue refreſhing, hereupon directed his courſe to that Iland, and not knowing the currents, we were put paſt it in the night into the gulfe of Paria in the beginning of Iune, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually ſetting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out vntil the current had put vs ouer to the Weſternſide vnder the maine land, where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and ſo keeping by the ſhore, the wind off the ſhore euery night did helpe vs out to the Northward. Being cleare, within foure or fiue dayes after we fell with the Ile of Mona where we ankred and rode ſome eighteene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gaue vs ſome refreſhing. And in the meane ſpace there arriued a French ſhip of Cane in which was capitaine one Monſieur de Barbaterre, of whom wee bought ſome two buts of wine and bread, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our ſhippe, and ſtopped a great leake which broke on vs as we were beating out of the gulfe of Paria. And hauing thus made ready our ſhip to goe to Sea, we determined to goe directly for New-found-land. But before wee departed, there aroſe a ſtorme the winde being Northerly, which put vs from an anker and forced vs to the Southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of ſhipwracke vpon an Iland called Sauona, which is enuironed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off: yet it pleaſed God to cleare vs of them, & ſo we directed our courſe Weſtward along the Iland of Santo Domingo, and doubled

A notable reliefe of fiſhes taken.

Baia de Agoa.

They double the Cape of Buona Speranſa.

S. Helena.

Iohn Segar an Engliſhman left 18 moneths alone in the Ile of ſanta Helena.

A miraculous effect of extreme feare or extreme ioy.

The deſcription of the commodities of the ile of ſanta Helena.

The gulfe of Paria, or Bocca del Dragone paſſed.
A good note.

The Ile of Mona.

The Ile of Sauona enuironed with flats.

Cape Tiberon, and paſſed through the old chanell betweene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ſhip of Caen, whoſe Captaine could ſpare vs no more victuals, as he ſaid, but only hides which he had taken by traffike vpon thoſe Iſlands, wherewith we were content and gaue him for them to his good ſatiſfaction. After this, paſſing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the chanell of Bahama, we directed our courſe for the banke of Newfound-land. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the Eaſt as the Iſle of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens writings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increaſing continually more and more, it grewe to be a ſtorme and a great frete of wind: which continued with vs ſome 24 houres, with ſuch extremitie, as it caried not onely our ſayles away being furled, but alſo made much water in our ſhippe, ſo that wee had ſixe foote water in holde, and hauing freed our ſhip thereof with baling, the winde ſhifted to the Northweſt and became dullerp: but preſently vpon it the extremitie of the ſtorme was ſuch that with the labouring of our ſhip we loſt our foremaſte, and our ſhip grewe as full of water as before. The ſtorme once ceaſed, and the winde contrary to goe our courſe, we fell to conſultation which might be our beſt way to ſaue our liues. Our victuals now being vtterly ſpent, & hauing eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it beſt to beare back againe for Dominica, & the Iſlands adioyning, knowing that there we might haue ſome reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the ſaid Iſlands. But before we could get thither the winde ſcanted vpon vs, which did greatly endanger vs for lacke of freſh water and victuals: ſo that we were conſtrained to beare vp to the Weſtward to certaine other Ilandes called the Nueblas or cloudie Ilands, towards the Ile of S. Iuan de porto Rico, where at our arriuall we found land-crabs and freſh water, and tortoyſes, which come moſt on lande about the full of the moone. Here hauing refreſhed our ſelues ſome 17 or 18 dayes, and hauing gotten ſome ſmall ſtore of victuals into our ſhip, we reſolued to returne againe for Mona: vpon which our determination fiue of our men left vs, remaining ſtill on the Iles of Nueblas for all perſwaſions that we could vſe to the contrary, which afterward came home in an Engliſh ſhippe. From theſe Iles we departed and arriued at Mona about the twentieth of Nouember 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or three of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieuetenant with ſome few others went on land to the houſes of the olde Indian and his three ſonnes, thinking to haue gotten ſome foode, our victuals being all ſpent, and we not able to proceede any further vntill we had obteyned ſome new ſupply. We ſpent two or three daies in ſeeking prouiſion to cary aboord to relieue the whole companie. And comming downe to go aboord, the winde then being northerly and the ſea ſomewhat growne, they could not come on ſhore with the boate, which was a thing of ſmall ſuccour and not able to rowe in any rough ſea, whereupon we ſtayed vntill the next morning, thinking to haue had leſſe winde and ſafer paſſage. But in the night about twelue of the clocke our ſhip did driue away with fiue men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter ſecretly cut their owne cable, leauing nineteene of vs on land without boate or any thing, to our great diſcomfort. In the middeſt of theſe miſeries repoſing our truſt in the goodneſſe of God, which many times before had ſuccoured vs in our greateſt extremities, we contented our ſelues with our poore eſtate, and ſought meanes to preſerue our liues. And becauſe one place was not able to ſuſtaine vs, we tooke our leaues one of another, diuiding our ſelues into ſeuerall companies. The greateſt reliefe that we ſixe which were with the Captaine could finde for the ſpace of nine and twentie dayes was the ſtalkes of purſelaine boyled in water, and nowe and then a pompion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who vpon this our ſecond arriuall with his three ſonnes ſtole from vs, and kept himſelfe continually aloft in the mountaines. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we eſpied a French ſhippe, which afterwarde we vnderſtood to be of Diepe, called the Luiſa, whoſe Captaine was one Mounſieur Felix, vnto whom wee made a fire, at ſight whereof he tooke in his topſayles, bare in with the land, and ſhewed vs his flagge, whereby we iudged him French: ſo comming along to the Weſterne ende of the Iſland there he ankered, we making downe with all ſpeede vnto him. At this time the Indian and his three ſonnes came done to our Captaine Maſter Iames Lancaſter, and went along with him to the ſhippe. This night he went aboord the French man, who gaue him good entertainement, and the next day fetched eleuen more of vs aboord entreating vs all very courteouſly. This day came another French ſhippe of the ſame towne of Diepe which remayned there vntill night expecting our other ſeuen mens comming downe: who, albeit we cauſed certaine pieces of ordinance to be ſhot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being deuided ſixe into one ſhip, and ſixe into another, and leauing this Iſland, departed for the Northſide of Saint Domingo, where we remained vntill Aprill following 1494, and ſpent ſome two monethes in traffike with the inhabitants by permiſſion for hides

Cape de Tiberon.

The old chanel paſſed.

They returne backe to the Weſt Indies.

Fiue Engliſh men left on the Nueblas.

The ſhip loſt by driuing away.

Great famine,

Two ſhips of Diepe,

The French trafike in S. Domingo.

and other marchandiſes of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a ſhippe of New-hauen to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our ſeuen men which wee left behinde vs at the Iſle of Mona: which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules vpon the cliffes, other three were ſlaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, vpon knowledge giuen by our men which went away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-hauen had with him in his ſhippe, which eſcaped the Spaniards bloodie hands. From this place Captaine Lancaſter and his Lieutenant Maſter Edmund Barker, ſhipped themſelues in another ſhippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one Iohn La Noe, which was readie firſt to come away, and leauing the reſt of their companie in other ſhips, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on ſunday the ſeuenth of Apill 1594 they ſet homewarde, and diſbocking through the Caijcos from thence arriued ſafely in Diepe within two and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after we had ſtayed two dayes to refreſh our ſelues, and giuen humble thankes vnto God, and vnto our friendly neighbours, we tooke paſſage for Rie and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, hauing ſpent in this voyage three yeeres, ſixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the time, chiefely becauſe wee loſt our fit time and ſeaſon to ſet foorth in the beginning of our voyage.

M. Lancaſter returneth to Diepe, and ſo to England.

We vnderſtood in the Eaſt Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they haue lately diſcouered the coaſt of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the ſea ſtill open to the Northward: giuing great hope of the Northeaſt or Northweſt paſſage. Witneſſe Maſter Iames Lancaſter.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to *Braſill*, and the Riuer af *Plate*, by the *Edward Cotton*, a ſhip of 260 Tunnes of Maſter *Edward Cotton* of *Southhampton*, which periſhed through extreme negligence neare *Rio grande* in *Guinie*, the 17 of Iuly 1583.

ARticles of Couenants agreed vpon betweene Edward Cotton Eſquier, owner of the good ſhip called the Edward Cotton of Southhampton, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, Captaine of the ſaid ſhip, Iohn Hooper his Lieutenant, Iohn Foſter Maſter, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voyage, and William Cheeſman marchant, on the other part.

1 TO obſerue and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboord the ſhip, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the leaſt once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the firſt faire winde, to ſet ſaile and ſailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly conſtrained by weather, or other apparant and vrgent cauſe.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Iſles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25 or 30 tuns of ſalt, to be imployed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the reſt of the ſalt, ſo much as ſhall be needed for victuall, and for ſauing of the hides to be kept aboord, & the ſame ſalt to be prouided either at the fiſhermens hands neere the ſaid Iſles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforeſaid Iſles, at the diſcretion of the abouenamed.

4 Item, vpon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himſelfe by this deede, to yeeld vnto any ſuch of the companie, as ſhall refuſe their ſhares before they depart from the coaſt of England, 20 markes a ſingle ſhare, for the dutie of the whole voiage, making not aboue 75. ſhares ſingle in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the ſaid ſhip aboue named, ſhall at all times be moſt ready to doe their painfull indeuor, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction giuen by the aboue named officers, vpon paine of forfeiture of their ſhares and wages, the ſame to be diuided amongſt the company.

6 Item, that the ſhares be taken at their returne out of al the traine oile, and hides of the ſeales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the ſalt that ſhall be vended and other commodities, at, or neere the coaſt of Braſill, to allow after 9 li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.

7 Item, that if any man ſhall practiſe by any deuiſe or deuiſes whatſoeuer, to alter the voiage from the true purpoſe and intent of the owner, viz. to make their firſt port at Santos, and Saint Vincent, and there to reuictuall and traffike, and from thence to the riuer of Plate to make their

voyage by the traine, and hide of the ſeales, with ſuch other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with diuers that haue gouernment in the ſaid ſhip, are bound to her higheneſſe by their deedes obligatorie in great ſummes, that all ſuch practiſers, vpon due proofe made, ſhall looſe their whole intertainement due by ſhares or otherwiſe for this ſayde voyage to be adiudged by the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Maſter, Pilot, and marchant, or three of them at the leaſt, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinneſſe be ready at al times to ſerue the marchants turne vpon his demand, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to and from the ſhore, when, and as oft as neede ſhall be, and to giue due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction, during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being ſet downe for ſuch an officer vnder the hand of the owner, at the going to ſea of the ſaid ſhippe, ſhall or may be diſplaced from his ſaid place or office, without great cauſe, and his miſdemeanor to be adiudged by the Captaine, and his Lieutenant, the Maſter, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the conſent of three of them at the leaſt.

10 Item, that vpon the returne of the ſhippe to the coaſt of England, the Maiſter and Pilot put not into any port or harbour, to the Weſtward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or ſuch like vrgent cauſe.

William Huddie. John Foſter.
Iohn Hooper. William Cheeſman.
Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the ſhip, as eſpecially for *William Cheeſman* Marchant, for the voyage to the riuer of *Plate*.

The Iſle of S. Sebaſtian.

AT your comming to the Iſle of Saint Sebaſtian, vpon the coaſt of Braſill, you ſhall according to your diſcretions, make ſale of ſuch commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewiſe to buy commodities without making longer ſtay there then your victuals be prouiding, but rather to beſpeake commodities againſt your returne from the riuer of Plate, eſpecially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and ſome quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Alſo for Parats and Munkies, and the beaſt called Serraboſa. Alſo you ſhall barrell vp of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrels, and to loſe no good oportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preſerue drie, in ſuch quantitie as conueniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preſeruing of the hides, I leaue it wholly to the order and the diſcretion of the chiefe of the companie. Alſo that in any road where the ſhip ſhall ride vpon the coaſt of America, triall be made with the dragges, for the pearle Oiſters, and the ſame being taken, to be opened and ſearched for pearle in the preſence of the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Maſter, the Pilot, and marchant, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the cuſtodie of the Captaine and marchant, vnder two lockes, either of them to haue a key to his owne locke, and that a true inuentorie be deliuered alſo to the Maſter and Pilot of the ſaid pearle or other iewels of price gotten in the ſaid voiage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any ſuch thing vpon forfeiture, the partie to loſe his ſhare and dutie for the voyage that ſhall ſo conceale and not reueale it vnto the officers aboue named. Alſo to doe your beſt indeuour to try for the beſt Ore of golde, ſiluer, or other rich mettals whatſoeuer. Forget not alſo to bring the kernels and ſeeds of ſtrange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruit incloſed in him. Serue God, keepe good watch, and ſtand alwayes vpon your garde.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ſhip of the burden of 260 tunnes, with 83 men of all ſortes furniſhed, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to ſet ſaile from Hurſt Caſtle vpon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of July enſuing fell with the coaſt of Guinie, to take in freſh water, where, through meere diſſolute negligence, ſhe periſhed vpon a ſand, with the moſt part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confeſſion of one that eſcaped, the ſubſtance and tenor whereof is this.

The confeſſion of *VVilliam Bends* Maſters Mate in the *Edward Cotton*, the 21 of October, *Ann.* 1584.

HE ſayth, that the 17 day of Iuly, Anno 1583. hauing ſome lacke of freſh water, they put roome vpon the coaſt of Guinie, where they were ſet vpon a ſand about 8 leagues from the ſhore, and this Examinate, with 29 more, got into the pinneſſe, who arriued in an Iſland, being deſolate of people, and fiue miles in compaſſe, where they reſted 18 dayes through force of weather, hauing nought to eate but graſſe. The reſt of the company the ſhip being ſplitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of raftes came alſo a ſhore into another Iſland neere to Rio grande, where they all died as he ſuppoſeth.

Rio grande.

One Coxe an old Engliſh man buried aliue by the Moores of Rio grãde in Guinea.

The other 30 in the pinneſſe, at the end of 18 dayes, departed that Iſland, and came to Saint Domingo, where comming on ſhore, they were taken of the Moores, & ſtripped naked. And they buried one Coxe an olde man aliue, notwithſtanding his pitifull lamentation and ſkrikings: the reſt hauing Rice and water allowed them, liued there a certaine time. This Examinate was at laſt ſold to a Portugall, with whom he dwelt the ſpace of a quarter of a yere, and in the end, a Portugall Carauel comming thither, his maſter laded the ſame with Negroes, and he obtained leaue of his maſter to goe in the ſame Carauell, & by that meanes arriued at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17 of October, 1584, leauing behinde him of his companie aliue, Richard Hacker, Iohn Baker, Iohn Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond Saint Domingo: all which, as he ſaith, were ſo ſicke and diſeaſed, that he iudgeth them to be long before this time dead.

The eſcape of the *Primroſe* a tall ſhip of *London*, from before the towne of *Bilbao* in *Biſcay*: which ſhip the Corrigidor of the ſame Prouince, accompanied with 97 *Spaniards*, offered violently to arreſt, and was defeated of his purpoſe, and brought priſoner into *England*.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commiſſion for a generall imbargment or arreſt of all Engliſh, Netherlandiſh, and Eaſterlings ſhips, written in *Barcelona* the 19 of May 1585.

IT is not vnknowen vnto the world what danger our Engliſh ſhippes haue lately eſcaped, how ſharpely they haue beene intreated, and howe hardly they haue beene aſſaulted: ſo that the valiancie of thoſe that mannaged them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in reſpect of the couragious attempt and valiant enterpriſe of the ſhip called the Primroſe of London, which hath obteined renowne, I haue taken in hande to publiſh the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowen to the reſt of the Engliſh ſhips, that by the good example of this the reſt may in time of extremitie aduenture to doe the like: to the honour of the Realme, and the perpetuall remembrance of themſelues: The maner whereof was as followeth.

VPon Wedneſday being the ſixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the ſhippe called the Primroſe being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of Bilbao, hauing beene there two dayes, there came a Spaniſh pinneſſe to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and ſixe others with him: theſe came aboord the Primroſe, ſeeming to be Marchantes of Biſcay, or ſuch like, bringing Cherries with them, and ſpake very friendly to the Maiſter of the ſhip, whoſe name was Foſter, and he in courteous wiſe bad them welcome, making them the beſt cheere that he could with beere, beefe, and biſket, wherewith that ſhip was well furniſhed: and while they were thus in banquetting with the Maiſter, foure of the ſeuen departed in the ſayd Pinneſſe, and went backe againe to Bilbao: the other three ſtayed, and were very pleaſant for the time. But Maſter Foſter miſdoubting ſome danger ſecretly gaue ſpeech that he was doubtfull of theſe men what their intent was; neuertheleſſe he ſayd nothing, nor ſeemed in any outward wiſe to miſtruſt them at all. Foorthwith there came a ſhip-boate wherein were ſeuentie perſons being Marchants and ſuch like of Biſcay: and beſides this boate, there came alſo the Pinneſſe which before had brought the other three, in which Pinneſſe there came foure and twentie, as the Spaniards themſelues ſince confeſſed. Theſe made towards the Primroſe, and being come thither, there came aboord the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Maſter Foſter ſeeing this great multitude deſired that there might no more come aboord; but that the reſt ſhould ſtay in their boates, which was granted: neuertheleſſe they tooke ſmall heede of theſe wordes; for on a ſuddaine they came foorth of the boate, entring the ſhippe, euery Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph ouer them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the ſhippe, plunging in fiercely vpon them, ſome planting themſelues vnder the decke, ſome entring the Cabbens, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor hauing an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, ſayd to the maſter of the ſhip: Yeeld your ſelfe, for you are the kings priſoner: whereat the Maiſter ſayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then ſome of them ſet daggers to his breaſt, and ſeemed in furious manner as though they would haue ſlaine him, meaning nothing leſſe then to doe any ſuch act, for all that they ſought was to bring him and his men ſafe aliue to ſhore. Whereat the Maiſter was amazed, and his men greatly diſcomfited to ſee themſelues readie to be conueyed euen to the ſlaughter: notwithſtanding ſome of them reſpecting the daunger of the Maiſter, and ſeeing how with themſelues there was no way but preſent death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they reſolued themſelues eyther to defend the Maiſter, and generally to ſhunne that daunger, or elſe to die and be buried in the middeſt of the ſea, rather then to ſuffer themſelues to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly ſort ſome tooke them to their iauelings, lances, bore-ſpeares, and ſhot, which they had ſet in readineſſe before, and hauing fiue Caliuers readie charged, which was all the ſmall ſhot they had, thoſe that were vnder the hatches or the grate did ſhoote vp at the Spaniards that were ouer their heads, which ſhot ſo amazed the Spaniards on the ſuddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to eſcape the daunger, fearing this their ſmall ſhot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike ſort dealt about among them, ſhewing themſelues of that courage with bore-ſpeares and lances, that they diſmayed at euery ſtroke two or three Spaniards. Then ſome of them deſired the Maiſter to commaund his men to ceaſe and holde their handes, but hee anſwered that ſuch was the courage of the Engliſh Nation in defence of their owne liues, that they would ſlay them and him alſo: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ſhip in great quantitie, ſome of them being ſhot in betweene the legges, the bullets iſſuing foorth at their breaſts, ſome cut in the head, ſome thruſt into the bodie, and many of them very ſore wounded, ſo that they came not ſo faſt in on the one ſide, but now they tumbled as faſt ouer boord on both ſides with their weapons in their handes, ſome falling into the ſea, and ſome getting into their boates, making haſte towardes the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a ſmall companie of them, neither is it knowen as yet how many of them were ſlaine or drowned, onely one Engliſh man was then ſlaine, whoſe name was Iohn Triſtram, and ſixe other hurt. It was great pitie to behold how the Spaniards lay ſwimming in the ſea, and were not able to ſaue their liues. Foure of them taking holde of the ſhippe were for pities ſake taken vp againe by Maiſter Foſter and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards boſomes were ſtuft with paper, to defend them from the ſhot, and theſe foure hauing ſome wounds were dreſt by the ſurgion of the ſhippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himſelfe, who is gouernour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his liuing by his office being better then ſixe hundred pound yerely. This ſkirmiſh happened in the euening about ſixe of the clocke, after they had laden twentie Tunne of goods and better out of the ſayd ſhip: which goods were deliuered by two of the ſame ſhip, whoſe names were Iohn Burrell, and Iohn Brodbanke, who being on ſhore were apprehended and ſtayed.

The Corrigidor of Bilbao taken and brought to London.

After this valiant enterpriſe of eight and twentie Engliſh men againſt 97 Spaniardes, they ſaw it was in vaine for them to ſtay and therefore ſet vp ſayles, and by Gods prouidence auoyded all danger, brought home the reſt of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arriued ſafely in England neere London on Wedneſday being the 8 day of June, 1585. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered fiue hundred crownes to be ſet on ſhore in any place: which, ſeeing the Maiſter would not doe, they were content to be ruled by him and his companie, and craued mercie at their hands. And after Maſter Foſter demaunded why they came in ſuch ſort to betray and deſtroy them, the Corrigidor anſwered, that it was not done onely of themſelues, but by the commandement of the king himſelfe; and calling for his hoſe which were wet, did plucke foorth the kings Commiſſion, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: The Copie whereof followeth, being tranſlated out of Spaniſh.

The Spaniſh kings commiſsion for the generall imbargment or arreſt of the Engliſh, &c.

Licentiat de Eſcober, my Corigidor of my Signorie of *Biskay*, I haue cauſed a great fleete to be put in readineſſe in the hauen of *Lisbone*, and the riuer of *Siuill.* There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to bee imployed in the ſame great ſtore of ſhipping of all ſortes againſt the time of ſeruice, and to the end there may be choiſe made of the beſt, vpon knowledge of their burden and goodneſſe; I doe therefore require you, that preſently vpon the arriuall of this carrier, and with as much diſſimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowen vntill it be put in execution) you take order for the ſtaying and arreſting (with great foreſight) of all the ſhipping that may be found vpon the coaſt, and in the portes of the ſayd Signorie, excepting none of *Holand*, *Zeland*, *Eaſterland*, *Germanie*, *England*, and other Prouinces that are in rebellion againſt mee, ſauing thoſe of *France* which being litle, and of ſmall burden and weake, are thought vnfit to ſerue the turne. And the ſtay being thus made, you ſhall haue a ſpeciall care that ſuch marchandize as the ſayd ſhippes or hulkes haue brought, whether they be all or part vnladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tackels, ſayles, and victuals may be ſafely beſtowed, as alſo that it may be well foreſeene, that none of the ſhippes or men may eſcape away. Which things being thus executed, you ſhall aduertiſe me by an expreſſe meſſenger, of your proceeding therein: And ſend me a plaine and diſtinct declaration of the number of ſhips that you ſhall haue ſo ſtayed in that coaſt and partes, whence euery one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burthen & goods there are, and what number of men is in euery of them, and what quantitie they haue of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other neceſſaries, to the end that vpon ſight hereof, hauing made choiſe of ſuch as ſhall be fit for the ſeruice, we may further direct you what ye ſhall do. In the meane time you ſhall preſently ſee this my commandement put in execution, and if there come thither any more ſhips, you ſhall alſo cauſe them to be ſtayed and arreſted after the ſame order, vſing therein ſuch care and diligence, as may anſwere the truſt that I repoſe in you, wherein you ſhall doe me great ſeruice. Dated at *Barcelona* the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus haue you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maiſter, and the louing hearts of the ſeruants to ſaue their maſter from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the maſter had to ſaue ſo much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the ſame the greateſt is his owne loſſe in that he may neuer trauell to thoſe parts any more without the loſſe of his owne life, nor yet any of his ſeruantes: for if hereafter they ſhould, being knowen they are like to taſte of the ſharpe torments which are there accuſtomed in their Holy-houſe. And as for their terming Engliſh ſhippes to be in rebellion againſt them, it is ſufficiently knowen by themſelues, and their owne conſciences can not denie it, but that with loue, vnitie, and concord, our ſhippes haue euer beene fauourable vnto them, and as willing to pleaſure their King, as his ſubiectes any way willing to pleaſure Engliſh paſſengers.

The Letters patents or priuiledges granted by her Maieſtie to certaine Noble men and Marchants of *London*, for a trade to *Barbarie*, in the yeere 1585.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treaſurer & Barons of our Eſchequer, and to al Maiors, ſhirifs, conſtables, cuſtomers, collectors of our cuſtomes and ſubſidies, controllers, ſearchers, and keepers of our hauens and creekes, ports and paſſages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the ſame, and to al our officers, miniſters and ſubiects, and to all other whoſoeuer to whom it ſhall or may appertaine, and to euery of them greeting. Whereas it is made euidently and apparantly knowen vnto vs, that of late yeeres our right truſtie and right welbeloued councellors, Ambroſe Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leiceſter, and alſo our louing and naturall ſubiects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his ſonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter

Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Waſhborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, Iohn Cartwright, Henry Paiton, Iohn Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Daſſell, Auguſtine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Marchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, vnder the gouernment of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperor of Marocco, and king of Feſſe and Sus, haue ſuſtained great and grieuous loſſes, and are like to ſuſtaine greater if it ſhould not be preuented: In tender cõſideration whereof, and for that diuers Marchandize of the ſame Countries are very neceſſary and conuenient for the vſe and defence of this our Realme of England, and for diuers other cauſes vs ſpecially mouing, minding the reliefe and benefite of our ſaid ſubiects, and the quiet trafique and good gouernment to be had, and vſed among them in their ſaid trade, of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe giue and grant vnto the ſaide Earles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Waſhborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, Iohn Cartwright, Henry Payton, Iohn Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthony Daſſell, Auguſtine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, that they and euery of them by themſelues, or by their factors or ſeruants, and none others, ſhall and may, for, and during the ſpace of 12. yeeres, haue and enioy the whole freedome and libertie in the ſaide trafique or trade, vnto or from the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buying and ſelling of all maner of wares and marchandizes whatſoeuer, that now or accuſtomably heretofore haue bene brought or tranſported, frõ, or to the ſaid country of Barbary, or frõ or to any of the cities, townes, places, ports, roades, hauens, harbors or creeks of the ſaid country of Barbary, any law, ſtatute, graunt, matter, cuſtomes or priuileges, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And for the better eſtabliſhing, ordering and gouerning of the ſaid Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, &c. abouesaid, their factors, ſeruants and aſſignes in the trade aforeſaid, we for vs our heires and ſucceſſors, doe by theſe preſents giue and graunt full licence to the ſaide Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and the reſt aforeſaide, and to euery of them from time to time, during the ſaid terme of twelue yeres, at their pleaſures to aſſemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient within our citie of London, or elſewhere, to conſult of, and for the ſaid trade, and with the conſent of the ſaid Erle of Leiceſter, to make and eſtabliſh good and neceſſary orders and ordinances, for, and touching the ſame, and al ſuch orders and ordinances ſo made, to put in vre and execute, and them or any of them with the conſent of the ſaid Erle of Leiceſter, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the ſaide terme, they or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, ſhall finde conuenient.

Prouided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, ſtatutes or cuſtomes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the ſaid libertie of trafique is graunted by theſe our Letters patents, and none other our Subiects whatſoeuer, without their ſpecial conſent and licence before had, ſhould during the ſaid terme haue trade or trafique for any maner of Marchandizes, to, or from the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Citie, towne, place, port, harbor or creeke within the ſaid countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our ſaid Realmes and dominions, wee doe by theſe preſents ſtraightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and euery our Subiects whatſoeuer, other then only the ſaid Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, and the reſt abouesaid, and euery of them by themſelues, or by their Factors or ſeruants during the ſaide terme, to trade or trafique, for or with any marchandize, to, or from the ſaide Countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the ſame, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high diſpleaſure, and vpon paine of impriſonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleaſure, and of forfeiting all the marchandizes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the ſaide terme, ſhall trade or trafique to or from the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the ſame, contrary to this our priuilege and prohibition, vnleſſe it be by and with the expreſſe licence, conſent, and agreement of the ſaide Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his ſonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Straper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbnie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farington,

rington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Waſhborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcock, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and with the expreſſe licence and conſent of the more part of them then liuing and trading, firſt had and obtained, ſo alwayes, that the ſayd Earle of Leiceſter be one, if hee bee liuing.

And we further for vs our heires and ſucceſſors of our ſpeciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, do graunt to the ſaid Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, and the reſt abouesaid, and to euery of them, that nothing ſhall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the ſaid trade or trafique, or the exerciſe thereof, without or againſt the conſent of the ſaide Erles, Thomas Starkie, (and the others before named) during the time of theſe our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforeſaid.

And for that the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them aforeſaid ſhould not be preuented or interrupted in this their ſaid trade, we do by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ſtraightly prohibite and forbid all maner of perſon or perſons, as well ſtrangers of what nation or countrey ſoeuer, as our owne Subiects, other then onely the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them as aforeſaid, that they nor any of them from henceforth during the ſaid terme of 12. yeeres, do or ſhall bring, or cauſe to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of marchandizes whatſoeuer growing, or being made within the ſaid Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, vnleſſe it be by and with the licence, conſent and agreement of the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the conſent and licence of the more part of them then liuing, firſt had and obtained, ſo alwayes yͭ the ſayd Erle of Leiceſter (if hee be liuing) be one, vnder the paine that euery one that ſhall offend or doe againſt this our preſent prohibition here laſt aboue mentioned in theſe preſents, ſhall forfeite and loſe all and ſingular the ſaid marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, cõtrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe prouided: the one moitie of all and euery which ſaid forfaitures whatſoeuer mentioned or ſpecified in theſe our preſent Letters patents, ſhalbe to vs our heires & ſucceſſors: And the other moity of al and euery the ſaid forfaitures, we doe by theſe preſents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, clearely and wholy for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt vnto the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And theſe our Letters patents, vpon the onely ſight thereof, without any further warrant, ſhal bee ſufficient authoritie to our Treaſurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that ſhall haue to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance vnto the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or aſſignes of the one moitie of all and ſingular the goods, marchandizes and things whatſoeuer mentioned in theſe our preſent Letters patents, to be forfaited at any time or times during the ſaid terme of twelue yeres: which ſaid allowance we doe ſtraightly charge and commaund from time to time to be made to the ſayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and to euery of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or deniall of any of our officers whatſoeuer, as they tender our fauour and the furtherance of our good pleaſure. And wee doe ſtraightly charge and commaund, and by theſe preſents prohibite all and ſingular Cuſtomers and Collectors of our cuſtomes & ſubſidies, and comptrollers of the ſame, of, and within our Citie and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, that they ne any of them take or perceiue, or cauſe, or ſuffer to be taken, receiued, or perceiued for vs & in our name, or to our vſe, or to yͤ vſes of our heires or ſucceſſors of any perſon or perſons, any ſum or ſummes of money, or other things whatſoeuer during the ſaid terme of 12. yeres, for, and in the name & liew or place of any cuſtome, ſubſidy & other thing or duties to vs, our heires or ſucceſſors due or to be due for the cuſtomes & ſubſidies of any marchandizes whatſoeuer growing, being made or cõming out of the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cauſe, nor ſuffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of cuſtoms & ſubſidies, nor make any agreement for the ſubſidies and cuſtoms, of, and for any the ſaid marchants, ſauing onely with, & in the name of the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the moſt part of them, as they and euery of them will anſwere at their vttermoſt perils to the contrary. And for the better and more ſure obſeruation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for vs our heires & ſucceſſors by theſe preſents, that the Treaſurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment thereof in the ſaid court, at al & euery time & times during the ſaid terme of 12. yeres, at & vpon requeſt made vnto them by the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the atturneis, factors, deputies or aſſignes of them, or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, ſhall and may make & direct vnder the ſeale of the ſaid Exchequer, one or moe ſufficient writ or writs, cloſe or patents, vnto euery or any of our ſaid cuſtomers, collectors or cõtrollers of our heires and ſucceſſors in all and euery, or to any port or ports, creeke, hauen, or other places within this our realme of England, as the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the atturneis, factors, deputies or aſſignes of them or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, ſhall at any time require, commaunding and ſtraightly charging them and euery of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the ſaid terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatſoeuer, growing, being made or comming out or from the ſaid countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receiue or take any cuſtome, ſubſidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the ſame, other then with or in the name of the ſaid Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factors, deputies or aſſignes of them or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our ſaide will and pleaſure before in theſe preſents declared. In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 5. day of Iuly in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The Ambaſſage of Maſter *Henry Roberts*, one of the ſworne Eſquires of her Maieſties perſon, from her highneſſe to *Mully Hamet* Emperour of *Marocco* and the King of *Feſſe*, and *Sus*, in the yeere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the ſpace of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himſelfe.

Vpon an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants reſident in London, I Henry Roberts one of her Maieſties ſworne Eſquires of her perſon, was appointed her highneſſe meſſenger, and Agent vnto the aforeſaid Mully Hamet Emperor of Marocco, king of Feſſe and Sus. And after I had receiued my Commiſſion, inſtructions, and her Maieſties letters, I departed from London the 14. of Auguſt in the yeere 1585. in a tall ſhip called the Aſcenſion, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arriued in ſafetie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) receiued mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chiefeſt houſe of the towne, from whence I diſpatched a meſſenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to aduertiſe the Emperour of my arriuall: who immediatly gaue order, and ſent certaine ſouldiers for my guard and conduct, and horſes for my ſelfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Euans, Edward Salcot, and other Engliſh Marchants reſident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and carriages, I came at length to the riuer of Tenſiſt, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water ſide I pitched my tents vnder the Oliue trees: where I met with all the Engliſh Marchants by themſelues, and the French and Flemiſh, and diuers other Chriſtians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, & ſpent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we all ſet forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arriued the ſaid day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire houſe in the Iudaria or Iurie, which is the place where the Iewes haue their abode, and is the faireſt place, and quieteſt lodging in all the Citie.

After I had repoſed my ſelfe 3. dayes, I had acceſſe to the kings preſence, deliuered my meſſage and her Maieſties letters, and was receiued with all humanitie, and had fauourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which ſpace I abode there in his Court, as her Maieſties Agent and Ligier: and whenſoeuer I had occaſion of buſineſſe I was admitted either to his Maieſtie himſelfe, or to his vice Roy, whoſe name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wiſe and diſcreet perſon, and the chiefeſt about his Maieſtie. The particulers of my ſeruice, for diuers good and reaſonable cauſes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leaue obtained, and an honourable reward beſtowed by the Emperour vpon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of Auguſt 1588. toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promiſed mee I ſhould ſtay but one day for his letters: howbeit, vpon ſome occaſion I was ſtayed vntil the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. ſhot attending vpon me for my guard and ſafetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things neceſſary to the port of Santa Cruz, being ſixe dayes iourney from Marocco, and the place where our ſhippes do commonly take in their lading, where I arriued the 21. of the ſame moneth. In this port I ſtayed 43. dayes, and at length the ſecond of Nouember I embarqued my ſelfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour ſent with mee vpon an Ambaſſage to her Maieſtie: and after much torment and foule weather at Sea, per New-yeres day I came on land at S. Iues in Cornwall, from whence paſſing by land both together vp towards London, we were met without the

citie with the chiefeſt marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horſebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horſe, and ſo the Ambaſſadour and my ſelfe being both in Coche, entred the citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of January 1589.

Eſte es vn traſlado bien y fielmente ſacado da vna carta real del Rey Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es eſte, que Segue.

COn el nombre de Dios piadoſo y miſericordioſo, &c. El ſieruo de Dios ſoberano, el conquiſtador per ſu cauſa, el ſucceſſor enſalçado por Dios, Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Iariffe, Haceni, el que perpetue ſu honra, y enſalçe ſu eſtado. Se pone eſte nueſtro real mandado en manos de los criados de nueſtras altas puertas los mercadores Yngleſes; para que por el ſepan todos los que la preſente vieren, come nueſtro alto Conſeio les anpara con el fauor de Dios de todo aquello, que les enpeciere y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viaie, que fueren, ninguno les captiuarà en eſtos nueſtros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos perteneſcen: y que les cubre el anporo de nueſtro podor de qualquiera fatiga; y ningun los impida con mano de enemiſtad, ni ſe darà cauſa, de que ſe agrauien en qualquiera manera con el fauor de Dios y de ſu amparo. Y mandamos à los Alcaydes de los nueſtros puertos y fortalezas, y à los que en eſtos nueſtros reynos tienen cargo, y à toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden, de que ſean offendidos en ninguna manera; y eſto ſerà neceſſariamente: Que es eſcrita en los medios dias de Rabel, ſegundo anno de nueue çientos, y nouenta y ſeys.

Concorda el dia d'eſta carta con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y ſiete, lo qual yo Abdel Rahmañ el Catan, interprete per ſu Mageſtad ſaquè, y romançe de verbo ad verbum, como en el ſe contiene, y en Fee dello firmo de my nombre, fecho vt ſupra. *Abdel Rahman el Catan.*

This is a copy well and truely tranſlated of an edict of *Muley Hamet* king of *Fez* and Emperour of *Marocco*, whoſe tenor is as followeth: to wit, That no Engliſhmen ſhould be moleſted or made ſlaues in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforeſaid *M.Henry Roberts.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the Name of the pitifull and the mercifull God, &c. The ſeruant of the ſupreme God, the conqueror in his cauſe, the ſucceſſor aduanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the ſonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Iariffe, the Haçeny, whoſe honour God long increaſe and aduance his eſtate. This our princely commandement is deliuered into the hands of the Engliſh marchants, which remaine in the protection of our ſtately palaces: to the ende that all men which ſhall ſee this preſent writing, may vnderſtand that our princely counſaile will defend them by the fauor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what ſort ſoeuer they ſhalbe wronged: and that, which way ſoeuer they ſhall trauaile, no man ſhall take them captiues in theſe our kingdomes, ports, and places which belong vnto vs, which alſo may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any moleſtation whatſoeuer: and that no man ſhall hinder them by laying violent hand vpon them, and ſhall not giue occaſion that they may be grieued in any ſort by the fauour and aſſiſtance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our hauens and fortreſſes, and all ſuch as beare any authoritie in theſe our dominions, and likewiſe all the common people, that in no wiſe they do moleſt them, in ſuch ſort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement ſhall remaine inuiolable, being regiſtred in the middeſt of the moneth of Rabel in the yeere *996.*

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I *Abdel Rahman el Catan*, interpretour for his Maieſtie, haue tranſlated and turned out of the *Arabian* into *Spaniſh* word for word as is conteined therein: and in witneſſe thereof haue ſubſcribed my name as aforeſaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoſo piadador.

Oracion de Dios ſobre nueſtro Sennor y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados à el.

A letter of Muly Hamet to the Erle of Leiceſter.

EL ſieruo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y enſalſado por la graçia de Dios, Myra Momanyn, hijo de Myra Momanyn, nieto de Myra Momanyn, el Iarif, el Hazeny, que Dios ſuſtenga ſus reynos, y enbalſe ſus mandados, para el Sennor muy affamado y muy illuſtre, muy eſtimado, el Conde de Leyceſter, deſpues de dar las loores deuidas à Dios, y las oraçiones, y ſaludes deuidas

uidas à le Propheta Mahumet. Seruirà eſta por os hazer ſaber que llegò a qui à nueſtra real Corte vueſtra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella ſe contiene. Y vueſtro Ambaxador, que aqui eſtà en nueſtra corte me dio à entender la cauſa de la tardança de los rehenes haſta agora: el qual deſcuento reçebimos, y nos damos por ſatisfechos. Y quanta à lo que à nos eſcriueys por cauſa de Iuan Herman, y lo meſmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador ſobre el, antes que llegaſſe vueſtra carta por la quexa del ambaxador, que ſe auia quexado del, ya auiamos mandado prender lo, y aſſi queda aora preſo, y quedera, haſta que ſe le haga la iuſticia que mas ſe le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nueſtro Sennor os tenga en ſu guardia. Hecha en nueſtra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios ſoſtenga, el 28. dias del mes de Remodan anno 996.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The bleſſing of God light vpon our lord and prophet Mahumet, and thoſe that are obedient vnto him.

The ſeruant of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the ſon of Myra Momanyn, the Iariff, the Hazeni, whoſe kingdoms God maintaine and aduance his authoritie: Unto the right fauous, right noble, & right highly eſteemed Erle of Leiceſter, after due praiſes giuen vnto God, & due bleſſings and ſalutations rendred vnto the prophet Mahumet. Theſe are to giue you to vnderſtand, that your letters arriued here in our royal Court, and we wel perceiue the contents thereof. And your Ambaſſador which remaineth here in our Court told me the cauſe of the ſlowneſſe of the gages or pledges vntil this time: which reckoning we accept of, and holde our ſelues as ſatiſfied. And as touching the matter whereof you write vnto vs concerning Iohn Herman, and the ſelfe ſame complaint which your Ambaſſador hath made of him, before the comming of your letter, we had already commaunded him to be taken vpon the complaint which your Ambaſſadour had made of him, whereupon he ſtil remaineth in hold, and ſhal ſo continue vntil further iuſtice be done vpon him according to his deſert. And ſo our Lord keepe you in his ſafegard. Written at our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno ‖ *996.*

‖ Which is with vs 1587.

The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

MVy alto, y muy poderoſo Sennor,

Auiendo entendido de parte de nueſtro Agente la mucha aficion, y volontad, que nos teneys, y quanta honra, y fauor le hazeys por amor nueſtro, para dar nos tanto mayor teſtimonio de vueſtra amiſtad, hemos recebido de lo vno y de lo otro muy grande contento, y ſatisfacion: y aſſy no podemos dexar de agradeſceroſlo, como mereceys. Vueſtras cartas hemos tambien recibido, y con ellas holgadonos infinitamente, por venir de parte de vn Principe, à quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nueſtro Agente nos ha eſcripto ſobre ciertas coſas, que deſſeays ſer os embiadas de aqui: Y, aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente cōplazer, como pidiz, ha ſuccedido, que las guerras, en que ſtamos al preſente occupadas, no nos lo conſienten del todo: Hemos però mandado, que ſe os ſatisfaga en parte, y conforme à lo que por agora la neceſſitad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declararà nueſtro Agente: eſperando, que lo reciberreys en buena parte y cōforme al animo, con que os lo cōcedemos. Y porque nos ha ſido referido, que aueys prometido de proceder cōtra vn Iuan Herman vaſſallo nueſtro, (el qual nos ha grauemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, auemos dado orden à nueſtro dicho Agente de deziros mas parcularmente lo que deſſeamos ſer hecho acerca deſte negocio, rogando os, que lo mandeys aſſi complir: y que ſeays ſeruido de fauoreſcer ſiempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como haſta agora aueys hecho, ſin permiter, que nadie os haga mudar de parecer a cerca de las calumnias, que le podran leuantar, ny dudar, que no complamos muy por entero todo, lo que de nueſtra parte os prometiere. Nueſtro Sennor guarde voſtra muy alta y muy poderoſa perſona. Hecha en nueſtra Corte Real de Grenewich a 20. de Iulio 1587.

The ſame in Engliſh.

RIght high and mightie Prince, Hauing vnderſtood from our Agent the great affection and good wil which you beare vs, and how great honour and fauor you ſhew him for our ſake, to the end to giue vs more ample teſtimonie of your friendſhip, we haue receiued very great contentment & ſatiſfaction, aſwel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your deſert. We haue alſo receiued your letters, and do not a litle reioyce thereof, becauſe they come from a prince vnto whom we are ſo much beholden. Our Agent hath written vnto vs concerning certaine things which you deſire to bee ſent vnto you from hence. And albeit we wiſh that we could particularly ſatiſfie you, as you deſire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherin at this preſent we be buſied, wil not ſuffer vs fully

Iohn Herman an Engliſh rebel.

to doe the ſame: neuertheleſſe, wee haue commaunded to ſatiſfie you in part, and according as the preſent neceſſitie doeth permit vs, as our Agent will declare vnto you more particularly, hoping you will receiue it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the ſame. And becauſe it hath bene ſignified vnto vs that you haue promiſed to proceed in iuſtice againſt one Iohn Herman our ſubiect, which hath grieuouſly offended vs, in ſuch ſort as wee haue ſent word vnto you, wee haue giuen order to our ſaid Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we deſire to be done in this buſines, praying you alſo to command the ſame to be put in execution: and that it would pleaſe you alwayes to fauour our ſaid Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you haue done hitherto, not ſuffering your ſelfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the falſe reports which they may raiſe againſt him, nor to doubt that wee will not accompliſh at large all that he ſhall promiſe you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preſerue your right high and mightie perſon. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 20. of Iuly 1587.

A voyage to the *Azores* with two pinaſes, the one called the *Serpent*, and the other the *Mary Sparke* of *Plimouth*, both of them belonging to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, written by *Iohn Eueſham* Gentleman, wherein were taken the gouernour of the Iſle of *Sainct Michael*, and *Pedro Sarmiento* gouernour of the Straits of *Magalanes*, in the yeere 1586.

THe 10. of Iune 1586. we departed from Plimouth with two Pinaſes, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of 35. Tunnes, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to ſir Walter Ralegh knight; and directing our courſe towards the coaſt of Spaine, & from thence towards the Iſles of the Azores, we tooke a ſmall barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the gouernour of S. Michaels Iſland, being a Portugal, hauing other Portugals and Spaniards with him. And from thence we ſailed to the Iſland of Gracioſa, to the Weſtward of the Iſland of Tercera, where we diſcried a ſaile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a Spaniard: But at the firſt not greatly reſpecting whō we tooke, ſo that we might haue enriched our ſelues, which was the cauſe of this our trauaile, and for that we would not bee knowen of what nation we were, wee diſplayed a white ſilke enſigne in our maine toppe, which they ſeeing, made accompt that we had bene ſome of the king of Spaines Armadas, lying in wait for Engliſh men of war: but when we came within ſhot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and ſpread abroad the Croſſe of S. George, which when they ſaw, it made them to flie as faſt as they might, but all their haſte was in vaine, for our ſhippes were ſwifter of ſaile then they, which they fearing, did preſently caſt their ordinance and ſmall ſhot with many letters, and the draft of the Sraights of Magelan into the Sea, and thereupon immediatly we tooke her, wherein wee alſo tooke a gentleman of Spaine, named Pedro Sarmiento, gouernour of the Straights of Magelan, which ſaide Pedro we brought into England with vs, and preſented him to our ſoueraigne Lady the Queene.

The gouernour of S. Michael taken priſoner.

Pedro Sarmiento the gouernour of the Straights of Magelan taken priſoner.

After this, lying off and about the Iſlands, wee deſcried another ſaile, and bearing after her, we ſpent the maine maſte of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall tooke her, being laden with fiſh from Cape Blanke, the which ſhippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we diſcried two other ſailes, the one a ſhippe and the other a Carauel, to whom we gaue chaſe, which they ſeeing, with all ſpeede made in vnder the Iſle of Gracioſa, to a certaine Fort there for their ſuccour, where they came to an anker, and hauing the winde of vs we could not hurt them with our ſhips, but we hauing a ſmall boate, which we called a light horſeman, wherein my ſelfe was, being a Muſqueter, and foure more with Caliuers, and foure that rowed, came neere vnto the ſhore againſt the winde, which when they ſaw vs come towards them they caried a great part of their marchandiſe on land, whither alſo the men of both veſſels went and landed, and as ſoone as we came within Muſquet ſhot, they began to ſhoote at vs with great ordinance and ſmall ſhot, and we likewiſe at them, and in the ende we boorded one ſhippe wherein was no man left, ſo we cut her cables, hoyſed her ſailes, and ſent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of vs paſſed more neere vnto the ſhoare, and boorded the Carauel, which did ride within a ſtones caſt from the ſhoare, and ſo neere the land that the people did caſt ſtones at vs, but yet in deſpight of them all we tooke her, and one onely Negro therein; and cutting her cables in the hawſe we hoyſed her ſailes, and being becalmed vnder the land, we were conſtrained to rowe her out with our boate, the Fort ſtill ſhooting at vs, and the people on land with Muſquets and caliuers, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we anſwered them with the ſmall force wee had; In the time of which our ſhooting, the ſhot of my Muſquet being a croſſebarre-ſhot happened to

A ſhip laden with fiſh taken and releaſed againe.

One of the ſhips taken, and ſent away with 2. perſons.

The Carauel is taken.

ſtrike the gunner of the fort to death, euen as he was giuing leuell to one of his great pieces; and thus we parted from them without any loſſe or hurt on our ſide. And now, hauing taken theſe fiue ſailes of ſhippes, we did as before, turne away the ſhippe with the fiſh, without hurting them, and from one of the other ſhippes wee tooke her maine Maſte to ſerue our Admirals turne, and ſo ſent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals, (ſauing that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men and two Negroes) leauing them all within ſight of land, with bread and water ſufficient for 10. dayes if neede were.

The prizes ſent home.

Thus ſetting our courſe for England, being off the Iſlands in the height of 41. degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe diſcried a ſaile, then 10. ſaile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to ſende home thoſe prizes we had, and ſo left in both our Pinaſſes not aboue 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the Fleete wee had diſcried, where wee found 24. ſaile of ſhippes, whereof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Galions, the reſt were ſmall ſhippes and Carauels all laden with Treaſure, ſpices, and ſugars, with which 24. ſhippes we with two ſmall Pinaſſes did fight, and kept company the ſpace of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with vs, but the two Caracks kept ſtill betwixt the Fleete and vs, that wee could not take any one of them, ſo wanting powder, wee were forced to giue them ouer againſt our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of ſome of them, but neceſſitie compelling vs, and that onely for want of powder, without loſſe of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at conſidering the inequalitie of number) at length we gaue them ouer. Thus we againe ſet our courſe for England, and ſo came to Plimouth within 6. houres after our prizes, which we ſent away 40. houres before vs, where wee were receiued with triumphant ioy, not onely with great Ordinance then ſhot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not ſparing our Ordinance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and anſwere them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where ſir Walter Ralegh being our owner, rewarded vs with our ſhares.

Two Caracks, 10. Gallions, 12. ſmall ſhips.

The 2. pinaſſes returne for England.

Our prizes were laden with ſugars, Elephants teeth, waxe, hides, rice, braſill, and Cuſer, as by the teſtimonie of Iohn Eueſham himſelfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Beniamin Wood, William Cooper Maſter, William Corniſh Maſter, Thomas Drake Corporall, Iohn Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, Iohn Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, Iohn Row of Saltaſh, and many others, may appeare.

A briefe relation of the notable ſeruice performed by Sir *Francis Drake* vpon the *Spaniſh* Fleete prepared in the Road of *Cadiz*: and of his deſtroying of 100. ſaile of barks; Paſſing from thence all along the coaſt to *Cape Sacre*, where alſo hee tooke certaine Forts: and ſo to the mouth of the Riuer of *Liſbon*, and thence croſſing ouer to the Iſle of *Sant Michael*, ſupprized a mighty Carack called the *Sant Philip* comming out of the Eaſt India, which was the firſt of that kinde that euer was ſeene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.

HEr Maieſtie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the inuaſion of England, by good aduiſe of her graue and prudent Counſell thought it expedient to preuent the ſame. Whereupon ſhe cauſed a Fleete of ſome 30. ſailes to be rigged and furniſhed with all things neceſſary. Ouer that Fleete ſhe appointed Generall ſir Francis Drake (of whoſe manifold former good ſeruices ſhe had ſufficient proofe) to whom ſhe cauſed 4. ſhips of her Nauie royall to be deliuered, to wit, The Bonauenture wherein himſelfe went as General; the Lion vnder the conduct of Maſter William Borough Controller of the Nauie; the Dread-nought vnder the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Raine-bow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: vnto which 4 ſhips two of her pinaſſes were appointed as hand-maids. There were alſo added vnto this Fleet certaine tall ſhips of the Citie of London, of whoſe eſpeciall good ſeruice the Generall made particular mention in his priuate Letters directed to her Maieſtie. This Fleete ſet ſaile from the ſound of Plimouth in the moneth of April towards the coaſt of Spaine.

The 16. of the ſaid moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two ſhips of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we vnderſtood that there was great ſtore of warlike prouiſion at Cadiz & thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Vpon this information our Generall with al ſpeed poſſible, bending himſelfe thither to cut off their ſaid forces and prouiſions, vpon the 19. of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbor of Cadiz: where at our firſt entring we were aſſailed ouer againſt the Towne by ſixe Gallies, which notwithſtanding in ſhort time retired vnder their fortreſſe.

There were in the Road 60.ſhips and diuers other ſmall veſſels vnder the fortreſſe: there fled about 20.French ſhips to Port Real, and ſome ſmall Spaniſh veſſels that might paſſe the ſholdes. At our firſt cōming in we ſunke with our ſhot a ſhip of Raguza of a 1000.tunnes, furniſhed with 40.pieces of braſſe and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which ſhot freely at vs, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30.of the ſaid ſhips, & became Maſters of the Road, in deſpight of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them vnder the Fort: in the number of which ſhips there was one new ſhip of an extraordinary hugeneſſe in burthen aboue 1200.tunnes, belonging to the Marqueſſe of Santa Cruz being at that inſtant high Admiral of Spaine. Fiue of them were great ſhips of Biskay, whereof 4.we fired, as they were taking in the Kings prouiſion of victuals for the furniſhing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fift being a ſhip about 1000.tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron-ſpikes, nailes, yron hoopes, horſe-ſhooes, and other like neceſſaries bound for the Weſt Indies we fired in like maner. Alſo we tooke a ſhip of 250.tunnes laden with wines for the Kings prouiſion, which wee caried out to the Sea with vs, and there diſcharged the ſaid wines for our owne ſtore, and afterward ſet her on fire. Moreouer we tooke 3.Flyboats of 300.tunnes a piece laden with biſcuit, whereof one was halfe vnladen by vs in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewiſe there were fired by vs ten other ſhips which were laden with wine, raiſins, figs, oiles, wheat, & ſuch like. To conclude, the whole number of ſhips and barkes (as we ſuppoſe) then burnt, ſuncke, and brought away with vs, amounted to 30.at the leaſt, being (in our iudgement) about 10000.tunnes of ſhipping.

There were in ſight of vs at Porto Real about 40.ſhips, beſides thoſe that fled from Cadiz.

We found little eaſe during our aboad there, by reaſon of their continuall ſhooting from the Gallies, the fortreſſes, and from the ſhoare: where continually at places conuenient they planted new ordinance to offend vs with: beſides the inconuenience which wee ſuffered from their ſhips, which, when they could defend no longer, they ſet on fire to come among vs. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend vs from their terrible fire, which neuertheleſſe was a pleaſant ſight for vs to beholde, becauſe we were thereby eaſed of a great labour, which lay vpon vs day and night, in diſcharging the victuals, and other prouiſions of the enemie. Thus by the aſſiſtance of the Almightie, and the inuincible courage and induſtrie of our Generall, this ſtrange and happy enterprize was atchieued in one day and two nights, to the great aſtoniſhment of the King of Spaine, which bread ſuch a corraſiue in the heart of the Marques of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he neuer enioyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may iuſtly be ſuppoſed) died of extreame griefe and ſorrow.

Thus hauing performed this notable ſeruice, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21.of the ſaid moneth of April, with very ſmall loſſe not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in diſdaine of vs, to make ſome paſtime with their ordinance, at which time the wind ſkanted vpon vs, whereupon we caſt about againe, and ſtood in with the ſhoare, & came to an anker within a league of the towne; where the ſaid Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length ſuffred vs to ride quietly.

We now haue had experience of Gally-fight: wherein I can aſſure you, that onely theſe 4.of her Maieſties ſhips will make no accompt of 20.Gallies, if they may be alone, and not buſied to guard others. There were neuer Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunitie for their aduantage to fight with ſhips: but they were ſtill forced to retire, wee riding in a narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and driuen to maintaine the ſame, vntill wee had diſcharged and fired the ſhippes, which could not conueniently be done but vpon the flood, at which time they might driue cleare off vs. Thus being victualed with bread and wine at the enemies coſt for diuers moneths (beſides the prouiſions that we brought from home) our Generall diſpatched Captaine Croſſe into England with his letters, giuing him further in charge to declare vnto her Maieſtie all the particularities of this our firſt enterprize.

After whoſe departure wee ſhaped our courſe toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at ſeuerall times of ſhips, barkes, and Carauels well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-ſtaues, & other prouiſions of the king of Spaine, for the furniſhing of his forces intended againſt England, al which we burned, hauing delt fauorably with the men and ſent them on ſhoare. We alſo ſpoiled and cōſumed all the fiſher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance; and (as we ſuppoſe) to the vtter ouerthrow of the rich fiſhing of their Tunies for the ſame yere. At length we came to the aforeſaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land; and the better to enioy the benefite of the place, and to ride in harborow at our pleaſure, we aſſailed the ſame caſtle, and three other ſtrong holds, which we tooke ſome by force and ſome by ſurrender.

Thence we came before the hauen of Lisbon ankering nere vnto Caſcais, where the Marques of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who ſeeing vs chaſe his ſhips a ſhoare, & take and cary away his barks and Carauels, was content to ſuffer vs there quietly to tary, and likewiſe to depart, and neuer charged vs with one Canon-ſhot. And when our Generall ſent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refuſed his chalenge, ſending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any ſuch Commiſſion from his King.

Our Generall thus refuſed by the Marques, and ſeeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it conuenient to ſpend no longer time vpon this coaſt: and therefore with conſent of the chiefe of his Company he ſhaped his courſe toward the Iſles of the Açores, and paſſing towards the Iſle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the ſame ſhippe which in the voyage outward had caried the 3. Princes of Iapan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great reſiſtance hee tooke, beſtowing the people thereof in certaine veſſels well furniſhed with victuals, and ſending them courteouſly home into their Countrey: and this was the firſt Carak that euer was taken comming forth of the Eaſt Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an euil ſigne, becauſe the ſhip bare the Kings owne name.

The Carack called the Sanct Philip taken.

The riches of this prize ſeemed ſo great vnto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they aſſured themſelues euery man to haue a ſufficient reward for his trauel: and thereupon they all reſolued to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arriued in Plimouth the ſame Sommer with their whole Fleete and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: firſt, that it taught others, that Caracks were no ſuch bugs but that they might be taken (as ſince indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and ſinking of others) and ſecondly in acquainting the Engliſh Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the Eaſt Indies: whereby themſelues and their neighbours of Holland haue bene incouraged, being men as ſkilfull in Nauigation and of no leſſe courage then the Portugals to ſhare with them in the Eaſt Indies, where their ſtrength is nothing ſo great as heretofore hath bene ſuppoſed.

A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of *Exeter*, and others of the Weſt parts, and of *London*, for a trade to the Riuer of *Senega* and *Gambra* in *Guinea*, 1588.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treaſurer and Admirall of England, our Treaſurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and euery our Officers, miniſters and ſubiects whatſoeuer, greeting. Whereas our welbeloued ſubiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and Iohn Doricot of our City of Exeter marchants, Iohn Yong of Coliton in our county of Deuon marchant, Richard Doderige of Barneſtable in our ſaide Countie of Deuon Marchant, Anthonie Daſſell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, haue bene perſwaded and earneſtly moued by certaine Portugals reſident within our Dominions, to vndertake and ſet forward a voyage to certaine places on the coaſt of Guinea: Videlicet, from the Northermoſt part of the Riuer commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega, and from and within that Riuer all along that coaſt vnto the Southermoſt part of another Riuer commonly called by the name of Gambra, and within that Riuer: which, as we are informed, they haue already once performed accordingly: And for that we are credibly giuen to vnderſtand that the further proſecuting of the ſame voyage, and the due and orderly eſtabliſhing of an orderly trafique and trade of marchandize into thoſe Countreis, wil not only in time be very beneficial to theſe our Realmes and dominions, but alſo be a great ſuccour and reliefe vnto the preſent diſtreſſed eſtate of thoſe Portugals, who in our princely fauour liue and continue here vnder our protection: And cōſidering that the aduenturing and enterpriſing of a newe trade cannot be a matter of ſmall charge and hazard to the aduenturers in the beginning: we haue therefore thought it conuenient, that our ſaid louing ſubiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better incouragement to proceede in their ſaide aduenture and trade in the ſaid Countreis, ſhal haue the ſole vſe and exerciſe thereof for a certaine

A former voyage to Gambia.

time. In conſideration whereof, and for other waightie reaſons and conſiderations vs ſpecially moouing, of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors doe giue and graunt vnto the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderide, Anthony Daſſell and Nicholas Turner, and to euery of them, and to ſuch other our Subiects as they or the moſt part of them ſhall thinke conuenient to receiue into their Company and ſociety, to be the traders with them into the ſaid Countreis, that they and euery of them by themſelues or by their ſeruants or Factors and none others, ſhall and may for and during the full ſpace and terme of tenne yeeres next enſuing the date of theſe preſents, haue and enioy the free and whole trafique, trade and feat of marchandiſe, to and from the ſaid Northermoſt part of the ſaid Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega: and from and within that Riuer all along the coaſt of Guinea, vnto the Southermoſt part of the ſaid Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Gambra, and within that Riuer alſo. And that they the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſel and Nicholas Turner, & euery of them, by themſelues or by their ſeruants or Factors, & ſuch as they or the moſt part of them ſhall receiue into their Company and ſocietie, to be traders with them into the ſayd Countreis (as is aforeſaid) and none others, ſhall and may, for, and during the ſaid ſpace and terme of 10. yeres, haue and enioy the ſole & whole trafique or trade of marchandize into and from the ſaid places afore limitted and deſcribed, for the buying & ſelling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandizes whatſoeuer, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places ſituated or being in the countries, parts & coaſtes of Guinea before limitted, any law, ſtatute, or graunt, matter, cuſtome or priuileges to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And for the better ordering, eſtabliſhing, & gouerning of the ſaid ſocietie and Company in the ſaid trade and trafique of marchandizes, & the quiet, orderly & lawfull exerciſe of the ſame, We for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, do by theſe preſents giue and graunt full licenſe and authoritie vnto the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and to ſuch others as they ſhall receiue into their ſaide ſocietie and company to be traders into the ſaid countreis, as is aforeſaid, and to euery of them, that they or the moſt part of them ſhall and may at all conuenient times at their pleaſures, aſſemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient, aſwell within our citie of Exeter, as elſewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the ſaid terme of ten yeere, to conſult of, for, and concerning the ſaide trade and trafique of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and ſtabliſh good, neceſſary, and reaſonable orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the ſame trade. And al ſuch orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances ſo to be made, to put in vre and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voyd, and, if neede be, to make new, as at any time, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the moſt part of them then trading, as is aforeſaide, ſhall be thought neceſſary and conuenient. Vnto all and euery which ſaid orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances, they, and euery of them, and all other perſons which ſhall hereafter be receiued into the ſaide ſocietie and Company, ſhall ſubmit themſelues, and ſhall well and duely obſerue, performe, and obey the ſame, ſo long as they ſhall ſtand in force, or elſe ſhall pay and incurre ſuch forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, and in ſuch maner and forme, and to ſuch vſes & intents, as by the ſaide orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances ſhall be aſſeſſed, limitted and appointed. So alwayes, as the ſame orders, conſtitutions and ordinances, be not repugnant or contrary to the lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reaſonable forme of other penalties, aſſeſſed by the Company of our Marchants, named Aduenturers. And to the intent that they onely, to whom the ſaid power and libertie of trafique and trade of marchandize is graunted by theſe our letters patents aforeſaid, and none others whatſoeuer, without their ſpeciall conſent and licenſe before had, ſhall, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, vſe, or haue trade or trafique, with or for any maner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the ſaide coaſtes or parts of Guinea afore limited: Wee doe by theſe preſents, by our royall and ſupreme authoritie, ſtraightly charge and commaund, that no perſon, or perſons whatſoeuer, by themſelues, or by their factors, or ſeruants, during the ſaid terme of 10. yeres, ſhall in any wiſe trade or trafique, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the ſaid coaſts and parts of Guinea afore limitted, other then the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner; and ſuch as from time to time, they, or the moſt part of them, ſhall receiue into their ſocietie or company, to be traders with them, as is aforeſaid, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high diſpleaſure, and vpon paine of impriſonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleaſure, and to loſe and forfeit the ſhip or ſhippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them ſhal, during the ſaid terme of 10. yeres, trade, or trafique to or from the ſaid Countries, or any part thereof, according to the limitation aboue mentioned, contrary to our expreſſe prohibition and reſtraint, in that behalfe. And further, we do by theſe preſents giue and graunt ful power and authoritie to the ſaid William Braily, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and to ſuch other perſons, as they ſhal receiue into their ſocietie and company, to be traders with them, as is aforeſaid, and the moſt part of them, for the time being: that they, and euery of them, by themſelues, their factors, deputies, or aſſignes, ſhall and may, from time to time, during the ſaid terme of 10. yeres, attach, arreſt, take, and ſeaſe all, and all maner of ſhip, and ſhips, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatſoeuer, which ſhall be brought from, or caried to the ſaid coaſts and parts of Guinea afore limited, contrary to our will and pleaſure, and the true meaning of the ſame, declared and expreſſed in theſe our letters patents. Of all and euery which ſaid forfaitures whatſoeuer, the one third part ſhall be vnto vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, and another thirde part thereof we giue and graunt by theſe preſents, for and towards the reliefe of the ſaide Portugals continuing here vnder our protection, as is aforeſaid. And the other third part of al the ſame forfaitures, we do by theſe preſents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and grant cleerely and wholy vnto the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſel, and Nicholas Turner, and ſuch other perſons, as they ſhall receiue into their ſocietie, and company, as is aforeſaid. And theſe our letters patents, or the inrolment or exemplification of the ſame, without any further or other warrant, ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid tenne yeeres, be a ſufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treaſurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and miniſters whatſoeuer, to whom it ſhall or may appertaine, to allow, deliuer, and pay one thirde part of all the ſaid forfeitures, to the vſe of the ſaid Portugals, and one other thirde part of the ſame forfeitures, to the ſaide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and ſuch other perſons, as they ſhall receiue into their ſocietie and Company, to be traders with them, as aforeſaide, to their owne proper vſe and behoofe: which ſaid allowances and paiments thereof, our will and pleaſure is, and we do ſtraightly charge and command, to bee from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforeſaid, or any other our officers or miniſters whatſoeuer. And we do ſtraightly charge and command, and by theſe preſents prohibite all and ſingular our cuſtomers, collectors, and farmers of our Cuſtomes and ſubſidies, and controllers of the ſame, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, and all other our officers and miniſters whatſoeuer, which haue or ſhall haue any dealing or intermedling, touching our ſaid Cuſtomes and ſubſidies, that they, ne any of them by themſelues, their clearks, deputies, or ſubſtitutes, or any of them take or receiue, or in any wiſe cauſe or ſuffer to be taken or receiued for vs, or in our name, or to our vſe, or for, or in the names or to the vſes of our heires or ſucceſſors, of any perſon, or perſons, any ſumme or ſummes of money, or other things whatſoeuer, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any Cuſtome, ſubſidie, or other thing or duetie, to vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, due, or to be due, for the Cuſtomes or ſubſidies of any ſuch goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be tranſported, caried, or brought to or from the priuileged places, before in theſe preſents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cauſe to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of ſubſidies or cuſtomes, nor make any agreement for the Cuſtomes or ſubſidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to bee ſent to, or returned from any the priuileged places, before in theſe preſents mentioned, ſauing onely with, and in the name, and by the conſent of the ſaide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Antonie Daſſel, and Nicholas Turner, or of ſome of them, or of ſuch as they or the moſt part of them ſhall receiue into their ſocietie and Company, as aforeſaid. Prouided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our ſelues, by our writing ſigned with our proper hand, or any ſixe or more of our priuie Counſell, for the time being, ſhall, by our direction, and by writing ſigned and ſubſcribed with their hands, ſignifie and notifie to the ſaid William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the moſt part of them ſhal receiue into their Companie and ſociety, as is aforeſaid, or otherwiſe to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to ſuch as ſhall haue intereſt in this ſpeciall priuilege, that our will and pleaſure is, that the ſaid trade and trafique ſhal ceaſe, and be no longer continued into the ſaide coaſts and partes of Guinea before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of ſixe moneths next inſuing, after ſuch ſignification & notification ſo to be giuen to any of the ſaid Company and ſocietie, as is aforeſaid, or otherwiſe to our Officers in our ports of Exeter or Plimouth, by them to be notified to ſuch as ſhall haue intereſt in this ſpeciall priuilege, theſe our preſent letters Patents, and our graunt therein contained ſhall be vtterly voyde, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purpoſes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Reigne 1588.

A voyage to *Benin* beyond the Countrey of *Guinea*, ſet foorth by Maſter *Bird* and Maſter *Newton* Marchants of *London*, with a ſhippe called the *Richard* of *Arundell*, and a Pineſſe; Written by *Iames Welſh*, who was chiefe Maſter of the ſaid voyage, begunne in the yeere 1588.

Vpon the twelft of October wee wayed our ankers at Ratcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day ſayling from thence, by reaſon of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plimouth, and there we ſtayed (to our great expenſe of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather vnto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the ſaid 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Rio del oro is in 22. degrees, and 47. min.

Thurſday the ſecond of Ianuary wee had ſight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes.

Cauo de las Barbas.

The thirde of Ianuary wee had ſight of Cauo de las Barbas, and it bare Southeaſt fiue leagues off.

Croſiers.

The 4. we had ſight of the Croſiers in the morning.

Cauo Verde, in 14 degr. 43. m.

Tueſday the 7. day we had ſight of Cauo verde, and I finde this place to be in latitude 14. degrees, and 43. minutes, being 4. leagues from the ſhoare.

Cauo de Monte.

Cauo Menſurado.

Friday the 17. Cauo de Monte bare off vs North Northeaſt, we ſounded and had 50. fathom blacke oaſe, and at 2. of the clocke it bare North Northweſt 8. leagues off. And Cauo Menſurado bare of vs Eaſt and by South, and wee went Northeaſt with the maine: here the currant ſetteth to the Eaſt Southeaſt alongſt the ſhoare, and at midnight wee ſounded and had 26. fathome blacke oaſe.

The 18. in the morning we were thwart of a land much like Cauo verde, and it is as I iudge 9. leagues from Cauo Menſurado; it is a hill ſadlebacked, and there are 4. or 5. one after another: and 7. leagues to the Southward of that, we ſaw a row of hils ſadlebacked alſo, and from Cauo Menſurado are many mountaines.

Rio de Seſtos.
Cauo dos Baixos.

Tabanoo.

The 19. we were thwart Rio de Seſtos, and the 20. Cauo dos Baixos was North & by Weſt 4. leagues off the ſhoare, and at afternoone there came a boate from the ſhoare with 3. Negroes, from a place (as they ſay) called Tabanoo. And towards euening we were thwart of an Iſland, and a great many of ſmall Iſlands or rockes to the Southward, and the currant came out of the Souther-boord: we ſounded and had 35. fathomes.

A French ſhip at Ratire.
Crua.

A currant to the Southeaſtward.

The 21. wee had a flat hill that bare North Northeaſt off vs, and wee were from the ſhoare 4. leagues, and at 2. a clocke in the afternoone we ſpake with a Frenchman riding neere a place called Ratire, and another place hard by called Crua. This Frenchman caried a letter from vs to M. Newton: wee layd it on hull while wee were writing of our letter; and the current ſet vs to the Southward a good paſe alongſt the ſhoare South Southeaſt.

The 25. we were in the bight of the bay that is to the Weſtward of Capo de Tres puntas: the currant did ſet Eaſt Northeaſt.

The 28. we lay ſixe glaſſes a hull tarying for the pineſſe.

Cauo de tres puntas.

The laſt of Ianuary the middle part of Cape de tres puntas was thwart of vs three leagues at ſeuen of the clocke in the morning: and at eight the pineſſe came to an anker: and wee prooued that the current ſetteth to the Eaſtward: and at ſixe at night the vttermoſt lande bare Eaſt and by South 5. leagues, and we went Southweſt, and Southweſt and by South.

Saturday the firſt of February 1588. we were thwart of a Round foreland, which I take to be the Eaſtermoſt part of Capo de tres puntas: and within the ſaid Round foreland was a great bay with an Iſland in the ſaid bay.

The Caſtle of Mina.

The ſecond of February wee were thwart of the Caſtle of Mina, and when the thirde glaſſe of our Looke-out was ſpent, we ſpied vnder our Larboord-quarter one of their Boates with certaine Negroes, and one Portugale in the Boate, wee would haue had him to come aboord, but he would not. And ouer the caſtle vpon the hie rockes we did ſee as it might be two watch-houſes, and they did ſhew very white: and we went eaſtnortheaſt.

Two white watch-houſes.

The 4 in the morning we were thwart a great high hill, and vp into the lande were more high ragged hilles, and thoſe I reckoned to be but little ſhort of Monte Redondo. Then I reckoned that we were 20 leagues Southeaſt-ward from the Mina, and at 11 of the clocke I ſawe two hilles within the land, theſe hils I take to be 7 leagues from the firſt hils. And to ſea-ward of theſe hilles is a bay, and at the eaſt end of the bay another hill, and from the hils the landes lie verie low. We went Eaſtnortheaſt, and Eaſt and by North 22 leagues, ann then Eaſt along the ſhore.

Monte Redondo.

The 6 we were ſhort of Villa longa, and there we met with a Portugall Carauell.

The 7 a faire temperate day, and all this day we road before Villa longa.

Villa longa.

The 8 at noone we ſet ſaile from Villa longa, and ten leagues from thence we ankered againe and ſtayed all that night in ten fadom water.

The 9 we ſet ſaile, and all alongſt the ſhore were very thicke woodes, and in the afternoone we were thwart a riuer, & to the Eaſtward of the riuer a litle way off was a great high buſh-tree as though it had no leaues, and at night we ankered with faire and temperate weather.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 10 we ſet ſayle and went Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South 14 leagues along the ſhoare, which was ſo full of thicke woods, that in my iudgement a man ſhould haue much to doe to paſſe through them, and towards night we ankered in 7 fadome with faire weather.

The 11 we ſayled Eaſt and by South, and three leagues from the ſhore we had but 5 fadome water, and all the wood vpon the land was as euen as if it had beene cut with a paire of gardeners ſheeres, and in running of two leagues we deſcerned a high tuft of trees vpon the brow of a land, which ſhewed like a Porpoſe head, and when wee came at it, it was but part of the lande, and a league further we ſaw a head-land very low and full of trees, and a great way from the land we had very ſhallow water, then we lay South into the ſea, becauſe of the ſands for to get into the deepe water, and when we found it deepe, we ankered in fiue fadom thwart the riuer of Iaya, in the riuers mouth.

Very ſhallow water.

The 12 in the morning we road ſtill in the riuers mouth. This day we ſent the pinneſſe and the boat on land with the marchants, but they came not againe vntill the next morning. The ſhalloweſt part of this riuer is toward the Weſt, where there is but 4 fadom and a halfe, and it is very broad. The next morning came the boate aboord, and they alſo ſaid it was Rio de Iaya. Here the currant ſetteth Weſtward, and the Eaſtermoſt land is higher then the Weſtermoſt.

Rio de Iaya.

Thurſday the 13 we ſet ſaile, and lay South Southeaſt along the ſhore, where the trees are wonderfull euen, and the Eaſt ſhore is higher then the Weſt ſhore, and when wee had ſayled 18 leagues we had ſight of a great riuer, then we ankered in three fadom and a halfe, and the currant went Weſtward. This riuer is the riuer of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very ſhallowe.

Rio Benin.

The 15 we ſent the boat and pinneſſe into the riuer with the marchants, and after that we ſet ſaile, becauſe we road in ſhallow water, and went Southſoutheaſt, and the ſtarbord tacke aboord vntill we came to fiue fathom water, where we road with the currant to the Weſtward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboord the pinneſſe. The Weſt part of the land was high browed much like the head of a Gurnard, and the Eaſtermoſt land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like ſtackes of wheate or corne, and the next day in the morning we ſawe but two of thoſe trees, by reaſon that we went more to the Eaſtward. And here we road ſtill from the 14 of Februarie vntill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at Southweſt.

A currant Weſtward.

The 16 of Februarie we rode ſtill in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne ſtill to the Weſtward, the winde at Southweſt, and the boat and pinneſſe came to vs againe out of the riuer, and told vs that there was but ten foote water vpon the barre. All that night was drowſie, and yet reaſonable temperate.

Ten foote water vpon the barre of Rio de Benin.

The 17 a cloſe day the winde at Southweſt. Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboord the pinneſſe to goe into the riuer, and there came a great currant out of the riuer and ſet to the Weſtward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinneſſe into the riuer with their commodities. This day was cloſe and drowſie, with thunder, raine and lightning.

The 24 a cloſe morning and temperate, and in the afternoone the boat came to vs out of the riuer from our marchants.

Tweſday the 4 of March, a cloſe ſoultry hot morning, the currant went to the Weſtward, and much troubled water came out of the riuer.

The 16 our pinneſſe came aboord and Anthonie Ingram in her, & ſhe brought in her 94 bags

Sickneſſe among our men

of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Maſter of her and all his company were ſicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at Southweſt.

The 17. 18. and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at Southweſt. This day the pinneſſe went into the riuer againe, and caried the Purſer and the Surgion.

The 25 of the ſaid moneth 1589 we ſent the boate into the riuer.

The death of the Captaine.

Pepper & Elephants teeth.

The 30 our pinneſſe came from Benin, and brought ſorowfull newes, that Thomas Hemſted was dead and our Captaine alſo, and ſhe brought with her 159 Cerons or ſackes of pepper and Elephants teeth.

A good note.

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the riuer of Benin, and in all the coaſt hereabout, it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at Southweſt. And when the winde is at Northeaſt and Northerly, then it raineth, with lighning and thunder, and is very intemperate weather.

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we ſet ſaile homewards in the name of Ieſus. In the morning we ſayled with the winde at Southweſt, and lay Weſt and by North, but it prooued calme all that night, and the currant Southeaſt.

The 14 the riuer of Benin was Northeaſt 7 leagues from the ſhore, and there was litle winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude foure degrees and 20 minutes.

The 25 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees & 29 minutes of latitude.

A deceitfull currant.

The 8 of May we had ſight of the ſhore, which was part of Cauo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had beene ſo farre, but it came ſo to paſſe by reaſon of the currant. In this place M. Towrſon was in like maner deceiued with the currant.

The 9 we had ſight of Cauo de monte.

The 17 a darke drowſie day, this was the firſt night that I tooke the North ſtarre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great ſea out of the Northweſt.

The 6 of Iune we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, & yet we were within the height of the ſunne, for it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minuts to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a counter ſea, out of the Southborde.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

Rockweed or Saragaſſo all along the ſea.

The 12 of Iuly in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great ſtore of rockweed, which did ſticke together like cluſters of grapes, and this continued with vs vntill the 17 of the ſaid moneth, and then we ſaw no more, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees ſixe and fortie minutes of latitude.

The 25 at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, we had ſight of the Iſle of Pike, it bare North and by Eaſt from vs, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we ſpake with the poſte of London and ſhe told vs good newes of England.

The nine and twentieth we had ſight of the Iſland of Cueruo, and the 30 we ſaw the Iſland of Flores.

The 27 of Auguſt in 41 degrees of latitude we ſaw 9 ſaile of Britons, and three of them followed vs vntill noone, and then gaue vs ouer.

The 30 we had ſight of Cape Finiſterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plimouth ſound, and road in Cauſon bay all night.

The 9 we put into Catwater and there ſtayed vntill the 28 of September, by reaſon of want of men and ſickneſſe.

The nine and twentieth we ſet ſayle from Plimouth, and arriued at London the ſecond of October 1589.

The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen & wollen, yron worke of ſundry ſorts, Manillios or bracelets of copper, glaſſe beades, and corrall.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiouſly wouen, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees.

Their money is pretie white ſhels, for golde and ſiluer we ſaw none. They haue alſo great ſtore of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, they call it Inamia, and when it is well ſodden I would leaue our bread to eat of it, it is pleaſant in eating, and light of digeſtion, the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men vpon fiſh-dayes had rather eate the rootes with oyle and vineger, then to eate good ſtockfiſh. There are great ſtore of palme trees, out of the which they gather great ſtore of wine, which wine is white and very pleaſant, & we ſhould buy two gallons of it for 20 ſhels. They haue good ſtore of ſope, and it ſmelleth like beaten violets. Alſo many pretie fine mats and baſkets that they make, and ſpoones of Elephants teeth very curiouſly wrought with diuers proportions of foules and beaſts made vpon them. There is vpon the coaſt wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in ſo much as I neuer hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the decke or hatches tremble vnder our feete, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and louing, and they goe naked both men and women vntill they be married, and then they goe couered from the middle downe to the knees. They would bring our men earthen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 ſhelles. They would alſo bring great ſtore of Oranges and Plantans which is a fruit that groweth vpon a tree, and is very like vnto a Cucumber but very pleaſant in eating. It hath pleaſed God of his merceifull goodneſſe to giue me the knowledge how to preſerue freſh water with little coſt, which did ſerue vs ſixe moneths at the ſea, & when we came into Plimmouth it was much wondered at, of the principal men of the towne, who ſaid that there was not ſweeter water in any ſpring in Plimouth. Thus doth God prouide for his creatures, vnto whom be praiſe now and for euermore, Amen.

Inamia, a kind of bread in Benin.

Wine of palm trees.

Abundance of hony.

This preſeruatiue is wrought by caſting into an hogſhead of water an handful of bay-ſalt, as the author told me.

The voiage ſet forth by M. *Iohn Newton*, and M. *Iohn Bird* marchants of *London* to the kindome and Citie of *Benin* in *Africa*, with a ſhip called the *Richard* of *Arundell*, and a pinneſſe, in the yere 1588. briefely ſet downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foreſaid Marchants at the time of the ſhips firſt arriuall at *Plimouth*.

WOrſhipful Sirs, the diſcourſe of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil aſke more time and a perſon in better health then I am at this preſent, ſo that I truſt you will pardon me, till my comming vp to you: in the meane time let this ſuffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coaſt of England with your good ſhip the Richard of Arundell and the pinneſſe, we held on our direct courſe towards our appointed port, and the 14 day of Februarie following we arriued in the hauen of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ſhip ouer the barre, ſo that we left her without in the road, and with the pinneſſe & ſhip boat, into which we had put the chiefeſt of our marchādiſe, we went vp the riuer to a place called Goto, where we arriued the 20 of Februarye, the foreſaid Goto being the neereſt place that we could come to by water, to go for Benin. From thence we preſently ſent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arriuall, and of the cauſe of our comming thither: who returned to vs againe the 22 day with a noble man in their company to bring vs vp to the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23 day we deliuered our marchandize to the kings Factor, & the 25 day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The ſixe & twenty day we went to the Court to haue ſpoken with the king, which (by reaſon of a ſolemne feaſt then kept amongſt them) we could not doe: but yet we ſpake with his Veadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Chriſtians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who anſwered vs, that we ſhould haue all things to our deſire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

Goto in Benin.

The great citie of Benin.

The firſt of March, we were admitted to the kings preſence, and he made vs the like courteous anſwere for our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foreſaid Veadore ſhewed vs one baſket of greene pepper, and another of dry in the ſtalkes: wee deſired to haue it plucked from the ſtalks and made cleane, who anſwered, that it would aſke time, but yet in ſhould be done: and that againſt another yeere it ſhould be in better readines, & the reaſon why we found it ſo vnprepared was, becauſe in this kings time no Chriſtians had euer reſorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were ſent vs 12 baſkets, and ſo a litle euery day vntill the 9 of March at which time we had made vpon 64 ſerons of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin (our natures at this firſt time not ſo well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of vs into the diſeaſe of the feuer, whereupon the Captaine ſent me downe with thoſe goods which we alreadie had receiued, to the reſt of our men at Goto: where being arriued, I found all the men of our pinneſſe ſicke alſo, and by reaſon of their weaknes not able to conuey the pinneſſe and goods downe to the place where our ſhip road: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came vp from the ſhip, to ſee how all things ſtood with vs, ſo that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ſhip: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men died: namely, Maſter Benſon, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3 or 4 more, & my ſelfe was alſo in ſuch a weake ſtate that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I ſent vp Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your ſonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempſteede very weake, who alſo died within two dayes after their comming thither. This ſorrowfull accident cauſed them with ſuch pepper and teeth, as they could then find, ſpeedily to returne to the ſhip, as by the Cargaſon will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would ſtay any longer time, he would vſe all poſſible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common ſickneſſe ſo increaſed and continued amongſt vs all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboord, we had ſo many ſicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the ſame happe, and ſo thought to looſe both our ſhip, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get vp our ankers, but yet at the laſt by the mercie of God hauing gotten them vp, but leauing our pinneſſe behinde vs, we got to ſea, and ſet ſaile, which was vpon the 13 of Aprill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather vp their crums and to recouer ſome better ſtrength: and ſo ſailing betwixt the Iſlands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Iſlands of the Azores vpon the 25 of Iuly, where our men beganne a freſh to grow ill, and diuers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained liuing were in a hard caſe: but in the midſt of our diſtreſſe, it fell ſo wel out, by Gods good prouidence, that we met with your ſhip the Barke Burre, on this ſide the North cape, which did not only keepe vs good cõpanie, but alſo ſent vs ſixe freſh men aboord, without whoſe helpe, we ſhould ſurely haue taſted of many inconueniences. But by this good meanes we are now at the laſt arriued in Plimouth, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to commaund
Anthony Ingram.

The ſecond voyage to *Benin*, ſet foorth by Maſter *Iohn Newton*, and Maſter *Iohn Bird* Marchants of *London* in the yeere 1590 with a ſhip called the *Richard* of *Arundell* of the burthen of one hundreth tunnes, and a ſmall pinneſſe, in which voyage Maſter *Iames Welſh* was chiefe Maiſter.

The third of September 1590 we ſet ſaile from Ratcliffe, and the 18 of the ſaid moneth we came into Plimouth ſound, and the two and twentieth we put to ſea againe, and at midnight we were off the Liſart, and ſo paſſed on our voyage vntill the 14 of October, on which day we had ſight of Forteuentura one of the Canarie Iſlands, which appeared very ragged as we ſailed by it.

The 16 of October, in the latitude of 24 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow ſea, the like whereof I neuer ſaw on this coaſt, and this day there came to the ſhips ſide a monſtrous great fiſh (I thinke it was a Gobarto) which put vp his head to the ſteepe tubs where ẏ cooke was in ſhifting the victuals, whõ I thought the fiſh would haue caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a counterſea out of the North boord, and the laſt voyage in this very place we had the counterſea out of the South, being very calme weather as now it is alſo.

The 24 we had ſight of Cauo Verde, and the 25 we met with a great hollow ſea out of the North, which is a common ſigne that the winde will be Northerly, and ſo it prooued.

A token of a Northerly winde.

The 15 of Nouember we met with three currants out of the Weſt and Northweſt, one after another, with an houres time betweene each currant. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 42 minutes.

Great currants.

The 18 day we met with two other great currants out of the Southweſt, and the 20 we ſaw another current out of the Northeaſt, and the 24 we had a great current out of the Southſouthweſt, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the leaſt 2 leagues and a halfe euery watch, and it fell out that we ſailed but one league euery watch for the ſpace of 24 hours, by meanes of a great billow and current that came ſtill out of the South.

The 5 of December in ſetting the watch we caſt about and lay Eaſt Northeaſt, and Northeaſt, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinneſſe loſt vs wilfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we ſaw a great blacke ſpot in the Sunne, and the 8. day both at riſing and ſetting we ſaw the like, which ſpot to our ſeeming was about the bigneſſe of a ſhilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and ſtill there came a great billow out of the ſoutherboord.

The 14 we ſounded and had 15 fadom water and groſſe red ſand, and 2 leagues from the ſhore the currant ſet Southeaſt along the ſhore with a billow ſtill out of the ſoutherboord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke ſomewhat like the Mewſtone in England, it was 2 leagues from vs, here we ſounded and had 2[illegible] fadom, but the rocke is not aboue a mile from the ſhore, and a mile farther we ſaw another rocke, and betweene them both broken ground; here we ſounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke ſand, and we might ſee plaine that the rockes went not along the ſhore, but from the land to the ſeaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we ſawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

Two rocks.

The 16 we met with a French ſhip of Hunfleur, who robbed our pinneſſe, we ſent a letter by him, and this night we ſaw another ſpot in the Sunne at his going downe. And towards euening we were thwart of a riuer, and right ouer the riuer was a high tuft of trees.

A French ſhip of Hunfleur.

The 17 we ankered in the riuers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cauo de las Palmas, and betweene vs & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the ſea, and they bare to the Weſt of the Cape, we ſaw alſo an Iſland off the point of the foreland, thus it waxed night that we could perceiue no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a ſtreame as if it were in the riuer of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone.

Cauo de las Palmas.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went Eaſt, and the lande a ſterne of vs Weſt, and it ſhewed low by the water ſide like Iſlands, this was the eaſt of Cauo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great ſound, and we went Eaſt all night, and in the morning wee were but 3 or 4 leagues from the ſhore.

The 20 we were thwart of a riuer called Rio de los Barbos.

The 21 we went along the ſhore Eaſt, & 3 or 4 leagues to the Weſt of Cauo de tres puntas, I find the bay to be ſet deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land begun to ſhewe high, and the firſt part of it full of Palme trees.

Rio de los Barbos.

The 24 ſtill going by the ſhore, the land was very low and full of trees by the water ſide, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the riuer called, Rio de Boilas. Here we ſent our boate a ſhore with the marchants, but they durſt not put into the riuer becauſe of a great billow that continually brake at the enterance vpon the barre.

Rio de Boilas.

The 28 we ſailed alongſt the ſhore, and ankered at night in ſeuen fadom becauſe a great current would haue put vs backe, which came from the Eaſt Southeaſt from Papuas.

Papuas.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Carauel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboord her, but ſhe had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to ſpeake with vs, where they communed about the buying of the Carauell of our men againe, and the Portugals promiſed that we ſhould haue for the Carauell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gaue vs one tooth and one bullocke preſently, and ſayd they would bring vs the reſt the next day.

Arda.

The firſt of Ianuarie our Captaine went on land to ſpeake with the Portugales, but when he ſaw they did diſſemble, he came aboord againe, and preſently we vnrigged the Carauell, and ſet her on fire before the towne. Then we ſet ſaile and went along the coaſt, where we ſaw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coaſt vpon the water ſide, alſo we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered.

Ianuarie.

Villa longa.

The third we were as far ſhot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a ſhore and vpon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in becauſe it was late. There is alſo to the Eaſtward of this riuer a Date tree higher then all the reſt of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coaſt, and euery night ankered, & al the ſhore as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, ſo that we could not ſee the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared vp, & then we found our ſelues thwart of the riuer of Iaya, and when we found the ſhallow water, we bare into the ſea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in fiue fadom water. The next day we ſet ſaile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the riuer of Benin in foure fadom water.

The riuer of Iaya.

The

and goods downe to the place where our ſhip road: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came vp from the ſhip, to ſee how all things ſtood with vs, ſo that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ſhip: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men died: namely, Maſter Benſon, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3 or 4 more, & my ſelfe was alſo in ſuch a weake ſtate that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I ſent vp Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your ſonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempſteede very weake, who alſo died within two dayes after their comming thither. This ſorrowfull accident cauſed them with ſuch pepper and teeth, as they could then find, ſpeedily to returne to the ſhip, as by the Cargaſon will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would ſtay any longer time, he would vſe all poſſible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common ſickneſſe ſo increaſed and continued amongſt vs all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboord, we had ſo many ſicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the ſame happe, and ſo thought to looſe both our ſhip, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get vp our ankers, but yet at the laſt by the mercie of God hauing gotten them vp, but leauing our pinneſſe behinde vs, we got to ſea, and ſet ſaile, which was vpon the 13 of Aprill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather vp their crums and to recouer ſome better ſtrength: and ſo ſailing betwixt the Iſlands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Iſlands of the Azores vpon the 25 of Iuly, where our men beganne a freſh to grow ill, and diuers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained liuing were in a hard caſe: but in the midſt of our diſtreſſe, it fell ſo wel out, by Gods good prouidence, that we met with your ſhip the Barke Burre, on this ſide the North cape, which did not only keepe vs good cõpanie, but alſo ſent vs ſixe freſh men aboord, without whoſe helpe, we ſhould ſurely haue taſted of many inconueniences. But by this good meanes we are now at the laſt arriued in Plimouth, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

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The 5 of December in ſetting the watch we caſt about and lay Eaſt Northeaſt, and Northeaſt, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinneſſe loſt vs wilfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we ſaw a great blacke ſpot in the Sunne, and the 8. day both at riſing and ſetting we ſaw the like, which ſpot to our ſeeming was about the bigneſſe of a ſhilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and ſtill there came a great billow out of the ſoutherboord.

The 14 we ſounded and had 15 fadom water and groſſe red ſand, and 2 leagues from the ſhore the currant ſet Southeaſt along the ſhore with a billow ſtill out of the ſoutherboord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke ſomewhat like the Mewſtone in England, it was 2 leagues from vs, here we ſounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not aboue a mile from the ſhore, and a mile farther we ſaw another rocke, and betweene them both broken ground; here we ſounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke ſand, and we might ſee plaine that the rockes went not along the ſhore, but from the land to the ſeaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we ſawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

Two rocks.

The 16 we met with a French ſhip of Hunfleur, who robbed our pinneſſe, we ſent a letter by him, and this night we ſaw another ſpot in the Sunne at his going downe. And towards euening we were thwart of a riuer, and right ouer the riuer was a high tuft of trees.

A French ſhip of Hunfleur.

The 17 we ankered in the riuers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cauo de las Palmas, and betweene vs & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the ſea, and they bare to the Weſt of the Cape, we ſaw alſo an Iſland off the point of the foreland, thus it waxed night that we could perceiue no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a ſtreame as if it were in the riuer of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone.

Cauo de las Palmas.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went Eaſt, and the lande a ſterne of vs Weſt, and it ſhewed low by the water ſide like Iſlands, this was the eaſt of Cauo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great ſound, and we went Eaſt all night, and in the morning wee were but 3 or 4 leagues from the ſhore.

The 20 we were thwart of a riuer called Rio de los Barbos.

The 21 we went along the ſhore Eaſt, & 3 or 4 leagues to the Weſt of Cauo de tres puntas, I find the bay to be ſet deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land begun to ſhewe high, and the firſt part of it full of Palme trees.

Rio de los Barbos.

The 24 ſtill going by the ſhore, the land was very low and full of trees by the water ſide, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the riuer called, Rio de Boilas. Here we ſent our boate a ſhore with the marchants, but they durſt not put into the riuer becauſe of a great billow that continually brake at the enterance vpon the barre.

Rio de Boilas.

The 28 we ſailed alongſt the ſhore, and ankered at night in ſeuen fadom becauſe a great current would haue put vs backe, which came from the Eaſt Southeaſt from Papuas.

Papuas.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Carauel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboord her, but ſhe had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to ſpeake with vs, where they communed about the buying of the Carauell of our men againe, and the Portugals promiſed that we ſhould haue for the Carauell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gaue vs one tooth and one bullocke preſently, and ſayd they would bring vs the reſt the next day.

Arda.

The firſt of Ianuarie our Captaine went on land to ſpeake with the Portugales, but when he ſaw they did diſſemble, he came aboord againe, and preſently we vnrigged the Carauell, and ſet her on fire before the towne. Then we ſet ſaile and went along the coaſt, where we ſaw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coaſt vpon the water ſide, alſo we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered.

Ianuarie.

Villa longa.

The third we were as far ſhot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a ſhore and vpon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in becauſe it was late. There is alſo to the Eaſtward of this riuer a Date tree higher then all the reſt of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coaſt, and euery night ankered, & al the ſhore as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, ſo that we could not ſee the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared vp, & then we found our ſelues thwart of the riuer of Iaya, and when we found the ſhallow water, we bare into the ſea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in fiue fadom water. The next day we ſet ſaile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the riuer of Benin in foure fadom water.

The riuer of Iaya.

The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the ſhallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy euery day vntill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath beene as temperate as our ſummer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, & the weſt point of the road bare Eaſt northeaſt off vs, we riding in foure fadome water.

The riuer of Benin.

The 21 a faire temperate day, this day M. Haſſald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine.

Goto.

The 23 came the Carauell, and Samuell in her, and ſhe brought 63 Elephants teeth, and three bullocks.

The Carauell bringeth teeth aboord.

The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboord from Goto.

The 24 of Februarie, we tooke in 298 Cerons or ſackes of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeaſt. And the 26 we put the reſt of our goods into the Carauell, and M. Haſſald went with her to Goto.

298. ſacks of pepper.

The 5 of March ẏ Carauel came againe & brought 21 Cerons of pepper, & 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Carauell came aboord with water for our prouiſion for the ſea, and this day alſo we loſt our ſhallope.

The 17 a drowſie rainie day, and in the afternoone we ſaw 3 great ſpoutes of raine, two on our larbord ſide, and one right with the ſhips head, but God be thanked, they came not at vs, and this day we tooke in the laſt of our water for the ſea, and the 26 we victualed our Carauell to go with vs to the ſea.

Three ſpouts.

The 27 we ſet ſaile to goe homewarde with the winde at Southweſt, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the riuer of Benin was Northeaſt 8 leagues from vs.

They returned homeward.

The 3 of May we had ſuch a terrible guſt with raine, lightning & thunder, that it tore and ſplit our fore ſaile, and alſo the Carauels fore-ſayle and maine-ſayle, with the wind at Southeaſt.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our ſommer mornings in England, being but one degree & a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell guſt of raine, & the wind at northeaſt.

The 24 we were South from from Cauo de las Palmas 37 leagues.

The firſt of July we had ſight of the Iſland of Braua, and it bare Eaſt 7 leagues off, and this Iſland is one of the Iſlands of Cauo Verde.

Braua.

The 13 of Auguſt we ſpake with the Queenees ſhips, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and ſir Richard Greeneuill Uiceadmirall. They kept vs in their company vntill the 15 day at night, themſelues lying a hull, in waight for purchaſe 30 leagues to the Southweſt of the Iſland of Flores.

The 15 we had leaue to depart with a fly-boat laden with ſugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenes ſhips, whereof my Lord Admirall gaue me great charge, not to leaue her vntill ſhe were harbored in England.

We departed in company of a priſe.

The three and twentieth the Northeaſt part of the Iſland of Coruo bare off vs Eaſt and by South ſixe leagues off.

Coruo.

The 17 of September we met with a ſhip of Plimouth that came out of the Weſt Indies, but ſhe could tell vs no newes. The next day we had ſight of another ſayle, this day alſo one of our company named M. Wood died.

The 23 we ſpake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof Maſter Iuie was Maiſter.

The ſecond of October we met with a ſhip of New-caſtle which came from Newfound-land, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fiſh.

The 6 we had ſight of Sillie, and with raine and winde we were forced to put into S. Maries ſound, where we ſtaied all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we ſet ſaile againe, and comming out had three fadom vpon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeaſt, through Crow-ſand, and ſhortly after we had ſight of the lands end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lyſart.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we ſtayd vntill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at Weſt, and the 18 of December, God be praiſed, we ankered at Limehouſe in the Thames, where we diſcharged 589 ſacks of Pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrels of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this ſecond voyage were Broad cloth, Kerſies, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Yron vnwrought, Bracelets of Copper, Corall, Hawks belles, Horſetailes, Hats, and ſuch like.

This voyage was more comfortable vnto vs then the firſt, because we had good ſtore of freſh water, and that very ſweet: for as yet we haue very good water in the ſhippe which we brought out of the riuer of Benin the firſt day of Aprill 1591. and it is at this day (being the 7 of Iune 1592.) to be ſeen aboord the ſhip as cleare and as ſweet as any fountaine can yeeld.

In this voiage we ſailed 356 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinoctiall line, and there we found it more temperate, then where we rode. And vnder the line wee did kill great ſtore of ſmall Dolphines, and many other good fiſhes, and ſo did we all the way, which was a very great refreſhing vnto vs, and the fiſh neuer forſooke vs, vntil we were to the Northwards of the Iſlands of Azores, and then we could ſee no more fiſh, but God be thanked wee met with good company of our countrey ſhips which were great comfort vnto vs, being fiue moneths before at Sea without any companie.

It is more temperate vnder the equinoctiall, then on the coaſt of Guinie & Benin.

By me *Iames Welſh* maſter of the *Richard* of *Arundell*, in both theſe voyages to the riuer of *Benin*.

An Aduertiſement ſent to *Philip* the ſecond king of *Spaine* from *Angola* by one *Baltazar Almeida de Souſa*, touching the ſtate of the foreſayd countrey, written the 21 of May, 1591.

The 26 of July I certified your maieſtie by Iohn Frere de Bendanha your maieſties pay-maſter and commiſſioner, with the gouernour Paulo Dias, which is lately deceaſed, of all things that happened the 28 of December in the yere laſt paſt 1590. Now I thought it conuenient to aduertiſe your maieſtie what hath fallen out ſince that time, which is as foloweth. The gouernour Luis Serrano encamped himſelfe eight leagues from Cabaſa, where the Negro king dwelleth, with 350 Portugal ſouldiers: & afterward being there encamped, it hapned that the king of Matamba ſent a ſtrong and mightie army, & in warlike maner, with ſtrange inuentions for the ſayd purpoſe. So the king of Angola gaue this other king battell, and the gouernour ſent 114 ſouldiers Portugals to helpe the ſaid king of Angola: in which battell it was the will of God that our army was ouerthrowen and all ſlaine, as well our Portugals as the Moores which tooke part with them. So with this ouerthrow it happened that this realme the ſecond time hath rebelled againſt your maieſtie. Hereupon the Gouernour aſſembling the reſt of his Portugall ſouldiers, to the number of 250 altogether, went to Amaſanguano, which is now his place of abode. Moreouer, beſides the manifold loſſes which haue befallen the Portugals in this realme, your maieſtie hath ſuſtained other great miſfortunes both in your lands and goods. And becauſe I cannot perſonally come to certifie your maieſtie thereof, I thought it good to write ſome part of the ſame whereby your maieſtie may vnderſtand the eſtate of this countrey. This realme, for the moſt part thereof hath twiſe bene wonne, and twiſe loſt for want of good gouernment. For here haue bene many gouernours which haue pretended to do iuſtice, but haue pitifully neglected the ſame, and practiſed the cleane contrary, and this I know to be moſt true. But the onely way to recouer this realme, and to augment your maieſties lands, goods and treaſure, muſt be by ſending ſome noble and mighty man to rule here, which muſt bring authoritie frō your maieſtie, and by taking ſtreight order that euery captaine which doeth conquere here may bee rewarded according to his deſerts. Likewiſe your maieſtie muſt ſend hither 2000 good ſouldiers, with munition and ſufficient ſtore of prouiſion for them. And by this means your highneſſe ſhall know what yeerely reuenue Angola will yeeld vnto your coffers, and what profit will grow thereof. Otherwiſe your maieſtie ſhall reape but litle benefit here. If with my preſence I may doe your maieſtie any ſeruice in giuing information of the ſtate of this realme, as one which haue had experience thereof, and haue ſeene the order of it, vpon the vnderſtanding of your maieſties pleaſure herein, I will doe my beſt indeuour. And the cauſe wherefore I haue not done this heretofore hath bene, by reaſon that the Gouernours of this realme would ſuffer none of the captaines which haue conquered this countrey to informe your maieſtie of that which is needfull for your ſeruice, and the augmenting of this conqueſt. Our lord preſerue your catholique perſon with increaſe of many kingdomes, and the augmentation of your crowne. Written in the conqueſt of the realme of Angola the 21 of May 1591.

Paulo Dias Gouernour of Angola.

The king of Matamba.

114 Portugals ſlain in Angola.

Amaſanguano the Portugals abode in Angola

The onely way to reduce a rebellious kingdom vnto obedience.

An vſuall trick of lewd gouernours.

Your maieſties moſt loiall ſubiect,

Baltazar Almeida de Souza.

A true diſcourſe written (as is thought) by Colonel *Antonie VVinkfield* emploied in the voiage to *Spaine* and *Portugall*, 1589. ſent to his particular friend, & by him publiſhed for the better ſatiſfaction of all ſuch as hauing bene ſeduced by particular report, haue entred into conceits tending to the diſcredite of the enterpriſe and Actors of the ſame.

Although the deſire of aduancing my reputation cauſed me to withſtand the many perſwaſions you vſed to hold me at home, & the purſute of honorable actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that aduiſe, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in reſpect of the many aſſurances you haue yeelded mee of your kindeſt friendſhip, I cannot ſuſpect that you will either loue or eſteeme me the leſſe, at this my returne: and therfore I wil not omit any occaſion which may make me appeare thankfull, or diſcharge any part of that duetie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer you a true diſcourſe how theſe warres of Spaine and Portugall haue paſſed ſince our going out of England the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was the firſt of July. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your further ſatiſfaction, as well make relation of thoſe reaſons which confirmed me in my purpoſe of going abroad, as of theſe accidents which haue happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perſwade you that no light fanſie did drawe me from the fruition of your deareſt friendſhip, but an earneſt deſire, by following the warres to make my ſelfe more worthy of the ſame.

Hauing therefore determinately purpoſed to put on this habite of a ſouldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in yͤ wars of the low Countries, which are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her maieſtie, or to folow the fortune of this voiage, which was an aduenture of her and many honorable perſonages, in reuenge of vnſupportable wrongs offered vnto the eſtate of our countrey by the Caſtilian king: in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the chalenger is reputed before the defendant, by ſo much is the iourney to be preferred before thoſe defenſiue wars. For had the duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to inuade: from whence could haue proceeded that glorious honor which theſe late warres haue laid vpon him, or what could haue bene ſaid more of him, then of a Reſpondent (though neuer ſo valiant) in a priuate Duell? Euen, that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one towne or any ſmall defeat giueth more renoume to the Aſſailant, then the defence of a countrey, or the withſtanding of twentie encounters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the ſame: whereof as well the particulars of our age, eſpecially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former hiſtories may aſſure vs, which haue ſtill laied the fame of all warres vpon the Inuader. And do not ours in theſe dayes liue obſcured in Flanders, either not hauing wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend thēſelues when the enemie ſhall procure them? Whereas in this ſhort time of our Aduenture, we haue won a towne by eſcalade, battred & aſſaulted another, ouerthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in 3 ſeueral places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the ſuburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and poſſeſſed two of his frontier Forts, as ſhall in diſcourſe thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an Inuader, and in ſuch an action as euery day giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather cary me thither then into the wars of Flanders. Notwithſtanding the vehement perſwaſions you vſed with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof ſithence you receiued them from others, you muſt giue me leaue to acquaint you with the error you were led into by thē, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it ſtood more with the ſafetie of our eſtate to bend all our forces againſt the prince of Parma, then to folow this action by looking into the true effects of this iourney, will iudicially conuince themſelues of miſtaking the matter. For, may the conqueſt of theſe countries againſt the prince of Parma be thought more eaſie for vs alone now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of England? the power of the Monſieur of France? the aſſiſtance of the principal ſtates of Germanie? and the nobilitie of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000 horſe, & almoſt 30000 foot, beat Don Iohn de Auſtria out of the countrey, who was poſſeſſed of a very few frontier townes? & ſhal it now be laid vpon her maieſties ſhoulders to remoue ſo mightie an enemie, who hath left vs but 3 whole parts of 17 vnconquered? It is not a iourny of a few moneths, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeeres that can dammifie the king of Spaine in thoſe places where we ſhall meet at euery 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will coſt more the winning then will yeerely pay 4 or 5 thouſand mens wages, where all the countrey is quartered by riuers which haue no paſſage vnfortified, and where moſt of the beſt ſouldiers of Chriſtendom that be on our aduerſe party be in penſion. But our armie, which hath not coſt her maieſtie much aboue the third part of one yeres expenſes in the Low countries, hath already ſpoiled a great part of the prouiſion he had made at the Groine of all ſortes, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ſhips, whereof one was yͤ ſecond in the laſt yeres expedition called S. Iuan de Colorado; taken frõ him aboue 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ſhips wel mãned fit and readie to ſerue him for men of war againſt vs, laden for his ſtore with corne, victuals, maſts, cables and other marchandizes; ſlaine and taken the principal men of war he had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Guſman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, ſhamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his beſt Commanders in Lisbon; and by theſe few aduentures diſcouered how eaſily her maieſtie may without any great aduenture in ſhort time pull the Tirant of the world vpon his knees, as wel by the diſquieting his vſurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by ſending an army ſo accompliſhed, as may not be ſubiect to thoſe extremities which we haue endured: except he draw, for thoſe defences, his forces out of the Low countries and diſfurniſh his gariſons of Naples & Milan, which with ſafetie of thoſe places he may not do. And yet by this meane he ſhall rather be inforced thereunto, thẽ by any force that can be vſed there againſt him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the moſt ſafe and neceſſary way to be held againſt him, and therefore more importing then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the iourney (I know) bene much miſliked by ſome, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valure, too indifferently of his purpoſes againſt vs, or too vnworthily of them that vndertooke this iourney againſt him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needleſſe to proceed by inuaſion againſt him, a thing of too great moment for two ſubiects of their qualitie to vndertake: And therfore did not ſo aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good ſucceſſe therof.

The chances of wars be things moſt vncertaine: for what people ſoeuer vndertake them, they are in deed as chaſtiſements appointed by God for the one ſide or the other. For which purpoſe it hath pleaſed him to giue ſome victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres againſt ſome whom he had in purpoſe to ruine. But if we conſider what wars they be that haue made their name ſo terrible, we ſhal find them to haue bin none other then againſt the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the vnarmed Netherlanders, whoſe yeelding rather to the name thẽ act of the Spaniards, hath put them into ſuch a conceit of their mightines, as they haue conſiderately vndertaken the conqueſt of our monarchie, conſiſting of a people vnited & alwayes held ſufficiently warlike: againſt whom what ſucceſſe their inuincible army had the laſt yeere, as our very children can witnes, ſo I doubt not but this voiage hath ſufficiently made knowen what they are euen vpon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene ſet out in ſuch ſort as it was agreed vpon by their firſt demaund, it might haue made our nation the moſt glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promiſed vnto the Aduenture, loſt her maieſtie the poſſeſſion of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter ſhal appeare, whoſe defenſible rampires were greater then our batterie (ſuch as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted?

It was alſo reſolued to haue ſent 600 Engliſh horſes of the Low countries, whereof we had not one, notwithſtanding the great charges expended in their tranſportation hither: and that may the army aſſembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran vs 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we ſhould haue had frõ thence; foure of the 10 dutch Companies; & 6 of their men of war for the ſea, from the Hollanders: which I may iuſtly ſay we wanted, in that we might haue had ſo many good ſouldiers, ſo many good ſhips, and ſo many able bodies more then we had?

Did there not vpõ the firſt thinking of the iourney diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the ſumme of 10000 li. who ſeeing it went forward in good earneſt, aduiſed themſelues better, and laid the want of ſo much money vpon the iourney?

Was there not moreouer a round ſumme of the aduenture ſpent in leuying, furniſhing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the ſeruice of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Oſtend were ſuppreſſed, a ſeruice of no ſmal moment?

What miſery the detracting of the time of our ſetting out, which ſhould haue bene the 1 of February, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnes: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do liue by, had not God giuen vs in the ende a more proſperous wind and ſhorter paſſage into Galitia then hath bene often ſeen, where our owne force & fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which croſſe windes, that held vs two dayes after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thruſt to Sea in the ſame, wiſely chuſing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harborough to loſe any part of the better, when it ſhould come by hauing their men on ſhore: in which two dayes 25 of our companies ſhipped in part of the fleet were ſcattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Vſhant.

Theſe burdens layed vpon our Generals before their going out, they haue patiently endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honour: for hauing done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horſe, 3000 foot, 20000 li. of their aduenture, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may be coniectured they would haue done with their ful cōplement?

For the loſſe of our men at ſea, ſince we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be ſaid more, then that it is his pleaſure to turne all thoſe impediments to the honor of them againſt whom they were intended: and he will ſtill ſhew himſelfe the Lord of hoſts in doing great things by thē, whom many haue ſought to obſcure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in reſpect of thoſe defects, which were ſuch eſpecially for the ſeruice at land, as would haue made a mighty ſubiect ſtoope vnder thē, I do not ſee how any man could iuſtly haue layd any reproch vpon him who commanded the ſame, but rather haue lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom forren countries haue for their conduct in ſeruice worthily eſteemed of, ſhould not only in their owne countrey not be ſeconded in their honorable endeuors, but mightily hindred, euen to yͤ impairing of their owne eſtates, which moſt willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their countries: whoſe worth I wil not value by my report, leſt I ſhould ſeem guiltie of flattery (which my ſoule abhorreth) & yet come ſhort in the true meaſure of their praiſe. Onely for your inſtructiō againſt them who had almoſt ſeduced you from the true opinion you hold of ſuch men, you ſhal vnderſtand that General Norris frō his booke was trained vp in the wars of the Admiral of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men vnder the erle of Eſſex in Ireland: which with what commendations he then diſcharged, I leaue to the report of them who obſerued thoſe ſeruices. Vpon the breach betwixt Don Iohn & the States, he was made Colonell generall of all yͤ Engliſh forces there preſent, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres: he was then made Marſhall of the field vnder Conte Hohenlo: and after that, General of the army in Friſland: at his cōming home in the time of Monſieurs gouernment in Flanders, he was made lord Preſident of Munſter in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere he was ſent for, & ſent Generall of the Engliſh forces which her maieſtie thē lent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leiceſters going ouer. And he was made Marſhall of the field in England, the enemy being vpon our coaſt, and when it was expected the crowne of England ſhould haue bene tried by battel. Al which places of commaundement which neuer any Engliſhman ſucceſſiuely attained vnto in forren wars, and the high places her maieſtie hath thought him worthy of, may ſuffice to perſwade you, that he was not altogether vnlikely to diſcharge that which he vndertooke.

What fame general Drake hath gotten by his iourny about the world, by his aduentures to the weſt Indies, & the ſcourges he hath laid vpon the Spaniſh nation, I leaue to the Southerne parts to ſpeake of, & refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of yͤ ſame, & beſeech you conſidering the waighty matters they haue in all the courſe of their liues with wonderfull reputation managed, that you wil eſteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them inſufficient to paſſe through that which they vndertooke, eſpecially hauing gone thus far in the view of the world, through ſo many incombrances, & diſappointed of thoſe agreements which led them yͤ rather to vndertake the ſeruice. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voiage, or conceited of the Commanders, yͭ labouring thus earneſtly to aduance the opinion of them both, haue not ſo much as touched any part of the miſorders, weaknes & wants that haue bene amongſt vs, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the iourney, & do thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we find in greateſt antiquities, that many Commanders haue bene receiued home with triumph for leſſe merite, & that our owne countrey hath honored men heretofore with admiration for aduentures vnequal to this: it might therfore in thoſe daies haue ſeemed ſuperfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances, for that then all men were ready to giue euery man his due. But I hold it moſt neceſſary in theſe daies, ſithence euery vertue findeth her direct oppoſite, & actions worthy of all memory are in danger to be enuiouſly obſcured, to denounce the prayſes of the action, and actors to the ful, but yet no further then with ſinceritie of trueth, & not without grieuing at the iniury of this time, wherein is enforced a neceſſitie of Apologies for thoſe men & matters, which all former times were accuſtomed to entertaine with the greateſt applauſe that might be. But to anſwere the reports which haue bene giuen out in reproch of the actors and action by ſuch as were in the ſame: let no man thinke otherwiſe, but that they, who fearing the caſuall accidents of war had any purpoſe of returning, did firſt aduiſe of ſome occaſion that ſhould moue them thereunto: and hauing found any whatſoeuer did thinke it ſufficiently iuſt, in reſpect of the earneſt deſire they had to ſeeke out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of theſe there were ſome, who hauing noted the late Flemiſh warres did finde that many yong men haue gone ouer and ſafely returned ſouldiers within fewe moneths, in hauing learned ſome wordes of Arte vſed in the warres, and thought after that good example to ſpend like time amongſt vs: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongſt vs.

The neglect of diſcipline in the Armie, for that men were ſuffered to be drunke with the plentie of wines.

The ſcarſitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and ſicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe:

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done: And that therefore they could be content to loſe their time, and aduenture to returne home againe.

Theſe men haue either cõceiued wel of their owne wits (who by obſeruing the paſſages of the warre were become ſufficiẽt ſouldiers in theſe fewe weeks, & did long to be at home, where their diſcourſes might be wondred at) or miſſing of their Portegues and Milrayes which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the iourney. For ſeeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one eſcaped the bullet this day it might light vpon him tomorow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but yͤ euery place brought foorth new enemies, they were glad to ſee ſome of the poore ſouldiers fal ſicke, yͭ fearing to be infected by them they might iuſtly deſire to go home.

Answere to the firſt.

The ſickneſſe I confeſſe was great, becauſe any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary amongſt Engliſhmen at their firſt entrance into the warres, whitherſoeuer they goe to want the fulneſſe of their fleſh pots? Haue not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? haue they not abundantly periſhed in the Low countreys with cold, and rawneſſe of the aire, euen in their garriſons? Haue there not more died in London in ſixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the ſtrongeſt? And could the Spaniſh Armie the laſt yeere (who had all prouiſions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fitteſt ſeaſon in the yeere for our Climate) auoyd ſicknes amongſt their ſouldiers? May it then be thought that ours could eſcape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to diſtemper them withall?

But can it be, that wee haue loſt ſo many as the common ſort perſwade themſelues wee haue? It hath bene prooued by ſtrickt examinations of our muſters, that we were neuer in our fulneſſe before our going from Plimouth 11000. ſouldiers, nor aboue 2500. Marriners. It is alſo euident that there returned aboue 6000. of all ſorts, as appeareth by the ſeuerall paiments made to them ſince our comming home. And I haue truely ſhewed you that of theſe numbers very neere 3000. forſooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof ſome paſſed into France and the reſt returned home. So as we neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home aboue 6000. with vs, you may ſee how the world hath bene ſeduced, in beleeuing that we haue loſt 16000. men by ſicknes.

Answere to the ſecond.

To them that haue made queſtion of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth thereunto in that there were ſo many drunkards amongſt vs) I anſwere, that in their gouernment of ſhires and pariſhes, yea in their very houſholdes, themſelues can hardly bridle their vaſſals from that vice. For we ſee it is a thing almoſt impoſſible, at any your Faires or publique aſſemblies to finde any quarter thereof ſober, or in your Townes any Alepoles vnfrequented: And we obſerue that though any man hauing any diſordered perſons in their houſes, do locke vp their drinke and ſet Butlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes ſteale themſelues drunke from their Maſters tables, or runne abroad to ſeeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iuſtices, Maiors, Preachers, and Maſters, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that thoſe baſe diſordered perſons whom themſelues ſent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purſes could neuer reach to in England, and hauing it there without mony euẽ in their houſes where they lie & hold their guard, can be kept from being drunk; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for euery drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that haue runne into theſe diſorders? Euen our neweſt men, our yongeſt men, and our ideleſt men, and for the moſt part our ſlouenly preſt men, whom the Iuſtices (who haue alwayes thought vnwoorthily of any warre) haue ſent out as the ſcumme and dregs of their countrey. And thoſe were they, who diſtempering themſelues with theſe hote wines, haue brought in that ſickneſſe, which hath infected honeſter men then themſelues. But I hope, as in other places the recouerie of their diſeaſes doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, ſo the remainder of theſe which haue either recouered, or paſt without ſickneſſe will prooue moſt fit for Martiall ſeruices.

Anſwere to the third.

If we haue wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid vpon the captaines (who are to prouide for their ſeuerall Companies) then vpon the Generals, whoſe care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that euery captaine, vpon whom moſt of the charges of raiſing their Companies was laid as an aduenture, could prouide themſelues of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purſe of the prince. But admit euery captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neuer the leſſe: for our Engliſh Surgeons (for the moſt part) be vnexperienced in hurts that come by ſhot; becauſe England hath not knowen wars but of late, from whoſe ignorãce proceeded this diſcomfort, which I hope wil warne thoſe yͭ hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of ſuch as may better preſerue mens liues by their ſkill.

Anſwere to the fourth.

From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may coniecture in yͭ we marched through a countrey neither plentiful of ſuch prouiſions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can aſſure you, that no mã of worth was left either hurt or ſicke in any place vnprouided for. And that the General commanded all the mules & aſſes that were laden with any baggage to be vnburdened and taken to that vſe: and the earle of Eſſex and he for mony hired men to cary mẽ vpon pikes. And the earle (whoſe true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, ſo did it very much in this) threw down his own ſtuffe, I meane apparel & neceſſaries which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and ſicke men vpon them. Of whoſe honorable deſeruings I ſhall not need here to make any particular diſcourſe, for that many of his actions do hereafter giue me occaſion to obſerue the ſame.

Anſwere to the fift.

And the great complaint that theſe men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed vpon good bieues, muttons & goats, be to want, they haue endured great ſcarcitie at land, wherunto they neuer wanted, two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in ſome quantitie) except it were ſuch as had vowed rather to ſtarue then to ſtir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had ſerued for it, might haue ſeen in many campes in the moſt plentifull countries of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not hauing money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in euery place affoord the beſt water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although ſome haue moſt iniuriouſly exclaimed againſt the ſmal prouiſions of victuals for the ſea, rather grounding the ſame vpon an euil that might haue fallen, then any that did light vpõ vs: yet know you this, that there is no man ſo forgetfull, that will ſay they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whoſoeuer made not very large prouiſions for himſelfe & his company at the Groine, was very improuident, where was plentiful ſtore of wine, biefe and fiſh, & no man of place prohibited to lay in the ſame into their ſhips, wherewith ſome did ſo furniſh themſelues, as they did not onely in the iourney ſupplie the wants of ſuch as were leſſe prouident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Caſcais there came in ſuch ſtore of prouiſions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would haue vſed his diligence could haue wanted his due proportiõ thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the plentifull ſale thereof made out of the marchants ſhips after their comming into the Thames.

But leaſt I ſhould ſeeme vnto you too ſtudious in confuting idle opinions, or anſwering friuolous queſtions, I wil addreſſe me to the true report of thoſe actiõs that haue paſſed therein: wherein I proteſt, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned againſt vs, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the iuſt occaſions thereof lead me vnto: wherein it ſhall appeare that there hath bene nothing left vndone by the Generals which was before our going out vndertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the firſt required by Don Antonio, who ſhould haue reaped the fruit of our aduenture.

Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20 of April

After 6 daies ſailing from the coaſt of England, & the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the euening, we landed in a baie more then an Engliſh mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnaſſes without any impeachment: from whence we preſently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemie, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houſes & mils next adioining, and very neere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. Iohn (which was the ſecond of the laſt yeeres Fleet agaynſt England) one hulke, two ſmaller ſhips and two Gallies which were found in the road, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies as they paſſed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the ſame defended on the land ſide (for it ſtandeth vpon the necke of an Iland) with a wall vpon a dry ditch: whereupon he reſolued to trie in two places what might bee done againſt it by eſcalade, and in the meane time aduiſed for the landing of ſome artillery to beat vpon the ſhips and gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the firſt piece the gallies abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and muſketers that were placed vpon the next ſhore, left her playing vpon vs. The reſt of the day was ſpent in preparing the companies, and other prouiſions ready for the ſurpriſe of the baſe towne, which was effected in this ſort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men vnder the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that ſide next fronting vs by water in long boats and pinneſſes, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat vpon the towne in their aproch: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water ſide, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampſon Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it paſſable, but if not, to betake them to the eſcalade, for they had alſo ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that ſide that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Bret with 300 men to enter by eſcalade. All the companies which ſhould enter by boat being imbarked before the low water, and hauing giuen the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampſon betooke them to the eſcalde, for they had in commandement to charge all at one inſtant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they ſome men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bret and Colonell Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made againſt them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his firſt entry, with ſome of his owne company whom he truſted well, betooke himſelfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, and ſo ſtill ſcoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who mainteined the fight againſt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampſon; who were twiſe beaten from their ladders, and found very good reſiſtance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to abandon the ſame. The reaſon why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the ſame affirmeth) that the enemy that day had reſolued in councell how to make their defences, if they were approched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore vpon the diſcouery of our boats, they of the high towne ſhould make a ſignall by fire from thence, that all the low towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the ſudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on euery ſide.

Then the towne being entred in three ſeueral places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with leſſe perill doe, for that ours being ſtrangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The reſt that were not put to the ſword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Iland, and others hid themſelues in chambers and ſellers, which were euery day found out in great numbers.

Amongſt thoſe Don Iuan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, hauing hidden himſelfe in a houſe, did the the next morning yeeld himſelfe.

There was alſo taken that night a commiſſary of victuals called Iuan de Vera, who confeſſed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 ſouldiers being in ſeuen cõpanies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the ſmall numbers of them) from the iourney of England, namely:

Under Don Iuan de Luna.
- Don Diego Barran, a baſtard ſonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.
- Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
- Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
- Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Iuan, with ſome of the towne were in the fort.
- Don Gomez de Caramaſal then at Madrid.
- Captaine Manço Caucaſo de Socas.

Alſo there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Iuan de Moſalle, and Don Pedro poure de Leon.

Alſo he ſaith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000 of biſcuit, ſome in Baranſas, ſome in Ribadeo, and the reſt there.

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ſhips.

That there were lately come vnto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats.

That there were 1000 iarres of oile.

A great quantity of beanes, peaze, wheat, and fiſh.

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

And that not twenty dayes before, there came in three barks laden with match & harquebuzes.

Some others alſo found fauour to be taken priſoners, but the reſt falling into the hands of the common ſouldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I coniecture, firſt and laſt, after we had entred the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found euery celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grew themſelues for the preſent ſenſeleſſe of the danger of the ſhot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, & tooke the firſt ground of their ſickneſſe; for of ſuch was our firſt and chiefeſt mortality. There was alſo abundant ſtore of victuals, ſalt, and all kinde of prouiſion for ſhipping and the warre: which was confeſſed by the ſayd Commiſſary of victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a magaſin of all ſorts of prouiſion for a new voyage into England: whereby you may coniecture what the ſpoile thereof hath aduantaged vs, and preiudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ſhips. And hauing ouercharged the attillery of yͤ gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible ſort two dayes together, the fire and ouercharging of the pieces being ſo great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not aboue ſixteene taken out whole; the reſt with ouercharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into diuers ſhippes. The ſame day was the cloiſter on the South ſide of the towne entred by vs, which ioyned very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the ſame with our muſquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe ſome 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, euen to the gates of the towne, as reſolutely (ledde by what ſpirit I know not) as though they would haue entred the ſame: but at the firſt defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were ſlaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the ſame diſorder they made their approch, and with greater ſpeed then ours were able to follow: notwithſtanding we followed after them more then a mile. The ſecond day Colonell Huntley was ſent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great ſtore of kine and ſheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpoſe to take a long munition-houſe builded vpon their wall opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage againſt them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewiſe brought ſome artillery to that ſide of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily ſeene vnto, and the fury thereof preuented by pulling downe many houſes which were moſt in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouiſions we found there, to our woonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted vnder the gard of the cloiſter two demy-canons, and two colue-rings againſt the towne, defended or gabbioned with a croſſe wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the firſt and ſecond tire whereof ſhooke all the wall downe; ſo as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reaſon whereof ſome of the Canoniers were ſhot and ſome ſlaine. The Lieutenant alſo of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was ſlaine faſt by Sir Edward Norris, Maſter thereof: whoſe valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that truſt committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to ceaſe the battery, which he preſently did, leauing a guard vpon the ſame for that day; and in the night following made ſo good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the aſſault ſhould be giuen to the towne, he ſhould make a proffer of an eſcalade on the other ſide, where he held his guard: but he (miſtaking the ſignall that ſhould haue bene giuen) attempted the ſame long before the aſſault, and was ſhot in the mouth. The ſame day the Generall hauing planted his ordinance ready to batter, cauſed the towne to be ſummoned; in which ſummons they of the towne ſhot at our Drum: immediatly after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parle deſired; wherein they gaue vs to vnderſtand, that the man hanged was he that ſhot at the Drum before: wherein alſo they intreated to haue faire warres, with promiſe of the ſame on their parts. The reſt of the parle was ſpent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and ſome other priſoners, and ſomewhat of the rendring of the towne, but not much; for they liſtened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his ſkilfull view of the towne (which is almoſt all ſeated vpon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did preſently ſet workemen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the ſeuenth after we were entred the baſe towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Againſt which time the breach made by the canon being thought aſſaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the ſame, as that which was expected ſhould be blowen vp by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generals foot-companie, with whom alſo Captaine Yorke went, whoſe principall commandment was ouer the horſemen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine Iohn Sampſon, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Maſter of the Ordinance, with certaine ſelected out of diuers Regiments. All theſe companies being in armes, and the aſſault intended to be giuen in al places at an inſtant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reaſon the powder brake out backewards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was ſent with ſome choſen out of euery company into the countrey for prouiſions, whereof he brought in good ſtore, and returned without loſſe.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampſon was ſent out with ſome 500 to fetch in prouiſions for the army, who was encountred by them of the countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good ſpoile. The ſame night the Miners were ſet to worke againe, who by the ſecond day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Againſt which time the companies aforeſayd being in readineſſe for both places (Generall Drake on the other ſide, with two or three hundred men in pinneſſes, making proffer to attempt a ſtrong fort vpon an Iland before the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was giuen to the traine of the mine, which blew vp halfe the tower vnder which the powder was planted. The aſſailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the mine preſently to giue the aſſault, performed it accordingly; but too ſoone: for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the firſt force of the powder was onely ſhaken and made looſe, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being vnder that part of the tower. This ſo amazed our men that ſtood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forſooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Enſignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were ſhot in the breach, but their colours were reſcued: the Generals by Captaine Sampſons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himſelfe. Amongſt them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully loſt; who hauing three or foure great ſtones vpon his lower parts, was held ſo faſt, as neither himſelfe could ſtirre, nor any reaſonable company recouer him. Notwithſtanding the next day being found to be aliue, there was ten or twelue loſt in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well aſſaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the puſh of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the looſe earth (which was indeed but the rubbiſh of the outſide of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon ſlipped outwards from vnder their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall vnbattered. For let no man thinke that culuerin or demy-canon can ſufficiently batter a defenſible rampire: and of thoſe pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the ſecond ſhot brake in her carriages, ſo as the battery was of leſſe force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who ſerued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of ſuch as were of beſt iudgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtleſſe ſucceeded, the rather, becauſe the approch was vnlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not ſo much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new reſolution: for finding that two dayes battery had ſo little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he firſt put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper towne, hauing no other way to put it in hazzard ſo ſpeedily, and which in my conſcience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as great perill of their liues by the diſpleaſure of their king in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or ſword in defending the ſame. For that day before the aſſault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloiſter within the towne, and many other houſes adioyning to the caſtle, to make it more defenſible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themſelues had of holding it againſt vs, had not God (who would not haue vs ſuddenly made proud) layed that miſfortune vpon vs.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure canons, and other pieces of battery promiſed to the iourney, and not performed, might haue made her Maieſty miſtreſſe of the Groine: for though the mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had bene ſuch as the earth would haue held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entred it thorowly at the firſt aſſault giuen: which had bene more then I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of

Parma hath in winning of all his townes endured, who neuer entred any place at the firſt aſſault, nor aboue three by aſſault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a priſoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had aſſembled an armie of eight thouſand at Puente de Burgos, ſixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie: in that there was a greater leauie readie to come thither vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpoſe to relieue the Groine, or to encampe themſelues neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the ſame; for to that purpoſe had the marqueſſe of Seralba written to them both the firſt night of our landing, as the Commiſſarie taken then confeſſed, or at the leaſt to ſtop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incurſions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, ſpoyled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the Generall, I ſay, hearing of this armie, had in purpoſe the next day following to viſite them, agaynſt whom hee caried but nine Regiments: in the vantgard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonel Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leauing the other fiue Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloiſter and Artillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the ſixt of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we diſcouering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vantgard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the ſhot of the ſame, who diuided them into three troups; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Muſquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himſelfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, ſo as he giuing the firſt charge vpon the enemy, was in the inſtant ſeconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they hauing very good places of defence, and croſſe walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of ſtone vpon arches. On the foot of the further ſide whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very ſtrongly entrenched, who with our ſhot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without ſtay paſſed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleare ouer the ſame, but through an incredible volley of ſhot; for that the ſhot of their army flanked vpon both ſides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrels: but they who ſhould haue guarded the ſame, ſeeing the proud approch we made, forſooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the firſt defendant with his pike, with very earneſtneſſe in ouerthruſting, fell, and was grieuouſly hurt at the ſword in the head, but was moſt honourably reſcued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and ſome other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder alſo hauing his Caſke ſhot off, had fiue wounds in the head and face at the ſword: and Captaine Fulford was ſhot into the left arme at the ſame encounter: yet were they ſo thorowly ſeconded by the Generall, who thruſt himſelfe ſo neere to giue encouragement to the attempt (which was of wooderfull difficulty) as their braueſt men that defended that place being ouerthrowen, their whole army fell preſently into rout, of whom our men had the chaſe three miles in foure ſundry wayes, which they betooke themſelues vnto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thouſand men (for of ſo many conſiſted our vantgard) might kill in purſuit of foure ſundry parties, ſo many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their ſtandes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they diſpatched. Alſo Colonell Medkerk was ſent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloiſter, which he burnt and ſpoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, & put them to the ſword. There were ſlaine in this fight on our ſide onely Captaine Cooper, and one priuate ſouldier: Captaine Barton was alſo hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you ſeene the ſtrong baricades they had made on either ſide of the bridge, and how ſtrongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare reſolution of ours to giue ſo braue a charge vpon an army ſo ſtrongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall ſent the vantgard one way, and the battell another, to burne and ſpoile; ſo as you might haue ſeene the countrey more then three miles compaſſe on fire. There was found very good ſtore of munition and victuals in the Campe, ſome plate and rich apparell, which the better ſort left behinde, they were ſo hotly purſued. Our ſailers alſo landed in an Iland next adioyning to our ſhips, where they burnt and ſpoiled all they found. Thus we returned

The notable ouerthrow giuē to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.

to the Groine, bringing ſmall comfort to the enemy within the ſame, who ſhot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was ſpent in ſhipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the reſt taken at the Groine, which had it bene ſuch as might haue giuen vs any aſſurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpoſe of our iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue ſpent ſome more time in the ſiege of the place.

The two laſt nights, there were that vndertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houſes were builded vpon the wall by the water ſide; but they within ſuſpecting as much, made ſo good defence againſt vs, as they preuented the ſame. In our departure there was fire put into euery houſe of the low towne, inſomuch as I may iuſtly ſay, there was not one houſe left ſtanding in the baſe towne, or the cloiſter.

The next day, being the eight of May, we embarked our army without loſſe of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impoſſible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue attempted ſomething againſt vs in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commiſſary aforeſayd, who confeſſed, that the firſt night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terneis de Santiſſo, to bring all the forces againſt vs that they could poſſible raiſe, thinking no way ſo good to aſſure that place, as to bring an army thither, wherewithall they might either beſiege vs in their baſe towne, if we ſhould get it, or to lie betweene vs and our place of imbarking, to fight with vs vpon the aduantage; for they had aboue 15000 ſouldiers vnder their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde ſo contrary, as we could not vnder nine dayes recouer the Burlings: in which paſſage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Eſſex, and with him M. Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of woonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwayes bene moſt inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle hauing put himſelfe into the iourney againſt the opinion of the world, and as it ſeemed to the hazzard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable cariage of himſelfe towards all men doth make him highly eſteemed at home; ſo did his exceeding forwardneſſe in all ſeruices make him to be woondered at amongſt vs) who, I ſay, put off in the ſame winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, becauſe he would auoid the importunity of meſſengers that were dayly ſent for his returne, and ſome other cauſes more ſecret to himſelfe, not knowing (as it ſeemed) what place the Generals purpoſed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke ſome ſhips laden with corne, and brought them vnto the fleet. Alſo in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that ſide of the riuer which Cannas ſtandeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and thoſe Gentlemen that were with him went on ſhore, with ſome men out of the ſhip he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard vpon that coaſt, would not abide, but fled vp into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, vnder the ſhot of the caſtle, and aboue the waſte in water, more then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reaſon the winde was great, and the ſea went high, which ouerthrew one boat, wherein fiue and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men periſhed. The enemy being fiue companies of Spaniards vnder the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, ſallied out of the towne againſt vs, and in our landing made their approch cloſe by the water ſide. But the Earle of Eſſex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, hauing landed ſufficient number to make two troups, left one to holde the way by the water ſide, and led the other ouer the Sandhils; which the enemy ſeeing, drew theirs likewiſe further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeed to make their ſpeedy paſſage away: notwithſtanding, they did it in ſuch ſort, as being charged by ours which were ſent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Iackſon, they ſtood the ſame euen to the puſh of the pike: in which charge and at the puſh, Captaine Robert Piew was ſlaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reaſon to follow them, all our companies were drawen to the towne; which being vnfortified in any place, we found vndefended by any man againſt vs. And therefore the Generall cauſed the caſtle to be ſummoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being poſſeſſed thereof, deſired but to be aſſured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliuer the ſame; which he honeſtly performed. There was taken out of the caſtle ſome hundred ſhot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furniſhed his Portugals withall, and twenty barrels of powder: ſo as poſſeſſing both the towne and the caſtle, we reſted there one day; wherein ſome Friers and other poore men came vnto their new king, promiſing in the name of their country next adioyning, that

Peniche taken.

within two dayes he ſhould haue a good ſupply of horſe and foote for his aſſiſtance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horſes were vnſhipped.

The Generals there fully reſolued, that the Armie ſhould march ouer land to Lisbone vnder the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake ſhould meete him in the riuer thereof with the Fleete; that there ſhould be one Company of foote left in garde of the Caſtle, and ſixe in the ſhips: alſo that the ſicke & hurt ſhould remaine there with prouiſions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the euent of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this ſort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk, in the vantgard: Generall Drake, Colonell Deuereux Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the battell: Sir Iames Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntlies, and Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our army was thus marſhalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to paſſe by Sea, yet to make knowen the honourable deſire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, ſtood vpon the aſcent of an hill, by the which our battalions muſt of neceſſity march, and with a pleaſing kindneſſe tooke his leaue ſeuerally of the Commanders of euery regiment, wiſhing vs all moſt happy ſucceſſe in our iourney ouer the land, with a conſtant promiſe that he would, if the iniury of the weather did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of cariages the firſt day was ſuch, as they were enforced to cary their munition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Criſpe the Prouoſt Marſhall cauſed one who (contrary to the Proclamation publiſhed at our arriuall in Portugall) had broken vp an houſe for pillage, to be hanged, with the cauſe of his death vpon his breaſt, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, cauſed the commandement to be more reſpectiuly regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of puniſhment doeth onely holde within compaſſe. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horſe and foot againſt vs at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would haue held: but comming thither the ſecond day of our march, not two houres before our vantgard came in, they left the towne and the caſtle to the poſſeſſion of Don Antonio.

There began the greateſt want we had of victuals, eſpecially of bread, vpon a commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man ſhould ſpoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more reſpectiuely obſerued, then I thinke would haue bene in our owne countrey, amongſt our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promiſe) wholly neglected the prouiſion of victuals for vs, whereby we were driuen for that time into a great ſcarſity. Which mooued the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduiſe for ſome better courſe for our people: who thought it beſt, firſt to aduertiſe the king what neceſſity we were in, before we ſhould of our ſelues alter the firſt inſtitution of abſtinence. The Colonell generall hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king; who after ſome expoſtulations vſed, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieued.

The third day we lodged our army in three ſundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Caualleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebaſtian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horſe company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horſemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horſes thorow 40 of them, & himſelfe thorow more then 200 with ſome forty horſes: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had diuers intelligences that the enemy would tary vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promiſe to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done aduantageouſly; for we had a bridge to paſſe ouer in the ſame place: but before our comming he diſlodged, notwithſtanding it appeared vnto vs that he had in purpoſe to encampe there; for we found the ground ſtaked out where their trenches ſhould haue bene made: and their horſemen with ſome few ſhot ſhewed themſelues vpon an hill at our comming into that village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whoſe regiment had the point of the vantgard) thought to draw vnto ſome fight, and therfore marched without ſound of drumme, and ſomewhat faſter then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were diſcouered, for he was ſhadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew themſelues into a village, more then one Engliſh mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do any thing againſt vs in foure dayes before, tooke that occaſion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that regiment, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall ſalutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our yoong Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch were diſcharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whoſe Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes vpon them in ſo reſolute maner, as they preſently draue them to retire with loſſe: they killed of ours at their firſt entrance fourteene, and hurt ſixe or ſeuen.

The next day we lodged at Aluelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our ſouldiers drinking in two places of ſtanding waters by the way were poiſoned, and thereon preſently died. Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houſes plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poore men were poiſoned.

That night the Earle of Eſſex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clocke with 1000 men to lie in ambuſcade neere the towne, and hauing layed the ſame very neere, ſent ſome to giue the alarme vnto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refuſed to iſſue after them, ſo as the Earle returned aſſoone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpoſe, and was ready to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the euening we came to the ſuburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirty ſhot or thereabouts, and firſt ſcowred all the ſtreets till they came very neere the towne; where they found none but olde folks and beggers, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, and the houſes ſhut vp: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired ſome houſes by the water ſide, full of corne and other prouiſions of victuals, leaſt we ſhould be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houſes.

The foure regiments that had the vantgard that day, which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall cauſed to holde guard in the neereſt ſtreets of the Suburbs: the battell and the arreward ſtood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the towne wall, and ſo held the ſame till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houſes that ſtood vpon their wall either within or without, leaſt we poſſeſſing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without peril) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and would haue bene a very euill neighbor to the towne: but the enemy hauing more eaſie entry into it then we, gained it before vs. The reſt of that morning was ſpent in quartering the battell and arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Viſta, and in placing Muſquetiers in houſes, to front their ſhot vpon the wall, who from the ſame ſcowred the great ſtreets very dangerouſly.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our ſixe dayes march, and the laſt nights watch, were deſirous of reſt; whereof the enemy being aduertiſed, about one or two of the clocke ſallied out of the towne, and made their approch in three ſeuerall ſtreets vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as moſt of the army was) being at reſt, with as much ſpeed as he could, drew his men into armes, and made head againſt them ſo thorowly, as himſelfe was ſlaine in the place, Captaine Carſey ſhot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre ſlaine preſently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This reſiſtance made aſwell here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a ſudden foule retreat; inſomuch, as the Earle of Eſſex had the chaſe of them euen to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their beſt Commanders: their troupe of horſemen alſo came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themſelues againe. Many of them alſo left the ſtreets, and betooke them to houſes which they found open: for the Sergeant maior Captaine Wilſon ſlew in one houſe with his owne hands three or foure, and cauſed them that were with him to kill many others. Their loſſe I can aſſure you did triple ours, aſwell in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Caſcais, and poſſeſſed the towne without any reſiſtance: many of the inhabitants at their diſcouery of our nauy, fledde with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would poſſeſſe it, till Generall Drake ſent vnto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindneſſe, ſo farre foorth as they would accept of their King, and miniſter neceſſaries to the army he had brought; which offer they ioyfully imbraced, and preſently ſent two chiefe men of their towne, to ſignifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honeſt affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloiſter called San Domingo, but not without perill of the ſhot of the caſtle, which being guarded with 65 Spaniards, held ſtill againſt him.

As our fleet were caſting ancre when they came firſt into that road, there was a ſmall ſhip of Braſil that came from thence, which bare with them, and ſeemed by ſtriking her ſailes, as though ſhe would alſo haue ancred: but taking her fitteſt occaſion hoiſed againe, and would haue paſſed vp the riuer, but the Generall preſently diſcerning her purpoſe, ſent out a pinneſſe or two after her, which forced her in ſuch ſort, as ſhe ran herſelfe vpon the Rocks: all the men eſcaped out of her, and the lading (being many cheſts of ſugar) was made nothing woorth, by the ſalt water. In his going thither alſo, he tooke ſhips of the port of Portugall, which were ſent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant maior of the ſame place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the reſt that eſcaped put into Setuuel.

The next day it pleaſed Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to aduiſe with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall horſe and foot, whereof the King had made promiſe, and to march ſome conuenient number to Caſcais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ſhips, ſauing that which for the neceſſity of the ſeruice was brought along with vs: whereunto, ſome caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that moſt part of the towne ſtood for vs, held it beſt to make our abode there, and and to ſend ſome 3000 for our artillery: promiſing to themſelues, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no more ſallies: ſome others (whoſe vnbeliefe was very ſtrong of any hope from the Portugall) perſwaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was ſo little appearance. The Generall not willing to leaue any occaſion of blotte to be layed vpon him for his ſpeedy going from thence, nor to loſe any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpoſe of their iourney, but an aduenture therein (which if it ſucceeded proſperouſly, might make them ſufficiently rich, and woonderfull honourable) and that they had done ſo much already in triall thereof, as what end ſoeuer happened, could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings laſt promiſe, that he ſhould haue that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night diſlodge. And if they came, thereby to make him ſo ſtrong, that he might ſend the like number for his munition, he would reſolue to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his forces, by ſending any to Caſcais, and keeping a remainder behinde, ſithence he ſaw them the day before ſo boldly ſally vpon his whole army, and knew that they were ſtronger of Souldiours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Caſcais, they expected more ſupplies from all places, of Souldiours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Franciſco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his concluſion was, that if the 3000 promiſed came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of ſo great moment ſhould be ſo ſlenderly regarded, as that the Generall ſhould march with ſuch an army againſt ſuch an enemy, before he knew either the fulneſſe of his owne ſtrength, or certaine meanes how he ſhould abide the place when he ſhould come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Councell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique proteſtation the firſt day of our march, that our nauy ſhould meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon, in the which was the ſtore of all our prouiſions, and ſo the meane of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very ſmall fight. We are alſo to conſider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertiſements he receiued from the Portugals, or willing by any promiſe to bring ſuch an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) aſſured the Generall, that vpon his firſt landing, there would be a reuolt of his ſubiects: whereof there was ſome hope giuen at our firſt entry to Peniche, by the maner of the yeelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it moſt conuenient ſpeedily to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the reſt of the Countrey. The Friers alſo and the poore people that came vnto him promiſed, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two dayes came many more Prieſts, and ſome very few gentlemen on horſebacke; but not til we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the courſe of things how they paſſed, might ſomewhat diſcouer the weakneſſe of that people. There they tooke two dayes more; and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with aſſurance, that ſo ſoone as our army ſhould be ſeene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall vpon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you haue heard, promiſed a ſupply of 3000 foot, and ſome horſe: but all his appointments being expired, euen to the laſt of a night, all his horſe could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foot furniſh two enſignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and theſe were altogether ſuch as thought to inrich themſelues by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more diſorders in euery place where we came by ſpoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you ſee, hauing done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and giuen credit to his many promiſes, euen to the breach of the laſt, he deſiſted not to perſwade him to ſtay yet nine dayes longer: in which tyme he might haue engaged himſelfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed againſt vs, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fifteene miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the firſt ſhew of any great ſickeneſſe amongſt them. Whereby it ſeemeth, that either his prelacy did much abuſe him in perſwading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he ſaw no ſemblance: or he like a ſilly louer, who promiſeth himſelfe fauor by importuning a coy miſtreſſe, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers had by following him with ſuch deuotion, I know not, but ſure I am, the Laity did reſpite their homage till they might ſee which way the victory would ſway; fearing to ſhew themſelues apparantly vnto him, leaſt the Spaniard ſhould after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to account: yet ſent they vnder hand meſſages to him of obedience, thereby to ſaue their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to ſee the Spaniards and vs try by blowes, who ſhould carry away the crowne. For they be of ſo baſe a mould, as they can very wel ſubiect themſelues to any gouernment, where they may liue free from blowes, and haue liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazzard either of life or goods. For durſt they haue put on any minds thorowly to reuolt, they had three woonderfull good occaſions offered them during our being there.

Themſelues did in generall confeſſe, that there were not aboue 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the laſt day of our march: during which time, how eaſily they might haue preuailed againſt the reſt, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approch they tooke them all in, and combined themſelues in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the ſally was made vpon vs by their moſt reſolute Spaniards, how eaſily might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof?

And two dayes after our comming to Caſcais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came againſt vs as farre as S. Iulians by land, as you ſhal preſently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occaſion to ſhew their deuotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had ſhut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing ſought them in Galitia vpon diſaduantage to beat them: and hauing taken ſo much paines to ſeeke them at their owne houſes, whereof we gaue ſufficient teſtimony in the ſame accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken ſo deepe impreſſion within them, as they durſt not attempt any thing againſt them vpon any hazzard.

For, what ciuill countrey hath euer ſuffered themſelues to be conquered by ſo few men as they were; to be depriued of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long, but they? And what countrey, liuing in ſlauery vnder a ſtranger whom they naturally hate, hauing an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie ſtill with the yoke vpon their necks, attending if any ſtrangers would vnburthen them, without ſo much as rouſing themſelues vnder it, but they? They will promiſe much in ſpeeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reaſon to diſtruſt without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could haue had no proofe without this thorow triall. Wherein he hath diſcouered their weakneſſe, and honorably performed more then could be in reaſon expected of him: which had he not done, would not theſe maligners, who ſeeke occaſions of ſlander, haue reported him to be ſuſpicious of a people, of whoſe infidelity he had no teſtimony: and to be fearefull without cauſe, if he had refuſed to giue credit to their promiſes without any aduenture: Let no friuolous queſtioniſt therefore further enquire why he marched ſo many dayes to Lisbon, and taried there ſo ſmall a while.

The next morning, ſeeing no performance of promiſe kept, he gaue order for our marching away; himſelfe, the Earle of Eſſex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the ſtand that was made in the high ſtreet, till the whole army was drawen into the field, and ſo marched out of the towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the arrereward of them with the ſhot; thinking that the enemy (as it was moſt likely) would haue iſſued out vpon our riſing; but they were otherwiſe aduiſed. When we were come into the field, euery battalion fell into that order which by courſe appertained vnto them, and ſo marched that night vnto Caſcais. Had we marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiours had beene well ſupplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had beene the richeſt army that euer went out of England: for beſides the particular wealth of euery houſe, there were many Warehouſes by the water ſide full of all ſorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the gallies which had ſomewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were paſt S. Iulians, beſtowing many ſhot amongſt vs, but did no harme at all, ſauing that they ſtrooke off a gentlemans leg, & killed the Sergeant maiors moile vnder him. The horſemen alſo followed vs afarre off, and cut off as many ſicke men as were not able to holde in march, nor we had cariage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Caſcais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching ſtrongly towards vs, and then came as farre as S. Iulian: which newes was ſo welcome to the Earle of Eſſex and the Generals, as they offered euery one of them to giue the meſſenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall deſiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, diſpatched that night a meſſenger with a trumpet, by whom he writ a cartell to the Generall of their army, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we diſlodged from Lisbon in diſorder and feare of them (which indeed was moſt falſe) for that it was fiue of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in ſuch ſort, as they had no courage to follow out vpon vs. Alſo he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durſt attend his comming, and there to try out the iuſtneſſe of their quarrel by battell: by whom alſo the Earle of Eſſex (who preferring the honor of the cauſe, which was his countreys, before his owne ſafety) ſent a particular cartel, offering himſelfe againſt any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not admit of that; ſixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, ſhould meet ſo many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they ſhould haue aſſurance of their returne and honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were diſlodged in the night in great diſorder, being taken with a ſudden feare that we had bene come vpon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: ſo as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other anſwere to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for daring to bring ſuch a meſſage. Howbeit the Generall had cauſed to be written vpon the backſide of their paſport, that if they did offer any violence vnto the meſſengers, he would hang the beſt priſoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduiſe better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without anſwere.

After our army came to Caſcais, and the caſtle ſummoned, the Caſtellan thereof granted, that vpon fiue or ſixe ſhot of the canon he would deliuer the ſame, but not without ſight thereof. The Generall thinking that his diſtreſſe within had bene ſuch for want of men or victuals as he could not holde it many dayes, becauſe he ſaw it otherwiſe defenſible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that neceſſity, then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely ſet a guard vpon the ſame, leaſt any ſupply of thoſe things which he wanted ſhould be brought vnto them. But he ſtill ſtanding vpon thoſe conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery againſt it: vpon the firſt tire whereof he ſurrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armes: he had one canon, two culuerings, one baſiliſke, and three or foure other field pieces, threeſcore and fiue Souldiours, very good ſtore of munition, and victualles enough in the Caſtle; inſomuch as he might haue held the ſame longer then the Generall had in purpoſe to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken out, and our army embarked;

which without hauing that fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were ready to ſet ſaile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the Generall blowen vp by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the ſecond of Iune, and ſo continued ſixe dayes after to fetch in ſome hulks to the number of threeſcore, of Danſik, Stetin, Roſtock, Libeck & Hamburgh, laden with Spaniſh goods, and as it ſeemed for the kings prouiſion, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Maſts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongſt which were ſome of great burthen woonderful well builded for ſailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings prouiſion, to reinforce his decayed nauy: whereof there was the greater likelyhood, in that the owner of the greateſt of them which caried two miſnes, was knowen to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ſhips, committed himſelfe vnto his ſmall boat, wherein he recouered S. Sebaſtians: into the which our men, that before were in flieboats, were ſhipped, and the flieboats ſent home with an offer of corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they choſe rather to loſe their corne then the winde, and ſo departed. The Generall alſo ſent his horſes with them, and from thence ſhipped them into England.

The third of Iune, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very ſicke, departed for England, who in the whole iourney had ſhewed themſelues very forward to all ſeruices, and in their departure very vnwilling to leaue vs: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road vntill the eight thereof.

The ſixt day the Earle of Eſſex, vpon receit of letters from her Maieſty, by them that brought in the victuals, preſently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very deſirous to go, but found the Generals very vnwilling he ſhould do ſo, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they ſhould miſcarry, was to command the army. And the ſame day there came vnto vs two ſmall barks that brought tidings of ſome other ſhippes come out of England with victuals, which were paſſed vpwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the ſecond day after we ſet ſaile for that place, in purpoſe after our meeting with them to go with the Iles of Açores, the ſecond day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whoſe prouiſion little anſwered our expectation. Notwithſtanding we reſolued to continue our courſe for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with three or foure other ſhips, ſent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generals that were ſent ouerland, was departed before, not being able by reaſon of the enemies ſpeedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction thoſe letters gaue him; for he was no ſooner gone, then the enemy poſſeſſed the town and caſtle, and ſhot at our ſhips as they came into the road.

At this time alſo was the Ambaſſador from the Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencaſamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and deſert, was ſent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ouſley from the Generals to the Emperor.

The next morning the nine gallies which were ſent not fiue dayes before out of Andaluzia for the ſtrengthening of the riuer of Lisbon (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Iulians, durſt neuer make any attempt againſt vs) vpon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the vttermoſt part whereof they aſſailed one ſtragling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Cauerley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Maſter, and ſome of the Mariners abandoned the ſhip, and betooke them to the ſhip-boats, whereof one, in which the Maſter and the Captaine were, was ouerrunne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were alſo two hulks ſtragled farre from the ſtrength of the other ſhips, which were ſo calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ſhippes towed with their boats to haue relieued them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine Minſhaw with his company, who fought with them to the laſt, yea after his ſhip was on fire, which whether it was fired by himſelfe or by them we could not wel diſcerne, but might eaſily iudge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but ſuſtaine much loſſe: who ſetting alſo vpon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very ſicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had firſt beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And ſeeing alſo one other hulke a league off, a ſterne off vs, they made towards her; but finding that ſhe made ready to fight with them, they durſt not further attempt her: whereby it ſeemed, their loſſe being great in the other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of Iune, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we ſhould plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde preuailing carried vs to Bayon; part of our ſhips to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, hauing loſt the Admirals and fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpoſe (if the Admirals had not come in) with ſome 500 men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The reſt of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put vpon thoſe Ilands, caſt off againe to ſea for the Açores: but remembring how vnprouided he was for that iourney, and ſeeing that he had loſt company of his great ſhips, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the euening, where he paſſed vp the riuer more then a mile aboue Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole aboue 2000 men, (for in the 17 dayes we continued on boord we had caſt many of our men ouerboord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approched, he ſent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of ſhot to enter one ſide of the ſame, who found vpon euery ſtreets end a ſtrong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for hauing entred the towne, he found but one man therein, but might ſee them making way before him to Bayon. On the other ſide of the towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whoſe approch on that ſide (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had ſo artificially made for defence: there were alſo certaine ſhippes ſent with the Vice-admirall to lie cloſe before the towne, to beat vpon the ſame with their artillery.

Vigo taken.

In the afternoone were ſent 300 vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borſis, and as much of the countrey as the day would giue them leaue to do; which was a very pleaſant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houſes and corne, as did others on the other ſide of the towne, both that and the next day, ſo as the countrey was ſpoiled ſeuen or eight miles in length. There was found great ſtore of wine in the towne, but not any thing els: for the other dayes warning of the ſhippes that came firſt in, gaue them a reſpit to cary all away.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the abſence of the Generals that were on boord their ſhips, commanded that night on ſhore) cauſed all our companies to be drawen out of the towne, and ſent in two troups to put fire in euery houſe of the ſame: which done, we imbarked againe.

Vigo burned.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themſelues on ſhore, on the contrary ſide of the riuer from vs for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and puniſhed by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reaſons why we attempted nothing againſt Bayon were before ſhewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the ſmall number of our men: who ſhould haue gone againſt ſo ſtrong a place, manned with very good ſouldiers, as was ſhewed by Iuan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confeſſed that there were ſixe hundred olde Souldiers in garriſon there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately alſo returned out of the iourney of Englaud,

Under the leading of

- Capitan Puebla.
- Chriſtofero Vaſques de Viralta a ſouldier of Flanders.
- Don Pedro Camaſcho, del tercio de Napoles.
- Don Franciſco de Ceſpedes.
- Cap. Iuan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
- Don Diego de Caſſaua.
- Cap. Sauban.

Alſo he ſayth there be 18 pieces of braſſe, and foure of yron, lately layed vpon the walles of the towne, beſides them that were there before.

The ſame day the Generals ſeeing what weake eſtate our army was drawen into by ſickneſſe, determined to man and victuall twenty of the beſt ſhips for the Ilands of Açores with Generall Drake, to ſee if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the reſt: And for the ſhifting of men and victualles accordingly, purpoſed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their apointment, being vnder ſaile neuer ſtrooke at the Ilands, but put ſtraight to ſea; whom all the fleet followed ſauing three and thirty, which being in the riuer further then he, and at the entrance out of the ſame, finding the winde and tide too hard againſt them, were inforced to caſt ancre there for that night; amongſt whom, by good fortune, was the Foreſight, and in her ſir Edward Norris. And the night folowing, Generall Norris being driuen from the reſt of the Fleet by a great ſtorme, (for all that day was the greateſt ſtorme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to truſt to a Spaniſh Fiſher-man (who was taken two dayes before at ſea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpoſe he had concluded with ſir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courſes for England, tarying there all that day to water and helpe ſuch with victuall, as were left in wonderfull diſtreſſe by hauing the victuals that came laſt, caried away the day before to ſea.

Their returne to Plimmouth.

The next day he ſet ſaile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of Iuly came into Plimmouth, where he found ſir Francis Drake and all the Queens ſhips, with many of the others, but not all: for the Fleet was diſperſed into other harbors, ſome led by a deſire of returning frõ whence they came, and ſome being poſſeſſed of the hulks, ſought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their priuate commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Preſently vpon their arriuall there, the Generals diſſolued all the armie ſauing 8 companies which are yet held together, giuing euery ſouldier fiue ſhillings in money, and the armes hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due vnto them: for they were not in ſeruice three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at leſſe then halfe their pay, for ſuch is the allowance in her maieſties ſhips to her mariners, ſo as there remained but 10 ſhillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparel and furniture to his owne vſe, ſo as euery common ſouldier diſcharged, receiued more in money, victuals, apparell and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithſtanding, there be euen in the ſame place where thoſe things haue paſſed, that either do not or will not conceiue the ſouldiers eſtate, by comparing their pouertie and the ſhortneſſe of the time together, but lay ſome iniuries vpõ the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but eſpecially here in London, I find there haue bene ſome falſe prophets gone before vs, telling ſtrange tales. For as our countrey doeth bring foorth many gallant men, who deſirous of honour doe put themſelues into the actions thereof, ſo doeth it many more dull ſpirited, who though their thoughts reach not ſo high as others, yet doe they liſten how other mens acts doe paſſe, and either beleeuing what any man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to ſome greater mans faith, become ſecretaries againſt a noted trueth. The one ſort of theſe doe take their opinions from the high way ſide, or at the furtheſt goe no further thẽ Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voiage: where, if they meet with any, whoſe capacitie before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for ſpoile, complaining on the hardneſſe and miſery thereof, they thinke they are bound to giue credite to theſe honeſt men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they ſee any of thoſe malecontents (as euery iourney yeeldeth ſome) doe runne vnto them like tempting ſpirits to confirme them in their humour, with aſſurance that they foreſaw before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeuing euery report: for you ſee there haue bene many more beholders of theſe things that haue paſſed, then actors in the ſame: who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, haue thought, that to lie hard, not to haue their meat well dreſſed, to drinke ſometimes water, to watch much, or to ſee men die and be ſlaine, was a miſerable thing; and not hauing ſo giuen their mindes to the ſeruice, as they are any thing inſtructed thereby, doe for want of better matter diſcourſe ordinarily of theſe things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement ſeene into it, which their places required) hath giuen them far more honorable purpoſe and argument of diſcourſe.

A worthy queſtion dilated.

Theſe mens diſcontentments and miſlikings before our comming home haue made mee labour thus much to inſtruct you in the certaintie of euery thing, becauſe I would not willingly haue you miſcaried in the iudgements of them, wherein you ſhall giue me leaue ſomewhat to dilate vpon a queſtion, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our eſtate to maintain an offenſiue war againſt the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his neerer territories, ſeeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

There is no good ſubiect that wil make queſtiõ, whether it be behoofeful for vs to hold friendſhip with theſe neighbours of ours or no, aſwell in reſpect of the infinite proportion of their ſhipping, which muſt ſtand either with vs or againſt vs; as of the commoditie of their harbors, eſpecially that of Vliſhing, by the fauour whereof our Nauie may continually keepe the Narrow ſeas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete agaynſt vs, then the Spaniard ſhall need to annoy vs withall, who being now diſtreſſed by our common enemie, I thinke it moſt expedient for our ſafetie to defend them, and if it may be, to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeeres loſt vnto him. The one without doubt her maieſtie may do without difficultie, and in ſo honorable ſort as he ſhal neuer be able to diſpoſſeſſe her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more ſpeedily or conueniently by keeping an armie there, then by ſending one againſt him into his owne countrey: let him foreſee of how many men and continuall ſupplies that armie muſt conſiſt, and what intollerable expenſes it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alua, when the prince of Orenge had his great armie agaynſt him; and of Don Iuan, when the States had their mightie aſſembly againſt him, how this wiſe enemie, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occaſions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leaue vs a ſpoyled field: where though our prouiſion may bee ſuch of our owne as we ſtarue not, yet is our weakneſſe in any ſtrange countrey ſuch, as with ſicknes and miſerie we ſhall be diſſolued. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repoſſeſſe thoſe countreys which haue bene lately loſt, wil be a warre of longer continuance then we ſhall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what ſhould hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long ſince ſet downe in councell, that there is no way for him wholy to recouer thoſe Low countries, but by bringing the warre vpon England it ſelfe, which hath alwayes aſſiſted them againſt him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently vrged by the laſt yeeres loſſe he ſuſtained vpon our coaſts, and the great diſhonor this iourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we ſhall giue him reſpite to doe it, but he will mightily aduance his purpoſe, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull deſirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wiſh euen in true and honeſt zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perſwaded that there is no ſuch aſſured meanes for the ſafetie of our eſtate, as to buſy him with a well furniſhed armie in Spaine, which hath ſo many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachment as many men as ſhall be needfull for ſuch an inuaſion. And hauing an armie of 20000 roially furniſhed there, we ſhall not need to take much care for their payment: for ſhal not Lisbon be thought able to make ſo few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found ſo abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched vs all? Which with what ſmall loſſe it may be won, is not here to ſhew; but why it was not won by vs, I haue herein ſhewed you. Or is not the ſpoyle of Siuil ſufficient to pay more then ſhall bee needfull to bee ſent againſt it, whoſe defence (as that of Lisbone) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the preſent be raiſed, is not to be eſteemed, becauſe wee haue diſcouered what kind of men they be, euen ſuch as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withſtand any reſolute attempt of ours agaynſt them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot ſay that euer they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of leſſe difficultie to ſpoyle, able to ſatiſfie our forces?

But admit, that if vpon this alarme that we haue giuen him, he tendering his naturall and neereſt ſoile before his further remmooued off gouernments, do draw his forces of old ſouldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victory then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we ſhould haue kept an armie there at a charge by many partes greater then this, and not ſtirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and poſſeſſing his principall roades, are we not in poſſibilitie to meet with his Indian marchants, and very like to preuent him of his prouiſions comming out of the Eaſt countreys; without the which, neither the ſubiect of Lisbon is long able to liue, nor the king able to maintaine his Nauie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe ſome yeeres find themſelues corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the leaſt part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richeſt prince in Chriſtendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe maſtes, nor make pouder out of his mettals, but is to be ſupplied of them all from thence. Of whom (ſome will hold opinion) it is no reaſon to make prize, becauſe they bee not our enemies: and that our diſagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our marchants, and ſo impoueriſh our countrey. Of whoſe mind I can hardly be drawen to be: For if my enemie fighting with me doe breake his ſword, ſo as I thereby haue the aduantage againſt him; what ſhall I thinke of him that putteth a new ſword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for vs in theſe times to looſe our trades of Cloth, then by ſuffering theſe miſchiefes, to put in hazard whether we ſhall haue a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doe receiue our cloth, the neceſſary vſe thereof in all places is ſuch, as they will find means to take it from vs with our ſufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impoſſible) that we damnifie him neither at ſea nor land (for vnleſſe it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he ſhall neuer be able to withſtand vs) yet ſhall we by holding him at his home, free our ſelues from the warre at our owne wals: the benefit whereof let them conſider that beſt can iudge, and haue obſerued the difference of inuading, and being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the ſouldier, in that it doeth ſet before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man, yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himſelfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuader caſteth vp his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad muſt fight to make himſelfe way, as not knowing what place or ſtrength to truſt vnto. I will not ſay what I obſerued in our countrey-men when the enemy offred to aſſaile vs here: but I wiſh that all England knew what terror we gaue to the ſame people that frighted vs, by viſiting them at their owne houſes.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great againſt the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirſted after the wealth of Perſia, and were bound to fight it out to the laſt man, becauſe the laſt man knew no ſafer way to ſaue himſelfe then by fighting? Whereas the Perſians either truſting to continue ſtil maſters of their wealth by yeelding to the Inuader, began to practiſe againſt their owne king: or hauing more inward hopes, did hide themſelues euen to the laſt, to ſee what courſe the Conquerour would take in his Conqueſt. And did not the aduiſe of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the firſt, prooue very ſound and honourable to his countrey? Who ſeeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neereneſſe of their enemies Forces, and the loſſes they daily ſuſtained by them, gaue counſell rather by way of diuerſion to cary an army into Afrike, and there to aſſaile, then by a defenſiue warre at home to remaine ſubiect to the common ſpoiles of an aſſailing enemie. Which being put in execution drew the enemie from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the firſt were not ſo fortunate againſt them, as ours haue bene in this ſmal time againſt the Spaniard. The good ſucceſſe whereof may encourage vs to take armes reſolutely againſt him. And I beſeech God it may ſtirre vp all men that are particularly intereſted therein, to bethinke themſelues how ſmall a matter will aſſure them of their ſafetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Baie, ſo farre of: whereas, if we giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will be with danger to vs all.

He taketh not armes againſt vs by any pretenſe of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambicious deſire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and religion. Her maieſties Scepter is already giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are beſtowed for rewards vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition ſoeuer are offered for ſpoyle vnto the common ſouldier. Let euery man therefore, in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enioyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the ſmalleſt part of their ſtore for the aſſurance of the reſt. It were not much for euery Iuſtice of peace, who by his blew coat protecteth the propereſt and moſt ſeruiceable men at euery muſter from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of theſe idle men doe put him to for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riſeth by the diſſenſions of his neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call Fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euery officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maieſties courts, who without checke doe ſuddenly grow to great wealth, honeſtly to bring foorth the myſticall commoditie of one yeeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke preciſely for the Tenths of euery mans increaſe, ſimply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in thankfulneſſe to her Maieſtie, (who hath continued for all our ſafeties a moſt chargeable warre both at land & ſea) beſtow the ſame for her honor & their owne aſſurance, vpon an army which may make this bloody enemy ſo to know himſelfe and her Maieſties power, as he ſhall bethinke him what it is to mooue a ſtirring people? Who, though they haue receiued ſome ſmall checke by the ſickneſſe of this laſt iourney, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like voyage were to bee ſupported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouiſion) but there would of all ſortes moſt willingly put themſelues into the ſame: ſome caried with an honorable deſire to be in action, and ſome in loue of ſuch would affectionately folow their fortunes; ſome in thirſting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kinred, and friends: and ſome in hope of the plentifull ſpoyles to be found in thoſe countreys, hauing bene there already and returned poore, would deſire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the laſt: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their liues agaynſt them, whom euery good Engliſhman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemie to England, thirſting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs vnder the yoke of perpetuall ſlauerie.

Againſt them is true honour to be gotten, for that we ſhall no ſooner ſet foot in their land, but that euery ſtep we tread will yeeld vs new occaſion of action, which I wiſh the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to folow thoſe ſoft vnprofitable pleaſures wherein they now conſume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the welth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magaſins of the fruits and profits of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, whereunto I wiſh our yong able men, who, (againſt the libertie they are borne vnto) terme themſelues Seruing men, rather to bend their deſires and affections, then to attend their double liuerie and 40 ſhillings by the yeere wages, and the reuerſion of the old Copy-hold, for carying a diſh to their maſters table. But let me here reprehend my ſelfe and craue pardō for entring into a matter of ſuch ſtate and conſequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a moſt graue and honorable counſell, who wil in their wiſdoms foreſee the dangers that may be threatned agaynſt vs. And why do I labour to diſquiet the ſecuritie of theſe happy gentlemen, & the trade of thoſe honeſt ſeruing men, by perſwading them to the warres when I ſee the profeſſion thereof ſo ſlenderly eſteemed? For though all our hope of peace be fruſtrate, and our quarels determinable by the ſword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces and his penſionaries induſtry, cōfined the vnited Prouinces into a narow roume, & almoſt diſunited the ſame: if he be now in a good way to harbor himſelfe in the principall hauens of France, from whence he may front vs at pleaſure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can truſt to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common ſort are from reuerencing or regarding any perſons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the baſe and common ſouldier hath bene tollerated to ſpeake againſt the Captaine, and the ſouldier and Captaine againſt the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of baſe condicion doe dare to cenſure the doings of them, of whoſe acts they be not worthy to talke.

The ancient graue degree of the Prelacie is vpheld, though Martin raile neuer ſo much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner worſhipped, whoſoeuer inueigh againſt him. But the ancient Engliſh honour is taken from our men of war, & their profeſſion in diſgrace, though neuer ſo neceſſary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone ſtil to fight for vs as he did the laſt yeere, or we be inchanted with ſome diueliſh opinions, that trauell nothing more then to diminiſh the reputation of them, vpon whoſe ſhoulders the burden of our defence againſt the enemie muſt lie when occaſion ſhall be offred. For whenſoeuer he ſhall ſet foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remooue him out of poſſeſſion: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then muſt thoſe men ſtand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought vnworthie of any eſtimation.

May the burning of one towne (which coſt the king then being ſix times as much as this hath done her maieſtie, wherein were loſt ſeuen times as many men as in any one ſeruice of this iourney, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders ſo highly reputed and ſounded out by the hiſtorie of the Realme; and can our voyage be ſo meanly eſteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the loſſe of fortie men in any ſuch attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward ſome with the greateſt titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell loſt, were neuer able to reenforce themſelues againſt him; and ſhall they in this time who haue ouerthrowen our mightie enemie in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, beſieged the marqueſſe of Saralba 15 dayes together, that ſhould haue bene the Generall of the Armie againſt vs, brought away ſo much of his artillarie (as I haue before declared) be vnworthily eſteemed of?

Is it poſſible that ſome in ſome times ſhould receiue their reward for looking vpon an enemie, and ours in this time not receiue ſo much as thanks for hauing beaten an enemie at handie ſtrokes?

But it is true that no man ſhall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aſide my Armes till that profeſſion ſhal haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the countrey, attending either ſome more fortunate time to vſe them, or ſome other good occaſion to make me forget them.

But what? ſhall the blind opinion of this monſter, a beaſt of many heads, (for ſo hath the generalitie of old bene termed) cauſe me to neglect the profeſſion from whence I chalenge ſome reputation, or diminiſh my loue to my countrey, which hitherto hath nouriſhed me? No, it was for her ſake I firſt tooke armes, and for her ſake I will handle them ſo long as I ſhall bee able to vſe them: not regarding how ſome men in priuate conuenticles do meaſure mens eſtimations by their owne humors; nor how euery popular perſon doeth giue ſentence on euery mans actions by the worſt accidents. But attending the gracious aſpect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue vnrewarded: and depending vpon the iuſtice of her moſt rare and graue aduiſors, who by their heedie looking into euery mans worth, do giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and aſſuring you that there ſhall neuer any thing happen more pleaſing vnto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in ſome honorable iourney againſt the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will ceaſe my complaint: and with them that deſerue beyond me, patiently endure the vnaduiſed cenſure of our malicious reprouers.

If I haue ſeemed in the beginning hereof troubleſome vnto you, in the diſcouering of thoſe impediments, and anſwering the ſlanders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous ſort are laid as blemiſhes vpon the iourney, and reproches vpon the Generals (hauing indeed proceeded from other heads:) let the neceſſitie of conſeruing the reputation of the action in generall, & the honors of our Generals in particular, bee my ſufficient excuſe: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our country more dreaded & renowmed, then any act that euer England vndertooke before. Or if you haue thought my perſwaſible diſcourſe long in the latter end; let the affectionate deſire of my countreys good be therein anſwerable for me. And ſuch as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your ſelfe, and not to be deliuered to the publique view of the world, leaſt any man take offence thereat; which ſome particular men may ſeeme iuſtly to do, in that hauing deſerued very well, I ſhould not herein giue them their due commendations: whereas my purpoſe in this priuate diſcourſe hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of thoſe principall matters that haue paſſed, wherein I haue onely taken notes of thoſe men who either commaunded euery ſeruice, or were of chiefeſt marke: if therefore you ſhall impart the ſame to one, and he to another, and ſo it paſſe through my hands, I know not what conſtructions would be made thereof to my preiudice; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hornes. Howbeit I hold it very neceſſary (I muſt confeſſe) that there ſhould be ſome true manifeſtation made of theſe things: but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as very vnfit to deliuer my cenſure of any matter in publique, & moſt vnwilling to haue my weakneſſe diſcouered in priuate. And ſo I doe leaue you to the happy ſucceſſe of your accuſtomed good exerciſes, earneſtly wiſhing that there may be ſome better acceptance made of the fruits of your ſtudies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the 30 of Auguſt 1589.

The voiage of the right honorable *George* Erle of *Cumberland* to the *Azores, &c.* Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier maſter *Edward Wright.*

The right honorable the Erle of Cumberland hauing at his owne charges prepared his ſmall Fleet of foure Sailes onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Queenes ſhips royall; the Meg and Margaret ſmall ſhips, (one of which alſo he was forced ſoone after to ſend home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a ſmall Carauell, and hauing aſſembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, ſouldiers, and saylers, embarked himſelf and them, and ſet ſaile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Deuonſhire, the 18 day of Iune 1589. being accompanied with theſe captaines and gentlemen which hereafter folow.

Captaine Chriſtopher Liſter a man of great reſolution, captaine Edward Careleſſe, *aliâs* Wright, who in ſir Francis Drakes Weſt-Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagena, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boſwell, M. Meruin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounſon captaine of the Meg, and his viceadmirall, now ſir William Mounſon, M. Pigeon captaine of the Carauell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ſhips, whereof one was of Newhauen, another of S. Malos, and ſo finding them to be Leaguers & lawful Priſes, we tooke them and ſent two of them for England with all their loding, which was fiſh for the moſt part from New-found-land, ſauing that there was part thereof diſtributed amongſt our ſmall Fleet, as we could find Stowage for the ſame: and in the third, all their men were ſent home into France. The ſame day & the day folowing we met with ſome other ſhips, whom (when after ſome conference had with them, we perceiued plainly to bee of Roterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we diſmiſſed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met diuers of our Engliſh ſhips, returning from the Portugall voiage which my lord relieued with victuals. The 13 day of Iuly being Sonday in the morning, we eſpied 11 ſhips without ſight of yͤ coaſt of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom wee preſently prepared for, & prouided to meet them, hauing firſt ſet forth captaine Mounſon in the Meg, before vs, to deſcry whence they were. The Meg approching neere, there paſſed ſome ſhot betwixt them, whereby, as alſo by their Admiral and Viceadmirall putting foorth their flags, we perceiued that ſome fight was likely to follow. Hauing therefore fitted our ſelues for them, we made what haſt we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 or 11 of the clocke, we came vp to them with the Victory. But after ſome few ſhot & ſome litle fight paſſed betwixt vs, they yeelded themſelues, & the maſters of them all came aboord vs, ſhewing their ſeueral Paſports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper & Synamom, which they confeſſed to be the goods of a Iew in Lisbon, which ſhould haue bene caried by them into their country to his Factor there, and ſo finding it by their owne confeſſion to be lawful Priſe, the ſame was ſoone after taken and deuided amongſt our whole company, the value wherof was eſteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two ſhillings the pound.

The 17 day the foreſaid ſhips were diſmiſſed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with vs for ſailers, we tooke to helpe vs, and ſo held on our courſe for the Azores.

The 1 of Auguſt being Friday in the morning, we had ſight of the Iland of S. Michael, being one of the Eaſtermoſt of the Azores toward which we ſailed all that day, and at night hauing put foorth a Spaniſh flag in our main-top, that ſo they might the leſſe ſuſpect vs, we approched neere to the chiefe towne and road of that Iland, where we eſpied 3 ſhips riding at anker and ſome other veſſels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 or 11 of the clocke, ſending our boats well manned to cut their cables and hauſers, and let them driue into the ſea. Our men comming to them, found yͤ one of thoſe greateſt ſhips was the Falcon of London being there vnder a Scottiſh Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. But 3 other ſmal ſhips that lay neere vnder the caſtle there, our men let looſe and towed them away vnto vs, moſt of the Spaniards that were in them leaping ouer-boord and ſwimming to ſhore with lowd and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an vprore, and anſwered with the like crying. The caſtle diſcharged ſome great ſhot at our boats, but ſhooting without marke by reaſon of the darkneſſe they did vs no hurt. The Scots likewiſe diſcharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and ſhortly after the Scottiſh maſter, & ſome other with him, came aboord to my lord doing their dutie, and offring their ſeruice, &c. Theſe 3 ſhips were fraught with wine and Sallet-oile from Siuil.

3 ſhips forcibly towed out of harbour.

The ſame day our Carauel chaſed a Spaniſh Carauel to ſhore at S. Michael, which caried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of Auguſt we had ſight of a litle ſhip which wee chaſed towards Tercera with our pinnaſſe (the weather being calme) and towards euening we ouertooke her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, ſilke, taffata, &c. The 14 of Auguſt we came to the Iland of Flores, where we determined to take in ſome freſh water and freſh victuals, ſuch as the Iland did affoord. So we manned our boats with ſome 120 men and rowed towards the ſhore; whereto when we approched the inhabitants that were aſſembled at the landing place, put foorth a flag of truce, whereupon we alſo did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gaue them to vnderſtand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to iniury thē, but that he ment onely to haue ſome freſh water and freſh victuals of them, by way of exchange for ſome prouiſion that he had, as oile, wine, or pepper, to which they preſently agreed willingly, & ſent ſome of their company for beeues and ſheepe, and we in the meane ſeaſon marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitants yong and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cauſe hereof, they anſwered, Feare; as their vſuall maner was when any ſhips came neere their coaſt.

We found that part of the Iland to be full of great rockie barren hils and mountains, litle inhabited by reaſon that it is moleſted with ſhips of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine Engliſh ſhips of war, as the inhabitants there reported.

At euening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fiſh purſued vs for the ſpace well nigh of two miles together, diſtant for the moſt part frō the boats ſterne not a ſpeares length, and ſometimes ſo neere that the boat ſtroke vpon him, the tips of whoſe finnes about the ghils (appearing oft times aboue the water) were by eſtimation 4 or 5 yards aſunder, and his iawes gaping a yard and an halfe wide, which put vs in feare of ouer-turning the pinnaſſe, but God bee thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we eſcaped.

When we were about Flores a litle ſhip called the Drake, brought vs word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, & ſped vs thitherward with all the ſpeed we could : and by the way we came to Fayal road the ſeuen and twentieth day of Auguſt, after ſunne ſet, where we eſpied certaine ſhippes ryding at anker, to whom we ſent in our Skiffe with Captaine Liſter and Captaine Monſon in her to diſcouer the roaders : and leaſt any daunger ſhould happen to our boate, we ſent in likewiſe the Sawſie-Iacke and the ſmall Carauell ; but the wind being off the ſhoare, the ſhippes were not able to fet it ſo nigh as the Spaniards ride, which neuertheleſſe the boate did, and clapped a ſhippe aboord of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which caried in her fourteene caſt peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the ſpace of one houre vntill the comming vp of other boates to the reſkue of her, which were ſent from the ſhippes, and then a freſh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the hauſe, wee entred her on the one ſide, and all the Spaniards lept ouerboord on the other, ſaue Iuan de Palma the Captaine of her and two or three more, and thus we became poſſeſſors of her. This ſhippe was mored to the Caſtle which ſhot at vs all this while : the onely hurt which we receiued of all this ſhot was this, that the maſter of our Carauell had the calfe of his legge ſhot away. This ſhippe was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Iuan de Puerto Rico ; after we had towed her cleare off the caſtle, we rowed in againe with our boats, and fetched out fiue ſmall ſhips more, one laden with hides, another with Elephants teeth, graines, coco-nuts, and goates ſkins come from Guinie, another with woad, and two with dogge-fiſh, which two laſt we let driue in the ſea making none account of them. The other foure we ſent for England the 30 of Auguſt.

At the taking of theſe Prizes were conſorted with vs ſome other ſmall men of warre, as Maiſter Iohn Dauis, with his ſhippe, Pinneſſe, and Boate, Captaine Markesburie with his ſhip, whoſe owner was Sir Walter Ralegh, the Barke of Lime, which was alſo conſorted with vs before.

The laſt of Auguſt in the morning we came in ſight of Tercera, being about ſome nine or ten leagues from ſhoare, where we eſpied comming towards vs, a ſmall boat vnder ſaile, which ſeemed ſomewhat ſtrange vnto vs, being ſo farre from land, and no ſhippe in ſight, to which they might belong : but comming neere, they put vs out of doubt, ſhewing they were Engliſh men (eight in number) that had lately beene priſoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to eſcape at that time, with that ſmall boat committed themſelues to the ſea, vnder Gods prouidence, hauing no other yard for their maine ſaile, but two pipe ſtaues tyed together by the endes, and no more prouiſion of victuals, then they could bring in their pockets and boſomes. Hauing taken them all into the Victorie, they gaue vs certaine intelligence, that the Carackes were departed from thence about a weeke before.

An eſcape of 8. Engliſhmen from Tercera.

Thus beeing without any further hope of thoſe Caraks, we reſolued to returne for Fayall, with intent to ſurprize the towne, but vntill the ninth of September, we had either the winde ſo contrary, or the weather ſo calme, that in all that time, we made ſcarce nine or ten leagues way, lingring vp and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September, being Wedneſday in the afternoone, wee came againe to Fayal roade. Whereupon immediatly my Lord ſent Captaine Liſter, with one of Graciola (whom Captaine Munſon had before taken) and ſome others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the Inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Captaine Liſter to my Lord, to whom hee gaue this choice : either to ſuffer him quietly to enter into the platforme there without reſiſtance, where he and his companie would remaine a ſpace without offering any iniurie to them, that they (the Inhabitants) might come vnto him and compound for the ranſome of the Towne : or elſe to ſtand to the hazard of warre.

With theſe words they returned to the towne : but the keepers of the platforme anſwered, that it was againſt their oath and allegeance to king Philip to giue ouer without fight. Whereupon my Lord commanded the boates of euery ſhip, to be preſently manned, and ſoone after landed his men on the ſandie ſhoare, vnder the ſide of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from the platforme : vpon the toppe of which hill certaine horſemen and footmen ſhewed themſelues, and other two companies alſo appeared, with enſignes diſplayed, the one before the towne vpon the ſhore by the ſea ſide, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encounter vs ; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platforme, as if they would haue come to helpe the Towneſmen : during which time, they in the platforme alſo played vpon vs with great Ordinance. Notwithſtanding my L. (hauing ſet his men in order) marched along the ſea ſhore, vpon the ſands, betwixt the ſea & the towne towards the platforme for the ſpace of a mile or more, & then the ſhore growing rockie, & permitting no further progreſſe without much difficultie, he entred into the towne & paſſed through the ſtreet without reſiſtance, vnto the platforme ; for thoſe companies before mentioned at my Lo. approching, were ſoone diſperſed, and ſuddenly vaniſhed.

The taking of the towne and platforme of Fayal.

Likewiſe they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to ſcale the walles, to enter and take poſſeſſion without reſiſtance.

In the meane time our ſhippes ceaſed not to batter the foreſaid Towne and Platforme with great ſhotte, till ſuch time as we ſaw the Red-Croſſe of England flouriſhing vpon the Forefront thereof.

A deſcription of the towne of Faial.

This Fayal is the principall towne in all that iland, & is ſituate directly ouer againſt the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the Weſt Northweſt from that mountaine, being deuided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by eſtimation about ſome two or three leagues in bredth betweene the Iſles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned ſome three hundred houſholds, their houſes were faire and ſtrongly builded of lime and ſtone, and double couered with hollow tyles much like our roofe-tyles, but that they are leſſe at the one end then at the other.

Euery houſe almoſt had a ciſterne or well in a garden on the backe ſide: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe cluſters of grapes) making pleaſant ſhadowes, and Tabacco nowe commonly knowen and vſed in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddiſh, to make them ſeeme freſh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall: Orenges, Limons, Quinces, Potato-roots, &c. Sweete wood (Ceder I thinke) is there very common, euen for building and firing.

My Lord hauing poſſeſſed himſelfe of the towne and platforme, and being carefull of the preſeruation of the towne, gaue commandement, that no mariner or ſouldier ſhould enter into any houſe, to make any ſpoyle thereof. But eſpecially he was carefull that the Churches and houſes of religion there ſhould be kept inuiolate, which was accordingly performed, through his appointment of guarders and keepers for thoſe places: but the reſt of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for deſire of ſpoyle & prey, was rifled, & ranſacked by the ſouldiers & mariners, who ſcarcely left any houſe vnſearched, out of which they tooke ſuch things as liked them, as cheſtes of ſweete wood, chaires, cloth, couerlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where ſome of them alſo were hurt by the inhabitants. The Friery there conteyning and maintayning thirtie Franciſcan Friers (among whom we could not finde any one able to ſpeake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Tercera of the ſame order, about the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixe. The tables in the hall had ſeates for the one ſide onely, and were alwayes couered, as readie at all times for dinner or ſupper.

From Wedneſday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, til Saturday night, we continued there, vntill the Inhabitans had agreed and payed for the ranſome of the towne, two thouſand duckats, moſt part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platforme eight and fiftie yron peeces of Ordinance, whereof three and twentie (as I remember) or more were readie mounted vpon their carriages, betweene Barricados, vpon a platforme towardes the ſea-ſide, all which Ordinance wee tooke, and ſet the platforme on fire, and ſo departed: My Lord hauing inuited to dinner in the Victorie, on the Sunday following, ſo many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (ſaue onely Diego Gomes the Gouernour, who came but once onely to parle about the ranſome) onely foure came and were well entertained, and ſolemnely diſmiſſed with ſound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordinance: to whom my Lord deliuered his letter ſubſcribed with his owne hand, importing a requeſt to all other Engliſhmen to abſtaine from any further moleſting them, ſaue onely for freſh water, and victuals neceſſary for their intended voyage. During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two men came out of Pico which had beene priſoners there: Alſo at Fayal we ſet at libertie a priſoner tranſlated from S. Iago, who was couſin to a ſeruant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: Theſe priſoners we deteyned with vs.

On Munday we ſent our boates a ſhore for freſh water, which (by reaſon of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the hilles, and would otherwiſe haue beene hard to be gotten there. On Tueſday likewiſe hauing not yet ſufficiently ſerued our turnes, we ſent againe for freſh water, which was then not ſo eaſie to be gotten as the day before, by reaſon of a great winde: which in the afternoone increaſed alſo in ſuch ſort, that we thought it not ſafe to ride ſo neere the land; whereupon we weyed anker and ſo departed Northweſt and by weſt, alongſt the coaſt of Fayal Iſland. Some of the Inhabitants comming aboord to vs this day, tolde vs that alwayes about that time of the yeere ſuch windes Weſt Southweſt blew on that coaſt.

This day, as we ſayled neere Saint Georges Iſland, a huge fiſh lying ſtill a litle vnder water, or rather euen therewith, appeared hard by a head of vs, the ſea breaking vpon his backe, which was blacke coloured, in ſuch ſort as deeming at the firſt it had beene a rocke, and the ſhip ſtemming directly with him, we were put in a ſudden feare for the time: till ſoone after we ſaw him moue out of the way.

The 16 of September in the night it lightened much, whereupon there followed great winds and raine, which continued the 17 18 19 20 and 21 of the ſame. The 23 of September we came againe into Faial road to weigh an anker which (for haſte and feare of foule weather) wee had left there before, where we went on ſhore to ſee the towne, the people (as we thought) hauing now ſetled themſelues there againe: but notwithſtanding many of them through too much diſtruſtfulneſſe, departed and prepared to depart with their packets at the firſt ſight of vs: vntill ſuch time as they were aſſured by my Lord, that our comming was not any way to iniury them, but eſpecially to haue freſh water, and ſome other things needefull for vs, contenting them for the ſame.

So then we viewed the Towne quietly, and bought ſuch things as we deſired for our money as if we had bene in England, And they helped to fill vs in freſh water, receiuing for their paines ſuch ſatiſfaction as contented them.

The 25 day we were forced againe to depart from thence, before we had ſufficiently watered, by reaſon of a great tempeſt that ſuddenly aroſe in the night, in ſo much, that my Lord himſelfe ſoone after midnight rayſed our men out of their Cabines to wey anker, himſelfe alſo together with them haling at the Capſten, and after chearing them vp with wine.

The next day we ſent our Carauell and the Sawſie-Iacke to the road of Saint Michael, to ſee what they could eſpie: we following after them vpon the 27 day, plying to and fro, came within ſight of S. Michael, but by contrary windes the 28 29 and 30 dayes wee were driuen to leewarde, and could not get neere the Iſland.

The firſt of October wee ſayled alongſt Tercera, and euen againſt Braſill (a promontorie neere to Angra the ſtrongeſt Towne in that Iſland) wee eſpied ſome boates comming to the Towne, and made out towardes them: but being neere to the lande they ranne to ſhoare and eſcaped vs.

In the afternoone we came neere to Gracioſa, whereupon my Lord foorthwith ſent Captain Liſter to the Ilanders, to let them vnderſtand that his deſire was onely to haue water and wine of them, and ſome freſh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They anſwered they could giue no reſolute anſwere to this demaund, vntill the Gouernors of the Iland had conſulted thereupon, and therefore deſired him to ſend againe to them the next day.

Upon the ſecond day of October early in the morning, we ſent forth our long boat and Pinneſſe, with emptie Caſke, and about ſome fiftie or ſixty men together with the Margaret, and Captaine Dauis his ſhippe: for we now wanted all the reſt of our conſorts. But when our men would haue landed, the Ilanders ſhot at them, and would not ſuffer them. And troupes of men appeared vpon land, with enſignes diſplayed to reſiſt vs: So our boates rowed alongſt the ſhoare, to finde ſome place where they might land, not with too much diſaduantage: our ſhippes and they ſtill ſhooting at the Ilanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great perill of looſing many of their liues, and ſo were conſtrayned to retire without receiuing any anſwere, as was promiſed the day before. We had three men hurt in this conflict, whileſt our boates were together in conſulting what was beſt to be done: two of them were ſtroken with a great ſhot (which the Ilanders drew from place to place with Oxen) wherewith the one loſt his hand, and the other his life within two or three dayes after: the third was ſhot into his necke with a ſmall ſhot, without any great hurt.

With theſe newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the day was farre ſpent before we could come neere them with our ſhip: neither could we finde any good ground to anker in, where we might lye to batter the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to looſe many men: which might turne not only to the ouerthrow of our voiage, but alſo put the Queenes ſhip in great perill for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it beſt to write to them to this effect: That he could not a litle maruell at their inhumanitie and crueltie which they had ſhewed towards his men, ſeeing they were ſent by him vnto them in peaceable manner, to receiue their anſwere which they had promiſed to giue the day before: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawfull king his ſake, he could not put vp ſo great iniury at their hands, without iuſt reuengement vpon them: notwithſtanding for Don Antonio his ſake, whoſe friend he was, he was yet content to ſend to them once againe for their anſwere: At night Captaine Liſter returned with this anſwere from them. That their Gunner ſhot off one of their peeces, which was charged with pouder onely, and was ſtopped; which our men thinking it had bin ſhot at them, ſhot againe, and ſo beganne the fight: and that the next morning they would ſend my

Lord a reſolute anſwere to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Gouernours minde herein. The next morning there came vnto vs a boate from the ſhoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Iſland, who agreed with my Lorde that hee ſhould haue of them ſixtie buttes of wine, and freſh victuals to refreſh himſelfe and his companie withall: but as for freſh water, they could not ſatiſfie our neede therein, hauing themſelues little or none, ſauing ſuch as they ſaued in veſſels or ciſternes when it rayned, and that they had rather giue vs two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requeſted that our ſouldiers might not come on ſhoare, for they themſelues would bring all they had promiſed to the water-ſide, which requeſt was graunted, we keeping one of them aboord with vs vntill their promiſe was performed, and the other we ſent to ſhoare with our emptie Caſke, and ſome of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with ſuch other prouiſion as was promiſed: ſo the Margaret, Captaine Dauis his ſhippe, and another of Weymouth ſtayed ryding at anker before the Towne, to take in our prouiſion. This ſhippe of Weymouth came to vs the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth ſixteene thouſand pound, which brought vs newes that the Weſt-Indian Fleete was not yet come, but would come very ſhortly. But we with the Victorie put off to ſea, and vpon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French ſhippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the vnholy league) loden with fiſh from Newfound land: which had beene in ſo great a tempeſt, that ſhe was conſtrayned to cut her mayne maſt ouerboord for her ſafetie, and was now comming to Gracioſa, to repaire her ſelfe. But ſo hardly it befell her, that ſhe did not onely not repaire her former loſſes, but loſt all that remayned vnto vs. The chiefe of her men we tooke into our ſhip, and ſent ſome of our men, mariners, and ſouldiers into her to bring her into England.

Upon the Sunday following at night, all our promiſed prouiſion was brought vnto vs from Gracioſa: and we friendly diſmiſſed the Iſlanders with a peale of Ordinance.

Upon Munday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, we plyed to and fro about thoſe Iſlandes, being very rough weather. And vpon Thurſday at night, being driuen ſome three or foure leagues from Tercera, we ſaw fifteene ſaile of the Weſt-Indian Fleete comming into the Hauen at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was ſuch, that for the ſpace of foure dayes after, though wee lay as cloſe by the winde as was poſſible, yet we could not come neere them. In this time we loſt our late French Prize, not being able to lie ſo neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where ſhee ſafely arriued. Upon Munday we came very neere the Hauens mouth, being minded to haue runne in amongſt them, and to haue fetched out ſome of them if it had beene poſſible: But in the end this enterpriſe was deemed too daungerous, conſidering the ſtrength of the place where they rode, being haled and towed in neerer the towne, at the firſt ſight of our approching, and lying vnder the protection of the Caſtle of Braſill, on the one ſide (hauing in it fiue and twentie peeces of Ordinance) and a fort on the other ſide wherein were 13 or 14 great braſſe pieces. Beſides, when we came neere land the winde prooued too ſcant for vs to attempt any ſuch enterpriſe.

Upon Tueſday the fourteenth of October we ſent our boate to the roade to ſound the depth, to ſee if there were any ankoring place for vs, where we might lie without ſhot of the Caſtle and Fort, and within ſhot of ſome of thoſe ſhippes, that we might either make them come out to vs, or ſinke them where they lay. Our boate returned hauing found out ſuch a place as we deſired, but the winde would not ſuffer vs to come neere it, and againe if we could haue ankored there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themſelues a ground to ſaue their liues and liberties; and ſome of their goods, then come foorth to looſe their liberties and goods vnto their enemies. So we ſhot at them to ſee if we could reach them, but it fell farre ſhort. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come foorth ſo long as we watched for them before the hauens mouth, or within ſight of them. For the ſpace of fiue dayes after we put off to ſea, and lay without ſight of them, and ſent a pinneſſe to lie out of ſight cloſe by the ſhore, to bring vs word if they ſhould come foorth. After a while the Pinneſſe returned and tolde vs that thoſe ſhips in the Hauen had taken downe their ſayles, and let downe their toppe maſtes: ſo that wee ſuppoſed they would neuer come foorth, till they perceiued vs to bee quite gone.

Wherefore vpon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottiſh ſhips at Saint Michael, we ſayled thither, and found there one Scottiſh roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next road a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eaſtwards: of whom we had for our reliefe ſome ſmall quantitie of wine (viz. ſome fiue or ſixe buttes of them all) and ſome freſh water, but nothing ſufficient to ſerue our turne.

Upon Tueſday the one and twentieth of October, we ſent our long boate to ſhore for freſh water at a brooke a little to the Weſtwards from Villa Franca.

But the Inhabitants eſpying vs came downe with two Enſignes diſplayed, and about ſome hundred and fiftie men armed, to withſtand our landing. So our men hauing ſpent all their pouder vpon them in attempting to land, and not being able to preuaile at ſo great oddes, returned fruſtrate.

From hence we departed towardes Saint Maries Iſland, minding to water there, and then to goe for the coaſt of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore vpon Friday following, my Lord ſent Captaine Liſter, and Captaine Amias Preſton now Sir Amias Preſton (who not long before came to vs out of his owne ſhippe, and ſhe looſing vs in the night, hee was forced to tarry ſtill with vs) with our long boate and Pinneſſe, and ſome ſixtie or ſeuentie ſhotte in them, with a friendly letter to the Ilanders, that they would grant vs leaue to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Iland, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and rowed freſhly vntill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being ſomething weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the ſhore, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they eſpied (to their refreſhing) two ſhips ryding at anker hard vnder the towne, whereupon hauing ſhifted ſome 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Dauis his boate, being too much peſtered in our owne, and retayning with vs ſome 20 ſhot in the pinneſſe; we made way towardes them with all the ſpeede we could.

By the way as we rowed we ſaw boates paſſing betwixt the roaders and the ſhore, and men in their ſhirtes ſwimming and wading to ſhoare, who as we perceiued afterwardes, were labouring to ſet thoſe ſhippes faſt on ground, and the Inhabitants as buſily preparing themſelues for the defence of thoſe roaders, their Iland, and themſelues. When we came neere them, Captaine Liſter commaunded the Trumpets to be ſounded, but prohibited any ſhot to be diſcharged at them, vntill they had direction from him: But ſome of the companie, either not well perceiuing or regarding what he ſayd, immediatly vpon the ſound of the Trumpets diſcharged their pieces at the Iſlanders, which for the moſt part lay in trenches, and fortefied places vnſeene, to their owne beſt aduantage: who immediatly ſhot likewiſe at vs, both with ſmall and great ſhot, without danger to themſelues: Notwithſtanding Captaine Liſter earneſtly haſtened forward the Saylers that rowed, who beganne to ſhrinke at that ſhot, flying ſo faſt about their eares, and himſelfe firſt entring one of the ſhippes that lay a litle further from ſhoare then the other, we ſpedily followed after him into her, ſtill plying them with our ſhot. And hauing cut in ſunder her Cables and Hauſers, towed her away with our Pinneſſe. In the meane time Captaine Dauis his boate ouertooke vs and entred into the other ſhippe, which alſo (as the former) was forſaken by all her men: but they were conſtrayned to leaue her & to come againe into their boate (whileſt ſhot and ſtones from ſhoare flew faſt amongſt them) finding her to ſticke ſo faſt a grounde, that they could not ſtire her: which the Townesmen alſo perceiuing, and ſeeing that they were but fewe in number, and vs (buſied about the other ſhip) not comming to ayde them, were preparing to haue come and taken them. But they returned vnto vs, and ſo together we came away towards the Victory, towing after vs the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Braſill, loden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men ſlaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had litle hurt, lying for the moſt part behind ſtone walles, which were builded one aboue another hard by the ſea ſide, vpon the end of the hill whereupon the Towne ſtoode betwixt two valleyes. Upon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordinance (ſuch as they had) wherewith they ſhot leaden bullets, whereof one pierced through our Prizes ſide, and lay ſtill in the ſhippe without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the ſame Iland, but not knowing before the inconuenience and diſaduantage of the place where we attempted to land, we returned fruſtrate.

The ſame night the 25 of October we departed for S. Georges Iland for freſh water, whither we came on Munday following October 27, and hauing eſpied where a ſpout of water came running downe: the pinneſſe and long boate were preſently manned and ſent vnder the conduct of Captaine Preſton, and Captaine Munſon, by whom my Lord ſent a letter to the Ilanders as before, to grant vs leaue to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithſtanding our men comming on ſhoare found ſome of the poore Ilanders, which for feare of vs hid themſelues amongſt the rockes.

And on Wedneſday following our boats returned with freſh water, whereof they brought onely ſixe tunnes for the Victorie, alleaging they could get no more, thinking (as it was ſuppoſed) that my Lord hauing no more prouiſion of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coaſt of Spaine, but ſtraight for the coaſt of England, as many of our men greatly deſired: notwithſtanding my Lord was vnwilling ſo to doe, and was minded the next day to haue taken in more water: but through roughneſſe of the ſeas and winde, and vnwillingneſſe of his men it was not done. Yet his Hon. purpoſed not to returne with ſo much prouiſion vnſpent, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in ſuch ſort as mought giue ſome reaſonable contentment or ſatiſfaction to himſelfe and others.

Therefore becauſe no more water could now conueniently be gotten, and being vncertaine when it could be gotten, and the time of our ſtaying aboord alſo vncertaine, the matter being referred to the choyſe of the whole companie, whither they would tarrie longer, till wee might be more ſufficiently prouided of freſh water, or goe by the coaſt of Spaine for England, with halfe ſo much allowance of drinke as before, they willingly agreed that euery meaſe ſhould bee allowed at one meale but halfe ſo much drinke as they were accuſtomed (except them that were ſicke or wounded) and ſo to goe for England, taking the coaſt of Spaine in our way, to ſee if we could that way make vp our voyage.

Vpon Saturday Octob. 31 we ſent the Margaret (becauſe ſhe leaked much) directly for England, together with the Prize of Braſile which we tooke at S. Marie, and in them ſome of our hurt and wounded men or otherwiſe ſicke were ſent home as they deſired, for England: but Captaine Monſon was taken out of the Megge into the Victorie.

So we held on our courſe for the coaſt of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which before we ſeldome had. And vpon Tweſday following being the 4 of Nouemb. we eſpied a ſaile right before vs, which we chaſed till about three a clocke in the afternoone, at which time we ouertaking her, ſhe ſtroke ſayle, and being demaunded who was her owner and from whence ſhe was, they anſwered, a Portugall, and from Pernanbucke in Braſile. She was a ſhip of ſome 110 tuns burden, fraighted with 410 cheſtes of Sugar, and 50 Kintals of Braſill-wood, euery Kintall contayning one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twentie degrees, about two hundred leagues from Lisbone weſtwards: Captaine Preſton was preſently ſent vnto her, who brought the principall of her men aboord the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mariners and ſouldiers were ſent aboord her. The Portugals of this Prize told vs that they ſaw another ſhip before them that day about noone. Hauing therefore diſpatched all things about the Prize aforeſaid, and left our long boat with Captaine Dauis, taking his leſſer boat with vs, we made way after this other ſhip with all the ſayles we could beare, holding on our courſe due Eaſt, and giuing order to Captaine Dauis his ſhip and the Prize that they ſhould follow vs due Eaſt, and that if they had ſight of vs the morning following they ſhould follow vs ſtill: if not, they ſhould goe for England.

The next morning we eſpied not the ſayle which we chaſed, and Captaine Dauis his ſhip and the Prize were behinde vs out of ſight: but the next Thurſday the ſixt of Nouember (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about ſixtie leagues from Lisbone weſtwards) early in the morning Captaine Preſton deſcried a ſayle ſome two or three leagues a head of vs, after which we preſently haſtened our chaſe, and ouertooke her about eight or nine of the clocke before noone. She came lately from Saint Michaels roade, hauing beene before at Braſill loden with Sugar and Braſile. Hauing ſent our boat to them to bring ſome of the chiefe of their men aboord the Victorie, in the meane time whileſt they were in comming to vs one out of the maine toppe eſpied another ſaile a head ſome three or foure leagues from vs. So immediately vpon the returne of our boate, hauing ſent her backe againe with ſome of our men aboord the prize, we purſued ſpeedily this new chaſe, with all the ſayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone ouertooke her: ſhe had made prouiſion to fight with vs, hauing hanged the ſides of the ſhip ſo thicke with hides (wherewith eſpecially ſhe was loden) that muſket ſhot could not haue pearced them: but yer we had diſcharged two great pieces of our Ordinance at her, ſhe ſtroke ſayle, and approching neerer, we aſking of whence they were, they anſwered from the Weſt-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint Iohn de Lowe (truely called Vlhua.) This ſhip was of ſome three or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her ſeuen hundred hides worth tenne ſhillings a peece: ſixe cheſts of Cochinell, euery cheſt houlding one hundred pound weight, and euery pound worth ſixe and twentie ſhillings and eight pence, and certaine cheſts of Sugar and China diſhes, with ſome plate and ſiluer.

The Captaine of her was an Italian, and by his behauiour ſeemed to be a graue, wiſe, and ciuill man: he had put in aduenture in this ſhippe fiue and twentie thouſand Duckats. Wee tooke him with certaine other of her chiefeſt men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine Liſter with ſo manie other of the chiefeſt of our Mariners, ſouldiers, and ſaylers as were thought ſufficient, to the number of 20. or there abouts, were ſent into her. In the meane time (we ſtaying) our other prizes which followed after, came vp to vs. And now we had our hands full and with ioy ſhaped our courſe for England, for ſo it was thought meeteſt, hauing now ſo many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongſt vs, that if we ſhould haue taken any more prizes afterwards, wee had not bene well able to haue manned them without endangering our ſelues. So about 6. of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had ouertaken vs) wee ſet ſaile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare vs company without ſparing them many of our ſailes, which cauſed our ſhip to rowle and wallow, in ſuch ſort that it was not onely very troubleſome to vs, but, as it was thought, would alſo haue put the maine Maſte in danger of falling ouerboord: hauing acquainted them with theſe inconueniences, we gaue them direction to keepe their courſes together, folowing vs, and ſo to come to Portſmouth. We tooke this laſt prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Weſtwards from The Rocke.

She was one of thoſe 16. ſhips which we ſaw going into the hauen at Angra in Terçera, October 8. Some of the men that we tooke out of her tolde vs, that whileſt wee were plying vp and downe before that hauen, as before was ſhewed, expecting the comming foorth of thoſe ſhippes, three of the greateſt and beſt of them, at the appointment of the Gouernour of Terçera, were vnloden of their treaſure and marchandize. And in euery of them were put three hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to haue come to lay the Victory aboord in the night, and take her: but when this ſhould haue bene done the Victory was gone out of their ſight.

Now we went meerily before the winde with all the ſailes we could beare, inſomuch that in the ſpace of 24. houres, we ſailed neere 47. leagues, that is ſeuenſcore Engliſh miles, betwixt Friday at noone and Saturday at noone (notwithſtanding the ſhippe was very foule, and much growne with long being at Sea) which cauſed ſome of our company to make accompt they would ſee what running at Tilt there ſhould bee at Whitehall vpon the Queenes day. Others were imagining what a Chriſtmas they would keepe in England with their ſhares of the prizes we had taken. But ſo it befell, that we kept a colde Chriſtmas with the Biſhop and his clearks (rockes that lye to the Weſtwards from Sylly, and the Weſterne parts of England:) For ſoone after the wind ſcanting came about to the Eaſtwards (the worſt part of the heauens for vs, from which the winde could blow) in ſuch ſort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon alſo our allowance of drinke, which was ſcant ynough before, was yet more more ſcanted, becauſe of the ſcarcitie thereof in the ſhippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and ſcarce ſweete. Notwithſtanding this was an happie eſtate in compariſon of that which followed: For from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that laſted not long neither, ſo that by reaſon of this great ſcarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieue our wants. But when wee came neere thither, lying at hull all night (tarrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the ſafelyer bring our ſhip into ſome conuenient harbour there) we were driuen ſo farre to lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, ſo as with heauie hearts and ſad cheare, wee were conſtreined to returne backe againe, and expect till it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend vs a faire winde either for England or Ireland. In the meane time we were allowed euery man three or foure ſpoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, ſauing onely at two or three meales, when we had in ſtead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of Wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare (for by reaſon of our great want of drinke, wee durſt eate but very litle) wee continued for the ſpace of a fourtnight or thereabouts: Sauing that now and then wee feaſted for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-ſtones wee gathered vp and did eate them more pleaſantly then if they had bene the ſweeteſt Comfits in the world; The raine-drops were ſo carefully ſaued, that ſo neere as wee coulde, not one was loſt in all our ſhippe. Some hanged vp ſheetes tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midſt that the water might runne downe thither, and ſo be receiued into ſome veſſell ſet or hanged vnderneth: Some that wanted ſheetes, hanged vp napkins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, then wringing and ſucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and waſhed away the filth and ſoyling of the ſhippe, trod vnder foote, as bad as running downe the kennell many times when it raineth, was not loſt I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea ſometimes with ſtrife and contention) at euery ſcupper-hole, and other place where it ranne downe, with diſhes, pots, cannes, and Iarres, whereof ſome dranke hearty draughts euen as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to clenſe or ſettle it: Others clenſed it firſt, but not often, for it was ſo thicke and went ſo ſlowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tarry ſo long, and were loth to looſe too much of ſuch precious ſtuffe: ſome licked with their tongues (like dogges) the boards vnder feete, the ſides, railes, and Maſts of the ſhippe: others that were more ingenious, faſtened girdles or ropes about the Maſtes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the Maſte (that the raine might not runne downe betweene) in ſuch ſort, that thoſe ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one ſide then on the other, a ſpout of leather was faſtened to the loweſt part of them, that all the raine drops that came running downe the Maſte, might meete together at that place, and there be receiued.

Hee that got a canne of water by theſe meanes was ſpoken of, ſued to, and enuied as a rich man, Quàm pulchrum digito monſtrari & dicier hic eſt? Some of the poore Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithſtanding had the ſame allowance that our owne men had) would come and craue of vs, for the loue of God, but ſo much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithſtanding our great extremitie, to teache them ſome humanitie in ſtead of their accuſtomed barbaritie, both to vs and other nations heretofore. They put alſo bullets of lead into their mouthes to ſlake their thirſt.

Now in euery corner of the ſhippe were heard the lamentable cries of ſicke and wounded men ſounding wofully in our eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, ſo as by reaſon of this great extremitie we loſt many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before: hauing before this time bene ſo well and ſufficiently prouided for, that we liued in maner as well and healthfully, and died as few as if wee had bene in England, whereas now lightly euery day ſome were caſt ouerboord.

But the ſecond day of December 1589. was a feſtiuall day with vs, for then it rained a good pace, and wee ſaued ſome pretie ſtore of raine water (though wee were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled our ſkins full beſides: notwithſtanding it were muddie and bitter with waſhing the ſhippe, but (with ſome ſugar which we had to ſweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wiſhed for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, ſpring, & ſtreame of cleare ſweete running water in England: And how miſerable wee had accompted ſome poore ſoules whom we had ſeene driuen for thirſt to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now haue thought our ſelues if we might haue had our fills of the ſame: yet ſhould wee haue fared the better with this our poore feaſting, if we might haue had our meate and drinke (ſuch and ſo much as it was) ſtand quietly before vs: but beſide all the former extremities, wee were ſo toſſed and turmoiled with ſuch horrible ſtormie and tempeſtuous weather, that euery man had beſt holde faſt his Canne, cup, and diſh in his hands, yea and himſelfe too, many times, by the ropes, railes, or ſides of the ſhip or elſe he ſhould ſoone finde all vnder feete.

Herewith our maine ſaile was torne from the yarde and blowne ouerboord quite away into the ſea without recouery, and our other ſailes ſo rent and torne (from ſide to ſide ſome of them) that hardly any of them eſcaped hole. The raging waues and foming ſurges of the ſea came rowling like mountaines one after another, and ouerraked the waſte of the ſhippe like a migtie riuer running ouer it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote aboue the water, that nowe wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Pſalme 107. verſ. 26. They mount vp to heauen, and deſcend to the deepe, ſo that their ſoule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and ſtagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of foule weather the ſhip was ſo toſſed and ſhaken, that by the craking noiſe it made, and by the leaking which was now much more then ordinary, wee were in great feare it would haue ſhaken in ſunder, ſo that now alſo we had iuſt cauſe to pray a litle otherwiſe then the Poet, though marring the verſe, yet mending the meaning.

Deus maris & Cœli, quid enim niſi vota ſuperſunt,
Soluere quaſſatæ parcito membra ratis.

Notwithſtanding it pleaſed God of his great goodneſſe to deliuer vs out of this danger. Then forthwith a new maine ſaile was made and faſtened to the yard, and the reſt repaired as time and place would ſuffer: which we had no ſooner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great extremitie as before, ſo that againe we were like to haue loſt our new maine ſaile, had not Maſter William Antony the Maſter of the ſhip himſelfe (when none elſe would or durſt) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along vpon the maine yarde (which was let downe cloſe to the railes) to gather it vp out of the ſea, and to faſten it thereto, being in the meane while oft-times ducked ouer head and eares into the ſea.

Theſe ſtormes were ſo terrible, that there were ſome in our company, which confeſſed they had gone to ſeas for the ſpace of 20. yeeres, and had neuer ſeene the like, and vowed that if euer they returned ſafe home, they would neuer come to Sea againe.

The laſt of Nouember at night we met with an Engliſh ſhip, out of which (becauſe it was too late that night) it was agreed that we ſhould haue had the next morning two or three Tunnes of wine, which, as they ſaid, was al the prouiſion of drink they had, ſaue only a But or two, which they muſt needs reſerue for their owne vſe: but after that, we heard of them no more, till they were ſet on ground vpon the coaſt of Ireland, where it appeared that they might haue ſpared vs much more then they pretended they could, ſo as they might wel haue relieued our great neceſſities, and haue had ſufficient for themſelues beſides, to bring them into England.

The firſt of December at night we ſpake with another Engliſh ſhip, and had ſome beere out of her, but not ſufficient to carry vs into England, ſo that wee were conſtrained to put into Ireland, the winde ſo ſeruing.

The next day we came to an anker, not far from the S. Kelmes vnder the land & winde, where we were ſomewhat more quiet, but (that being no ſafe harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anker, but hauing ſome of our men hurt at the Capſten, wee were faine to giue ouer and leaue it behinde, holding on our courſe to Ventre hauen, where wee ſafely arriued the ſame day, that place being a very ſafe and conuenient harbor for vs, that now wee might ſing as we had iuſt cauſe, They that goe downe to the Sea, &c.

So ſoone as we had ankered here my Lord went forthwith to ſhoare, and brought preſently freſh water and freſh victuals, as Muttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refreſh his company withall. Notwithſtanding himſelfe had lately bene very weake, and taſted of the ſame extremitie that his Company did: For in the time of our former want, hauing a little freſh water left him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke and dried vp. Soone after the ſicke and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called Dingenacuſh, being about three miles diſtant from the foreſaide hauen, where our ſhippe roade, to the Eaſtwards, that there they might be the better refreſhed, and had the Chirurgians dayly to attend vpon them. Here we wel refreſhed our ſelues whileſt the Iriſh harpe ſounded ſweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our liues (as it were) reſtored vnto vs againe.

This Dingenacuſh is the chiefe Towne in al that part of Ireland, it cōſiſteth but of one maine ſtreete, from whence ſome ſmaller doe proceede on either ſide. It hath had gates (as it ſeemeth) in times paſt at either ende to open and ſhut as a Towne of warre, and a Caſtle alſo. The houſes are very ſtrongly built with thicke ſtone walles, and narrow windowes like vnto Caſtles: for as they confeſſed, in time of trouble, by reaſon of the wilde Iriſh or otherwiſe, they vſed their houſes for their defence as Caſtles. The caſtle and all the houſes in the Towne, ſaue foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of Deſmond. Theſe foure houſes fortified themſelues againſt him, and withſtood him and all his power perforce, ſo as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke ſtone wall that paſſeth ouerthwart the midſt of the ſtreete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithſtanding whileſt they thus defended themſelues, as ſome of them yet aliue confeſſed, they were driuen to as great extremities as the Iewes, beſieged by Titus the Romane Emperour, inſomuch that they were conſtrained to eat dead mens carcaſes for hunger. The Towne is nowe againe ſomewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they haue no chimneis in their houſes, excepting them of the better ſort, ſo that the ſmoake was very troubleſom to vs, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they haue very good, and whinnes or furres. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as alſo want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they haue neede thereof. But of ſtones there is ſtore ynough, ſo that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground ſeemeth to be nothing elſe within but rockes and ſtones: Yet it is very fruitfull and plentifull of graſſe, and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattel there: inſomuch that we had good muttons (though ſomewhat leſſe then ours in England) for two ſhillings or fiue groates a piece, good pigges and hennes for 3. pence a piece.

The greateſt want is induſtrious, painefull, and huſbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common ſort, if they can prouide ſufficient to ſerue from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it ſeemeth) there is very ſmall ſtore amongſt them, which perhaps was the cauſe that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our comming thither.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent. There are Mines of Alome, Tinne, braſſe, and yron. Stones wee ſawe there as cleare as Chriſtall, naturally ſquared like Diamonds.

Mines in Ireland.

That part of the Countrey is all ful of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleaſant ſtreames of ſweete freſh running water. The naturall hardneſſe of that Nation appeareth in this, that their ſmall children runne vſually in the middeſt of Winter vp and downe the ſtreetes bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) ſaue onely a mantell to couer their nakedneſſe.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soueraigne, who hath the ſame office and authoritie among them that our Maiors haue with vs in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend vpon him, and beare the Mace before him as our Maiors.

We were firſt intertained at the Soueraignes houſe, which was one of thoſe 4. that withſtood the Erle of Deſmond in his rebellion. They haue the ſame forme of Common prayer word for word in Latin, that we haue here in England. Vpon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church with his Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe euery man by himſelfe priuately to make his prayers. After this they riſe and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Miniſter beginneth prayers.

Their maner of baptizing differeth ſomething from ours: part of the ſeruice belonging thereto is repeated in Latin, and part in Iriſh. The Miniſter taketh the child in his hands, and firſt dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, ouer head and eares into the cold water in the midſt of Winter, whereby alſo may appeare their naturall hardneſſe, (as before was ſpecified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Pariſhioners together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that haue any deuotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

We had of them ſome 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proued like a preſent purgation to them that tooke it, ſo that we choſe rather to drinke water then it.

The 20. of December we looſed frõ hence, hauing well prouided our ſelues of freſh water, and other things neceſſary, being accompanied with ſir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong ſonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going aſhoare to diſpatch away ſpeedily ſome freſh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very faire for vs, brought vs newes that there were 60. Spaniſh prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a faire winde, but afterwards it ſcanted ſo, that (as I ſaid before) we were faine to keepe a cold Chriſtmas with The Biſhop and his clearkes.

After this we met with an Engliſh ſhip, that brought vs ioyful news of 91. Spaniſh prizes that were come to England: and ſorrowfull newes withall, that the laſt and beſt prize we tooke, had ſuffered ſhipwracke at a place vpon the coaſt of Cornwal which the Corniſh men cal Als Efferne, that is, Hel-cliffe, and that Captaine Liſter and all the men in the ſhip were drowned, ſaue 5. or 6. the one halfe Engliſh, the other Spaniſh that ſaued themſelues with ſwimming: but notwithſtanding much of the goods were ſaued, and reſerued for vs, by ſir Francis Godolphin, and the worſhipful gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very ſorry for Captaine Liſters death, wiſhing that he had loſt his voyage to haue ſaued his life.

Captaine Liſter drowned.

The 29. of December we met with another ſhippe, that tolde vs the ſame newes, and that ſir. Martin Frobiſher, & Captaine Reymond had taken the Admirall and vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we eſpied going to Terçera hauen. But the Admiral was ſunke with much leaking, neere to the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth ouer againſt Plimouth ſound, and the men were ſaued.

This ſhip alſo certified vs that Captaine Preſtons ſhip had taken a prize loden with ſiluer. My Lord entred preſently into this ſhip, & went to Falmouth, and we held on our courſe for Plimouth. At night wee came neere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Weſtwards from Plimouth ſound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, miſdoubting the ſcantneſſe of the winde. So we ſtood off to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde more large, and made too little ſpare thereof, that partly for this cauſe, and partly through miſtaking of the land, wee were driuen ſo much to lee-wards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth hauen, where wee ſtrucke on ground in 17. foote water: but it was a low ebbe, and ready againe to flowe, and the ground ſoft, ſo as no hurt was done. Here with gladneſſe wee ſet foote againe vpon the Engliſh ground (long deſired) and refreſhed our ſelues with keeping part of Chriſtmas vpon our natiue ſoile.

The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ſhips of *London*, againſt 12. *Spaniſh* gallies in the *Straights* of *Gibraltar*, the 24. of April 1590.

IT is not long ſince ſundry valiant ſhips appertaining to the Marchants of London, were fraighted & rigged forth, ſome for Venice, ſome for Conſtantinople, & ſome to ſundry other places of trafique, among whom theſe enſuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their courſe homewards, hauing before eſcaped all other danger. The firſt whereof was the Salomon apperteining to M. Alderman Barnam of London, and M. Bond, and M. Twyd of Harwich; which went forth the firſt day of February laſt. The ſecond was the Margaret and Iohn belonging to M. Wats of London: The thirde was the Minion: The fourth was the Aſcenſion. The fifth was the Centurion of Maſter Cordal: The ſixt the Violet: the ſeuenth the Samuel: the eight the Creſſcent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to M. Duffield. All theſe ſhips being of notable and approued ſeruice, comming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coaſt of Barbary, deſcried twelue tall Gallies brauely furniſhed and ſtrongly prouided with men and munition, ready to ſeaze vpon theſe Engliſh ſhips: which being perceiued by the Captaines and Maſters thereof, wee made ſpeedy preparation for the defence of our ſelues, ſtill waiting all the night long for the approching of the enemie. In the morning early being the Tueſday in Eaſter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590, according to our vſual cuſtomes, we ſaid Seruice and made our prayers vnto Almightie God, beſeeching him to ſaue vs from the hands of ſuch tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we iuſtly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our moſt mortall enemies vpon the Sea. And hauing finiſhed our prayers, and ſet our ſelues in a readineſſe, we perceiued them to come towards vs, and that they were indeede the Spaniſh Gallies that lay vnder the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemie to all Engliſhmen. So when they came ſomewhat neerer vnto vs, they waued vs a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee waued them a maine for the Queene of England, at which time it pleaſed Almightie God greatly to incourage vs all in ſuch ſort, as that the neerer they came the leſſe we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in thoſe Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in ech Gallie. And it was thus concluded among vs, that the foure firſt and talleſt ſhips ſhould be placed hindmoſt, and the weaker & ſmalleſt ſhips formoſt, and ſo it was performed, euery man being ready to take part of ſuch ſucceſſe as it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend.

February 1590.

At the firſt encounter the Gallies came vpon vs very fiercely, yet God ſo ſtrengthened vs, that if they had bene ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot ſhippe, and hauing ſundry caſt pieces in her, gaue the firſt ſhotte in ſuch a ſowre ſort, as that it ſhared away ſo many men as ſate on the one ſide of a Gallie, and pierced her through in ſuch maner, as that ſhe was ready to ſinke, which made them to aſſault vs the more fiercely. Whereupon the reſt of our ſhippes, eſpecially the foure chiefeſt, namely, the Margaret and Iohn, the Minion, and the Aſcenſion followed, and gaue a hot charge vpon them, and they at vs, where began a hot and fierce battaile with great valiancie the one againſt the other, and ſo continued for the ſpace of ſixe houres. About the beginning of this our fight there came two Flemings to our Fleet, who ſeeing the force of the Gallies to be ſo great, the one of them preſently yeelded, ſtrooke his ſailes, and was taken by the Gallies, whereas if they would haue offered themſelues to haue fought in our behalfe and their owne defence, they needed not to haue bene taken ſo cowardly as they were to their coſt. The other Fleming being alſo ready to performe the like piece of ſeruice began to vaile his ſailes, and intended to haue yeelded immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that ſhippe plucked foorth his faulchion and ſtepped to the Pilote at the helme, and vowed that if he did not ſpeedily put off to the Engliſh Fleete, and ſo take part with them, he would preſently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and ſo by that meanes they were defended from preſent death, and from the tyrannie of thoſe Spaniards, which doubtleſſe they ſhould haue found at their handes.

A fight of ſixe houres long.

A faint-hearted Fleming.

Thus we continued in fight ſixe houres and ſomewhat more, wherein God gaue vs the vpper hand, and we eſcaped the hands of ſo many enemies, who were conſtrained to flie into harbour and ſhrowde themſelues from vs, and with ſpeed to ſeeke for their owne ſafetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended vs all from danger in ſuch ſort, as that there was not one man of vs ſlaine. And in all this fierce aſſault made vpon vs by the Spaniſh power, wee ſuſtained no hurt or damage at all more then this, that the ſhrouds and backe-ſtay of the Salomon, who gaue the firſt and laſt ſhot, and galled the enemie ſhrewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane ſtriken off.

The battel being ceaſed, we were conſtrained for want of wind to ſtay and waft vp and downe, and then went backe againe to Tition in Barbary, which is ſixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderous fauourable to vs, who being but Moores and heathen people ſhewed vs where to haue freſh water and al other neceſſaries for vs. And there we had ſuch good intertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The gouernour was one that fauoured vs greatly, whom wee in reſpect of his great friendſhip preſented with giftes and ſuch commodities as we had in our cuſtodie, which he wonderfully wel accepted of: and here we ſtayed foure dayes.

After the battell was ceaſed, which was on Eaſter Tueſday, we ſtayed for want of winde before

fore Gibraltar, vntill the next morning, where wee were becalmed, and therefore looked euery houre when they would haue ſent foorth ſome freſh ſupply againſt vs, but they were farre vnable to doe it, for all their Gallies were ſo ſore battered, that they durſt not come foorth of the harbour, by reaſon of our hot reſiſtance which they ſo lately before had receiued. Yet were they greatly vrged thereunto by the Gouernour of the ſaid Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Tition in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our comming from them wee could not well diſcerne any thing at all by reaſon of the ſmoake which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almoſt ſpoiled thoſe twelue Gallies by ſhooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to ſinke, and that wee had ſlaine of their men ſuch great abundance, as that they were not able to furniſh forth any more Gallies at all for that yeere.

Thus after we came from Tition, we aſſayed to depart the Straight three ſeuerall times, but could not paſſe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came ſafely away, and ſo ſailed with a pleaſant winde vntill wee came vpon the coaſt of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of July 1590.

The valiant fight performed in the Straight of *Gibraltar*, by the *Centurion* of *London*, againſt fiue *Spaniſh* Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.

IN the moneth of Nouember 1590, there were ſundry ſhippes appertaining to ſeuerall Marchants of London, which were rigged and fraught foorth with marchandize, for ſundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together hauing winde and weather, which oft-time fell out very vncertaine, arriued ſafely in ſhort ſpace, at ſuch places as they deſired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall ſhippe of burden, yet but weakely manned, as appeareth by this diſcourſe following.

This aforeſaid ſhippe called The Centurion ſafely arriued at Marſeils, where after they had deliuered their goods, they ſtayed about the ſpace of fiue weekes, and better, and then tooke in lading, intending to returne to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marſeils, there were ſundry other ſhippes of ſmaller burden which entreated the Maſter thereof, (whoſe name is Robert Bradſhaw, dwelling at Lime-houſe) to ſtay a day or two for them, vntill they were in a readineſſe to depart with them, thereby perſwading them, that it would be farre better for them to ſtay and goe together in reſpect of their aſſiſtance, then to depart of themſelues without company, and ſo happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spaniſh Gallies. Vpon which reaſonable perſwaſion, notwithſtanding that this ſhippe was of ſuch ſufficiencie as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they ſtayed for thoſe litle ſhippes, according to their requeſt, who together did put to Sea from Marſeils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they ſhould happen to meete with any Spaniſh Gallies.

Theſe ſmall ſhippes, accompanied with the Centurion, ſayling along the coaſt of Spaine, were vpon Eaſter day in the Straight of Gibraltar ſuddenly becalmed, where immediatly they ſaw ſundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and couragious ſort: the chiefe Leaders and ſouldiers in thoſe Gallies brauely apparelled in ſilke coates, with their ſiluer whiſtles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Caliuers ſhot at the Centurion ſo faſt as they might: ſo that by 10. of the clocke and ſomewhat before, they had boorded the Centurion, who before their comming had prepared for them, and intended to giue them ſo ſoure a welcome as they might. And thereupon hauing prepared their cloſe fights, and all things in a readineſſe, they called vpon God, on whom onely they truſted: and hauing made their prayers, and cheered vp one another to fight ſo long as life endured, they beganne to diſcharge their great Ordinance vpon the Gallies, but the little ſhippes durſt not come forward, but lay aloofe, while fiue Gallies had boorded them, yea and with their grapling irons made their Gallies faſt to the ſaid ſhippe called the Centurion.

The Gallies were grapled to the Centurion in this maner, two lay on one ſide, and two on another, and the Admirall lay full in the ſterne, which galled and battered the Centurion ſo ſore, that her maine Maſte was greatly weakened, her ſailes filled with many holes, and the Mizzen and ſterne made almoſt vnſeruiceable.

During which time there was a ſore and deadly fight on both ſides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion ſounded foorth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully againſt their aduerſaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Muſicke in the Spaniſh

Gallies, but onely their whiſtles of ſiluer, which they ſounded forth to their owne contentment; in which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they in multitudes came crauling and hung vpon the ſide of the ſhippe, intending to haue entred into the ſame, but ſuch was the courage of the Engliſhmen, that ſo faſt as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gaue them ſuch entertainment, that ſome of them were glad to tumble aliue into the Sea, being remedileſſe for euer to get vp aliue. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boyes, fourtie and eight, who together fought moſt valiantly, and ſo galled the enemie, that many a braue and luſtie Spaniard loſt his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired fiue ſeuerall times, with wilde fire and other prouiſion, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpoſe: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foreſight of the Maſter it did no harme at all.

In euery of the Gallies there were about 200. ſouldiers: who together with the ſhot, ſpoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very ſore, ſhot through her maine Maſte, and ſlew 4. of the men in the ſaid ſhippe, the one of them being the Maſters mate.

Ten other perſons were hurt, by meanes of ſplinters which the Spaniards ſhotte: yea, in the ende when their prouiſion was almoſt ſpent, they were conſtrained to ſhoote at them hammers, and the chaines from their ſlaues, and yet God bee thanked, they receiued no more domage: but by ſpoyling and ouerwearying of the Spaniards, the Engliſhmen conſtrained them to vngrapple themſelues, and get them going: and ſure if there had bene any other freſh ſhippe or ſuccour to haue relieued and aſſiſted the Centurion, they had ſlaine, ſuncke, or taken all thoſe Gallies and their Souldiers.

The Dolphin lay a looſe off and durſt not come neere, while the other two ſmall ſhippes fledde away, ſo that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and ſet vpon the Dolphin, which ſhippe immediatly was ſet on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and ſhippe periſhed: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not knowen vnto the Centurion, but ſure, if it had come forward, and bene an aide vnto the Centurion, it is to bee ſuppoſed that it had not periſhed.

Fiue houres and a halfe this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themſelues, but when the Spaniards were gone, they neuer durſt returne to fight: yet the next day ſixe other Gallies came and looked at them, but durſt not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God deliuered them from the handes of their enemies, and gaue them the victory: for which they heartily praiſed him, and not long after ſafely arriued in London.

☞ There were preſent at this fight Maſter *Iohn Hawes* Marchant, and ſundry other of good accompt.

A report of the trueth of the fight about the Iſles of *Açores*, the laſt of Auguſt 1591. betwixt the *Reuenge*, one of her Maieſties ſhippes, and an *Armada* of the king of *Spaine*; Penned by the honourable Sir *Water Ralegh* knight.

BEcauſe the rumours are diuerſly ſpred, as well in England as in the Lowe countreis and elſewhere, of this late encounter betweene her Maieſties ſhips and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniards according to their vſuall maner, fill the world with their vaine-glorious vaunts, making great appearance of victories, when on the contrary, themſelues are moſt commonly and ſhamefully beaten and diſhonoured; thereby hoping to poſſeſſe the ignorant multitude by anticipating & forerunning falſe reports: It is agreeable with all good reaſon, for manifeſtation of the truth, to ouercome falſhood and vntrueth; that the beginning, continuance and ſucceſſe of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenuil, and other her Maieſties Captaines, with the Armada of Spaine; ſhould be truely ſet downe and publiſhed without partialitie or falſe imaginations. And it is no marueile that the Spaniard ſhould ſeeke by falſe and ſlanderous pamphlets, aduiſoes and Letters, to couer their owne loſſe, and to derogate from others their due honors, eſpecially in this fight being performed far off: ſeeing they were not aſhamed in the yeere 1588. when they purpoſed the inuaſion of this land, to publiſh in ſundry languages in print, great victories in wordes, which they pleaded to haue obteined againſt this Realme; and ſpred the ſame in a moſt falſe ſort ouer all parts of France, Italy, and elſewhere. When ſhortly after it was happily manifeſted in very deed to al Nations, how their Nauy which they termed inuincible, conſiſting of 140. ſaile of ſhippes, not onely of their owne kingdome, but ſtrengthened with the greateſt Argoſies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other Countreis, were by 30. of her Maieſties owne ſhips of war, and a few of our owne Marchants, by the wiſe, valiant, and aduantagious conduct of the L. Charles Howard high Admirall of England, beaten and ſhuffled together; euen from the Lizard in Cornwall firſt to Portland, where they ſhamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ſhip; from Portland to Cales, where they loſt Hugo de Moncado, with the Gallias of which he was Captaine, and from Cales, driuen with ſquibs from their anchors, were chaſed out of the ſight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the ſympathie of their barbarous religion, hoping to finde ſuccour and aſſiſtance, a great part of them were cruſht againſt the rocks, and thoſe other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithſtanding broken, ſlaine, and taken, and ſo ſent from village to village coupled in halters, to be ſhipped into England. Where her Maieſtie of her Princely and inuincible diſpoſition, diſdaining to put them to death, and ſcorning either to retaine or entertaine them: they were all ſent backe againe to their countreys, to witnes and recount the worthy atchieuements of their inuincible and dreadfull Nauy: Of which the number of Souldiers, the fearefull burthen of their ſhippes, the commanders names of euery ſquadron, with all other their magaſines of prouiſions, were put in print, as an Army and Nauy vnreſiſtable, and diſdaining preuention. With all which ſo great and terrible an oſtentation, they did not in all their ſailing round about England, ſo much as ſinke or take one ſhippe, Barke, Pinneſſe, or Cockbote of ours: or euer burnt ſo much as one ſheepecote of this land. Whenas on the contrarie, Sir Francis Drake, with onely 800. ſouldiers not long before, landed in their Indies, and forced SantIago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the forts of Florida.

And after that, Sir Iohn Norris marched from Peniche in Portugall, with a handfull of ſouldiers, to the gates of Lisbone, being aboue 40 Engliſh miles. Where the Earle of Eſſex himſelfe and other valiant Gentlemen braued the Citie of Lisbone, encamped at the very gates; from whence, after many dayes abode, finding neither promiſed partie, nor prouiſion to batter; they made retrait by land, in deſpight of all their Garriſons, both of horſe & foote. In this ſort I haue a little digreſſed from my firſt purpoſe, onely by the neceſſarie compariſon of theirs and our actions: the one couetous of honour without vaunt of oſtentation; the other ſo greedy to purchaſe the opinion of their owne affaires, and by falſe rumors to reſiſt the blaſts of their owne diſhonours, as they will not onely not bluſh to ſpread all manner of vntruthes: but euen for the leaſt aduantage, be it but for the taking of one poore aduenturer of the Engliſh, will celebrate the victory with bonefires in euery towne, alwayes ſpending more in faggots, then the purchaſe was worth they obtained. When as we neuer thought it worth the conſumption of two billets, when we haue taken eight or ten of their Indian ſhippes at one time, and twentie of the Braſill fleete. Such is the difference betweene true valure, and oſtentation: and betweene honorable actions, and friuolous vaineglorious vaunts. But now to returne to my purpoſe.

The L. Thomas Howard with ſixe of her Maieſties ſhippes, ſixe victualers of London, the Barke Ralegh, & two or three other Pinnaſes riding at anker neere vnto Flores, one of the Weſterly Ilands of the Azores, the laſt of Auguſt in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Captaine Middleton of the approch of the Spaniſh Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good ſailer had kept them company three dayes before, of good purpoſe, both to diſcouer their forces the more, as alſo to giue aduiſe to my L. Thomas of their approch. Hee had no ſooner deliuered the newes but the fleete was in ſight: many of our ſhippes companies were on ſhore in the Ilande; ſome prouiding balaſt for their ſhips; others filling of water and refreſhing themſelues from the land with ſuch things as they could either for money, or by force recouer. By reaſon whereof our ſhips being all peſtered and romaging euery thing out of order, very light for want of balaſt, and that which was moſt to our diſaduantage, the one halfe part of the men of euery ſhippe ſicke, and vtterly vnſeruiceable: for in the Reuenge there were ninety diſeaſed: in the Bonauenture, not ſo many in health as could handle her maine ſaile. For had not twenty men beene taken out of a Barke of ſir George Careys, his being commaunded to be ſunke, and thoſe appointed to her, ſhe had hardly euer recouered England. The reſt, for the moſt parte, were in little better ſtate. The names of her Maieſties ſhippes were theſe as followeth, the Defiance, which was Admiral, the Reuenge Viceadmirall, the Bonauenture commaunded by Captaine Croſſe, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foreſight by M. Thomas Vauaſour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foreſight & the Crane being but ſmal ſhips; only the other were of the middle ſize; the reſt, beſides the Barke Falegh, commanded by Captaine Thin, were victuallers, and of ſmall force or none. The Spaniſh fleet hauing ſhrouded their approch by reaſon of the Iſland; were now ſo ſoone at hand, as our ſhippes had ſcarce time to way their anchors, but ſome of them were driuen to let ſlippe their Cables and ſet ſaile. Sir Richard Grinuile was the laſt that waped, to recouer the men that were vpon the Iſland, which otherwiſe had bene loſt. The L. Thomas with the reſt very hardly recouered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinuile not being able to doe, was perſwaded by the Maſter and others to cut his maine ſayle, and caſt about, and to truſt to the ſayling of the ſhip; for the ſquadron of Siuil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard vtterly refuſed to turne from the enemie, alleaging that hee would rather chooſe to die, then to diſhonour himſelfe, his countrey, and her Maieſties ſhippe, perſwading his companie that hee would paſſe through the two ſquadrons, in deſpight of them, and enforce thoſe of Siuil to giue him way. Which hee performed vpon diuers of the formoſt, who, as the Mariners terme it, ſprang their luffe, and fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge. But the other courſe had beene the better, and might right well haue bene anſwered in ſo great an impoſſibility of preuailing. Notwithſtanding out of the greatneſſe of his minde, he could not be perſwaded. In the meane while as hee attended thoſe which were neareſt him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and comming towards him, becalmed his ſailes in ſuch ſort, as the ſhippe could neither make way, nor feele the helme: ſo huge and high carged was the Spaniſh ſhip, being of a thouſand and fiue hundreth tuns. Who after layd the Reuenge aboord. When he was thus bereft of his ſailes, the ſhips that were vnder his lee luffing vp, alſo layd him aboord: of which the next was the Admiral of the Biſcaines, a very mighty and puiſſant ſhippe commanded by Brittandona. The ſayd Philip carried three tire of ordinance on a ſide, and eleuen pieces in euery tire. She ſhot eight forth right out of her chaſe, beſides thoſe of her ſterne ports.

After the Reuenge was entangled with this Philip, foure other boorded her; two on her larboord, and two on her ſtarboord. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that euening. But the great San Philip hauing receiued the lower tire of the Reuenge, diſcharged with croſſebarſhot, ſhifted her ſelfe with all diligence from her ſides, vtterly miſliking her firſt entertainement. Some ſay that the ſhippe foundred, but we cannot report it for truth, vnleſſe we were aſſured. The Spaniſh ſhips were filled with companies of ſouldiers, in ſome two hundred beſides the mariners; in ſome fiue, in others eight hundreth. In ours there were none at all beſide the mariners, but the ſeruants of the commanders and ſome few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many enterchanged volies of great ordinance and ſmall ſhot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Reuenge, and made diuers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed ſoulders and Muſketters, but were ſtill repulſed againe and and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ſhips, or into the ſeas. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of Londō hauing receiued ſome ſhot thorow her by the Armadas, fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge, and aſked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victualers and of ſmall force: Sir Richard bid him ſaue himſelfe, and leaue him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermiſſion, continued while the day laſted and ſome houres of the night, many of our men were ſlaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Hulkes both ſunke, and in many other of the Spaniſh ſhippes great ſlaughter was made. Some write that ſir Richard was very dangerouſly hurt almoſt in the beginning of the fight, and lay ſpeechleſſe for a time ere hee recouered. But two of the Reuenges owne company, brought home in a ſhip of Lime from the Ilandes, examined by ſome of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was neuer ſo wounded as that hee forſooke the vpper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being ſhot into the bodie with a Muſket as hee was a dreſſing, was againe ſhot into the head, and withall his Chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeth alſo with an examination taken by ſir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the ſame ſhippe being returned, which examination, the ſaid ſir Francis ſent vnto maſter William Killegrue, of her Maieſties priuy Chamber.

But to returne to the fight, the Spaniſh ſhips which attempted to bord the Reuenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, ſo alwayes others came in their places, ſhe hauing neuer leſſe then two mighty Gallions by her ſides, and aboard her: So that ere the morning, from three of the clocke the day before, there had fifteene ſeuerall Armadas aſſayled her; and all ſo ill approued their entertainement, as they were by the breake of day, far more willing to harken to a compoſition, then haſtily to make any more aſſaults or entries. But as the day encreaſed, ſo our men decreaſed: and as the light grew more and more, by ſo much more grewe our diſcomforts. For none appeared in ſight but enemies, ſauing one ſmall ſhip called the Pilgrim, commaunded by Iacob Whiddon, who houered all night to ſee the ſucceſſe: but in the morning bearing with the Reuenge, was hunted like a hare amongſt many rauenous houndes, but eſcaped.

All the powder of the Reuenge to the laſt barrell was now ſpent, all her pikes broken, fortie of her beſt men ſlaine, and the moſt part of the reſt hurt. In the beginning of the fight ſhee had but one hundreth free from ſicknes, and foureſcore & ten ſicke, laid in hold vpon the Ballaſt. A ſmall troup to man ſuch a ſhip, & a weake garriſon to reſiſt ſo mighty an army. By thoſe hundred al was ſuſteined, the voleis, boordings, and entrings of fifteen ſhips of warre, beſides thoſe which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spaniſh were alwayes ſupplied with ſouldiers brought from euery ſquadron: all maner of Armes and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no ſupply either of ſhips, men, or weapons; the Maſtes all beaten ouer boord, all her tackle cut aſunder, her vpper worke altogether raſed, and in effect euened ſhee was with the water, but the very foundation or bottome of a ſhip, nothing being left ouer head either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himſelfe in this diſtreſſe, and vnable any longer to make reſiſtance, hauing endured in this fifteene houres fight, the aſſault of fifteene ſeuerall Armadas, all by turnes aboord him, and by eſtimation eight hundred ſhotte of great Artillerie, beſides many aſſaults and entries; and that himſelfe and the ſhippe muſt needes be poſſeſſed by the enemy, who were now all caſt in a ring round about him (The Reuenge not able to mooue one way or other, but as ſhe was moued with the waues and billow of the ſea) commaunded the Maſter gunner, whom hee knew to be a moſt reſolute man, to ſplit and ſinke the ſhippe; that thereby nothing might remaine of glory or victory to the Spaniards: ſeeing in ſo many houres fight, and with ſo great a Nauie they were not able to take her, hauing had fifteene houres time, aboue ten thouſand men, & fiftie and three ſaile of men of warre to performe it withall: and perſwaded the company, or as many as hee could induce, to yeelde themſelues vnto God, and to the mercie of none elſe; but as they had, like valiant reſolute men, repulſed ſo many enemies, they ſhould not nowe ſhorten the honour of their Nation, by prolonging their owne liues for a few houres, or a fewe dayes. The Maſter gunner readily condeſcended and diuers others; but the Captaine and the Maſter were of another opinion, and beſought Sir Richard to haue care of them: alleaging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a compoſition, as they were willing to offer the ſame: and that there being diuers ſufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whoſe wounds were not mortal, they might do their Countrey and prince acceptable ſeruice hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards ſhould neuer glory to haue taken one ſhippe of her Maieſtie, ſeeing they had ſo long and ſo notably defended themſelues; they anſwered, that the ſhippe had ſixe foote water in holde, three ſhot vnder water, which were ſo weakely ſtopped, as with the firſt working of the ſea, ſhe muſt needs ſinke, and was beſides ſo cruſht and bruſed, as ſhee could neuer be remoued out of the place.

The Spaniſh 53. ſaile.

And as the matter was thus in diſpute, and Sir Ricard refuſing to hearken to any of thoſe reaſons; the Maſter of the Reuenge (while the Captaine wanne vnto him the greater party) was conuoyd aboord the Generall Don Alfonſo Baçan. Who (finding none ouer haſtie to enter the Reuenge againe, doubting leaſt Sir Richard would haue blowne them vp and himſelfe, and perceiuing by the report of the Maſter of the Reuenge his dangerous diſpoſition) yeelded that all their liues ſhould be ſaued, the company ſent for England, & the better ſort to pay ſuch reaſonable ranſome as their eſtate would beare, and in the meane ſeaſon to be free from Gally or impriſonment. To this he ſo much the rather cōdeſcended as wel, as I haue ſaid, for feare of further loſſe and miſchiefe to themſelues, as alſo for the deſire he had to recouer Sir Richard Greenuil; whom for his notable valure he ſeemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this anſwere was returned, and that ſafetie of life was promiſed, the common ſort being now at the ende of their perill, the moſt drew backe from Sir Richard and the Maſter gunner, being no hard matter to diſſwade men from death to life. The Maſter gunner finding himſelfe and Sir Richard thus preuented and maſtered by the greater number, would haue ſlaine himſelfe with a ſword, had he not bene by force with-held and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall ſent many boates aboord the Reuenge, and diuers of our men fearing Sir Richards diſpoſition, ſtole away aboord the Generall and other ſhippes. Sir Richard thus ouermatched, was ſent vnto by Alfonſo Baçan to remooue out of the Reuenge, the ſhippe being marueilous vnſauorie, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a ſlaughter houſe. Sir Richard anſwered that hee might doe with his body what he liſt, for hee eſteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ſhippe hee ſwounded, and reuiuing againe deſired the company to pray for him. The Generall vſed Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing vnattempted that tended to his recouerie, highly commending his valour and worthineſſe, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being vnto them a rare ſpectacle, and a reſolution ſildome approoued, to ſee one ſhippe turne toward ſo many enemies, to endure the charge and boording of ſo many huge Armadas, and to reſiſt and repell the aſſaults and entries of ſo many ſouldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spaniſh Captaine of the ſame Armada, and a preſent actor in the fight, who being ſeuered from the reſt in a ſtorme, was by the Lion of London a ſmall ſhip taken, and is now priſoner in London.

The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonſo Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admiral of the Biſcaine ſquadron, was Britandona. Of the ſquadron of Siuil,

the

Marques of Arumburch. The Hulkes and Flybotes were cōmanded by Luis Coutinho. There were ſlaine and drowned in this fight, well neere one thouſand of the enemies, and two ſpeciall commanders Don Luis de ſant Iohn, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spaniſh captaine confeſſeth, beſides diuers others of ſpeciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Aſcenſion of Siuil were both ſunke by the ſide of the Reuenge; one other recouered the rode of Saint Michael, and ſunke alſo there; a fourth ranne her ſelfe with the ſhore to ſaue her men. Sir Richard died as it is ſayd, the ſecond or third day aboord the Generall, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the ſea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remayneth to his friends is, that hee hath ended his life honourably in reſpect of the reputation wonne to his nation and countrey, and of the ſame to his poſteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outliued his owne honour.

For the reſt of her Maieſties ſhips that entred not ſo farre into the fight as the Reuenge, the reaſons and cauſes were theſe. There were of them but ſixe in all, whereof two but ſmall ſhips; the Reuenge ingaged paſt recouery: The Iland of Flores was on the one ſide, 53 ſaile of the Spaniſh, diuided into ſquadrons on the other, all as full filled with ſouldiers as they could containe: Almoſt the one halfe of our men ſicke and not able to ſerue: the ſhips growne foule, vnroomaged, and ſcarcely able to beare any ſaile for want of balaſt, hauing bene ſixe moneths at the ſea before. If all the reſt had entred, all had bene loſt: for the very hugenes of the Spaniſh fleete, if no other violence had beene offered, would haue cruſht them betweene them into ſhiuers. Of which the diſhonour and loſſe to the Queene had bene farre greater then the ſpoyle or harme that the enemie could any way haue receiued. Notwithſtanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would haue entred betweene the ſquadrons, but the reſt would not condeſcend; and the maſter of his owne ſhip offred to leape into the ſea, rather then to conduct that her Maieſties ſhip and the reſt to bee a pray to the enemie, where there was no hope nor poſſibilitie either of defence or victory. Which alſo in my opinion had ill ſorted or anſwered the diſcretion and truſt of a Generall, to commit himſelfe and his charge to an aſſured deſtruction, without hope or any likelyhood of preuailing: thereby to diminiſh the ſtrength of her Maieſties Nauy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemie. The Foreſight of the Queenes commaunded by M. Thomas Vauiſor performed a very great fight, and ſtayed two houres as neere the Reuenge as the weather would permit him, not forſaking the fight, till he was like to be encompaſſed by the ſquadrons, & with great difficultie cleared himſelfe. The reſt gaue diuers voleis of ſhot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne neceſſities, to keepe the weather gage of the enemie, vntill they were parted by night. A fewe dayes after the fight was ended, and the Engliſh priſoners diſperſed into the Spaniſh and Indie ſhips, there aroſe ſo great a ſtorme from the Weſt and Northweſt, that all the fleete was diſperſed, as well the Indian fleete which were then come vnto them, as the reſt of the Armada that attended their arriuall, of which 14. ſaile together with the Reuenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were caſt away vpon the Iſle of S. Michael. So it pleaſed them to honor the buriall of that renowmed ſhip the Reuenge, not ſuffering her to periſh alone, for the great honour ſhe atchieued in her life time. On the reſt of the Ilandes there were caſt away in this ſtorme, 15 or 16 more of the ſhips of warre: and of an hundred and odde ſaile of the Indie fleete, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempeſt, and what before in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odde conſumed and loſt, with thoſe taken by our ſhippes of London, beſides one very rich Indian ſhip, which ſet her ſelfe on fire, beeing boorded by the Pilgrim, and fiue other taken by maſter Wats his ſhips of London, betweene the Hauana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of Nouember we receiued letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Iland, ſaued out of the periſhed ſhips: & that by the Spaniards owne confeſſion, there are 10000 caſt away in this ſtorme, beſides thoſe that are periſhed betweene the Ilands and the maine. Thus it hath pleaſed God to fight for vs, and to defend the iuſtice of our cauſe, againſt the ambicious and bloody pretenſes of the Spaniard, who ſeeking to deuoure all nations, are themſelues deuoured. A manifeſt teſtimony how iniuſt and diſpleaſing, their attempts are in the ſight of God, who hath pleaſed to witnes by the ſucceſſe of their affaires, his miſlike of their bloody and iniurious deſignes, purpoſed and practiſed againſt all Chriſtian princes, ouer whom they ſeeke vnlawfull and vngodly rule and Empery.

One day or two before this wracke happened to the Spaniſh fleete, when as ſome of our priſoners deſired to be ſet on ſhore vpon the Ilandes, hoping to be from thence tranſported into England, which libertie was formerly by the Generall promiſed: One Morice Fitz Iohn, ſonne of olde Iohn of Deſmond, a notable traytour, couſin german to the late Earle of Deſmond, was ſent to the Engliſh from ſhippe to ſhippe, to perſwade them to ſerue the King of Spaine.

The arguments hee vſed to induce them were theſe. The increaſe of pay which he promiſed to be trebled: aduancement to the better ſort: and the exerciſe of the true Catholique Religion, and ſafetie of their ſoules to all. For the firſt, euen the beggerly and vnnaturall behauiour of thoſe Engliſh and Iriſh rebels, that ſerued the King in that preſent action, was ſufficient to anſwere that firſt argument of rich pay. For ſo poore and beggerly they were, as for want of apparell they ſtripped their poore Countrey men priſoners out of their ragged garments, worne to nothing by ſixe months ſeruice, and ſpared not to deſpoyle them euen of their bloody ſhirtes, from their wounded bodies, and the very ſhooes from their feete; A notable teſtimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages. The ſecond reaſon was hope of aduancement if they ſerued well, and would continue faithfull to the King. But what man can bee ſo blockiſhly ignorant euer to expect place or honour from a forraine King, hauing no other argument or perſwaſion then his owne diſloyaltie; to be vnnaturall to his owne Countrey that bred him; to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whoſe obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by Religion? No, they are onely aſſured to be imployed in all deſperate enterpriſes, to bee helde in ſcorne and diſdaine euer among thoſe whom they ſerue. And that euer traitour was either truſted or aduanced I could neuer yet reade, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man could haue leſſe becommed the place of an Orator for ſuch a purpoſe, then this Morice of Deſmond. For the Erle his coſen being one of the greateſt ſubiects in that kingdom of Ireland, hauing almoſt whole Countreis in his poſſeſſion; ſo many goodly Mannors, caſtles, and lordſhips; the Count Palatine of Kerry, fiue hundred gentlemen of his owne name and family to follow him, beſides others (all which he poſſeſſed in peace for three or foure hundred yeeres) was in leſſe then three yeeres after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holdes, not ſo many as ten gentlemen of his name left liuing, himſelfe taken and beheaded by a ſouldier of his owne nation, and his land giuen by a Parliament to her Maieſtie, and poſſeſſed by the Engliſh: His other coſen Sir Iohn of Deſmond taken by Maſter Iohn Zouch, and his body hanged ouer the gates of his natiue Citie to be deuoured by rauens: the thirde brother Sir Iames hanged, drawne, and quartered in the ſame place. If hee had withall vaunted of his ſucceſſe of his owne houſe, no doubt the argument would haue mooued much, and wrought great effect; which becauſe hee for that preſent forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalfe. For matter of Religion it would require a particuler volume, if I ſhould ſet downe how irreligiouſly they couer their greedy and ambicious pretenſes, with that veile of pietie. But ſure I am, that there is no kingdome or common-wealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then inuade it for religion ſake: if it bee, as they terme Catholique, they pretend title; as if the Kings of Caſtile were the naturall heires of all the world: and ſo betweene both, no kingdome is vnſought. Where they dare not with their owne forces to inuade, they baſely entertaine the traitours and vacabonds of all Nations; ſeeking by thoſe and by their runnagate Ieſuits to winne parts, and haue by that meane ruined many Noble houſes and others in this lande, and haue extinguiſhed both their liues and families. What good, honour, or fortune euer man yet by them atchieued, is yet vnheard of, or vnwritten. And if our Engliſh Papiſts doe but looke into Portugall, againſt which they haue no pretence of Religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, impriſoned, their rich men made a praye, and all ſorts of people captiued; they ſhall finde that the obedience euen of the Turke is eaſie and a libertie, in reſpect of the ſlauerie and tyrannie of Spaine. What haue they done in Sicill, in Naples, Millaine, and in the Low countreis; who hath there bene ſpared for Religion at all? And it commeth to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Antwerpe, whoſe houſe being entred by a company of Spaniſh ſouldiers, when they firſt ſacked the Citie, hee beſought them to ſpare him and his goods, being a good Catholique, and one of their owne partie and faction. The Spaniards anſwered, that they knew him to be of a good conſcience for himſelfe, but his money, plate, iewels, and goods, were all hereticall, and therefore good prize. So they abuſed and tormented the fooliſh Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had bene a ſufficient target againſt all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither haue they at any time as they proteſt inuaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and elſewhere, but onely led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to Chriſtianitie, then for either gold or Emperie. When as in one onely Iſland called Hiſpaniola, they haue waſted thirtie hundred thouſand of the naturall people, beſides many millions elſe in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmeleſſe people created of God, and might haue bene wonne to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almoſt as many as euer were perſwaded thereunto. The ſtorie whereof is at large written by a Biſhop of their owne nation called Bartholomew de las Caſas, and tranſlated into Engliſh and many other languages, intituled The Spaniſh cruelties. Who would therefore repoſe truſt in ſuch a nation of rauenous ſtrangers, and eſpecially in thoſe Spaniards which more greedily thirſt after

Engliſh blood, then after the liues of any other people of Europe, for the many ouerthrowes and diſhonours they haue receiued at our hands, whoſe weakeneſſe wee haue diſcouered to the world, and whoſe forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by ſea and land, wee haue euen with handfulles of men and ſhippes, ouerthrowen and diſhonoured. Let not therefore any Engliſh man, of what religion ſoeuer, haue other opnion of the Spaniards, but that thoſe whom hee ſeeketh to winne of our Nation, he eſteemeth baſe and trayterous, vnworthy perſons, or vnconſtant fooles: and that he vſeth his pretence of religion, for no other purpoſe but to bewitch vs from the obedience of our naturall Prince; thereby hoping in time to bring vs to ſlauery and ſubiection, and then none ſhall be vnto them ſo odious, and diſdayned as the traitours themſelues, who haue ſolde their Countrey to a ſtranger, and forſaken their faith and obedience contrarie to nature & religion; and contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Chriſtians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who haue alwayes ſuſtayned what labour ſoeuer, and embraced euen death it ſelfe, for their countrey, Prince, or common-wealth. To conclude, it hath euer to this day pleaſed God to proſper and defend her Maieſtie, to breake the purpoſes of malicious enemies, of forſworne traytors, and of iniuſt practiſes and inuaſions. She hath euer beene honoured of the worthieſt kings, ſerued by faithfull ſubiects, and ſhall by the fauour of God, reſiſt, repell, and confound all whatſoeuer attempts againſt her ſacred perſon or kingdome. In the meane time let the Spaniard and traytour vaunt of their ſucceſſe, and wee her true and obedient vaſſals, guided by the ſhining light of her vertues, ſhall alwayes loue her, ſerue her, and obey her to the end of our liues.

A particular note of the Indian fleet, expected to haue come into *Spaine* this preſent yeere of 1591. with the number of ſhippes that are periſhed of the ſame: according to the examination of certaine *Spaniards* lately taken and brought into *England* by the ſhips of *London*.

THe fleete of Noua Hiſpania, at their firſt gathering together and ſetting foorth, were two and fiftie ſailes. The Admirall was of ſixe hundred tunnes, and the Vice Admirall of the ſame burthen. Foure or fiue of the ſhippes were of nine hundred and 1000 tunnes a peece, ſome fiue hundred, and ſome foure hundred and the leaſt of two hundred tuns. Of this fleet 19 were caſt away, and in them 2600 men by eſtimation, which was done along the coaſt of Noua Hiſpania, ſo that of the ſame fleet there came to the Hauana but 33 ſailes.

The fleete of Terra Firma were, at their firſt departure from Spaine, fiftie ſailes, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did diſcharge their lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their healths ſake, vntill the time the treaſure was readie they ſhould take in, at the ſaid Nombre de Dios. But before this fleete departed, ſome were gone by one or two at a time, ſo that onely 23 ſayles of this fleete arriued in the Hauana.

At the Hauana there met
- 33 ſailes of Noua Hiſpania.
- 23 ſailes of Terra Firma.
- 12 ſailes of San Domingo.
- 9 ſailes of the Hunduras.

The whole 77 ſhippes, ioyned and ſet ſailes all together at the Hauana, the 17 of July, according to our account, and kept together vntill they came into the height of thirtie fiue degrees, which was about the tenth of Auguſt, where they found the winde at Southweſt chaunged ſuddenly to the North, ſo that the ſea comming out of the Southweſt, and the wind very violent at North, they were put all into great extremitie, and then firſt loſt the Generall of their fleete, with 500 men in her; and within three or foure dayes after, an other ſtorme riſing, there were fiue or ſixe other of the biggeſt ſhippes caſt away with all their men, together with their Vice-Admirall.

And in the height of 38. degrees, about the end of Auguſt, grew another great ſtorme, in which all the fleet ſauing 48. ſailes were caſt away: which 48. ſailes kept together, vntill they came in ſight of the Iſlands of Coruo and Flores, about the fift or ſixt of September, at which time a great ſtorme ſeparated them: of which number fifteene or ſixeteene were after ſeene by theſe Spanyards to ride at anchor vnder the Tercera; and twelue or foureteene more to beare with the Iſland of S. Michael; what became of them after that theſe Spaniards were taken cannot yet be certified; their opnion is, that very few of thee fleet are eſcaped, but are either drowned or taken. And it is otherwaies of late certified, that of this whole fleete that ſhould haue come into

Spaine this yeere, being one hundred twentie and three ſayle, there are arriued as yet but fiue and twentie. This note was taken out of the examination of certaine Spaniardes, that were brought into England by ſixe of the ſhips of London, which tooke ſeuen of the aboue named Indian Fleete, neere the Iſlands of Açores.

A report of Maſter *Robert Flicke* directed to Maſter *Thomas Bromley*, Maſter *Richard Staper*, and Maſter *Cordall* concerning the ſucceſſe of a part of the *London* ſupplies ſent to my Lord *Thomas Howard* to the Iſles of the *Azores*, 1591.

WOrſhipfull, my heartie commendations vnto you premiſed: By my laſt of the twelfth of Auguſt from this place I aduertiſed you particularly of the accidents of our Fleete vntill then. It remayneth now to relate our endeuours in accompliſhing the order receiued for the ioyning with my Lorde Thomas Howard, together with the ſucceſſe wee haue had. Our departure from hence was the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt, the winde not ſeruing before. The next day following I cauſed a Flagge of Counſell to be put foorth, whereupon the Captaines and Maſters of euery ſhippe came aboord, and I acquainted them with my Commiſſion, firmed by the Right honourable the Lordes of her Maieſties Counſell, and with all the aduertiſements of Sir Edward Denny, of my Lordes determination to remaine threeſcore leagues to the Weſt of Fayal, ſpreading North and South betwixt thirtie ſeuen and a halfe or thirty eight and a halfe degrees. And not finding him in this heigth to repaire to the Iſles of Flores and Coruo, where a Pinneſſe of purpoſe ſhould ſtay our comming vntill the laſt of Auguſt, with intent after that day to repaire to ẏ coaſt of Spaine, about the heigth of The Rocke, ſome twentie or thirtie leagues off the ſhoare. The which being aduiſedly conſidered of, hauing regard vnto the ſhortneſſe of time, by reaſon of our long abode in this place, and the vncertainety of the weather to fauour vs, it was generally holden for the beſt and ſecureſt way to meete with my Lorde, to beare with the heigth of The Rocke, without making any ſtay vpon the coaſt, and ſo directly for the Iſlands which was accordingly fully agreed and performed. The 28 day wee had ſight of the Burlings, and the 29 being thwart of Peniche, the winde ſeruing vs, without any ſtay we directed our courſe Weſt for the Iſlands. The 30 day we met with Captaine Royden in the Red-Roſe, ſometime called the Golden Dragon, ſeparated from my Lorde of Cumberland in a ſtorme: who certified vs of 50 ſayles of the Spaniſh kings Armadas to be gone for the Iſlands, but could not informe vs any newes of my Lord Thomas Howard, otherwiſe then vpon preſumption to remaine about the Iſlandes, and ſo wee continued our courſe the winde ſtanding with vs.

The 4 of September we recouered Tercera, and ranged along all the Iſlands, both on the South and North ſides the ſpace of foure dayes: during which time it was not our hap to meete with any ſhipping, whereby either to vnderſtand of my Lord, or of the Indian Fleete: hereupon we directed our courſe to the Weſt from Fayal, according to the inſtructions of Sir Edward Denny. The 11 day in the plying to the Weſtwards we deſcried a ſayle out of our maine toppe, and in the afternoone betweene two and three of the clocke hauing rayſed her hull, the weather became calme, ſo that the ſhip could not fetch her. I ſent off my Skiffe throughly manned, furniſhed with ſhot and ſwords, The Cherubin, and the Margaret and Iohn doing the like. Vpon this the ſayle ſtood off againe, and the night approching, our boates loſt her and ſo returned. In this our purſute after the ſayle the Centurion being left a ſterne, the next morning wee miſſed her, and ſpent that day in plying vp and downe ſeeking her. And for as much as euery of the ſhips had receiued order, that, if by extremity of weather or any other miſchance they ſhould be ſeuered from our Fleete, they ſhould meete and ioyne at Flores, we, according to the inſtructions of Sir Edward Denny, proceeded to the finding of my Lord Thomas Howard, being in the heigth appointed and not able to holde the ſame by reaſon of extreme tempeſtes which forced vs to the Iſles of Flores and Coruo, which we made the 14 day in the morning, and there alſo ioyned againe with the Centurion, whoſe company before we had loſt: who declared vnto vs that the 12 day, being the ſame day they loſt vs, they met with fiue and forty ſailes of the Indian Fleete. The ſame night vpon theſe newes we came to an anker betweene Flores and Coruo, and the morrow following at the breake of day, a flagge of Counſell being put out. the Captaines & Maſters came aboord me: where, for the deſire to vnderſtand ſome tidings of my Lord, as alſo the ſupplying of our want of water, it was thought good to ſend our boats furniſhed on ſhore, vnder the conduct of Captaine Brothus, and then it was alſo ordered after our departure thence to range along the

South

Southſides of the Iſlands to the end we might either vnderſtand of my Lord, or elſe light on the Indian fleete; and in the miſſing of our purpoſe to direct our courſe for Cape Sant Vincente.

The boates, according to the foreſayd determination, being ſent on ſhoare, it chaunced that The Coſtely ryding vttermoſt in the roade, did weigh to bring her ſelfe more neere among vs for the ſuccour of the boates ſent off, and in opening the land diſcouered two ſayles, which we in the roade could not perceiue: whereupon ſhee gaue vs a warning piece, which cauſed vs to waue off our boates backe, and before they could recouer our ſhippes, the diſcryed ſhips appeared vnto vs, towardes the which we made with all haſte, and in a very happie houre, as it pleaſed God. In that wee had not ſo ſoone cleared the lande, and ſpoken with one of them, which was a Barke of Briſtoll, who had alſo ſought my Lorde in the heigths appointed and could not finde him, but a violent ſtorme aroſe, in ſuch manner, as if we had remained in the roade, we had beene in daunger of periſhing: and the ſame extremely continued during the ſpace of threeſcore houres. In which ſtorme I was ſeparated from our Fleete, except the Cherubin and the Coſtely, which kept company with mee. And ſo ſayling among the Iſlands, I viewed the roade of Fayal, and finding no Roaders there, went directly for the Iſle Tercera.

A violent ſtorme.

The nineteenth day in the morning comming vnto ẏ ſame with intent to edge into the Road, a tempeſt aroſe and ſcanted the winde, that we could not ſeaze it: from the which being driuen we fell among certaine of the Indian Fleete, which the ſayde ſtorme diſperſed, and put them from the road: whereupon my ſelfe with the other two ſhips in companie gaue ſeuerall chaſes, and thereby loſt the company each of other.

In following our chaſe aboue noone we made her to ſtrike and yeelde, being a Portugall, laden with hides, ſalſa-perilla and Anile. At this very inſtant we eſpied another, and taking our Prize with vs followed her, and ſomewhat before night obtayned her, named the Conception, Franciſco Spinola being Captaine, which was laden with hides, Cochonillio, and certaine raw ſilke. And for that the ſeas were ſo growen, as neither with boate nor ſhippe they were to bee boorded, we kept them till fit opportunitie. The ſame night a litle before day there happened another into our company, ſuppoſing vs by our two prizes to be of their Fleete, which we vntill the morning diſſembled.

A Portugall Prize taken.

A rich Weſt-India Prize taken.

The 20 day in the morning, the ſayle being ſhot ſomewhat a head of vs, hauing a ſpeciall care for the ſafe keeping of the two former, we purpoſed to cauſe our Prizes to put out more ſayle thereby to keepe them neere in giuing chaſe to the other: vnto the which the Maſter would not hearken nor be perſwaded, but that they would follow vs: by the which his wilfulneſſe by ſuch time as we had cauſed the other to yeelde, and ſent men aboord, the Conception, Franciſco Spinola Captaine being brought a ſterne, and hauing gotten the winde of vs, ſtood off with all her ſayles bearing, ſo as we were forced to make a new chaſe of her: and had not the winde enlarged vpon vs we had loſt her. In the purſute before we recouered her and brought our ſelues againe in company of our other Prizes, the whole day was ſpent, and by this meanes we loſt the opportunitie of that day, the weather fitly ſeruing to boord the Portugall Prize, which was in great diſtreſſe, and made requeſt to take them being readie to ſinke, and, as we well perceiued, they ceaſed not to pumpe day and night: the which ſhip to all our iudgements the ſame night periſhed in the ſea.

The one and twentie day the Conception, whereof Franciſco Spinola was Captaine, being alſo in a leake, and the ſame ſtill increaſing notwithſtanding the continuall pumping, in ſuch ſort as not to be kept long aboue water, I tooke and diſcharged out of her two and forty cheſtes of Cochonillio and ſilkes, and ſo left her with 11 foote water in holde, and her furniture and 4700 hides, vnto the ſeas.

The other Prize which we haue brought into the harborough is named Noſtra Sennora de los remedios, whereof Franciſco Aluares is Captaine, laden with 16 cheſts of Cochonillio, certaine fardels of raw ſilke, and about 4000 hides. Upon the diſcharge of the goods your worſhips ſhall be particularly aduertiſed thereof.

In the boording of the Prizes the diſorder of the company was ſuch, as that they letted not preſently beſides the rifling of the Spaniards to breake open the cheſts and to purloyne ſuch money as was in them: notwithſtanding that it was ordered at conuenient leaſure to haue gone aboord my ſelfe, and there in the preſence of three or foure witneſſes to haue taken a iuſt account thereof, and the ſame to haue put in ſafe keeping, according to the effects of articles receiued in this behalfe.

And whereas there were alſo certaine ſummes of money taken from the company which they had thus purloyned and embeſeled, and the ſame with ſome other parcels brought abord my ſhip, amounting vnto 2129 pezoes & a halfe, the company as pillage due vnto them demanded to haue the ſame ſhared, which I refuſed, & openly at the maine maſte read the articles firmed by my Lord Treaſurer and my lord Admirall, whereby we ought to be directed, and that it was not in mee any way to diſpoſe thereof vntill the ſame were finally determined at home. Hereupon they mutined and at laſt grew into ſuch furie, as that they would haue it or els breake downe the cabbine, which they were alſo readie to put in practiſe, whereby I was forced to yeeld, leaſt the Spaniards which we had abord being many perceiuing the ſame, might haue had fit opportunitie to riſe againſt vs, which, after their brawles were appeaſed, they ſought to haue put in execution.

By the laſt aduiſe from Caſtile the Generall of the kings Armada which is lately come to ſea hath receiued commaundement to ioyne his Fleete with thoſe of the Indies, and for to ſtay altogether at Tercera vntill the 15 of October: for that 6 pataches with 7 or 8 millions of the kings treaſure will come by that time, or els they ſtay their comming from Hauana vntil Ianuary next, or the kings further pleaſure therein to be knowen. Theſe Pataches are ſaid to be of 300 tuns the piece, and to cary 30 pieces of braſſe, and alſo of ſaile reported to haue the aduantage of any ſhipping.

There periſhed of the Indies Fleete ſunke in the ſea before their comming to Flores 11 ſailes, whereof the General was one, and not one man ſaued. And it is by the Spaniards themſelues preſuppoſed that the ſtormes which we had at Flores & at Tercera haue deuoured many more of them, whereof in part we were eye witneſſes. And ſo what by the ſeas and our men of warre I preſume that of 75 ſailes that came from Hauana, halfe of them will neuer arriue in Spaine.

The 11 day of October at night we came to anker in the ſound of Plimouth, and the next morning with our Prize came into Cattewater: for which God be thanked: for that a vehement ſtorme aroſe, and with ſuch fury increaſed, as that the Prize was forced to cut ouer her maine maſte: otherwiſe with the violence of the ſtorme, her ground tackle being bad, ſhe had driuen on ſhore: which was the moſt cauſe that moued me to put in here; intending now here to diſcharge the goods without further aduenture, and haue certified thus much vnto my Lord Admirall, and therewith alſo deſired to vnderſtande the direction of the Lords of the Counſell together with yours, inſomuch as my Lord Thomas Howard is not returned. How the reſt of our conſorts which were ſeparated from vs by weather haue ſped, or what Prizes they haue taken, whereof there is much hope by reaſon of the ſcattering of the Weſt Indian Fleete, as yet we are able to ſay nothing. And thus expecting your anſwere, and for all other matters referring me vnto the bearer Captaine Furtho, I end. Plymouth the 24 of October. 1591.

Your worſhips louing friend
Robert Flicke.

A large teſtimony of *Iohn Huighen van Linſchoten* Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right honourable the Earle of *Cumberland*, By Sir *Martine Frobiſher*, Sir *Richard Greenuile*, and diuers other Engliſh Captaines, about the Iſles of the *Açores*, and vpon the coaſts of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent diſcourſe of voiages to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, cap. 96. 97. and 99.

THe 22 of Iuly 1589 about Euening, being by the Iſlands of Flores & Coruo, we perceiued 3 ſhips that made towards vs, which came from vnder the land, which put vs in great feare: for they came cloſe by our Admirall, and ſhot diuers times at him, and at another ſhip of our companie, whereby we perceiued them to be Engliſhmen, for they bare an Engliſh flagge vpon their maine tops, but none of them ſhewed to be aboue 60 tunnes in greatnes. About Euening they followed after vs, and all night bore lanternes with candles burning in them at their ſternes, although the Moone ſhined. The ſame night paſſing hard by the Iſland of Fayal, the next day being betweene the Iſland of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the ſmall Iſland called Gracioſa on our left hand, we eſpied the 3 Engliſh ſhips ſtill following vs yͭ tooke counſell together, whereof one ſailed backwards, thinking that ſome other ſhip had come after vs without cõpany, & for a time was out of ſight, but it was not long before it came again to yͤ other two, wherwith they tooke cõſel & came all 3 together againſt our ſhip, becauſe we lay in the lee of al our ſhips, & had yͤ Iſland of S. George on the one ſide in ſtead of a ſconce, thinking to deale ſo with vs, that in yͤ end we ſhould be conſtrained to run vpon the ſhore, whereof we wanted not much, and in that manner with their flagges openly diſplayed, came luſtily towardes vs, ſounding their Trumpets, and ſayled at the leaſt three times about vs, beating vs with Muſket and Caliuer, and ſome great pieces, and did vs no hurt in the body of our ſhippe, but ſpoyled all our ſayles and ropes, and to conclude, wee were ſo plagued by them, that no man durſt put foorth his head, and when wee ſhot off a peece, wee had at the leaſt an houres worke to lade it againe, whereby wee had ſo great a noiſe and crie in the ſhippe, as if we had all bene caſt away, whereat the Engliſh men themſelues beganne to mocke vs, and with a thouſand ieſting wordes called vnto vs. In the meane time the other ſhippes hoiſed all their ſayles, and did the beſt they could to ſaile to the Iſland of Tercera, not looking once behinde them to helpe vs, doubting they ſhould come too late thither, not caring for vs, but thinking themſelues to haue done ſufficiently ſo they ſaued their owne ſtakes, whereby it may eaſily be ſeene what company they keepe one with the other, and what order is among them. In the ende the Engliſh men perceiuing ſmall aduantage againſt vs, (little knowing in what caſe and feare we were, as alſo becauſe wee were not farre from Tercera) left vs, which made vs not a litle to reioyce, as thinking our ſelues to bee riſen from death to life, although wee were not well aſſured, neyther yet voyde of feare till we lay in the road before Tercera, and vnder the ſafetie of the Portingales fort, and that we might get thither in good time wee made all the sailes we could: on the other ſide we were in great doubt, becauſe we knew not what they did in the Iſland, nor whether they were our friends or enemies, and we doubted ſo much the more, becauſe we found no men of warre nor any Caruels of aduiſe from Portingal, as wee made our accounts to doe, that might conuoy vs from thence, or giue vs aduiſe, as in that countrey ordinarily they vſe to do: and becauſe the Engliſh men had bene ſo victorious in thoſe parts, it made vs ſuſpect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Iſland of Tercera were in no leſſe feare then we, for ſeeing our fleete, they thought vs to bee Engliſhmen, and that wee came to ouerrun the Iſland, becauſe the 3. Engliſhmen had bound vp their flags, and came in company with vs: for the which cauſe the Iſland ſent out two Caruels that lay there with aduiſe from the king, for the Indian ſhips that ſhould come thither. Thoſe Caruels came to view vs, and perceiuing what we were, made after vs, whereupon the Engliſh ſhips left vs, and made towardes them, becauſe the Caruels thought them to be friends, and ſhunned them not, as ſuppoſing them to bee of our company, but we ſhot foure or fiue times and made ſignes vnto them that they ſhould make towards the Iſland, which they preſently did. The Engliſhmen perceiuing that, did put forwards into the ſea, & ſo the Caruels borded vs telling vs that the men of the Iſland were all in armes, as hauing receiued aduiſe from Portugall, that Sir Francis Drake was in readineſſe, and woulde come vnto thoſe Iſlands. They likewiſe brought vs newes of the ouerthrow of the Spaniſh fleet before England, and that the Engliſh men had bene before the gates of Lisbon: whereupon the king gaue vs commandement that we ſhould put into the Iſland of Tercera, and there lie vnder the ſafety of the Caſtle vntil we receiued further aduiſe what we ſhould do, or whether we ſhould ſaile: for that they thought it too dangerous for vs to go to Lisbon. Thoſe newes put our fleet in great feare, and made vs looke vpon eche other not knowing what to ſay, as being dangerous for them to put into the road, becauſe it lieth open to the ſea: ſo that the Indian ſhips, although they had expreſſe commandement from the king, yet they durſt not anker there, but onely vſed to come thither, and to lie to and fro, ſending their boates on land to fetch ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted, without ankering: but being by neceſſitie compelled thereunto, as alſo by the kings commandement, and for that we vnderſtood the Erle of Cumberland not to bee farre from thoſe Iſlands with certaine ſhips of warre, we made neceſſitie a vertue, and entring the road, ankered cloſe vnder the Caſtle, ſtaying for aduiſe and order from the king, to performe our voyage, it being then the 24. of July, and S. Iames day.

The day before the Erle of Cumberland with 6. or 7. ſhips of war, ſailed by the Iſland of Tercera, and to their great good fortune paſſed out of ſight, ſo that they diſpatched themſelues in all haſte, and for the more ſecuritie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards, of thoſe that lay in Garriſon in the Iſland, and with them they ſayled towards Lisbon, hauing a good wind: ſo that within 11 daies after they arriued in the riuer of Lisbon with great gladnes & triumph: for if they had ſtayed but one day longer before they had entred the riuer, they had all beene taken by Captaine Drake, who with 40 ſhips came before Caſcais, at the ſame time that the Indian ſhips caſt anker in the riuer of Lisbon, being garded thither by diuers Gallies.

While I remained in Tercera, the Erle of Cumb. came to S. Marie, to take in freſh water, and ſome other victuals: but the inhabitants would not ſuffer him to haue it, but wounded both himſelfe & diuers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without hauing any thing there.

The Erle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came vnto the Iſle of Gracioſa, where himſelfe in perſon, with ſeuen or eight in his company went on land, aſking certaine beaſts, hens, and other victuals, with wine and freſh water, which they willingly gaue him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his courteſie, and keeping of his promiſe.

The ſame time that the Erle of Cumberland was in the Iſland of Gracioſa, he came likewiſe to Fayall, where at the firſt time that he came, they beganne to reſiſt him, but by reaſon of ſome controuerſie among them, they let him land, where he razed the Caſtle to the ground, and ſunke all their Ordinance in the ſea, taking with him certaine Carauels and ſhips that lay in the road, with prouiſion of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to ſea. Whereupon the king cauſed the principall actors therein to be puniſhed, and ſent a company of ſouldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great ſhot, making the fortreſſe vp againe, the better to defend the Iſland, truſting no more in the Portugales.

The 99 Chapter.

The ninth of October 1589. there arriued in Tercera fourteene ſhips that came from the Spaniſh Indies, laden with Cochenile, Hides, Golde, Siluer, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fiftie in companie, when they departed out of the Hauen of Hauana, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleuen ſunke in the ſame Channell by foule weather, the reſt by a ſtorme were ſcattered and ſeparated one from the other. The next day there came another ſhip of the ſame companie, that ſayled cloſe vnder the Iſland, ſo to get into the Roade: where ſhe met with an Engliſh ſhip that had not aboue three caſt peeces, and the Spaniards 12. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Iſland might ſtand and behold: whereupon the Gouernour of Tercera ſent two boates of Muſketiers to helpe the ſhippe: but before they could come at her, the Engliſh ſhip had ſhot her vnder water, and we ſaw her ſinke into the Sea with all her ſayles vp, and not any thing ſeene of her aboue the water. The Engliſhmen with their boate ſaued the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie-worth of the goods, and yet in the ſhippe there was at the leaſt to the value of two hundred thouſand Duckats in Golde, Siluer, and Pearles, the reſt of the men were drowned which might be about fiftie perſons, among the which were ſome Fryers and women, which the Engliſhmen would not ſaue. Thoſe that they had ſaued they ſet on land: and then they ſayled away. The ſeuen and twentieth of the ſame moneth, the ſayd fourteene ſhips hauing refreſhed themſelues in the Iſland departed from Tercera toward Siuill, and comming vpon the coaſt of Spaine they were taken by the Engliſh ſhips that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which eſcaped away, and the reſt were wholly caried into England.

About the ſame time the Erle of Cumberland with one of the Queenes ſhips, and fiue or ſixe more, kept about thoſe Iſlands and came oftentimes ſo cloſe vnder the Iſland, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might eaſily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knewe ſuch as walked on the Hatches: they of the Iſland not once ſhooting at them, although they might eaſily haue done it, for they were within Muſket ſhot both of the towne and fort. In theſe places he continued for the ſpace of two moneths, and ſayled round about the Iſlands, and landed in Gracioſa and Fayal, as in the deſcription of thoſe Iſlands I haue alreadie declared. Here he tooke diuers ſhips and Carauels, which he ſent into England: ſo that thoſe of the Iſland durſt not once put foorth their heads. At the ſame time about three or foure dayes after the Earle of Cumberland had beene in the Iſland of Fayal, and was departed from thence, there arriued in the ſaid Iſland of Fayal ſixe Indian ſhippes, whoſe Generall was one Iuan Doriues: and there they diſcharged in the Iland 4 millions of golde and ſiluer. And hauing with all ſpeede refreſhed their ſhips, fearing the comming of the Engliſhmen they ſet ſayle, and arriued ſafely in S. Lucar, not meeting with the enemie, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Engliſhmen: for that within leſſe then two dayes after the gold and ſiluer was laden againe into the Spaniſh ſhips, the Erle of Cumberland ſayled againe by that Iſland: ſo that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had once had ſight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the Spaniards themſelues confeſſed.

In the moneth of Nouember there arriued in Tercera two great ſhippes, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleete laden with ſiluer, who with ſtormie weather were ſeparated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and diſtreſſe, and readie to ſinke: for they were forced to vſe all their Pumps: ſo that they wiſhed a thouſand times to haue met with the Engliſhmen to whom they would willingly haue giuen their ſiluer and all that euer they brought with them, onely to ſaue their liues. And although the Erle of Cumberland lay ſtill about thoſe

Iſlands, yet they met not with him, ſo that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all ſpeede they vnladed and diſcharged aboue fiue millions of ſiluer, all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great: ſo that the whole Bay lay couered with plates and cheſts of ſiluer, full of Ryales of eight, moſt monderfull to behold, (each million being ten hundred thouſand duckats,) beſides pearles, gold, and other ſtones, which were not regiſtred. The Admirall and chiefe commaunder of thoſe ſhips and Fleete called Aluaro Flores de Quiniones was ſicke of the Neapolitan diſeaſe, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he died in Siuillia. He brought with him the Kings broad ſeale and full authoritie to be Generall and chiefe commaunder vpon the Seas, and of all Fleetes or ſhips, and of all places and Iſlands, or lands whereſoeuer he came: whereupon the gouernour of Tercera did him great honour, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiuing the weakneſſe of their ſhips, and the danger of the Engliſhmen, that they would ſend the ſhippes emptie with ſouldiers to conuey them, either to Siuill or Liſbon, where they could firſt arriue, with aduiſe vnto his Maieſtie of all that had paſt, and that he would giue order to fetch the ſiluer with good and ſafe conuoy. Whereupon the ſaid Aluaro Flores ſtayed there, vnder colour of keeping the ſiluer, but ſpecially becauſe of his diſeaſe, and for that they were affraide of the Engliſhmen. This Aluaro Flores had alone for his owne part aboue 50000 Duckats in pearles, which he ſhewed vnto vs, & ſought to ſell them or barter them with vs for ſpices or bils of exchange. The ſaid two ſhips ſet ſayle with 3 or 4 hundred men, as well ſouldiers as others that came with them out of India, and being at ſea had a ſtorme, wherewith the Admiral burſt and ſunke in the ſea, & not one man ſaued. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her maſt, and ranne the ſhip on ground hard by Setuual, where it burſt in pieces, ſome of the men ſauing themſelues by ſwimming, that brought the newes, but the reſt were drowned.

In the ſame moneth there came two great ſhips out of the Spaniſh Indies, and being within half a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an Engliſh ſhip, which, after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About 7 or 8 moneths before, there had beene an Engliſh ſhippe in Tercera, that vnder the name of a Frenchman came to traffike in the Iſland, there to lade woad, and being diſcouered was both ſhip and goods confiſcated to the kings vſe, and all the men kept priſoners: yet went they vp and downe the ſtreetes to get their liuings, by labouring like ſlaues, being in deede as ſafe in that Iſland, as if they had beene in priſon. But in the ende vpon a Sunday, all the Saylers went downe behinde the hils called Breſil: where they found a Fiſher-boat, whereinto they got and rowed into the ſea to the Erle of Cumberlands ſhippes, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Iſland, and ankered with his ſhips about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two ſmall Iſlands, which lie about a baſes ſhot from the Iſland and are full of Goats, Deere and Sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Iſland of Tercera. Thoſe Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their boates; and lying at anker that day, they fetched as many Goates and ſheepe as they had neede of: which thoſe of the towne and of the Iſland well ſaw and beheld, yet durſt not once goe foorth: ſo there remained no more on land but the Maſter and the Marchant of the ſaid Engliſh ſhip. This Maſter had a brother in lawe dwelling in England, who hauing newes of his brothers impriſonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England to ſet forth a ſhip, therewith to ſee if he could recouer his loſſes of the Spaniards by taking ſome of them, and ſo to redeeme his brother that lay priſoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spaniſh ſhips before the Towne, the Maſter of the ſhip aforeſaid ſtanding on the ſhore by me, and looking vpon them, for he was my great acquaintance. The ſhips being taken that were worth 300 thouſand duckats, he ſent al the men on land ſauing onely two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord thereby to ranſome his brother: and ſent the Pilot of one of the Indian ſhips that were taken, with a letter to the Gouernor of Tercera: wherein he wrote that he ſhould deliuer him his brother, & he would ſend the 2 Gentlemen on land: if not, he would ſaile with them into England, as indeed he did, becauſe the Gouernour would not doe it, ſaying that the Gentlemen might make that ſuite to the king of Spaine himſelfe. This Spaniſh Pilot we bid to ſupper with vs, and the Engliſhmen likewiſe, where he ſhewed vs all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and maner of the Engliſhmens fighting, as alſo their courteous vſing of him: but in the end the Engliſh Pilot likewiſe ſtole away in a French ſhip, without paying any ranſome as yet.

In the moneth of Ianuarie 1590 there arriued one ſhip alone in Tercera, that came from the Spaniſh Indies, and brought newes that there was a Fleete of a hundred ſhippes which put out from the Firme land of the Spaniſh Indies, and by a ſtorme were driuen vpon the coaſt called Florida, where they were all caſt away, ſhe hauing onely eſcaped, wherein there were great riches, & many men loſt, as it may well be thought: ſo that they made their account, that of 220 ſhips that for certaine were knowen to haue put out of Noua Spagna, S. Domingo, Hauana, Capo verde, Braſilia, Guinea, &c. in the yeere 1589. to ſaile for Spaine & Portugall, there were not aboue 14 or 15 of them arriued there in ſafetie, all the reſt being either drowned, burſt or taken.

In the ſame moneth of Ianuary there arriued in Tercera 15 or 16 ſhips that came from Siuil, which were moſt Flieboats of the Low countries, and ſome Britons that were arreſted in Spaine: theſe came full of ſouldiers, and wel appointed with munition, to lade the ſiluer that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Aluáres de Flores by the kings cōmandement into Spaine. And becauſe that time of the yeere there are alwayes ſtormes about thoſe Ilands, therefore they durſt not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew ſo great a ſtorme that ſome of their ſhips that had ankred were forced to cut downe their maſtes, and were in danger to be loſt: and among the reſt a ſhip of Biſcaie ran againſt the land and was ſtriken in pieces, but all the men ſaued themſelues. The other ſhips were forced to keepe the ſea and ſeperate themſelues one from the other, where wind and weather would driue them vntill the 15 of March for that in all that time they could not haue one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they endured much miſerie, curſing both the ſiluer and the Iland. This ſtorme being paſt, they chanced to meet with a ſmall Engliſh ſhip of about 40 tunnes in bigneſſe, which by reaſon of the great wind could not beare all her ſailes: ſo they ſet vpon her and tooke her, and with the Engliſh flag in their Admirals ſterne, they came as proudly into the hauen as if they had conquered all the realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the Engliſh flag vpon her ſterne was entring into the road, there came by chance two Engliſh ſhips by the Iland that paied her ſo well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Miſericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if ſhe had bene but a mile further in the ſea: but becauſe ſhe got vnder the Fortreſſe, which alſo began to ſhoot at the Engliſhmen, they were forced to leaue her, and to put further into the ſea, hauing ſlaine fiue or ſixe of the Spaniards. The Engliſhmen that were taken in the ſmall ſhippe were put vnder hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had bene priſoners 3 or 4 dayes, there was a Spaniſh Enſigne-bearer in the ſhip that had a brother ſlaine in the Fleet that came for England, who as then minding to reuenge his death, and withall to ſhew his manhood on the Engliſh captiues that were in the Engliſh ſhip, which they had taken, as is aforeſayd, tooke a poiniard in his hand and went downe vnder the hatches, where finding the poore Engliſhmen ſitting in boltes, with the ſame poiniard he ſtabbed ſixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiuing, claſped each other about the middle, becauſe they would not be murthered by him, & threw themſelues into the ſea and there were drowned. This acte was of all the Spaniards much diſliked and very ill taken, ſo that they caried the Spaniard priſoner vnto Lisbon, where being arriued, the king of Spaine willed he ſhould be ſent into England, that the Queene of England might vſe him as ſhe thought good: which ſentence his friends by intreatie got to be reuerſed, notwithſtanding he commanded he ſhould without all fauour be beheaded: but vpon a good Friday the Cardinall going to maſſe, all the captaines and Commanders made ſo great intreaty for him, that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might vnderſtand the bloody & diſhoneſt minds of the Spaniards when they haue men vnder their ſubiection.

The ſame two Engliſh ſhips which folowed the Spaniſh Admirall till he had got the Fort of Tercera, as I ſayd before, put into the ſea, where they met with another Spaniſh ſhip being of the ſame Fleet, that had likewiſe bene ſcattred by the ſtorme and was onely miſſing, for the reſt lay in the road. This ſmall ſhip the Engliſhmen tooke, and ſent all the men on ſhore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowen what had bene done vnto the foreſayd Engliſh captiues, I beleeue they would ſoone haue reuenged themſelues, as afterward many an innocent ſoule paied for it. This ſhip thus taken by the Engliſhmen, was the ſame that was taken and confiſcated in the Iland of Tercera by the Engliſhmen that got out of the Iland in a fiſher boat (as I ſaid before) and was ſold vnto the Spaniards that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they ſayled to S. Lucar, where it was alſo arreſted by the duke, and appointed to go in company to fetch the ſiluer in Tercera, becauſe it was a ſhip that ſailed well, but among the Spaniards Fleet it was the meaneſt of the company. By this means it was taken from the Spaniards and caried into England, and the owners had it againe when they leaſt thought of it.

The 19 of March the aforeſayd ſhips being 19 in number, ſet ſaile, hauing laden the kings ſiluer, and receiued in Aluaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company and good prouiſion of neceſſaries, munition and ſouldiers that were fully reſolued (as they made ſhew) to fight valiantly to the laſt man before they would yeeld or loſe their riches: and although they ſet their courſe for S. Lucar, the wind draue them vnto Lisbon, which (as it ſeemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in ſafetie, although Aluaro de Flores, both againſt the wind and weather would perforce haue ſailed to Saint Lucar, but being conſtrained by the wind and importunitie of the ſailers that proteſted they would require their loſſes and damages of him, he was content to ſaile to Lisbon: from whence the ſiluer was by land caried vnto Siuil. At Cape S. Vincent there lay a Fleet of 20 Engliſh ſhips to watch for the Armada, ſo that if they had put into S. Lucar, they had fallē right into their hands, which if the wind had ſerued they had done. And therefore they may ſay that the wind hath lent them a happy voiage: for if the Engliſhmen had met with them, they had ſurely bene in great danger, and poſſibly but few of them had eſcaped, by reaſon of the feare wherewith they were poſſeſſed, becauſe fortune or rather God was wholy againſt them: which is a ſufficiēt cauſe to make the Spaniards out of heart, & to the contrary to giue the Engliſhmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, ſtout and valiant: and ſeeing all their enterpriſes do take ſo good effect, that thereby they are become lords and maſters of the ſea, and need care for no man, as it wel appeareth by this briefe diſcourſe.

The 7 of Auguſt 1590. a nauie of Engliſh ſhips was ſeen before Tercera, being 20 in number, and 5 of them the Queenes ſhips: their Generall was one Martin Frobiſher, as we after had intelligence. They came purpoſely to watch for the Fleet of the Spaniſh Indies, and for the Indian ſhips, and the ſhips of the countreys in the Weſt: which put the Ilanders in great feare, ſpecially thoſe of Fayal, for that the Engliſhmen ſent a trumpet to the Gouernour to aſke certaine wine, fleſh, and other victuals for their money and good friendſhip. They of Fayal did not onely refuſe to giue eare vnto them, but with a ſhot killed their meſſenger or trumpeter: which the Engliſhmen tooke in euill part, ſending them word that they were beſt to looke to themſelues and ſtand vpon their guard, for they ment to come and viſite them whether they would or no. The Gouernour made them anſwere, that he was there in the behalfe of his maieſtie of Spaine, and that he would doe his beſt to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, although they of Fayal were in no litle feare, ſending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine barkes with pouder and munition for warre, with ſome biſket and other neceſſary prouiſion.

The 30 of Auguſt we receiued very certaine newes out of Portugal, that there were 80 ſhips put out of the Groine laden with victuals, munition, money and ſouldiours, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholiques and Leaguers of France againſt the king of Nauarre. At the ſame time two Netherland hulkes comming out of Portugall to Tercera being halfe the Seas ouer, met with 4 of the Queenes ſhips, their Generall being ſir Iohn Hawkins, that ſtaied them, but let them go againe without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ſhips had 80 pieces of Ordinance, and that captaine Drake lay with 40 ſhips in the Engliſh chanell watching for the armie of the Groine: and likewiſe that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent ten other Engliſh ſhips, that if any ſhips eſcaped from the Ilands, they might take them. These tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, leaſt if they failed of the Spaniſh fleete and got nothing by them, that then they would fall vpon the Ilands, becauſe they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held ſtreit watch, ſending aduiſe vnto the king what newes they heard.

The firſt of September there came to the Iland of S. Michael a Portugall ſhip out of the hauen of Phernambuck in Braſile, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall Fleet that came from India, hauing miſſed the Iland of S. Helena, was of neceſſitie conſtrained to put into Pheroambuck, although the king had expreſly vnder a great penaltie forbidden him ſo to doe, becauſe of the wormes that there doe ſpoile the ſhips. The ſame ſhippe wherein Bernardin Ribero was Admirall the yeere before 1589. ſailed out of Lisbon into the Indies, with 5 ſhips in her company, whereof but 4 got into India, the 5 was neuer heard of, ſo that it was thought to be caſt away: the other foure returned ſafe againe into Portugall, though the Admiral was much ſpoiled, becauſe he met with two Engliſh ſhips that fought long with him, and ſlew many of his men, but yet he eſcaped from them.

The 5 of the ſame moneth there arriued in Tercera a carauel of the Iland of Coruo, & brought with her 50 men that had bin ſpoiled by the Engliſhmen who had ſet them on ſhore in the Iland of Coruo, being taken out of a ſhip that came from the Spaniſh Indies, they brought tidings that the Engliſhmen had taken 4 more of the Indian ſhips, & a carauel with the king of Spaines letters of aduiſe for the ſhips comming out of the Portugal Indies, & that with thoſe which they had takē, they were at the leaſt 40 Engliſh ſhips together, ſo ỹ not one bark eſcaped them, but fel into their hands, & that therefore the Portugall ſhips comming out of India durſt not put into the Ilands, but tooke their courſe vnder 40 & 42 degrees, and frō thence ſailed to Lisbon, ſhunning likewiſe the cape S. Vincent, otherwiſe they could not haue had a proſperous iourney of it, for that as then the ſea was ful of Engliſh ſhips. Whereupon the king aduiſed the fleet lying in Hauana in ỹ Spaniſh Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they ſhould ſtay there all that yeere till the next yeere, becauſe of the great danger they might fal into by ỹ Engliſhmen, which was no ſmal charge, & hinderance to the fleet, for that the ſhips that lie there do conſume themſelues, and in a maner eat vp one another, by reaſon of the great nūber of people, together with the ſcarcitie of al things, ſo that

Great hauock of Spaniards.

many ſhips choſe rather one by one to aduenture thẽſelues alone to get home, then to ſtay there: all which fell into the Engliſhmens hands, wherof diuers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could ſee nothing els, but ſpoiled men ſet on ſhore, ſome out of one ſhip, ſome out of another, that pitie it was to ſee all of them curſing the Engliſhmen & their owne fortunes, with thoſe that had bene the cauſes to prouoke the Engliſhmen to fight, and complaining of the ſmall remedie and order taken therein by the king of Spaines officers.

The 19 of the ſame moneth there came to Tercera a Carauel of Lisbon, with one of the kings officers, to cauſe the goods that were ſaued out of the ſhip which came from Malacca (for ẏ which we ſtaied there) to be laden and ſent to Lisbon. And at the ſame time there put out of the Groine one Don Alonſo de Baçan, with 40 great ſhips of warre to come vnto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spaniſh & Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ſhip being laden, they were to conuoy thẽ all together into the riuer of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at ſea, alwaies hauing a contrary wind, they could not get vnto the Ilands, onely two of them that were ſcattred from the fleet, arriued at Tercera, and not finding the fleet, they preſently returned to ſeeke them: in the meane time the king changed his mind, & cauſed the fleet to ſtay in India, as I ſaid before: and therefore hee ſent worde vnto Don Alonſo de Baſſan, that hee ſhould returne againe to the Groine, which he preſently did (without doing any thing, nor once approching neer the Ilands, ſauing onely the two foreſayd ſhips, for he well knew that the Engliſhmen lay by the Iland of Coruo, but he would not viſit them: and ſo he returned to the hauen the Groine, whereby our goods that came from Malacca were yet to ſhip, and truſſed vp againe, and forced to ſtay a more fortunate time with patience perforce.

The 23 of October there arriued in Tercera a Carauel with aduiſe out of Portugall, that of 5 ſhips which in the yere 1590 were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, 4 of them were turned againe to Portin. After they had bene 4 moneths abroad, & that the Admirall, wherein the Viceroy called Mathias d'Albukerk ſailed, had onely gotten to India, as afterward newes thereof was brought ouer-land, hauing bin at the leaſt 11 moneths at ſea & neuer ſaw land, and came in great miſery to Malacca. In this ſhip there died by the way 280 men, according to a note by himſelfe made, and ſent to the Cardinal at Lisbon, with the names & ſurnames of euery man, together with a deſcription of his voiage, & the miſery they had endured, which was onely done, becauſe he would not loſe the gouernment of India: and for that cauſe he had ſworne either to loſe his life, or to arriue in India, as in deed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, loſſe and hinderance of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their liues, & onely for want of prouiſion, as it may wel be thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portugal as the other ſhips did, he ſhould haue bin caſſiered from his Indian regiment, becauſe the people began already to murmure at him for his proud & lofty mind. And amõg other things that ſhewed his pride the more, behind aboue the gallery of his ſhip, he cauſed Fortune to be painted, & his own picture ẘ a ſtaffe ſtanding by her, as it were threatning Fortune, with this poſie, Quero que vencas, that is, I wil haue thee to ouercome: which being read by the Cardinal & other gentlemen (that to honor him brought him aboord his ſhip) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no ſtrange matter among the Portugals: for they aboue all others muſt of force let the foole peepe out of their ſleeues, ſpecially when they are in authoritie, for that I knew the ſaid Mathias d'Albukerk in India, being a ſouldier and a captaine, where he was eſteemed and accounted for one of the beſt of them, & much honoured, and beloued of all men, as behauing himſelfe curteouſly to euery man, whereby they all deſired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had receiued his patent with full power & authoritie from the king to be Viceroy, he changed ſo much from his former behauior, that by reaſon of his pride, they all began to feare and curſe him, and that before hee departed out of Lisbon, as it is often ſeene in many men that are aduanced vnto ſtate and dignitie.

The 20 of Ianuarie 1591, there was newes brought out of Portugall into Tercera, that the Engliſhmen had takẽ a ſhip that the king had ſent into the Portugal-Indies, ẘ aduiſe to the Viceroy for the returning againe of the 4 ſhips that ſhould haue gone to India, & becauſe the ſhips were come backe againe, that ſhip was ſtuffed and laded as full of goods as poſſible it might be, hauing likewiſe in ready money 500 thouſand duckets in roials of 8, beſides other wares. It departed from Lisbon in the moneth of Nouember 1590, & met with the Engliſhmen, with whõ for a time it fought, but in the end it was taken and caried into England with men & all, yet when they came there, the men were ſet at libertie, and returned into Lisbon, where the captaine was committed priſoner; but he excuſed himſelfe and was releaſed, with whom I ſpake my ſelfe, & he made this report vnto me. At the ſame time alſo they tooke a ſhip that came from the Mine ladẽ with gold, & 2 ſhips laden with pepper & ſpices that were to ſaile into Italy, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170 thouſand duckets: all theſe ſhips were caried into England, & made good priſe.

In the moneth of July 1591. there hapned an earthquake in the Iland of S. Michael, which continued frō the 26 of July, to the 12 of Auguſt, in which time no man durſt ſtay within his houſe but fled into the fields, faſting & praying with great ſorow, for that many of their houſes fel down, and a towne called Villa Franca, was almoſt cleane razed to the ground, all the cloiſters & houſes ſhaken to the earth, and therein ſome people ſlaine. The land in ſome places roſe vp, and the cliffs remooued from one place to another, and ſome hils were defaced and made euen with the ground. The earthquake was ſo ſtrong, that the ſhips which lay in the road and on the ſea, ſhaked as if the world would haue turned round: there ſprang alſo a fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the ſpace of 4 daies, there flowed a moſt cleare water, & after that it ceaſed. At the ſame time they heard ſuch thunder & noiſe vnder the earth, as if all the deuils in hell had bin aſſembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of Tercera ſhooke 4 times together, ſo that it ſeemed to turne about, but there hapned no miſfortune vnto it. Earthquakes are common in thoſe Ilands, for about 20 yeres paſt there hapned another earthquake, wherein a high hill that lieth by the ſame towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, & couered all the towne with earth, and killed many men. The 25 of Auguſt the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arriued in Tercera being in all 30 ſhips, Biſkaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 dutch flieboats that were arreſted in Lisbon to ſerue the king, beſides other ſmall ſhips & pataros, that came to ſerue as meſſengers from place to place, and to diſcouer the ſeas. This nauie came to ſtay for, and conuoy the ſhips that ſhould come from the Spaniſh Indies, and the flieboats were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were ſaued in the loſt ſhip that came from Malacca, and to conuoy them to Lisbon.

The 13 of September the ſaid Armada arriued at the Iland of Coruo, where the Engliſhmen with about 16 ſhips as then lay, ſtaying for the Spaniſh fleet, whereof ſome or the moſt part were come, and there the Engliſh were in good hope to haue taken them. But whē they perceiued the kings army to be ſtrong, the Admiral being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleet not to fal vpon them, nor any of them once to ſeparate their ſhips from him, vnleſſe he gaue commiſſion ſo to do: notwithſtanding the viceadmirall ſir Richard Greenuil being in the ſhip called the Reuenge, went into the Spaniſh fleet, and ſhot among them doing them great hurt, & thinking the reſt of the company would haue folowed, which they did not, but left him there, & ſailed away: the cauſe why could not be knowē. Which the Spaniards perceiuing, with 7 or 8 ſhips they boorded her, but ſhe withſtood them all, fighting with them at the leaſt 12 houres together and ſunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admiral of the Flieboats, the other a Biſcain: but in the end by reaſon of the number that came vpon her, ſhe was taken, but to their great loſſe: for they had loſt in fighting and by drowning aboue 400 men, and of the Engliſh were ſlaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenuil himſelfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was caried into the ſhip called S. Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonſo de Baçan: there his wounds were dreſt by the Spaniſh ſurgeons, but Don Alonſo himſelfe would neither ſee him nor ſpeake with him: all the reſt of the captaines and gentlemen went to viſite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and ſtout heart, for ỹ he ſhewed not any ſigne of faintnes nor changing of colour: but feeling the houre of death to approch, he ſpake theſe words in Spaniſh, and ſaid: Here die I Richard Greenuil with a ioyful & quiet mind, for that I haue ended my life as a true ſouldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honor, whereby my ſoule moſt ioyfull departeth out of this body, & ſhal alwayes leaue behind it an euerlaſting fame of a valiant & true ſouldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finiſhed theſe or ſuch other like words, he gaue vp the Ghoſt, with great & ſtout courage, & no man could perceiue any true ſigne of heauines in him.

This ſir Rich. Greenuil was a great and a rich gentleman in England, & had great yeerely reuenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very vnquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; inſomuch as of his owne priuate motion he offred his ſeruice to the Queene: he had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in theſe Ilands, and knowen of euery man, but of nature very ſeuere, ſo that his owne people hated him for his fierceneſſe, & ſpake very hardly of him: for when they firſt entred into the fleet or Armada, they had their great ſaile in a readineſſe, and might poſſibly enough haue ſailed away, for it was one of the beſt ſhips for ſaile in England, and the maſter perceiuing that the other ſhips had left them, & folowed not after, commanded the great ſaile to be cut that they might make away: but ſir Rich. Greenuil threatned both him & al the reſt that were in the ſhip, ỹ if any mā laid hand vpon it, he would cauſe him to be hanged, and ſo by that occaſion they were compelled to fight & in the end were taken. He was of ſo hard a cōplexion, that as he continued among the Spaniſh captains while they were at dinner or ſupper with him, he would carouſe 3 or 4 glaſſes of wine, and in a brauerie take the glaſſes betweene his teeth and craſh them in pieces & ſwalow them downe, ſo that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all vnto him: & this was told me by diuers credible perſons that many times ſtood and beheld him. The Engliſhmen that were left in the ſhip, as the captaine of the ſouldiers, the maſter and others were diſperſed into diuers of the Spaniſh ſhips that had taken them, where there had almoſt a new fight ariſen between the Biſcains and the Portugals: while each of them would haue the honour to haue firſt boorded her, ſo that there grew a great noiſe and quarel among them, one taking the chiefe enſigne, and the other the flag, and the captaine and euery one held his owne. The ſhips that had boorded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Iſland of Tercera, there to repaire thẽſelues: where being arriued, I and my chamber-felow, to heare ſome newes, went aboord one of the ſhips being a great Biſcain, and one of the 12 Apoſtles, whoſe captaine was called Bartandono, that had bin General of the Biſcains in the fleet that went for England. He ſeeing vs called vs vp into the gallery, where with great curteſie he receiued vs, being as then ſet at dinner with the Engliſh captaine that ſate by him, and had on a ſute of blacke veluet, but he could not tell vs any thing, for that he could ſpeake no other language but Engliſh and Latine, which Bartandono alſo could a litle ſpeake. The Engliſh captaine got licence of the gouernour that he might come on land with his weapon by his ſide, and was in our lodging with the Engliſhman that was kept priſoner in the Iland, being of that ſhip whereof the ſailers got away, as I ſaid before. The gouernour of Tercera bade him to dinner, and ſhewed him great curteſie. The maſter likewiſe with licence of Bartandono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the leaſt 10 or 12 wounds, as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at ſea between Lisbon & the Ilands he died. The captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the maner of the fight, and left it with the Engliſh marchant that lay in our lodging, to ſend it to the lord Admiral of England. This Engliſh captaine comming vnto Lisbon, was there wel receiued and not any hurt done vnto him, but with good conuoy ſent to Setuual, and from thence ſailed into England with all the reſt of the Engliſhmen that were taken priſoners.

The Spaniſh armie ſtaied at the Iland of Coruo til the laſt of September, to aſſemble the reſt of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 ſailes of ſhips partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether ready to ſaile to Tercera in good company, there ſuddenly roſe ſo hard & cruell a ſtorme, that thoſe of the Ilands did affirme, that in mans memorie there was neuer any ſuch ſeen or heard off before: for it ſeemed the ſea would haue ſwalowed vp the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are ſo high that it amaſeth a man to behold them: but the ſea reached aboue them, and liuing fiſhes were throwen vpon the land. This ſtorme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but 7 or 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in al places of the compaſſe, at the leſt twiſe or thriſe during that time, and all alike, with a continuall ſtorme and tempeſt moſt terrible to behold, euen to vs that were on ſhore, much more then to ſuch as were at ſea: ſo that onely on the coaſts and cliffes of the Iland of Tercera, there were aboue 12 ſhips caſt away, and not onely vpon the one ſide, but round about it in euery corner, wherby nothing els was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting & telling, here is a ſhip broken in pieces againſt the cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: ſo that for the ſpace of 20 dayes after the ſtorme, they did nothing els but fiſh for dead men that continually came driuing on the ſhore. Among the reſt was the Engliſh ſhip called the Reuenge, that was caſt away vpon a cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces & ſunke to the ground, hauing in her 70 men Galegos, Biſcains, and others, with ſome of the captiue Engliſhmen, whereof but one was ſaued that got vp vpon the cliffes aliue, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on ſhore brought vs the newes deſiring to be ſhriuen, & thereupon preſently died. The Reuenge had in her diuers faire braſſe pieces that were all ſunke in yͤ ſea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to waigh vp againe the next Sommer after. Among theſe ſhips that were caſt away about Tercera, was likewiſe a Flie-boat, one of thoſe that had bin arreſted in Portugall to ſerue the king, called the white Doue, the maſter of her was one Cornelius Martenſon of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her 100 ſouldiers, as in euery one of the reſt there were. He being ouer-ruled by the captaine that he could not be maſter of his owne, ſayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the ſtorme droue him, in the end came within the ſight of the Iland of Tercera, which the Spaniards perceiuing thought all their ſafetie onely to conſiſt in putting into the road, compelling the Maſter and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the maſter refuſed to doe it, ſaying, that they were moſt ſure there to be caſt away and vtterly ſpoyled: but the captaine called him drunkard and Heretique, and ſtriking him with a ſtaffe, commaunded him to doe as hee would haue him. The Maſter ſeeing this and being compelled to doe it, ſayd: well then my Maſters, ſeeing it is the deſire of you all to bee caſt away,

The wracke of the Reuenge.

I can but loſe one life, and therewith deſperately he ſailed towards the ſhore, and was on that ſide of the Iland, where there was nothing els but hard ſtones and rocks, as high as mountaines, moſt terrible to beholde, where ſome of the inhabitants ſtood with long ropes and corke bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe vnto the men, that they might lay holde vpon them, and ſaue their liues: but few of them got ſo neere, moſt of them being caſt away, and ſmitten in pieces before they could get to the wall. The ſhip ſailing in this maner (as I ſayd before) towards the Iland, and approching to the ſhore, the maſter being an olde man, and full of yeeres, called his ſonne that was in the ſhip with him, and hauing imbraced one another, and taken their laſt farewell, the good olde father willed his ſonne not to take care for him, but ſeeke to ſaue himſelfe; for (ſayd he) ſonne thou art yong, & mayeſt haue ſome hope to ſaue thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am olde) what become of me, and therewith ech of theſe ſhedding many teares, as euery louing father and kinde childe may well conſider, the ſhip fell vpon the cliffes, and brake in pieces, the father on the one ſide, the ſonne on the other ſide falling into the ſea, ech laying holde vpon that which came next to hand, but to no purpoſe; for the ſea was ſo high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foureteene or fifteene ſaued themſelues by ſwimming, with their legs and armes halfe broken and out of ioynt, among which was the Maſters ſonne, and foure other Dutch boyes: the reſt of the Spaniards and Sailers, with the Captaine and Maſter, were drowned. Whoſe heart would not melt with teares to beholde ſo grieuous a ſight, ſpecially conſidering with himſelfe that the greateſt cauſe thereof was the beaſtlines and inſolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be ſeene: Whereby may be conſidered how the other ſhippes ſped, as we our ſelues did in part beholde, and by the men that were ſaued did heare more at large, as alſo ſome others of our countreymen that as then were in the like danger can well witneſſe.

On the other Ilands the loſſe was no leſſe then in Tercera: for on the Iland of Saint George there were two ſhips caſt away: on the Iland of Pico two ſhips: on the Iland of Gratioſa three ſhips: and beſides thoſe there came euery where round about diuers pieces of broken ſhips, and other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherewith the ſea was all couered moſt pitifull to beholde. On the Iland of S. Michael there were foure ſhips caſt away, and betweene Tercera and S. Michael three more were ſunke, which were ſeene and heard to cry out; whereof not one man was ſaued. The reſt put into the ſea without maſts, all torne and rent: ſo that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 ſhips in all, there were but 32 or 33 arriued in Spaine and Portugall, yea, and thoſe few with ſo great miſery, paine and labour, that not two of them arriued there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, and ſo one after the other to the number aforeſayd. All the reſt were caſt away vpon the Ilands, and ouerwhelmed in the Sea, whereby may be conſidered what great loſſe and hindrance they receiued at that time: for by many mens iudgements it was eſteemed to be much more then was loſt by their army that came for England; and it may well be thought, and preſumed, that it was no other but a iuſt plague purpoſely ſent by God vpon the Spaniards, and that it might truely be ſayd, the taking of the Reuenge was iuſtly reuenged vpon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as ſome of them openly ſayd in the Iſle of Tercera, that they beleeued verily God would conſume them, and that he tooke part with the Lutherans and heretiks: ſaying further that ſo ſoone as they had throwen the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield ouer-boord, they verily thought that as he had a diuellish faith and religion, and therefore the diuels loued him, ſo he preſently ſunke into the bottome of the ſea, and downe into hell, where he raiſed vp all the diuels to the reuenge of his death: and that they brought ſo great ſtormes and torments vpon the Spaniards, becauſe they onely maintained the Catholike & Romiſh religion. Such and the like blaſphemies againſt God, they ceaſed not openly to vtter, without being reprooued of any man therein, nor for their falſe opinions: but the moſt part of them rather ſayd and affirmed, that of trueth it muſt needs be ſo.

Aboue 100 Spaniſh and Portugall ſhips drowned.

As one of thoſe Indian fleets put out of Noua Spagna, there were 35 of them by ſtorme and tempeſt caſt away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all; ſo that but 15 eſcaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were 14 caſt away, comming out of the chanell of Hauana, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came two ſhips laden with golde and ſiluer, that were taken by the Engliſhmen: and before the Spaniſh army came to Coruo, the Engliſhmen at times had taken at the leaſt 20 ſhips, that came from S. Domingo, India, Braſilia, &c. and were all ſent into England.

A relation ſent by *Melchior Petoney* to *Nigil de Moura* at *Liſbon*, from the Iland and Caſtle of *Arguin*, ſtanding a little to the Southward of Cape *Blanco*, in the Northerly latitude of 19 degrees, concerning the rich and ſecret trade from the inland of *Africa* thither: *Anno* 1591.

AS concerning the trade to this Caſtle and Iland of Arguin, your worſhip is to vnderſtand, that if it would pleaſe the kings maieſty to ſend hither two or three carauels once in a yeere with Flanders and Spaniſh commodities, as Bracelets of glaſſe, Kniues, Belles, Linnen-cloth, Looking-glaſſes, with other kinds of ſmall wares, his highneſſe might do great good here. For 50 leagues vp into the land the Moores haue many exceeding rich golde mines; inſomuch that they bring downe their golde to this Caſtle to traffique with vs: and for a ſmall trifle they will giue vs a great wedge of gold. And becauſe here is no trade, the ſayd Moores cary their golde to Fez being 250 leagues diſtant from hence, and there doe exchange the ſame for the foreſayd kindes of commodities. By this meanes alſo his maieſty might ſtop that paſſage, and keepe the king of Fez from ſo huge a maſſe of golde. Scarlet-clothes, and fine Purples are greatly accepted of in theſe parts. It is a moſt fertile countrey within the land, and yeeldeth great ſtore of Wheat, fleſh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore, if it were poſſible, you ſhould do well to deale with his maieſty, either himſelfe to ſend a couple of carauels, or to giue your worſhip leaue to traffique here: for here is a very good harbour where ſhips may ride at ancre hard by the Caſtle. The countrey where all the golde-mines are is called The kingdome of Darha. In this kingdome are great ſtore of cities and townes; and in euery city and towne a Captaine with certaine ſouldiers; which Captaines are lords and owners of the ſayd townes. One city there is called Couton, another Xanigeton, as alſo the cities of Tubguer, Azegue, Amader, Quaherque, and the towne of Faroo. The which townes and cities are very great and fairely built, being inhabited by rich Moores, and abounding with all kinde of cattell, Barley, and Dates. And here is ſuch plenty of golde found vpon the ſands by the riuers ſide, that the ſayd Moores vſually carry the ſame Northward to Marocco, and Southward to the city of Tombuto in the land of Negros, which city ſtandeth about 300 leagues from the kingdome of Darha; and this kingdome is but 60 leagues from this Iland and Caſtle of Arguin. Wherefore I beſeech your worſhip to put his maieſty in remembrance hereof; for the ſayd cities and townes are but ten dayes iourney from hence. I heartily wiſh that his maieſty would ſend two or three marchants to ſee the ſtate of the Countrey, who might trauell to the aforeſayd cities, to vnderſtand of their rich trade. For any man may go ſafe and come ſafe from thoſe places. And thus without troubling of your worſhip any further, I humbly take my leaue. From the Iland and Caſtle of Arguin the 20 of Ianuary 1591.

Commodities fit for Arguin.

Wedges of golde giuen for ſmall trifles.

Scarlet & fine Purple cloth greatly accepted.

A good harbor before the Caſtle of Arguin.

Concerning this kingdome reade Leo Africanus a little after the beginning of his 6 booke.

Your worſhips ſeruant
Melchior Petoney.

The voyage of *Richard Rainolds* and *Thomas Daſſel* to the riuers of *Senega* and *Gambra* adioyning vpon *Guinea*, 1591, with a diſcourſe of the treaſons of certain of *Don Antonio* his ſeruants and followers.

BY vertue of her Maieſties moſt gracious charter giuen in the yeere 1588, and in the thirtieth yeere of her Highneſſe reigne, certaine Engliſh marchants are granted to trade, in and from the riuer of Senega to and in the riuer of Gambra, on the Weſterne coaſt of Africa. The chiefeſt places of traffique on that coaſt betweene theſe riuers, are theſe:

The names of the chiefe places of traffike betweene Senega & Gambra.

1 Senega riuer: The commodities be hides, gumme, elephants teeth, a few graines, oſtrich feathers, amber-griece, and ſome golde.

2 Beſeguiache, a towne by Capo Verde * leagues from Senega riuer: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few teeth.

3 Refiſca Viejo, a towne 4 leagues from Beſeguiache: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few teeth now and then.

4 Palmerin, a towne 2 leagues from Refiſca: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few elephants teeth now and then.

5 Porto d'Ally, a towne 5 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be ſmall hides, teeth, amber-griece, and a little golde: and many Portugals are there.

6 Candimal, a towne halfe a league from Porto d' Ally: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few teeth now and then.

7 Palmerin, a towne 3 leagues from Candimal: The commodities be ſmall hides, and a few teeth now and then.

8 Ioala, a towne 6 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be hides, waxe, elephants teeth, rice, and ſome golde: and many Spaniards and Portugals are there.

9 Gambra riuer: The commodities are rice, waxe, hides, elephants teeth, and golde.

The Frenchmen of Diepe and New-hauen haue traded thither aboue thirty yeres: and commonly with foure or fiue ſhips a yere, whereof two ſmall barks go into the riuer of Senega. The other were woont (vntill within theſe foure yeres, that our ſhips came thither) to ride with their ſhips in the road of Porto d' Ally and ſo ſent their ſmall ſhaloups of ſixe or eight tunnes to ſome of theſe places on the Sea coaſt before repeated. Where in all places generally they were well beloued and as courteouſly entertained of the Negros, as if they had bene naturally borne in the countrey. And very often the Negros come into France and returne againe, which is a further increaſing of mutuall loue and amity. Since our comming to that coaſt the Frenchmen ride with their ſhippes at Refiſca Vieio, and ſuffer vs to ancre with our ſhippes at Porto d' Ally. The Frenchmen neuer vſe to go into the riuer of Gambra: which is a riuer of ſecret trade and riches concealed by the Portugals. For long ſince one Frenchman entred the riuer with a ſmall barke which was betrayed, ſurpriſed, and taken by two gallies of the Portugals.

Our trade hither beganne 1587.

Gambra a riuer of ſecret & rich trade concealed.

In our ſecond voyage and ſecond yeere there were by vile trecherous meanes of the Portugals and the king of the Negros conſent in Porto d' Ally and Ioala about forty Engliſhmen cruelly ſlaine and captiued, and moſt or all of their goods confiſcated: whereof there returned onely two, which were the marchants. And alſo by procurement of Pedro Gonſalues, one of Don Antonio the kings ſeruants, Thomas Daſſel and others had bene betrayed, if it had not pleaſed almighty God to reueale the ſame, whereby it was preuented.

The ſecond voyage.

Forty Engliſh mē traiterouſly ſlaine and captiued.

From the South ſide of Senega riuer on the Sea coaſt vnto about Palmerin is all one kingdome of Negros. The kings name is Melick Zamba, who dwelleth two dayes iourney within the land from Refiſca.

The 12 of Nouember 1591, I Richard Rainolds & Thomas Daſſel factors in a ſhip called the Nightingale of London of 125 tunnes, and a pinneſſe called the Meſſenger of 40 tunnes arriued neere vnto Capo Verde at a litle Iland called The Iland of liberty. At this Iland we ſet vp a ſmall pinneſſe, with which we cary our marchandiſe on land when wee traffique. And in the meane time Thomas Daſſel went with the great pinneſſe to traffike with Spaniards or Portugals in Porto d' Ally or Ioala. Ouer againſt the ſayd Iland on the maine is an habitation of the Negros called Beſegueache. The alcaide or gouernor thereof with a great traine came aboord in their canoas to receiue the kings dueties for ankerage and permitting the quiet ſetting vp of our pinneſſe: who liked paſſing well that no Portugall came in the ſhippe, ſaying, we ſhould be better thought of by the king and people, if we neuer did bring Portugall, but come of our ſelues as the Frenchmen euer did and doe. And to purchaſe the more loue, I Richard Rainolds gaue him and all his company courteous entertainment. Alſo vpon his intreaty, hauing ſufficient pledge aboord, I and others went on land with him. At this inſtant there was great warre betweene this alcaide and another gouernor of the next prouince. Neuertheleſſe vpon our arriuall truce was taken for a ſpace; and I with our company conducted among both enemies to the gouernors houſe in Beſegueache, and were gently and friendly feaſted after their maner, and with ſome preſents returned ſafe aboord againe. The next day the alcaide came aboord againe, to wil me to ſend ſome yron and other commodities in the boat to traffike with the Negros, and alſo requeſted me that I would go to Refiſca with the ſhip; which I did. And one thing I noted, that a number of Negros attended the alcaides landing in warlike maner with bowes and poiſoned arrowes, darts poiſoned, and ſwords, (becauſe that the enemies by reaſon of the truce taken were there alſo to view the ſhip) who for the moſt part approched to him kneeling downe and kiſſed the backe of his hand.

Cape Verde.

Beſegueache.

Beſegueache.

The 17 of Nouember we weyed anker; and by reaſon no French ſhip was yet come, I went to the road of Refiſca: where I ſent for the alcaides interpretors, who came thither aboord, and receiued of me the kings duties for to haue free traffike with the Negros, with whom dayly I exchanged my yron & other wares for hides and ſome elephants teeth, finding the people very friendly and tractable. And the next day after our arriuall I went vp into the land about three miles to the towne of Refiſca, where I was friendly vſed and well entertained of the alcaide, and eſpecially of a yoong nobleman called Conde Amar Pattay, who preſented me with an oxe for my company, goats and ſome yoong kids, aſſuring me that the king would be glad to heare of the arriuall

Refiſca.

of a Chriſtians ſhip, whom they called Blancos, that is, white men: eſpecially of an Engliſh ſhip. And ſo dayly the yong Conde came with a ſmall company of horſemen to the ſea ſide, feaſting me very kindly and courteouſly. And the ſixt of December he with his traine came aboord to ſee the ſhip; which to them ſeemed woonderfull, as people that ſeldome had ſeene the like: who tolde me that his meſſenger from the king was returned; and the king reioyced much to heare that Engliſh men were come with a ſhip to trade in his ports; and being the firſt Engliſhman that euer came with a ſhip, I was the better welcome; promiſing that I or any Engliſhman hereafter ſhould be well intreated & find good dealing at their hands. And further the Conde on the kings behalfe and his owne, earneſtly requeſted, that before my departure off the coaſt I would returne againe to his road to conferre with him for the better continuance and confirming of amity betweene them and Engliſhmen: which I agreed vnto. And ſo ſhewing him and his company the beſt friendſhip and courteſie I could, he went on ſhore, and ſhould haue had the honor of our ordinance but that he deſired the contrary, being amazed at the ſight of the ſhip and noiſe of the gunnes, which they did greatly admire.

Porto Dally.

The 13 of December at night we weighed anker, and arriued the 14 day at the road of Porto d' Ally, which is another kingdome: the king thereof is called Amar Meleck, & ſonne to Meleck Zamba the other king, and dwelleth a dayes iourney and an halfe from Porto d' Ally. When we had ankered, the kings kinſmen being gouernors, with all the officers of that towne came aboord to receiue all duties for the ſhip & licence to traffike due to the king; who there generally ſeemed to be very glad that no Portugall was come in our ſhip out of England; ſaying it was the kings pleaſure we ſhould bring none hereafter; for that the king did eſteeme them as people of no truth; and complained of one Franciſco de Coſta ſeruant to Don Antonio, how he had often and the laſt yere alſo abuſed and deluded their king Amar Meleck in promiſing to bring him certaine things out of England, which he neuer performed, and deemed that to be the cauſe of his ſtaying behinde this voyage, and that neither Spaniard nor Portugall could abide vs, but reported very badly and gaue out hard ſpeeches tending to the defamation & great diſhonor of England: and alſo affirmed that at the arriuall of an Engliſh ſhip called The Command, of Richard Kelley of Dartmouth, one Pedro Gonſalues a Portugall that came in the ſayd ſhip from Don Antonio reported vnto them, that we were fled out of England and come away vpon intent to rob and do great ſpoile vpon this coaſt to the Negros and Portugals, and that Thomas Daſſel had murdered Franciſco de Acoſta ſince our comming from England, who was comming to their king in our ſhip with great preſents from Don Antonio, and deſired that at our arriuall ſtay might be made of our goods and our ſelues in ſecret maner; which they denied, not giuing credit to his report, hauing bene often abuſed by ſuch friuolous and ſlanderous ſpeeches by that nation; telling me their king was ſory for the former murder and captiuity of our nation, and would neuer yeeld to the like, hauing the Portugals and Spaniards in generall hatred euer ſince, and conceiueth much better of our countrey and vs, then theſe our enemies report of. For which I yeelded them hearty thanks, aſſuring them they ſhould finde great difference betweene the loyalty of the one and diſloyalty of the other: and ſo payed their dueties: and for that it was the chiefe place of trade, I ſhewed them how I was reſolued to goe to their king with certaine preſents which we had brought out of England; which we determined for the more honor and credit of our countrey, and augmenting of their better affection toward vs.

The Comand a ſhip of Richard Kelley.

The mõſtrous lies of a Portugall.

Port Dally the chiefe place of trade.

Ioala.

All this while Thomas Daſſel was with our great pinneſſe at the towne of Ioala, being in the kingdome of king Iocoel Lamiockeric, traffiking with the Spaniards & Portugals there. And the forenamed Pedro Gonſalues, which came out of England, was there alſo with other Engliſh marchants about the buſines of Rich. Kelley; and as it ſhould ſeeme, for that he could not obtaine his miſchieuous pretended purpoſe againſt Thomas Daſſel and others at the towne of Porto d' Ally, where I Richard Rainolds remained, he attempted with conſent of other Portugals which were made priuy to his intent to betray the ſayd Thomas Daſſel at this towne, & had with bribes ſeduced the chiefe commanders and Negros to effect his wicked & moſt villanous practiſe: which as God would, was reuealed to the ſayd Thomas Daſſel by Rich. Cape an Engliſhman and ſeruant to the forenamed Rich. Kelley; to whom this ſayd Pedro Gonſalues had diſcloſed his ſecret treachery, willing him with all expedition to ſtand vpon his guard. Whereupon Thomas Daſſel went aboord a ſmall Engliſh barke called The Cherubin of Lime, and there one Iohn Payua a Portugall and ſeruant of Don Antonio declared, that if he & one Garcia a Portugall of the ſayd towne would haue conſented with Pedro Gonſalues, the ſayd Thomas Daſſel had bene betrayed long before. And vpon this warning Thomas Daſſel the next day hauing gotten three Portugals aboord, aduiſed for our better ſecurities to ſend two on land, & detained one with him called Villa noua, telling them that if the next day by eight of the clocke, they would bring Pedro Gonſalues

The Cherubin of Lime at Ioala.

aboord to him, he would releaſe the ſayd Villa noua, which they did not. And Thomas Daſſel hauing intelligence that certaine Negros and Portugals were ridden poſt ouer-land to Porto d' Ally with intent to haue Richard Rainolds and his company ſtayd on land, being doubtfull what friendſhip ſoeuer the vnconſtant Negros profeſſed (by reaſon they be often wauering being ouercome with drinking wine) how they would deale, to preuent the dangerous wiles that might be effected in the road by Portugals, and for better ſtrength, the 24 of December he came with his pinneſſe & Portugall to ride in the road of Porto d' Ally, where our great ſhippe the Nightingall was: who was no ſooner arriued but he had newes alſo from the ſhore from Iohn Baily Anthony Daſſels ſeruant, who was there with our goods detained by the Portugals means, that aboue 20 Portugals and Spaniards were come from Ioala by land, and Pedro Gonſalues in their company, to take order for the releaſing of Villa noua. So hauing had conference two or three dayes with the Commanders, the Negros, ſome Spaniards, and ſome Portugals, in the end by due examination of the matter the Negros ſeeing how vilely Pedro Gonſalues had delt, he being in their power, ſayd he ſhould ſuffer death or be tortured, for an example to others. But we in recompenſe of his cruelty pitied him and ſhewed mercy, deſiring the Negros to intreat him well though vndeſerued: and thereupon the Commanders brought him aboord the pinneſſe to Thomas Daſſel to do with him what he would: where at his comming from the ſhore, for lauiſh ſpeeches which he vſed of Princes, he was well buffetted by a Spaniard, and might haue bene ſlaine, if for our ſakes he had not bene reſcued.

While I went on ſhore with Villa noua, the ſayd Pedro Gonſalues confeſſed vnto Thomas Daſſel that he did enquire of ſome Negros and Portugals if he might not ſtay him and his goods in the land, and that he did nothing but by commiſſion from his king by his letters which he receiued from London in Dartmouth after we were departed from London, for that we preſumed to come to Guinea to traffike without a ſeruant of his; and further, that he had power or procuration from Franciſco de Coſta the Portugall that ſtayed behinde in England to detaine the goods of Anthony Daſſel in Guinea.

Note.

By conſent of M. Francis Tucker, Iohn Browbeare, and the reſt of the factours of Richard Kelley, with whom this Pedro Gonſalues came, for auoiding further miſchiefe that might be practiſed, we agreed that the ſay Pedro Gonſalues ſhould ſtay aboord our ſhippe, and not goe any more on land vntill they departed. So the ninth of Ianuary he was deliuered aboord to goe for England in the ſame ſhip wherein he came; who was all the time of his abode in our ſhippe both courteouſly and friendly vſed at my hands, much againſt the mariners willes, who could not abide ſuch a wicked creature and caitiue, that is nouriſhed and relieued in our countrey, and yet by villanous meanes ſought the deſtruction of vs all.

The Spaniards and Portugals though they be diſſemblers and not to be truſted, when they perceiued how king Amar Melicks Negros befriended and fauored vs, and that it would be preiudiciall to their trade for diuers reſpects, if we ſhould any way be iniuried, renounced the ſayd practiſes, deteſting the author, and proteſted to defend vs in ſuch caſes with all faithfulneſſe; deſiring we would, as the king of Negros had commanded vs, neuer bring Portugal with vs more: vſing this phraſe in diſdaine of ſuch as came out of England, let your Portugals be barres of yron: for in trueth in regard of the rich trade maintained by Frenchmen and by vs of late, they eſteeme more of one barre of yron then of twenty Portugals which we ſhould bring out of England: who at their comming thither very ſubtilly diſaduantage vs, and doe great hurt to euery party.

At the beginning of theſe broiles the king Amar Melick had ſent his chiefe ſecretary and three horſes for me Richard Rainolds: but I denied to goe by reaſon of the hurley burley, though I might haue had Negros of account for pledges aboord; yet we ſent the preſents vnto the king; who ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood the cauſe why I came not to him, being ſory and offended thereat, commanded preſently by proclamation, that no iniury ſhould be offered vs in his dominions by his owne people, or ſuffered to be done by Spaniards or Portugals. And if the Negros ioyning to his kingdome ſhould confederate with the Spaniards and Portugals to moleſt or trouble vs; that his ſubiects the Negros ſhould be ready to ayde, ſuccor and defend vs. In which people appeared more confident loue and good will towards vs, then euer we ſhall finde either of Spaniards or Portugals, though we ſhould relieue them of the greateſt miſery that can be imagined.

In the riuer of Senega no Spaniard or Portugall vſe to trade: and onely one Portugall called Ganigoga dwelleth farre within the riuer, who was maried to a kings daughter.

In the townes of Porto d' Ally and Ioala, being townes of chiefeſt trade, and in the townes of Canton and Caſſan in the riuer of Gambra are many Spaniards and Portugals reſident by permiſſion of the Negros; who haue rich trades there along the coaſt, eſpecially to San Domingo

San Domingo.

Rio grande. Note this trade.

and Rio grande, not far diſtant from Gambra riuer; whither they tranſport the yron which they buy of Frenchmen and vs, and exchange it for Negros: which be caried continually to the Weſt Indies in ſuch ſhips as came from Spaine. Alſo by the gouernors order and Renters of Caſtel de Mina and other places, where golde is, vpon the coaſt of Guinea, they haue a place limited how farre they muſt go to trade within the riuer of Gambra; and further they may not go vpon paine of confiſcation of their goods, and loſſe of life: for that the Renters themſelues ſend at certaine times their owne barks within the riuer to ſuch places, where as they haue great ſtore of golde. And in all theſe places hereabouts, where we vſe to trade, they haue no Fort, Caſtle, or place of ſtrength, but onely trading by the Negros ſafeconduct and permiſſion. And the moſt part of the Spaniards and Portugals that be reſident in theſe places be baniſhed men or fugitiues, for committing moſt hainous crimes and inceſtuous acts, their life & conuerſation being agreeable; and they are of the baſeſt behauiour that we haue euer ſeene of theſe nations in any other countrey.

A rich trade for golde in Rio grande.

A briefe relation concerning the eſtate of the cities and prouinces of *Tombuto* and *Gago* written in *Marocco* the firſt of Auguſt 1594, and ſent to M. *Anthony Daſſel* marchant of *London*.

My hearty commendations premiſed: your letter of late I receiued, and found that you would haue me diſcouer vnto you the eſtate & quality of the countreyes of Tombuto and Gago. And that you may not thinke me to ſlumber in this action, wherin you would be truely and perfectly reſolued, you ſhall vnderſtand, that not ten dayes paſt here came a Cahaia of the Andoluzes home from Gago, and another principall Moore, whom the king ſent thither at the firſt with Alcaide Hamode, and they brought with them thirty mules laden with gold. I ſaw the ſame come into the Alcaſaua with mine owne eies: and theſe men themſelues came not poore, but with ſuch wealth, that they came away without the kings commandement: and for that cauſe the king will pay them no wages for the time they haue beene there. On the other ſide they dare not aſke the king for any wages. And when Alcaide Hamode ſaw that the Cahaia of the Andoluzes would not ſtay in Gago with him, he thought good to ſend theſe thirty mules laden with golde by him, with letters of commendations, by which the king ſmelled their riches that they brought with them: and this was the cauſe of the kings diſpleaſure towards them. So now there remaineth in Gago Alcaide Hamode, and Alcaide Iawdara, and Alcaide Bucthare. And here are in a readineſſe to depart in the end of this next September Alcaide Monſor, Ben Abdrahaman Allies, Monſor Rico with fiue thouſand men, moſt of the fettilaſe, that is to ſay, of fier-mach, & muſkets. There is gone good ſtore of reds & yellowes: and this yere here was want of the ſame commodity; but I truſt the next yere wil be no want. But in fine the king doth proſper wel in thoſe parts, and here are many pledges come hither, and namely three of the kings ſonnes of Gago and the Iuſtice; I ſaw them come in with the treaſure. Now when Alcaide Monſor commeth to Gago, the which will be in Ianuary next, then returneth hither Alcaide Hamode with all the treaſure, and Alcaide Monſor is to keepe Gago vntill the king take further order. And thus much for Gago. Thus not hauing any other thing to write at this preſent, I commend you to the mercifull tuition of the almighty. From Marocco the firſt of Auguſt 1594.

Commodities for Gago.

Your aſſured friend Laurence Madoc.

Another briefe relation concerning the late conqueſt and the exceeding great riches of the cities and prouinces of *Tombuto* and *Gago*, written from *Marocco* the 30 Auguſt 1594, to M. *Anthony Daſſel* marchant of *London* aforeſayd.

LOuing friend M. Daſſel, two of your letters I haue receiued, one by the ſhippe called The Amity, the other by The Concord: the chiefeſt matter therein was to be ſatiſfied of the king of Marocco his proceedings in Guinea. Therefore theſe are to let you vnderſtand that there went with Alcaide Hamode for thoſe parts ſeuenteene hundred men: who paſſing ouer the ſands, for want of water periſhed one third part of them: and at their comming to the city of Tombuto, the Negros made ſome reſiſtance; but to ſmall purpoſe, for that they had no defence but with their aſagaies or iauelings poiſoned. So they tooke it, and proceeded to the city of Gago, where the Negros were in number infinite, and meant to ſtand to the vttermoſt for their countrey: but the Moores ſlew them ſo faſt, that they were faine to yeeld, and do pay tribute by the yere. The rent

Tombuto taken

Gago taken.

of Tombuto is 60 quintals of golde by the yeere; the goodneſſe whereof you know. What rent Gago will yeeld, you ſhall know at the Spring, for then Alcaide Hamode commeth home. The rent of Tombuto is come by the caſelow or carouan, which is, as aboue is mentioned, 60 quintals. The report is, that Mahomed bringeth with him ſuch an infinite treaſure as I neuer heard of: it doth appeare that they haue more golde then any other part of the world beſide. The Alcaide winneth all the countrey where he goeth without fighting, and is going downe towards the ſea coaſt. This king of Marocco is like to be the greateſt prince in the world for money, if he keepe this countrey. But I make account aſſoone as the king of Spaine hath quietneſſe in Chriſtendome, he wil thruſt him out: for that the kings force is not great as yet; but he meaneth to be ſtronger. There is a campe ready to go now with a viceroy: the ſpeech is with 3000 men: but I thinke they will be hardly 2000; for by report, 3000 men are enough to conquer all the countrey: for they haue no defence of importance againſt an enemy. I thinke Hamode will be returned home in Ianuary or thereabout: for he ſtayeth but for the comming of the viceroy. Mulley Balaſen the kings ſonne of Marocco was ſlaine in Guinea by his owne men, and they were preſently killed, becauſe they ſhould tell no tales. And thus leauing to trouble you, I commit you to God, who proſper you in all your proceedings. From Marocco the firſt of Auguſt 1594.

Yours to command for euer Laurence Madoc.

Of theſe two rich cities and kingdomes of Tombuto and Gago Leo Africanus writeth at large in the beginning of his ſeuenth booke of the deſcription of Africa, which worthy worke is to be annexed vnto the end of this ſecond volume.

A briefe extract of a patent granted to M. *Thomas Gregory* of *Tanton*, and others, for traffique betweene the riuer of *Nonnia* and the riuers of *Madrabumba* and *Sierra Leona* on the coaſt of *Guinea*, in the yeere 1592.

IN May the 34 yeere of our gracious ſoueraigne Queene Elizabeth, a patent of ſpeciall licence was granted to Thomas Gregory of Tanton in the county of Somerſet, and to Thomas Pope, and certaine other marchants to traffique into Guinea from the Northermoſt part of the riuer of Nonnia to the Southermoſt parts of the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona, and to other parts aſwell to the Southeaſt as to the Northweſt, for a certaine number of leagues therein ſpecified which amount to an hundred or thereabout. Which patent was granted for the terme of ten yeres; as appeareth at large in the ſayd patent recorded in the Rolles in her Maieſties Chancery.

The maner of the taking of two Spaniſh ſhips laden with quickſiluer & the Popes bulles, bound for the *Weſt Indies*, by M. *Thomas White* in the *Amity* of London. 1592.

THe 26 of Iuly 1592, in my returning out of Barbary in the ſhip called the Amity of London, being in the height of 36 degrees or thereabout, at foure of the clocke in the morning we had ſight of two ſhippes, being diſtant from vs about three or foure leagues: by ſeuen of the clocke we fetched them vp, and were within gunſhot: whoſe boldneſſe, hauing the king of Spaines armes diſplayed, did make vs iudge them rather ſhips of warre, then laden with marchandiſe. And as it appeared by their owne ſpeeches, they made full account to haue taken vs: it being a queſtion among them, whether it were beſt to cary vs to S. Lucar, or to Lisbon. We waued ech other a maine. They hauing placed themſelues in warlike order one a cables length before another, we began the fight. In the which we continued, ſo faſt as we were able to charge and diſcharge, the ſpace of fiue houres, being neuer a cables length diſtant either of vs from other. In which time we receiued diuers ſhot both in the hull of our ſhip, maſts, and ſailes, to the number of 32 great, beſides 500 muſket ſhot and harquebuzes a crocke at the leaſt, which we tolde after the fight. And becauſe we perceiued them to be ſtout, we thought good to boord the Biſcaine, which was on head the other: where lying aboord about an houre, and plying our ordinance and ſmall ſhot; in the end we ſtowed all his men. Now the other in the flieboat, thinking we had entred our men in their fellow, bare roome with vs, meaning to haue layed vs aboord, and ſo to haue intrapped vs betwixt them both: which we perceiuing, fitted our ordinance ſo for him, as we quitted our ſelues of him, and he boorded his fellow: by which meanes they both fell from vs. Then preſently we kept our looſe, hoiſed our top-ſailes, and weathered them, and came hard aboord the flieboat with our ordinance prepared, Marke this othe.

and gaue her our whole broad ſide, with the which we ſlew diuers of their men; ſo as we might ſee the blood run out at the ſcupper holes. After that we caſt about, and new charged all our ordinance, and came vpon them againe, willing them to yeeld, or els we would ſinke them: wherupon the one would haue yeelded, which was ſhot betweene winde and water; but the other called him traitor. Unto whom we made anſwere, that if he would not yeeld preſently alſo, we would ſinke him firſt. And thereupon he vnderſtanding our determination, preſently put out a white flag, and yeelded, and yet refuſed to ſtrike their owne ſailes, for that they were ſworne neuer to ſtrike to any Engliſhman. We then commanded their captaines and maſters to come aboord vs; which they did. And after examination & ſtowing them, we ſent certaine of our owne men aboord them, and ſtrook their ſailes, and manned their ſhips: finding in them both 126 perſons liuing, & 8 dead, beſides thoſe which they themſelues had caſt ouerboord. So it pleaſed God to giue vs the victory being but 42 men and a boy, whereof 2 were killed and 3 wounded: for the which good ſucceſſe we giue God the only praiſe. Theſe two rich prizes laden with 1400 cheſts of quickſiluer with the armes of Caſtile and Leon faſtened vpon them, and with a great quantity of bulles or indulgences, and guilded Miſſals or Seruice books, with an hundred tunnes of excellent wines, we brought ſhortly after into the riuer of Thames vp to Blacke-wall.

By the taking of this quickſiluer, about 1400 cheſts, the king of Spaine loſeth for euery quintall of the ſame a quintall of ſiluer, that ſhould haue beene deliuered him by the maſters of the mines there, which amounteth to 600000 pounds.

More by taking of his bulles, to wit, two millions and 72 thouſand for liuing and dead perſons for the prouinces of Noua Hiſpania, Iucatan, Guatimala, the Honduras, and the Philippinas, taxed at two reals the piece. And more for eighteene thouſand bulles taxed at foure reals, amounteth all to 107700 pounds. Summa totalis 707700 li.

More there were taken ten fardels of gilt miſſals and breuiaries ſent for the kings account.

So the hinderance that the king receiueth by the loſſe of his bulles and quickſiluer amounteth as is aboueſaid: beſides the lacking of his wines, about 100 tunnes, whereby his fleet is diſappointed of a great part of their prouiſion.

A true report of the honourable ſeruice at Sea perfourmed by Sir *Iohn Burrough* Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honor. Sir *Walter Ralegh* Knight, Lord warden of the *Stanneries* of *Cornwall* and *Deuon*. Wherin chiefly the *Santa Clara* of *Biſcay*, a ſhip of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two Eaſt Indian caraks, the *Santa Cruz* and the *Madre de Dios* were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into *Dartmouth* the ſeuenth of September, 1592.

SIr Walter Ralegh vpon cōmiſſion receiued from her Maieſty for an expedition to be made to the Weſt Indies, ſlacked not his vttermoſt diligence to make full prouiſion of all things neceſſary, as both in his choiſe of good ſhips, and ſufficient men to performe the action euidently appeared. For his ſhippes which were in number 14 or 15, thoſe two of her Maieſties, the Garland & the Foreſight were the chiefeſt; the reſt either his owne or his good friends or aduenturers of London. For the gentlemen his conſorts and officers, to giue them their right, they were ſo well qualited in courage, experience, & diſcretion, as the greateſt prince might repute himſelfe happy to be ſerued with their like. The honor of Lieutenant generall was impoſed vpon ſir Iohn Burrough, a gentleman, for his manifold good and heroicall parts, thought euery way worthy of that commandement: with whom after ſir W.R. returned was ioyned in commiſſion ſir Martin Frobiſher, who for his ſpeciall ſkill & knowledge in marine cauſes had formerly caried imploiments of like or greater place. The reſt of the captaines, ſouldiers, and ſailers were men of notable reſolution, and for the moſt part ſuch as heretofore had giuen to the world ſufficient proofe of their valour in diuers ſeruices of the like nature. With theſe ſhips thus manned ſir Walter Ralegh departed towards the Weſt countrey, there to ſtore himſelfe with ſuch further neceſſaries as the ſtate of his voyage did needfully require: where the Weſterly windes blowing for a long time contrary to his courſe, bound and conſtrained him to keepe harborough ſo many weeks, that the fitteſt ſeaſon for his purpoſe was gone, the mindes of his people much altered, his victuals conſumed; and withall, her Maieſty vnderſtanding how croſly all this ſorted, began to call the proceeding of this preparation into queſtion: inſomuch that, whereas the ſirt of May was firſt come before ſir Walter could put to ſea, the very next day ſir Martin Frobiſher in a pinneſſe of my lord Admirals called The Diſdaine, met him, and brought to him from her Maieſty letters of reuocation, with commandement to relinquiſh (for his owne part) the intended attempt, and to leaue the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of ſir Iohn Burrough and ſir Martin Frobiſher. But ſir Walter finding his honor ſo farre engaged in the vndertaking of this voyage, as without proceeding he ſaw no remedy either to ſalue his reputation, or to content thoſe his friends which had put in aduentures of great ſummes with him; and making conſtruction of the Queenes letters in ſuch ſort as if her commandement had bene propounded in indifferent termes, either to aduance forward or to retire, at his owne diſcretion; would in no caſe yeeld to leaue his fleet now vnder ſaile. Wherefore continuing his courſe into the ſea, he met within a day or two, with certaine ſailes lately come from Spaine: among which was a ſhip appertaining to Monſieur Gourdon gouernor of Caleis, and found aboord her one M. Neuel Dauies an Engliſhman, who hauing indured a long and miſerable captiuity for the ſpace of twelue yeeres, partly in the inquiſition in Spaine, was now by good fortune eſcaped, and vpon returne to his countrey. This man, among other things, reported for certaine, that there was little hope of any good this yeere to be done in the West India; conſidering that the king of Spaine had ſent expreſſe order to all the ports both of the Ilands and of Terra firma, that no ſhip ſhould ſtirre that yeere, nor any treaſure be layed aboord for Spaine. But neither this vnpleaſant relation nor ought els could ſtay his proceedings, vntill a tempeſt of ſtrange and vncouth violence ariſing vpon Thurſday the 11 of May, when he was athwart the Cape Finiſter, had ſo ſcattered the greater part of the fleet, and ſunke his boats and pinneſſes, that as the reſt were driuen and ſeuered, ſome this way and ſome that, ſir Walter himſelfe being in the Garland of her Maieſty was in danger to be ſwallowed vp of the Sea. Whereupon ſir W. Ralegh finding that the ſeaſon of the yere was too farre gone to proceed with the enterpriſe which he had vpon Panama, hauing bene held on the Engliſh coaſt from February till May, and thereby ſpent three moneths victuals; and conſidering withall, that to lie vpon the Spaniſh coaſt or at the Ilands to attend the returne of the Eaſt or Weſt Indian fleets was rather a worke of patience then ought els: he gaue directions to ſir Iohn Burgh and ſir M. Frobiſher to diuide the fleet in two parts; ſir M. with the Garland, cap. George Gifford, cap. Henry Thin, cap. Grenuile and others to lie off the South cape, thereby to amaze the Spaniſh fleet, and to holde them on their owne coaſt; while ſir I. Burgh, capt. Robert Croſſe, capt. Tomſon, & others ſhould attend at the Ilands for the caraks or any other Spaniſh ſhips comming from Mexico or other parts of the West Indies. Which direction tooke effect accordingly; for the king of Spaines Admirall receiuing intelligence that the Engliſh fleet was come on the coaſt, attended to defend the South parts of Spaine, & to keepe himſelfe as neere ſir Mart. Frobiſher as he could, to impeach him in all things which he might vndertake; and thereby neglected the ſafeconduct of the caraks, with whom it fared as hereafter ſhall appeare. Before the fleet ſeuered themſelues they mette with a great Biſcain on the Spaniſh coaſt called Santa Clara a ſhip of 600 tunnes.

The noiſe of the artillery on both ſides being heard, immediatly they drew to their fleet; where after a reaſonable hot fight, the ſhip was entred and maſtered, which they found fraighted with all ſorts of ſmall yron-worke, as horſe-ſhoes, nailes, plough-ſhares, yron barres, ſpikes, boults, locks, gimbols, & ſuch like, valued by vs at 6000 or 7000 li. but worth to them treble the value. This Biſcain was ſailing towards S. Lucar, there to take in ſome further prouiſion for the Weſt India. This ſhip being firſt roomaged, and after ſent for England, our fleet coaſted along towards the South cape of S. Vincent, and by the way, about the Rocke nere Lisbon, ſir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke ſpying a ſaile afarre off, gaue her preſent chaſe; which being a flieboat and of good ſaile, drew him farre Southwards before he could fetch her; but at laſt ſhe came vnder his lee and ſtrooke ſaile. The maſter of which flieboat comming aboord him, confeſſed that the king indeed had prepared a great fleet in S. Lucar and Cadiz, and (as the report in Spaine was currant) for the Weſt Indies. But indeed the Spaniſh king had prouided this fleet vpon this counſell. He receiued intelligence, that ſir Walter Ralegh was to put out ſtrong for the Weſt India: to impeach him, and to rancounter his force he appointed this fleet; although looking for the arriuall of his Eaſt Indian caraks, he firſt ordained thoſe ſhips to waft them from the Açores. But perſwading himſelfe, that if the fleet of ſir Walter Ralegh did go for the Weſt India, then the Ilands ſhould haue none to infeſt them but ſome ſmall men of warre, which the caraks of themſelues would be well able to match; his order was to Don Alonſo de Baçan brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz, and Generall of his armada, to purſue ſir Walters fleet, and to confront him, what courſe ſoeuer he held. And that this was true, our men in ſhort time by proofe vnderſtood: for ſir Iohn Burrough, not long after the taking of his laſt prize the flieboat, as he ſailed backe againe towards the reſt of his company, diſcouered the Spaniſh fleet to ſea-ward of him: which hauing likewiſe eſpied him betwixt them and the ſhore, made full account to bring him ſafe into Spaniſh harbour; and therefore ſpred themſelues in ſuch ſort before him, that indeed his danger was very great: for both the liberty of the ſea was brought into a narrow ſtraight, and the ſhore being enemy could

The Santa Clara a Biſcain ſhip of 600 tunnes taken.

Sir Iohn Burrough in great danger of the Spaniſh fleet.

The Ile of S. Michael.

Diuers ſmall ſhips taken.

Santa Cruz a village in the Ile of Flores.

Newes of the Eaſt Indian caraks.

A carak called The Santa Cruz ſet on fire.

An hundred of our men land.

giue him no comfort of reliefe : ſo that truſting to Gods helpe onely and his good ſaile, he thruſt out from among them in ſpight of all their force, and to the notable illuſion of all their cunning, which they ſhewed to the vttermoſt, in laying the way for his apprehenſion. But now ſir Iohn Burrough hauing happily eſcaped their clouches, finding the coaſt guarded by this fleet, and knowing it was but folly to expect a meeting there with ſir Martin Frobiſher (who vnderſtanding of this armada aſwell as himſelfe, would be ſure not to come that way) beganne to ſhape his courſe to the Açores according to ſir W. Raleghs direction, and came in ſight of S. Michael, running ſo neere by Villa Franca, that he might eaſily diſcerne the ſhippes lying there at anker. Diuers ſmall carauels both here and betweene S. Georges and the Pike in his courſe toward Flores he intercepted; of which no great intelligence for his affaires could be vnderſtood. Arriuing before Flores vpon Thurſday the 21 of Iune, towards euening, accompanied onely with captaine Caufield and the Maſter of his ſhippe, the reſt not being yet arriued, he made towards the ſhore with his boat, finding all the people of of Santa Cruz, a village of that Iland, in armes, fearing their landing, and ready marſhalled to defend their towne from ſpoile. Sir Iohn contrariwiſe made ſignes of amity vnto them by aduancing a white flagge, a common token of peace, which was anſwered againe of them with the like : whereupon enſued entercourſes of good friendſhip; and pledges were taken on both ſides, the captaine of the towne for them, and captaine Caufield for ours : ſo that whatſoeuer our men wanted, which that place could ſupply either in freſh water, victuals, or the like, was very willingly granted by the inhabitants : and good leaue had they to refreſh themſelues on ſhore as much and as oft as they would without reſtraint. At this Santa Cruz ſir Iohn Burrough was informed, that indeed there was among them no expectation of any fleet to come from the Weſt, but from the Eaſt, that no longer ſince then three dayes before his arriuall a carak was paſſed by for Lisbon, and that there were foure caraks more behinde, of one conſort. Sir Iohn being very glad of this newes, ſtayed no longer on ſhore, but preſently imbarqued himſelfe, hauing onely in company a ſmall barke of threeſcore tunnes belonging to one M. Hopkins of Briſtoll. In the meane while that theſe things thus paſſed at Flores, part of the reſt of the Engliſh fleet, which ſir Iohn Burrough had left vpon the coaſt of Spaine, drew alſo towards the Açores : and whereas he quickly at ſea had diſcouered one of the caraks, the ſame euening he might deſcry two or three of the Earle of Cumberlands ſhips (whereof one M. Norton was captaine) which hauing in like ſort kenned the carak, purſued her by that courſe which they ſaw her to runne towards the Ilands. But on no ſide was there any way made by reaſon of a great calme which yeelded no breath to ſpread a ſaile. Inſomuch that fitly to diſcouer her what ſhe was, of what burthen, force, and countenance, ſir Iohn Burrough tooke his boat, and rowed the ſpace of three miles, to make her exactly : and being returned, he conſulted with the better ſort of the company then preſent, vpon the boording her in the morning. But a very mighty ſtorme ariſing in the night, the extremity thereof forced them all to wey ankers, yet their care was ſuch in wreſtling with the weather not to loſe the carak, that in the morning, the tempeſt being qualified, and our men bearing againe with the ſhore, they might perceiue the carak very neere the land, and the Portugals confuſedly carrying on ſhore ſuch things as they could any maner of way conuey out of her; and ſeeing the haſte our men made to come vpon them, forſooke her : but firſt, that nothing might be left commodious to our men, ſet fire to that which they could not cary with them, intending by that meanes wholly to conſume her; that neither glory of victory nor benefit of ſhippe might remaine to ours. And leaſt the approch and induſtry of the Engliſh ſhould bring meanes to extinguiſh the flame, thereby to preſerue the reſidue of that which the fire had not deſtroyed; being foure hundred of them in number and well armed, they intrenched themſelues on land ſo neere to the carak, that ſhe being by their forces protected, and our men kept aloofe off, the fire might continue to the conſumption of the whole. This being noted by ſir Iohn Burrough he ſoone prouided a preſent remedy for this miſchiefe. For landing one hundred of his men, whereof many did ſwim and wade more then breſt high to ſhore, and eaſily ſcattering thoſe that preſented themſelues to guard the coaſt, he no ſooner drew toward their new trenches, but they fled immediatly, leauing as much as the fire had ſpared to be the reward of our mens paines. Here was taken among others one Vincent Fonſeca a Portugall, Purſer of the carak, with two others, one an Almaine and the ſecond a Low-dutchman, canoniers : who refuſing to make any voluntary report of thoſe things which were demanded of them, had the torture threatened, the feare whereof at the laſt wreſted from them this intelligence, that within fifteene dayes three other greater caraks then that lately fired would arriue at the ſame Iland : and that being fiue caraks in the fleet at their departure from Goa, to wit, the Buen Ieſus admirall, the Madre de Dios, the S. Bernardo, the S. Chriſtophoro, and the S. Cruz, (whoſe fortune you haue already heard) they had receiued ſpeciall commandement from the king not to touch in any caſe at the Iland of S. Helena, where the Portugall caraks in their returne from the Eaſt India were alwayes till now woont to arriue to refreſh themſelues with water and victuals. And the kings reaſon was; becauſe of the Engliſh men of warre, who (as he was informed) lay there in wait to intercept them. If therefore their neceſſity of water ſhould driue them to ſeeke ſupply any where, he appointed them Angola in the maine of Africa, with order there to ſtay onely the taking in of water to auoid the inconuenice of infections, whereunto that hot latitude is dangerouſly ſubiect. The laſt rendeuous for them all was the Iland of Flores, where the king aſſured them not to miſſe of his armada thither ſent of purpoſe for their wafting to Lisbon. Upon this information ſir Iohn drew to counſel, meeting there captaine Norton, captaine Dounton, captaine Abraham Cocke, captaines of three ſhips of the Earle of Cumberland, M. Tomſon of Harwich cap. of the Dainty of ſir Iohn Haukins, one of ſir W. Raleghs fleet, and M. Chriſtopher Newport cap. of the Golden dragon newly returned from the Weſt India, and others. Theſe being aſſembled, he communicated with them what he had vnderſtood of the foreſaid examinates, and what great preſumptions of truth their relation did cary: wiſhing that foraſmuch as God & good fortune had brought them together in ſo good a ſeaſon, they would ſhew the vttermoſt of their indeuors to bring theſe Eaſterlings vnder the lee of the Engliſh obedience. Hereupon a preſent accord on all ſides followed not to part company or leaue of thoſe ſeas till time ſhould preſent cauſe to put their conſultations in execution. The next day her Maieſties good ſhip the Foreſight commanded by ſir Rob. Croſſe came in to the reſt: and he likewiſe informed of the matter was ſoone drawen into this ſeruice. Thus ſir Iohn with al theſe ſhips departing thence 6 or 7 leagues to the Weſt of Flores, they ſpread themſelues abroad from the North to the South, ech ſhip two leagues at the leaſt diſtant from another. By which order of extenſion they were able to diſcouer the ſpace of two whole degrees at ſea. In this ſort they lay from the 29 of Iune to the third of Auguſt, what time cap. Thomſon in the Dainty had firſt ſight of the huge carak called the Madre de Dios, one of the greateſt receit belonging to the crowne of Portugall. The Dainty being of excellent ſaile got the ſtart of the reſt of our fleet, and began the conflict ſome what to her coſt, with the ſlaughter and hurt of diuers of her men. Within a while after, ſir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke of ſir W. Raleghs, was at hand to ſecond her, who ſaluted her with ſhot of great ordinance, and continued the fight within muſket ſhot aſſiſted by cap. Tomſon and cap. Newport till ſir R. Croſſe viceadmirall of the fleet came vp being to leeward, at whoſe arriual ſir I. Burgh demanded of him what was beſt to be done, who anſwered, that if the carak were not boorded ſhe would recouer the ſhore and fire herſelfe as the other had done. Wherupon ſir I. Burgh concluded to intangle her; and ſir R. Croſſe promiſed alſo to faſten himſelfe to her together at the inſtant; which was performed: but after a while ſir Iohn Burgh receiuing a ſhot with a canon perier vnder water, and ready to ſinke, deſired ſir R. C. to fall off, that he might alſo cleere himſelfe, and ſaue his ſhip from ſinking, which with difficulty he did; for both the Roebucke and the Foreſight were ſo intangled, as with much adoe could they cleere themſelues.

Angola a new watering place for the caraks.

The ſame euening ſir R. Croſſe finding the carak then ſure & drawing nere the Iland perſwaded his company to boord her againe, or els there was no hope to recouer her: who after many excuſes & feares, were by him incouraged, and ſo fell athwart her foreſhips all alone; and ſo hindered her ſailing that the reſt had time to come vp to his ſuccour, & to recouer the carak yer ſhe recouered the land: and ſo toward the euening after he had fought with her alone three houres ſingle, my lord of Cumberlands two ſhips came vp, & with very litle loſſe entred with ſir R. Croſſe, who had in that time broken their courages, and made the aſſault eaſie for the reſt.

The Madre de Dios taken.

The generall hauing diſarmed the Portugals, and ſtowed them for better ſecurity on all ſides, firſt had preſented to his eyes the true proportion of the vaſt body of this carak, which did then and may ſtill iuſtly prouoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with ſuch a ſight. But albeit this firſt apparance of the hugeneſſe thereof yeelded ſights enough to entertaine our mens eyes; yet the pitifull obiect of ſo many bodies ſlaine and diſmembred could not but draw ech mans eye to ſee, and heart to lament, and hands to helpe thoſe miſerable people, whoſe limmes were ſo torne with the violence of ſhot, and paine made grieuous with the multitude of woundes. No man could almoſt ſteppe but vpon a dead carkaſe or a bloody floore, but ſpecially about the helme, where very many of them fell ſuddenly from ſtirring to dying. For the greatneſſe of the ſtirrage requiring the labour of twelue or foureteene men at once, and ſome of our ſhippes beating her in at the ſterne with their ordinance often times with one ſhot ſlew foure or fiue labouring on either ſide of the helme; whoſe roomes being ſtill furniſhed with freſh ſupplies, and our artillery ſtill playing vpon them with continuall volleys, it could not be but that much bloud ſhould be ſhed in that place. Whereupon our Generall moued with ſingular commiſeration of their miſery, ſent them his owne chyrurgions, denying them no poſſible helpe or reliefe that

Exceeding humanity ſhewed to the enemy.

he or any of his company could afoord them. Among the reſt of thoſe, whoſe ſtate this chance had made very deplorable, was Don Fernando de Mendoça Grand captaine and Commander of this Carake: who indeed was deſcended of the houſe of Mendoça in Spaine; but being married into Portugall, liued there as one of that nation; a gentleman well ſtricken in yeeres, well ſpoken, of comely perſonage, of good ſtature, but of hard fortune. In his ſeuerall ſeruices againſt the Moores he was twiſe taken priſoner, and both times ranſomed by the king. In a former voyage of returne from the Eaſt India he was driuen vpon the Baxos or ſands of Iuda nere the coaſt of Cephala, being then alſo captaine of a caracke which was there loſt, and himſelfe, though eſcaping the ſea-danger, yet fell into the hands of infidels on land; who kept him vnder long and grieuous ſeruitude. Once more the king carying a louing reſpect to the man, and deſirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this Eaſterly nauigation, and committed vnto him the conduct of this caracke, wherein he went from Lisbon Generall of the whole fleet, and in that degree had returned, if the Vice-rey of Goa embarked for Portugall in the Bon Ieſus had not, by reaſon of his late office, bene preferred. Sir Iohn intending not to adde too much affliction to the afflicted, moued with pity and compaſſion of humane miſery, in the end reſolued freely to diſmiſſe this captaine & the moſt part of his followers to their owne countrey, and for the ſame purpoſe beſtowed them in certaine veſſels furniſhed with all kindes of neceſſary prouiſion. This buſineſſe thus diſpatched, good leaſure had he to take ſuch view of the goods as conueniency might afoord. And hauing very prudently (to cut off the vnprofitable ſpoile & pillage whereunto he ſaw the minds of many inclined) ſeiſed vpon the whole to her Maieſties vſe, after a ſhort & ſlender romaging & ſearching of ſuch things as firſt came to hand, he perceiued that ẏ wealth would ariſe nothing diſanſwerable to expectation; but that the variety and grandure of all rich commodities would be more then ſufficient to content both the aduenturers deſire & the ſouldiers trauell. And here I cannot but enter into the conſideration and acknowledgement of Gods great fauor towards our nation, who by putting this purchaſe into our hands hath manifeſtly diſcouered thoſe ſecret trades & Indian riches, which hitherto lay ſtrangely hidden, and cunningly concealed from vs; whereof there was among ſome few of vs ſome ſmall and vnperfect glimſe onely, which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it ſhould ſeeme that the will of God for our good is (if our weakneſſe could apprehend it) to haue vs communicate with them in thoſe Eaſt Indian treaſures, & by the erection of a lawfull traffike to better our meanes to aduance true religion and his holy ſeruice. The caracke being in burden by the eſtimation of the wiſe and experienced no leſſe then 1600 tunnes had full 900 of thoſe ſtowed with the groſſe bulke of marchandiſe, the reſt of the tunnage being allowed, partly to the ordinance which were 32 pieces of braſſe of all ſorts, partly to the paſſengers and the victuals, which could not be any ſmall quantity, conſidering the number of the perſons betwixt 600 and 700, and the length of the nauigation. To giue you a taſte (as it were) of the commodities, it ſhall ſuffice to deliuer you a generall particularity of them, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden hall the 15 of September 1592. Where vpon good view it was found, that the principall wares after the iewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they neuer came to light) conſiſted of ſpices, drugges, ſilks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The ſpices were pepper, cloues, maces, nutmegs, cinamom, greene ginger: the drugs were beniamin, frankincenſe, galingale, mirabolans, aloes zocotrina, camphire: the ſilks, damaſks, taffatas, ſarcenets, altobaſſos, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, vnwrought China ſilke, ſleaued ſilke, white twiſted ſilke, curled cypreſſe. The calicos were book-calicos, calico-launes, broad white calicos, fine ſtarched calicos, courſe white calicos, browne broad calicos, browne courſe calicos. There were alſo canopies, and courſe diaper-towels, quilts of courſe ſarcenet and of calico, carpets like thoſe of Turky; wherunto are to be added the pearle, muſke, ciuet, and amber-griece. The reſt of the wares were many in number, but leſſe in value; as elephants teeth, porcellan veſſels of China, coco-nuts, hides, eben-wood as blacke as iet, bedſteds of the ſame, cloth of the rindes of trees very ſtrange for the matter, and artificiall in workemanſhip. All which piles of commodities being by men of approued iudgement rated but in reaſonable ſort amounted to no leſſe then 150000 li. ſterling, which being diuided among the aduenturers (whereof her Maieſty was the chiefe) was ſufficient to yeeld contentment to all parties. The cargazon being taken out, and the goods fraighted in tenne of our ſhips ſent for London, to the end that the bigneſſe, heigth, length, bredth, and other dimenſions of ſo huge a veſſell might by the exact rules of Geometricall obſeruations be truly taken, both for preſent knowledge, and deriuation alſo of the ſame vnto poſterity, one M. Robert Adams, a man in his faculty of excellent skill, omitted nothing in the deſcription, which either his arte could demonſtrate, or any mans iudgement thinke woorthy the memory. After an exquiſite ſurvey of the whole frame he found the length from the beak-head to the ſterne (whereupon was erected a lanterne) to containe 165

A briefe catalogue of ẏ ſundry rich commodities of ẏ Madre de Dios.

The capacity and dimenſions of the Madre de Dios.

foote. The breadth in the ſecond cloſe decke whereof ſhe had three, this being the place where there was moſt extenſion of bredth, was 46 foot and 10 inches. She drew in water 31 foot at her departure from Cochin in India, but not aboue 26 at her arriuall in Dartmouth, being lightened in her voyage by diuers meanes, ſome 5 foote. She caried in height 7 ſeuerall ſtories, one maine Orlop, three cloſe decks, one fore-caſtle, and a ſpar-decke of two floores a piece. The length of the keele was 100 foote, of the maine-maſt 121 foot, and the circuite about at the partners 10 foote 7 inches, the maine-yard was 106 foote long. By which perfect commenſuration of the parts appeareth the hugeneſſe of the whole, farre beyond the mould of the biggeſt ſhipping vſed among vs either for warre or receit.

Don Alonſo de Baçan hauing a great Fleet and ſuffering theſe two caracks, the Santa Cruz to be burnt, and the Madre de Dios to be taken, was diſgraced by his prince for this negligence.

The firing and ſinking of the ſtout and warrelike Carack called *Las Cinque Llaguas*, or, *The fiue Wounds*, by three tall Ships ſet foorth at the charges of the right honorable the Erle of *Cumberland* and his friends: Written by the diſcreet and valiant captaine M. *Nicholas Downton*.

IN the latter ende of the yeere 1593, the right honourable Erle of Cumberland, at his owne charges and his friends, prepared 3 ſhips all at equall rate, and either of them had like quantitie of victuals, and like numbers of men, there being embarked in all 3 ſhips 420 men of al ſorts. The Roial Exchange went as Admirall, wherein M. George Caue was captaine. The May-flower Viceadmirall vnder the conduct of William Anthonie: and the Sampſon, the charge whereof it pleaſed his honour to commit vnto me Nicholas Dounton. Our directions were ſent vs to Plimmouth, and we were to open them at ſea.

Beſides theſe 3 ſhips there was a pinnas called the Violet, or the Why not I.

The ſixt of Aprill 1594 we ſet ſayle in the ſound of Plimmouth, directing our courſe toward the coaſt of Spaine.

The 24 of the ſayd moneth at the Admirals direction wee diuided our ſelues Eaſt and Weſt from ech other, being then in the heigth of 43 degrees, with commaundement at night to come together againe.

The 27 day in the morning we deſcried the May-flower and the litle Pinnaſſe with a Priſe that they had taken, being of Viana in Portugall, and bound for Angola in Africa. This Barke was of 28 tunnes, hauing ſome 17 perſons in the ſame. There were in her ſome 12 Buts of Galicia wine, whereof we tooke into euery ſhippe a like part, with ſome Ruſke in cheſts and barrels, with 5 buts of blew courſe cloth, and certaine courſe linnen-cloth for Negros ſhirts, which goods were diuided among our fleet.

Commodities fit for Angola.

The 4 of May we had ſight of our Pinnaſſe, and the Admirals Shallop which had taken three Portugall Carauels, whereof they had ſent two away and kept the third.

The ſecond of Iune we had ſight of S. Michael. The third day in the morning wee ſent our ſmall pinnaſſe, which was of ſome 24 tunnes, with the ſmall Carauell which we had taken at the Burlings to range the road of all the Ilands, to ſee if they could get any thing in the ſame: appointing them to meet vs W.S.W. 12 leagues from Faiall. Their going from vs was to no purpoſe. They miſſed comming to vs whē we appointed, as alſo we miſſed them, when we had great cauſe to haue vſed them.

The 13 of Iune we met with a mightie Carack of the Eaſt Indies, called Las cinque Llagas, or The fiue wounds. The May-flower was in fight with her before night. I, in the Sampſon, fetched her vp in the euening, and as I commanded to giue her the broad ſide, as we terme it, while I ſtood very heedfully prying to diſcouer her ſtrength: and where I might giue counſel to boord her in the night when the Admirall came vp to vs, and as I remember at the very firſt ſhot ſhe diſcharged at vs, I was ſhot in a litle aboue the belly, whereby I was made vnſeruiceable for a good while after, without touching any other for that night. Yet by meanes of an honeſt truehearted man which I had with me, one captaine Grant, nothing was neglected: vntill midnight when the Admirall came vp, the May-flower, and the Sampſon neuer left by turnes to ply her with their great ordinance; but then captaine Caue wiſhed vs to ſtay till morning, at what time each one of vs ſhould giue her three bouts with our great ordinance, & ſo ſhould clap her a boord: but in deed it was long lingered in the morning vntill 10 of the clocke before wee attempted to boord her. The Admirall laid her a boord in the mid ſhip: the May-flower comming vp in the quarter, as it ſhould ſeeme, to lie at the ſterne of the Admirall on the larboord ſide. The captaine of the ſayd May-flower was ſlaine at the firſt comming vp: whereby the ſhip fell to the ſterne of the out-licar of the Carack, which (being a piece of timber) ſo wounded her foreſaile, that they ſayd they could come no more to fight, I am ſure they did not, but kept aloofe from vs. The Sampſon went aboord on the bow, but hauing not roome enough, our quarter lay on the Exchãges bow, and our bowe on the Caracks bowe. The Exchange alſo at the firſt comming had her captaine M. Caue ſhot into both the legs, the one whereof he neuer recouered, ſo he for that preſent was not able to doe his office, and in his abſence he had not any that would vndertake to lead out his company to enter vpon the enemie. My friend captaine Grant did lead my men on the Caracks ſide, which being not manfully backed by the Exchanges men, his forces being ſmal, made the enemie bolder then he would haue bene, whereby I had ſixe men preſently ſlaine and many more hurt, which made them that remained vnhurt to returne aboord, and would neuer more giue the aſſault. I ſay not but ſome of the Exchanges men did very well, and many more (no doubt) would haue done the like, if there had bene any principall man to haue put them forward, and to haue brought all the company to the fight, and not to haue run into corners themſelues. But I muſt needs ſay, that their ſhip was as well prouided for defence, as any that I haue ſeene. And the Portugals peraduenture encouraged by our ſlacke working, plaied the men and had Barricados made, where they might ſtand without any danger of our ſhot. They plied vs alſo very much with fire, ſo that moſt of our men were burnt in ſome place or other: & while our men were putting out of the fire, they would euer be plying them with ſmall ſhot or darts. This vnuſuall caſting of fire did much diſmay many of our men and made them draw backe as they did. When we had not men to enter, we plied our great ordinance much at them as high vp as they might be mounted, for otherwiſe we did them litle harme, and by ſhooting a piece out of our forecaſtle being cloſe by her, we fired a mat on her beak-head, which more and more kindled, and ran from thence to the mat on the bow-ſprit, and from the mat vp to the wood of the bow-ſprit, and thence to the top-ſaile yard, which fire made the Portugals abaft in the ſhip to ſtagger, and to make ſhew of parle. But they that had the charge before encouraged them, making ſhew, that it might eaſily be put out, and that it was nothing. Whereupon againe they ſtood ſtifly to their defence. Anone the fire grew ſo ſtrong, that I ſaw it beyond all helpe, although ſhe had bene already peelded to vs. Then we deſired to be off from her, but had litle hope to obtaine our deſire; neuertheleſſe we plied water very much to keep our ſhip well. In deed I made litle other reckoning for the ſhip, my ſelfe, and diuers hurt men, then to haue ended there with the Carack, but moſt of our people might haue ſaued themſelues in boats. And when my care was moſt, by Gods prouidence onely, by the burning aſunder of our ſpritſaile-yard with ropes and ſaile, and the ropes about the ſpritſaile-yard of the Carack, whereby we were faſt intangled, we fell apart, with burning of ſome of our ſailes which we had then on boord. The Exchange alſo being farther from the fire, afterward was more eaſily cleared, and fell off from abaft. And as ſoone as God had put vs out of danger, the fire got into the fore-caſtle, where, I thinke, was ſtore of Beniamin, and ſuch other like combuſtible matter, for it flamed and ran ouer all the Carack at an inſtant in a maner. The Portugals lept ouer-boord in great numbers. Then ſent I captaine Grant with the boat, with leaue to vſe his owne diſcretion in ſauing of them. So he brought me aboord two gentlemen, the one an old man called Nuno Velio Pereira, which (as appeareth by the 4 chapter in the firſt booke of the woorthy hiſtory of Huighen de Linſchoten) was gouernour of Moçambique and Ceſala, in the yeere 1582. and ſince that time had bene likewiſe a gouernour in a place of importance in the Eaſt Indies. And the ſhippe wherein he was comming home was caſt away a litle to the Eaſt of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and from thence he trauelled ouer-land to Moçambique, and came as a paſſenger in this Carack. The other was called Bras Carrero, and was captaine of a Carack which was caſt away neere Moçambique, and came likewiſe in this ſhip for a paſſenger. Alſo three men of the inferior ſort we ſaued in our boat, onely theſe two we clothed and brought into England. The reſt which were taken vp by the other ſhip boats, we ſet all on ſhore in the Ile of Flores, except ſome two or three Negros, whereof one was borne in Moçambique, and another in the Eaſt Indies. This fight was open off the Sound betweene Faial and Pico 6 leagues to the Southward. The people which we ſaued told vs that the cauſe why they would not yeeld, was, becauſe this Carack was for the king, and that ſhe had all the goods belonging to the king in the countrey for that yeere in her, and that the captaine of her was in fauour with the king, and at his returne into the Indies ſhould haue bene Viceroy there. And withall this ſhip was nothing at all peſtered neither within boord nor without, and was more like a ſhip of warre then otherwiſe: moreouer, ſhe had the ordinance of a Carak that was caſt away at Moçambique, and the company of her, together with the company of another Carack that was caſt away a litle to the Eaſtwards of the Cape of Buona Speranza. Yet through ſickneſſe which they caught at Angola, where they watered, they ſay, they had not now aboue 150 white men, but Negros a great many. They likewiſe affirmed that they had three noblemen and three ladies in her, but we found them to differ in moſt of their talke. All this day and all the night ſhe burned, but the next morning her poulder which was loweſt being 60 barrels blew her abroad, ſo that moſt of the ſhip did ſwim in parts aboue the water. Some of them ſay, that ſhe was bigger then the Madre de Dios, and ſome, that ſhe was leſſe: but ſhe was much vndermaſted, and vnderſailed, yet ſhe went well for a ſhip that was ſo foule. The ſhot which wee made at her in great Ordinance before we layde her aboord might be at ſeuen bouts which we had, and ſixe or 7 ſhot at a bout, one with another, ſome 49 ſhot: the time we lay aboord might be two houres. The ſhot which we diſcharged aboord the Carack might be ſome twentie Sacars. And thus much may ſuffice concerning our daungerous conflict with that vnfortunate Carack.

The laſt of Iune after long trauerſing of the ſeas we had ſight of another mightie Carack, which diuerſe of our company at the firſt tooke to be the great S. Philip the Admirall of Spaine, but the next day being the firſt of Iuly fetching her vp we perceiued her indeede to be a Carack, which after ſome few ſhot beſtowed vpon her we ſummoned to yeeld; but they ſtanding ſtoutly to their defence vtterly refuſed the ſame. Wherefore ſeeing no good could be done without boording her I conſulted what courſe we ſhould take in the boording. But by reaſon that wee which were the chiefe Captaines were partly ſlaine and partly wounded in the former conflict, and becauſe of the murmuring of ſome diſordered and cowardly companions, our valiant and reſolute determinations were croſſed: and to conclude a long diſcourſe in few wordes, the Carack eſcaped our hands. After this attending about Coruo & Flores for ſome Weſt Indian purchaſe, and being diſappointed of our expectation, and victuals growing ſhort, we returned for England, where I arriued at Porteſmouth the 28 of Auguſt.

The caſting away of the *Tobie* neere Cape *Eſpartel* corruptly called Cape *Sprat* without the Straight of *Gibraltar* on the coaſt of *Barbarie*. 1593.

The Tobie of London a ſhip of 250 tunnes manned with fiftie men, the owner whereof was the worſhipfull M. Richard Staper, being bound for Liuorno, Zante and Patras in Morea, being laden with marchandize to the value of 11 or 12 thouſand pounds ſterling, ſet ſayle from Black-wall the 16 day of Auguſt 1593, and we went thence to Porteſmouth where we tooke in great quantitie of wheate, and ſet ſayle foorth of Stokes bay in the Iſle of Wight, the 6. day of October, the winde being faire: and the 16 of the ſame moneth we were in the heigth of Cape S. Vincent, where on the next morning we deſcried a ſayle which lay in try right a head off vs, to which we gaue chaſe with very much winde, the ſayle being a Spaniard, which wee found in fine ſo good of ſayle that we were faine to leaue her and giue her ouer. Two dayes after this we had ſight of mount Chiego, which is the firſt high-land which we deſcrie on the Spaniſh coaſt at the entrance of the Straight of Gibralcar, where we had very foule weather and the winde ſcant two dayes together. Here we lay off to the ſea. The Maſter, whoſe name was George Goodlay, being a young man, and one which neuer tooke charge before for thoſe parts, was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to diſcharge, neither would take any counſel of any of his company, but did as he thought beſt himſelfe, & in the end of the two dayes of foule weather caſt about, and the winde being faire, bare in with the ſtraights mouth. The 19 day at night he thinking that he was farther off the land then he was, bare ſayle all that night, & an houre and an halfe before day had ranne our ſhippe vpon the ground on the coaſt of Barbarie without the ſtraight foure leagues to the South of Cape Eſpartel. Whereupon being all not a litle aſtonied, the Maſter ſaid vnto vs, I pray you forgiue me; for this is my fault and no mans elſe. The company aſked him whether they ſhould cut off the maine maſte: no ſayd the Maſter we will hoyſe out our boate. But one of our men comming ſpeedily vp, ſayd, Sirs, the ſhip is full of water, well ſayd the Maſter, then cut the mayne-maſt ouer boord: which thing we did with all ſpeede. But the after part ſuddenly ſplit a ſunder in ſuch ſort that no man was able to ſtand vpon it, but all fled vpon the foremaſt vp into the ſhrouds thereof, and hung there for a time: but ſeeing nothing but preſent death approch (being ſo ſuddenly taken that we could not make a raft which we had determined) we committed our ſelues vnto the Lord and beganne with dolefull tune and heauy hearts to ſing the 12 Pſalme. Helpe Lord for good and godly men &c. Howbeit before we had finiſhed foure verſes the waues of the ſea had ſtopped the breathes of moſt of our men. For the foremaſt with the weight of our men & the force of the ſea fell downe into the water, and vpon the fall thereof there were 38 drowned, and onely 12 by Gods prouidence partly by ſwimming and other meanes of cheſts gote on ſhoare, which was about a quarter of a mile from the wracke of the ſhip. The maſter called George Goodley, and William Palmer his mate, both periſhed. M. Cæſar alſo being captaine and owner was likewiſe drowned: none of the officers were ſaued but the carpenter.

We twelue which the Lord had deliuered from extreme danger of the Sea, at our comming aſhore fell in a maner into as great diſtreſſe. At our firſt comming on ſhore we all fell downe on our knees, praying the Lord moſt humbly for his mercifull goodneſſe. Our prayers being done, we conſulted together what courſe to take, ſeeing we were fallen into a deſert place, & we trauelled all that day vntill night, ſometimes one way and ſometimes another, and could finde no kinde of inhabitants; onely we ſaw where wilde beaſts had bene, and places where there had bene houſes, which after we perceiued to haue bene burnt by the Portugals. So at night falling into certaine groues of oliue trees, we climed vp and ſate in them to auoid the danger of lions and other wilde beaſts, whereof we ſaw many the next morning. The next day we trauelled vntill three of the clocke in the afternoone without any food, but water and wilde date roots: then going ouer a mountaine, we had ſight of Cape Eſpartel; whereby we knew ſomewhat better which way to trauell, and then we went forward vntill we came to an hedgerow made with great long canes; we ſpied and looked ouer it, and beheld a number of men aſwell horſemen as footmen, to the number of ſome fiue thouſand in ſkirmiſh together with ſmall ſhot and other weapons. And after conſultation what we were beſt to do, we concluded to yeeld our ſelues vnto them, being deſtitute of all meanes of reſiſtance. So riſing vp we marched toward them, who eſpying vs, forthwith ſome hundred of them with their iauelings in their hands came running towards vs as though they would haue run vs thorow: howbeit they onely ſtrooke vs flatling with their weapons, and ſaid that we were Spaniards: and we tolde them that we were Engliſhmen; which they would not beleeue yet. By and by the conflict being ended, and night approching, the captaine of the Moores, a man of ſome 56 yeres olde, came himſelfe vnto vs, and by his interpretor which ſpake Italian, aſked what we were, and from whence we came. One Thomas Henmer of our company which could ſpeake Italian, declared vnto him that we were marchants, and how by great miſfortune our ſhip, marchandiſe, & the greateſt part of our company were pitifully caſt away vpon their coaſt. But he void of humainity & all manhood, for all this, cauſed his men to ſtrip vs out of our apparell euen to our ſhirts to ſee what money and iewels we had about vs: which when they had found to the value of ſome 200 pounds in golde and pearles they gaue vs ſome of our apparel againe, and bread and water onely to comfort vs. The next morning they carried vs downe to the ſhore where our ſhippe was caſt away, which was ſome ſixteene miles from that place. In which iourney they vſed vs like their ſlaues, making vs (being extreame weake) to carry their ſtuffe, and offering to beat vs if we went not ſo faſt as they. We aſked them why they vſed vs ſo: and they replied, that we were their captiues: we ſayd we were their friends, and that there was neuer Engliſhman captiue to the king of Marocco. So we came downe to the ſhip, and lay there with them ſeuen dayes, while they had gotten all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongſt them. After the end of theſe ſeuen dayes the captaine appointed twenty of his men wel armed, to bring vs vp into yͤ countrey: and the firſt night we came to the ſide of a riuer called Alarach, where we lay on the graſſe all that night: ſo the next day we went ouer the riuer in a frigate of nine oares on a ſide, the riuer being in that place aboue a quarter of a mile broad: and that day we went to a towne of thirty houſes, called Totteon: there we lay foure dayes hauing nothing to feed on but bread and water; and then we went to a towne called Caſſuri, and there we were deliuered by thoſe twenty ſouldiers vnto the Alcaide, whith examined vs what we were: and we tolde him. He gaue vs a good anſwere, and ſent vs to the Iewes houſe, where we lay ſeuen dayes. In the meane while that we lay here, there were brought thither twenty Spaniards and twenty Frenchmen, which Spaniards were taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foule weather caſt on land within the Straights about Cape de Gate, and ſo made captiues. Thus at the ſeuen dayes end we twelue Engliſhmen, the twelue French, and the twenty Spaniards were all conducted toward Marocco with nine hundred ſouldiers horſemen and fotmen, and in two dayes iourney we came to the riuer of Fez, where we lodged all night, being prouided of tents. The next day we went to a towne called Salle, and lay without the towne in tents. From thence we trauelled almoſt an hundred miles without finding any towne, but euery night we came to freſh water, which was partly running water and ſometime raine water. So we came at laſt within three miles of the city of Marocco, where we pitched our tents: and there we mette with a carrier which did trauell in the countrey for the Engliſh marchants: and by him we ſent word vnto them of our eſtate: and they returned the next day vnto vs a Moore, which brought vs victuals, being at that inſtant very feeble and hungry; and withall ſent vs a letter with pen, inke, and paper, willing vs to write vnto them what ſhip it was that was caſt away, and how many and what men there were aliue. For ſaid they we would knowe with ſpeed, for to morow is the kings court: and therefore we would know, for that you ſhould come into the citie like captiues. But for all that we were carried in as captiues and with ropes about our neckes as well Engliſh as the French and Spaniards. And ſo we were carried before the king: and when we came before him he did commit vs all to ward, where wee lay 15 dayes in cloſe priſon: and in the end we were cleared by the Engliſh Marchants to their great charges: for our deliuerance coſt them 700 ounces, euery ounce in that country contayning two ſhillings. And when we came out of priſon we went to the Alfandica, where we continued eight weekes with the Engliſh marchants. At the end of which time being well apparelled by the bountie of our marchants we were conueyed downe by the ſpace of eight dayes iourney to S. Cruz; where the Engliſh ſhips road: where we tooke ſhipping about the 20 of March, two in the Anne Francis of London, and fiue more of vs fiue dayes after in the Expedition of London, and two more in a Flemiſh flie-boat, and one in the Mary Edward alſo of London; other two of our number died in the countrey of the bloodie-flixe: the one at our firſt impriſonment at Marocco, whoſe name was George Hancock, and the other at S. Cruz, whoſe name was Robert Swancon, whoſe death was haſtened by eating of rootes and other vnnaturall things to ſlake their raging hunger in our trauaile, and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without tents. Thus of fiftie perſons through the raſhneſſe of an vnſkilfull Maſter ten onely ſuruiued of vs, and after a thouſand miſeries returned home poore, ſicke, and feeble into our countrey.

Richard Iohnſon.
William Williams Carpenter.
Iohn Durham.
Abraham Rouſe.
Iohn Matthewes.
Thomas Henmore.
Iohn Silueſter.
Thomas Whiting.
William Church.
Iohn Fox.

The letters of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie ſent by one *Laurence Alderſey* vnto the Emperour of *Aethiopia*, 1597.

Inuictiſſimo potentiſsimóq; *Abaſſenorum* regi, magnóq; vtriuſq; *Aethiopiæ* imperatori &c.

ELizabetha dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ regina, fidei defenſor &c. ſummo ac potentiſſimo Æthiopiæ imperatori ſalutem. Quod ab omnibus qui vbiuìs terrarum ac gentium ſunt regibus principibusq; præſtari par & æquum eſt, vt quanquàm maximo locorum interuallo diſſiti, & moribus ac legibus diſcrepantes, communem tamen generis humani ſocietatem tueri & conſeruare, mutuaq; , vt occaſio ferret, charitatis & beneuolentiæ officia velint exercere: in eo nos de veſtra fide atque humanitate ſpem certiſſimam concipientes, huic ſubito noſtro Laurentio Alderſeio in regnum veſtrum proficiſcenti, haſce literas noſtras, quibus & noſtra erga vos beneuolentia teſtata ſit, & illum hinc profectũ eſſe conſtet, potiſſimùm vobis indicandas dedimus. Qui cùm orbis terrarum perſcrutandi cognoſcendiq; ſtudio permotus, multis antehàc regionibus peragratis, iam tandem in eas regiones, quæ veſtræ ditionis ſunt, longum, periculoſumq; iter inſtituat: cùm ipſe exiſtimauit, tum nos etiam ſumus in eadem opinione, ad incolumitatem ſuam, atque etiam ad gratiam apud vos, plurimum illi profuturum, ſi diplomate noſtro munitus, beneuolentiæ noſtræ & profectionis hinc ſuæ teſtimonium ad vos deferret. Nam cum ſummus ille mundi conditor rectorq; præpotens deus, regibus principibusq; qui ſuam vicem gerunt, orbem terrarum, ſuis cuique finibus pro rata portione deſignatis, regendum atque adminiſtrandum dederit; eoq; munere ius quoddam inter eos fraternæ neceſſitudinis, æternumq; fœdus ab illis colendum ſanxerit: non erit (vt arbitramur) ingratum vobis, cùm beneuolentiæ noſtræ ſignificationem, tàm immenſa maris ac terrarum ſpatia tranſgreſſam, ab vltima Britannia ad vos in Aethiopiam perferri intellexeritis. Nobisq; rurſùs erit iucundum, cùm ſubditorum noſtrorum prædicatione, ab ipſis Nili fontibus, & ab ijs regionibus quæ ſolis curſum definiunt, fama veſtri nominis ad nos recurret. Erit igitur humanitatis veſtræ huic ſubdito noſtro eam largiri gratiam, vt in ditionem veſtram ſub præſidio ac tutela veſtri nominis intrare, ibique ſaluus & incolumis manere poſſit: quod ipſum etiam ab aliis principibus, per quorum regiones illi tranſeundum erit, magnoperè petimus, nobiſq; ipſis illud honoris cauſa tributum exiſtimabimus: neq; tamèn maiorem hac in re gratiam poſtulamus, quàm viciſsìm omnium principum ſubditis, omniumq; gentium hominibus ad nos commeantibus liberrimè concedimus. Datum Londini quinto die Nouembris: anno regni noſtri triceſimo nono: annoq; Dom. 1597.

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To the moſt inuincible and p
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letters ſent ſo huge a diſtance ouer ſea and land,
you in Aethiopia. On the other ſide our ſelue
the relation of our owne ſubiects, the renowm
fountains of Nilus, and from thoſe regions
May it pleaſe you therefore of your princely c
ſubiect, that he may, vnder the ſafeguard and p
dominions, and there remaine ſafe and free fro
likewiſe moſt earneſtly requeſt at the hands of
ſaid ſubiect is to paſſe; and we ſhall eſteeme i

Neither do we require any greater fauour in
moſt ready to graunt vnto the ſubiects
traueiling into our dominions.
uember, in the thirtie and ni
the yeare of ou

e ſame in Engliſh.

e and puiſſant king of the *Abaſſens*, the
of *Aethiopia* the higher and the lower.

Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the
mightie Emperour of Aethiopia greeting. Whereas it is
g all kings and princes of what lands or nations ſoeuer, be
e or differing in cuſtomes and lawes, to maintaine and pre-
e, and, as occaſion ſhall be offered, to performe mutuall du-
ve for that cauſe conceiuing moſt vndoubted hope of your
giuen vnto this our ſubiect Laurence Alderſey intending to
r letters to be deliuered without faile vnto your Highneſſe,
our good will towards you and of our ſaide ſubiect his de-
his trauels in many forren countreys, being as yet enflamed
igh and contemplate the world, and now at length to vnder-
into your territories and regions: both the ſayd Laurence
, that it would very much auaile him, as well for his owne
uour, if, being protected with our broad ſeale, hee might
mony of our louing affection & of his departure from hence.
eſt creatour and gouernour of the world hath allotted vnto
er the face of the whole earth, their deſigned portions and
them; and by this his gift hath eſtabliſhed among them a
and an eternall league by them to be obſerued: it will not
ur highneſſe, when you ſhall haue intelligence of our louing
t and land, euen from the fartheſt realme of England vnto
our ſelues ſhall take great ſolace and delight, when as by
e renowme of your name ſhall be brought vnto vs from the
regions which are ſituate vnder the Southerne Tropike.
princely clemencie to vouchſafe ſo much fauour on this our
uard and protection of your name, enter into your highneſſe
nd free from danger. Which fauour and courteſie wee doe
hands of other princes, through whoſe Seigniories our
eſteeme it as done vnto our ſelfe and for our honours ſake.
r fauour in this behalfe, then we are vpon the like occaſion
ſubiects of all princes and the people of all Nations,
inions. Giuen at London the fift day of No-
rtie and ninth yeere of our reigne: and in
are of our Lorde 1597.